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The material in this index is arranged under authors and subjects and in a few cases under titles. Anonymous articles and paragraphs are entered under their subjects. The precise wording of titles has not been retained where abbreviation or paraphrase has seemed more desirable.
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The Gist Of It
FROM MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL STAFF A series of notes on welfare programs in wartime (page 5).

A great citizen, and a great journalist, of California shares his observations on "The Clash of Two Worlds" (page 9). Chester H. Rowell, former editor of the San Francisco Chronicle, is, at seventy-four, back in the harness from the partial retirement of conducting a column, as young Paul Smith, general manager of that distinguished journal, goes to Washington on government duty.

Francis Biddle, Attorney General of the United States, issues a statement on Axis aliens (page 13). A descendant of Edmund Randolph, first Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Biddle has had a distinguished public career—as chairman of the NRA Labor Board, as counsel of the TVA inquiry, as a federal judge, and as solicitor general. He is a former member of the board of Survey Associates.

The first woman member of Britain's cabinet was the Right Honorable Margaret Grace Bondfield, who in the days of Ramsay MacDonald, as now, was Britain's outstanding woman labor leader. Twice since the war began Miss Bondfield has visited the United States, each time making her home at the Henry Street Settlement. Her present mission is as liaison officer between the British American Ambulance Corps and the CIO in the "Save a Child" campaign, a drive to provide shelter and care for the children of British workers whose homes have been bombed. Her present article deals with the social renascence of the churches in wartime (page 14).

Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and one of the outstanding economists in Washington, Isador Lubin is now closely identified with the executive offices of the government. His article (page 19) is largely derived from his address at a recent conference called by the Secretary of Labor.

Russell Lord, biographer of M. L. Wilson (page 26), is the editor of The Land. He is now engaged on the research for a volume on "The Wallaces of Iowa."

In sequence to her recent widely quoted article on "Our Ailing Mental Hospitals," Edith M. Stern discusses a hopeful variant of the same subject—home care of the mentally ill (page 31). Mrs. Stern is a busy Maryland housewife, who has managed to find time to write a number of important articles.

Gretta Palmer is a frequent contributor to magazines. Her article on Dr. Parker (page 33) is her first appearance in the pages of Survey Graphic.

January 1942

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SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.
Publication office: 34 North Crystal Street, East Stroudsburg, Pa.
Editorial and Business Office, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.


Editor: Paul Kellogg.


Business manager: Walter E. Grueninger; circulation manager, Mollie Condon; Advertising manager, Mary R. Anderson.

Survey Graphic is published on the 1st of the month. Price of single copies of this issue, 30c. by subscription—Domestic: 1 year $3; 2 years $5. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c. Indexed in Reader's Guide, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus.

Survey Midmonthly is published on the 15th of the month. Single copies, 30c. by subscription—Domestic: 1 year $3; 2 years $5. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c.

Joint annual subscription to Survey Graphic and Survey Midmonthly $5.

Cooperative Membership in Survey Associates, including a joint subscription, $10.

1

Secretary Ickes and the Co-ops

To the Editor: Dexter Masters' article "Co-ops and the Consumer Crisis," which appears in your December issue, is in error when it infers that some sort of prejudice limited the recognition of cooperators in the organization of our advisory petroleum committee.

I disagree with Mr. Masters that any such prejudice is possible. I disagree, moreover, that the cooperatives should have had bigger representation. After all, the President did not set up the Petroleum Coordinator's Office to advance the cooperative movement, nor have I conceived it to be an instrumentality put into my hands for that purpose, however much I may believe in cooperatives as such.

I was given the job of getting oil where oil was needed, and to do this I had to work with the people who were producing and distributing it. Cooperatives are so local and limited in character that, despite their importance to their members, they could not be relied upon to supply a single tugboat with fuel. This is in no sense a disparagement of cooperatives.

It isn't, I may add, any business of the Petroleum Coordinator how the oil business operates, provided only that it does so within the law and can furnish us with the necessary petroleum supplies.

I do not feel that in the circumstances Mr. Masters is quite fair in his criticism which some may interpret to mean that an important economic group has been willfully slighted—Harold L. Ickes, Petroleum Coordinator for National Defense.

Representation on Mr. Ickes' committee was drawn from five geographical sections. And the Co-ops' $100,000,000 annual petroleum business is big enough in each one of the five to handle a good many tugboats. I wouldn't argue that the Co-ops deserve even six representatives out of the two hundred. But I agree with the Cooperators that there should have been at least five. It may not be Mr. Ickes' business how the oil industry operates, but fair representation must be based on the way it does operate, and 199 to 1 is not that.—Dexter Masters
A UNITED AMERICA

By the Dawn's Early Light
The Strategy of People

NOTES BY THE EDITORS

The next pages carry the pith of inter-office memoranda on the nation’s war effort as it is bound up in the common welfare. Some were struck off the day after the Japanese assault in the Pacific; some, later that week, when Nazis and Fascists made it an Axis war and Americans took them on in turn.

MEN AND WOMEN WILL DO ALL BUT SUPERHUMAN THINGS WHEN men and women feel that they are important in the intrinsic meaning of the word. Britishers revealed this when they turned their entire Island into a fortress of bristling self-reliance. Russians have shown it in the collective resiliency of their continent-wide resistance to invasion. We in America have yet to grasp, anew, how much hinges not alone on military prowess and the production of arms and munitions, but upon the strategy of people.

IN MID-DECEMBER CAME THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOST luminous postscript in history: the addition of the Bill of Rights to our federal Constitution. In his radio address, the President drove home that “To Hitler, the idea of people, as we conceive it—the free, self-governing and responsible people—is incomprehensible. . . . [To him] the highest human idealism . . . is that a man should wish to become a ‘dust particle’ of the order ‘of force’ which is to shape his universe.” It is this hoary New Order that, after its kind, has ranged itself against the Four Freedoms, and the Atlantic Charter; and now (as Mr. Rowell points out, page 9) against human enfranchisement across the Pacific.

ANY STRATEGY OF PEOPLE UNDER FREEDOM BEGINS WITH UNITY among us and with those liberties which hang in the balance not only for us but for every man, woman and child on earth. That spirit infuses the statement on Axis aliens put forth by Attorney General Francis Biddle (page 13). It has shot through our overtures toward interdependence which have proved cement in holding our New World together in the crisis. (The Americas: South and North, Survey Graphic for March, 1941.)

Political rights and liberties have their counterparts in industrialism spreads from cities to districts to countries as a whole. That is why in our Graphic special for November we put the crux of American success in “Manning the Arsenal for Democracy” on whether we could speed production and at the same time preserve free labor and free enterprise.

But people themselves, no less than their freedoms, political and economic, are primary in a democracy at war. Clearly military strategy pivots on great choices. Hitler risked war with the United States in unleashing Japan against us rather than risk the certain rush of lend-lease aid to Britain, Russia, and the Near East. Our own choices are threefold and none of them can be gainsaid. We must guard our ramparts. We must, without let up, make our weight count on five continents and seven seas. And we must strengthen our people themselves—for the crisis, and for the years ahead.

OUR CALLING AMERICA SERIES OF SPECIAL NUMBERS, which began in 1939, may in truth be said to have dealt with the strategy of Americans as people. Here it can be noted that the United States entered the war years after a decade of hard times which put to the test the root-holds of our way of life.

As result, today (as was not true in 1917) we have a basic scheme of public welfare in well nigh every county in the USA—with moves afoot to buttress it with federal aid for general relief. Today, we have our social security system—with the draft itself disclosing the need for rounding it out in the field of health. Today, we have new ventures in social enterprise which can be turned to account from farm security to public housing; new inventions, from NYA, CCC, and WPA, to the National Resources Planning Board.

The week before war was declared, moves initiated by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services and in the Office of Civilian Defense had gathered head to further inter-agency cooperation, public and private, all along the line from the capital to the communities concerned.

IN THE INFORMAL MEMORANDA THAT FOLLOW, MEMBERS OF THE staff offer clues to strategy on the social front which we share with Survey Graphic readers.—P.K.
Food

No one need go hungry in the United States or, so long as we retain command of the Atlantic, in Great Britain. The Food for Freedom campaign was launched by the Department of Agriculture after the lend-lease program went into effect, and 100 percent of the nation's farmers are cooperating. Six months ago the Nutrition Conference in Washington set going the wheels of a drive for better diets that has reached every community in the nation. Various methods of distributing milk and protective foods to children, the needy, and very low wage earners will be continued under the leadership of M. L. Wilson. (See page 26.) There will be no severe shortages; those that develop must be shared equally, and the prices controlled.

The goals set for the production of foods and fibers are easily realizable, and include lend-lease exports to Great Britain and other allies. The Food for Freedom program not only marks a revolutionary rise in American nutrition but an inventive blend of individualized and collectivized agriculture.

Two important objectives in the field of nutrition are, first of all, to see that the British receive food enough to keep their morale from deteriorating because of improper nourishment; and, second, to encourage the conservation of our resources, from the fields where food grows to the garbage cans where waste must be kept as near to nothing as possible.

Civil Liberties and Public Information

The temper of the nation, as it enters a unified war of resistance to aggression, is admirable. According to Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, there are few communities where flagrant violations of the rights of individuals or groups now exist.

Local defense councils should cooperate in promoting tolerance, in protecting the rights of all suspected persons and, in particular, in encouraging the greatest discretion in matters involving alien or naturalized men and women from the Axis countries. The Department of Justice has outlined a detailed plan for handling such cases; friendly refugees from fascist persecution will not be molested. (See page 13.)

Any cases of Negroes, conscientious objectors, labor leaders, Jehovah's Witnesses, or others, who are in any way legally disadvantaged as a result of wartime prejudice should be brought to the immediate attention of the Attorney General of the United States for investigation.

The question of freedom of press, radio, and speech, is an involved one in wartime. Our own authorities may well study the record of Great Britain in this field. The policy of as much voluntary censorship of military information as possible is desirable. In return, it is to be hoped that the government will follow a policy of candor. With confidence in the people's intelligence, there can be no bar to discussion of the issues of the war so long as military information is not given to the enemy.

Labor's Rights and Responsibilities

The responsibilities of labor have nearly trebled since the last war. In 1917-18, it took five workers in field and factory to keep one man in the armed forces; today, with mechanized warfare, it takes sixteen. There have been equally significant changes in the organization of labor and in union status. Today, the labor movement is split by the cleavage between the AFL and the CIO. In spite of this split, American labor has reached a wholly new level of strength and authority. It now has the protection of the National Labor Relations Act in extending and reinforcing its organization, and of the Norris-LaGuardia act, depriving anti-labor employers of the weapon of the injunction to break strikes and unions. Federal wage and hour legislation, social insurance and work relief, help safeguard labor standards and cushion the burden of industrial accident, unemployment, and old age.

Today the safety of the nation, the final victory over the dictators, depend on the smooth, swift achievement and maintenance of maximum production.

During the seventeen months of the defense program, stormy industrial relations have been one source of sand in the bearings. The chief difficulties have arisen from the desire of certain industrialists and of certain labor leaders to make use of the emergency to further their own ends; jurisdictional fights between CIO and AFL unions, and between craft unions within the AFL; disquieting revelations as to underworld characters in union offices, and as to exorbitant union initiation fees and dues; undemocratic union practices including discrimination against Negroes; the refusal of some labor leaders to accept the findings of mediation or arbitration agencies unless they are in labor's favor; the lag between rising living costs and wage increases; the disparity between percentage of profits in defense industries, and percentage of wage increases in the same industries; "pirating" and "raiding" among employers to get skilled workers.

The "American way" to deal with such problems as these is by voluntary agreement, around the conference table. On the basis of broad principles, being worked out in a White House conference as this is written, detailed agreements must be achieved with sufficient speed and wisdom to free labor and management for the task of all-out production.

It is possible that some further legislation will be found necessary to coordinate existing machinery for orderly industrial relations, or to extend and improve its functioning. Hasty laws, framed in exasperation or vindictiveness, can hardly be expected to meet such a need. But legislation drawn in conference with leaders of labor and industry, and other experts, may help attain the "whole-hearted cooperation" among labor, management, and government, on which hangs the issue of the day.

Homes

Eight years of actual experience with public and other low cost housing in the United States has helped place housing with food and clothing in the category of essentials which should be available to every American family.

As we enter the war, the question is how to preserve and further the progress of the past decade. Housing calls for men, money, and materials.

Men are available; limited funds are available for defense housing, and there is some money for other public housing; under the recent SPAB ruling, materials are available only for housing to be used by defense workers.

Admitting that defense needs should have first call on critical materials, the wisdom of a total blackout for other residential building may be questioned. What will be the effect on civilian morale? What will be the effect in terms of priorities unemployment? Of depletion in the ranks of building technicians, who will be urgently needed in the post-war years?

Further, as one group already has pointed out, "nobody knows where essential defense construction ends and nonessential defense construction begins." SPAB itself exempted from its ban projects essential to public health and safety. A re-examination of housing needs in relation to materials available immediately or in the immediate future might suggest some modification of the SPAB ruling.

Beginning January 1, a housing program for the United States at war should be based on these assumptions:

1. Housing needs for defense workers must be supplied. Appropriations for the purpose should be passed by Congress without delay.
2. The need for new housing of other low income groups must
not be ignored; they should have priority over the needs of families able to afford higher rents.

3. Materials for non-defense housing projects for which funds have already been allocated by the USAH should be made available as quickly as compatible with essential war production needs.

Great Britain, convinced by twenty years experience of the importance of public housing, has not abandoned its program in wartime. Nor should we. Whenever an urgent need for shelter exists we must, in the interest of morale and health if for no other reasons, see that shelter is provided.

Our Major Minority

The Nazi theory of "racial superiority" is traditional in certain sections of the United States, and is embedded in the thinking of individuals in all sections. The chief American sufferers from the discrimination and cruelties that spring from this philosophy are the Negroes. As school children, as workers, as citizens, this minority group never has shared in what we like to think of as "the American standard of living."

During the last war, the need for manpower in the armed forces and in industry opened to Negroes many doors of training and employment which hitherto had been barred to them. Out of that war came, too, some modification of sectional attitudes and prejudices.

In the depression decade, WPA, Farm Security, Surplus Commodities, the Social Security Act, the Wage and Hour Law, and other federal programs helped in a measure to redress some of the inequalities between white and Negro Americans.

In the defense effort, there have been numerous instances of discrimination against Negroes in the services, in industry, in housing, in leisure time opportunities. But there is, too, an increasing awareness that democracy must be strengthened within our borders if it is to withstand onslaughts from-without. In relation to Negro Americans, this means equality of educational opportunity, including opportunity for vocational training and professional education; employment in industry and in the armed forces according to individual ability, not race; elimination of the poll tax which circumvents the Fourteenth Amendment in some states and communities; equitable sharing by Negroes in all public funds spent for housing, recreation, and other social services; widespread educational programs to combat prejudice and intolerance, and broaden the understanding and the application of democratic principles in this country.

Aid to Those in Need

The strongest bulwark of public assistance programs under the impact of war is the public opinion developed over the past ten years. "We, the people" have accepted certain basic responsibilities and we are not likely to repudiate them. Be it noted, however, that the acceptance is of "basic responsibilities," not necessarily of programs. Services under the Social Security Board—Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind—have the texture of permanency. They have been woven into the fabric of local life, entrenched politically as well as "in the hearts of our countrymen."

The programs most vulnerable to criticism are those which were conceived as temporary measures in the unemployment emergency and which have continued to function on those terms. Their presumed impermanence, which in the beginning gained them acceptance, becomes now their greatest weakness.

Mounting employment has drastically changed the WPA, NYA, and CCC programs, though ideologically they have remained the same. Practically all skilled labor has been drawn off, even in areas where there are few defense indus-

tries. Increasingly, the country over, WPA rolls now are made up of unskilled common labor and of persons who are at a disadvantage in the competitive market. Because of increased employment opportunities for young people, the programs of NYA and CCC have shifted rapidly to vocational training with almost vanishing emphasis on "unemployment" and "need."

Most susceptible to public opinion and weakest in public acceptance is the program of direct relief which has no support from federal funds and only in varying degrees from state funds. Part of this weakness is due to tradition, part to the fact that "unemployment" as the cause of need has been overplayed and chronic unemployment underplayed. Hence, the public is unprepared for the reality of continuing permanent need. This is particularly true in states that have refused to recognize the needs falling outside the limitations of the federal programs. With WPA quotas sharply and probably increasingly reduced, and with the doubtful duration of the program of the Surplus Marketing Administration, great numbers of people in these states are facing severe hardship.

The privately supported family welfare agencies appear to be in a much better position to face the shock of war than they were to face conditions in the early years of the depression. The value of their particular function is understood and their relationship to the public programs is defined.

The conditions of war are bound to bring great changes to current programs of public assistance, but there is substantial reason to believe, or at least to hope, that their basic substance will not be sacrificed and that in the inevitable realignment into a single integrated system the weakest link of the present program may be strengthened. Until war became a reality it seemed almost certain that the next year or two would bring an amendment to the Social Security Act providing for grants-in-aid to the states for general relief purposes. The proposal has been endorsed by the National Welfare Federation, the Planning Board of the Social Security Board, and by most of the national social agencies informed on conditions throughout the country. The fact of war may postpone such an amendment, but the necessity for it is too obvious, the weight of evidence for it is too great, for it long to be delayed as an underpinning to our system of aid to those in need.

For a Strong Nation

It has taken the threat of war to wake up the American people to a realization of how far we are from the level of health which the present state of science makes possible. Statistics have been published before, showing the man-years lost annually because of illness, and also showing the deplorable relationship between frequency of illness and of income, but these figures were seldom read beyond social work and medical circles. It has taken the Selective Service figures on young men found "physically unfit" to convince the American people that neglect of health is neglect of the nation's defenses.

Today the health of the armed forces has first consideration. The President has announced a program to rehabilitate 200,000 of the 900,000 selectees rejected for physical reasons. Once they are in the service, men must be protected at camp and on leave. The health record of the first year of the enlarged training program is evidence that the army's precautions against epidemics, so far, have been successful. Rigorous examinations protect the men from the more insidious infectious illnesses, such as tuberculosis. The great health hazard to men on leave is venereal disease. Whether this calls for rigid suppression of prostitution or local "regulation" is a matter of hot debate. Experience shows suppression to be the only effective method.

But modern warfare is total warfare and the strength of the nation depends on the strength of the whole people. The fundamental needs remain the same as in 1938 when the Interdepartmental Committee on Health and Welfare defined
them thus: expanded health service for specific diseases, such as tuberculosis, venereal disease, malaria; broader maternal and child health programs; more hospital facilities, with health centers in rural areas; medical care for low income families; reduction of sickness costs through federal health insurance systems; temporary and permanent disability insurance.

In recent years many experiments have been made — local, state, federal, and under private auspices — to bring medical care to the people who need it. The time has come to take these programs out of the experimental stage and make medical and health care and health opportunity available not just in spots throughout the country or to segments of the population, but to all the people.

What we have to build on are the medical care programs of the Farm Security Administration; federal grants-in-aid to states for venereal disease control, maternal and child health, care of crippled children; state and local programs of medical care for the indigent; voluntary prepayment hospitalization and medical care plans.

Probably more Americans are receiving good medical care than ever before, but many families who are ineligible or out of reach of these programs cannot pay for the service they need — families with marginal income, families who do not meet requirements as to legal residence or settlement; families in localities too poor to provide adequate facilities; families who cannot afford the pay lost involved when the wage earner must be away from his job for needed rest or treatment.

Selective Service statistics show defective teeth to be the main cause of rejection from the army. This leaves no room for doubt that dentistry must be taken more seriously as an important part of health programs both from the educational and treatment angles.

Among the most important tools in implementing an effective health program are the institutional and the public health nurses. Today we are faced with a definite shortage of nurses not only for public health and hospital work but for the pressing needs of the army, navy, and civilian defense forces. The American Red Cross has stepped into the breach with a plan for training 100,000 nurses’ aides whose job it will be to relieve the professional nurse from routine tasks. Federal aid to nurses’ training schools makes it possible to increase the number of student nurses. But more training facilities and more students are needed if the 50,000 new nurses required for war are to be ready in time.

Community Organization

FAMILIAR in almost every American community of any size is the process by which men and movements concerned with the welfare and the needs of people draw together to further their common purpose. Differing widely in method and scope, this process has come to be called community organization. In most places it represents an effort to cooperate in social undertakings and to coordinate resources and services. The movement has been governed largely by expediency, and participation in it has been neither wide nor democratic — except in theory. It has been largely an urban enterprise.

The reach of federal welfare services into every city and town during the past six or seven years has not greatly changed the pattern. Community organization has remained generally speaking, a preoccupation of private social agencies, with leadership kept within that group.

But with the defense program came a federal concern for community cooperation on a wider base, particularly in training camp and industrial areas. This has brought a new element into what had been purely a local concept and has imposed a variety of new high-pressure relationships. Leadership was sought in all walks of community life and the widest citizen participation stimulated. The whole process of broadening the base is certain to be accelerated greatly by war conditions.

Where councils of social agencies have strong and flexible leadership with community confidence and support, they have been the channels for many of the new undertakings — in both planning and execution. Where councils were weak and unable to adjust to new ideas and rapid change they have been left on the sidelines.

Community organization has been urged on every side during the last year, but its orderly development has been hampered and confused by the lack of coordination among the federal agencies going into the field. Programs have grown up, not to deal with the whole community situation, but more or less by reason of the federal representative who got there first and captured the best leadership.

With the development in Washington of a joint committee to coordinate the community activities of the Office of Civilian Defense and the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, there is good reason to hope that many of the confusions that have borne down on the local communities will be resolved. What is sought and greatly needed is a broad flexible framework which will conserve all existing assets of organization, widen the areas of activities and the extent of citizen participation, and provide a local pattern responsive to present needs and capable of preserving values against the future.

For Youth

THE DEPRESSION YEARS HAVE HELPED MAKE CLEAR THE NEEDS of modern American youth, and the fact that home and school today are not adequate to those needs. War emphasizes the importance of applying and extending these lessons of the thirties.

Youth needs more education and better education than it has been receiving. The figures on illiteracy and “lack of functional ability to read” in CCC and among draft registrants are shocking, particularly the figures from some of the southern states. So are figures on per capita expenditures for schools, and the variations as between states and communities. So are facts on the amount and content of teacher training, and on discrimination against Negro children in educational opportunity.

Youth needs more adequate medical and dental care. The health programs of the National Youth Administration, and the physical examinations of draft registrants have shown how large a proportion of America’s young people have remediable defects, and have shown, too, the gap between modern medical knowledge and the medical service available to us as a people.

The depression years, the defense program, the outbreak of war, and the drive for total production underscore youth’s need for vocational training, and the nation’s need of young people who have acquired at least one skill, and sound work habits.

Reorganization of existing agencies may be required in the interests of effectiveness and economy. But agencies are less important than goals. Youth today needs sound education, medical and dental care, vocational training and experience. National safety and welfare call for youth services to meet these needs.

Leisure Time

RECREATION IS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE AT A TIME OF HEAVY stresses and strains. But while in wartime the provision of recreation assumes added importance, the directions must be revised.

First comes the need for recreation for men in the armed forces. The army has assumed responsibility for the entertainment of men in cantonments, but the larger job of providing

(Continued on page 45)
Clash of Two Worlds

A CALIFORNIAN LOOKS ACROSS THE PACIFIC

by CHESTER H. ROWELL

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. December 13, 1941: This is written in a busy newspaper office in San Francisco, between blackouts, with Japanese airplaner reported overhead but no explanation why they went back, or where, or why they did not drop their bombs, if they had any, or why they came, if they had none. Germany has just declared war, and that was for us, by comparison, so minor a piece of news that it scarcely rated a major headline in more than one or two editions. Other news is coming every minute, all of it what at any other time would have been sensational, and new decisions have to be made every time the news changes. This is scarcely the environment, either physical, mental or emotional, in which to write a sober, long range analysis, such as Survey Graphic would want, but here goes:

In large part, the Far West looks on the Japanese war much as the rest of the country does, except that we are nearer. We know that if it strikes home it will hit us first. We have been longer familiar with the whole background of the situation. We were longer impatient, watching the cargoes of scrap iron, fuel oil, and aviation gasoline leaving our ports, even for months after the ostensible embargo was announced. We have lived longer with our own Japanese and have seen a whole generation of them grow up to American citizenship and American ways. And we have long had the vivid consciousness that we were the frontier between two worlds, geographic, historic, racial, and cultural.

These things may give us a front seat at the show—but it is all the same show, from wherever you see it.

One World—and the Other

Perhaps that two-world sense is the principal background of the whole picture. Both in space and in time, we who look out through the Golden Gate realize that it is the terminus of the longest and oldest journey in the world. Since that far time when something planted in the white man's breast the instinct to go West, the whole history of our race has been marked by the stages of that migration. Aryan and Iranian, Celt and Teuton, Roman, Hellenic and Slav, these human waves (pressed on by later hordes from the East) pursued each other out of Asia and across Europe, until finally they broke on its western shore. There they rested for centuries, until they almost drove the Celtic vanguard into the sea. Then they overlapped the Atlantic, and again, over mountains and prairies and greater mountains and plains again, the migration continued across another continent until finally, before this Gate, the long journey was ended. There was no further West to go. The only thing West of our Far West is the Far East. Between them stretches the vastest of oceans, and beyond it is another world.

The story of the migration of cultures and of institutions which accompanied this age-long movement of peoples constitutes the history of Occidental civilization, which any informed reader can at once fill out for himself. Across that ocean was another world which, except for occasional intervals of closer contact, might almost have been on a different planet. It had its migrations, too, some of peoples but more of religions and cultures, and these were mostly Eastward. Finally, they reached their ocean barrier, too, in Japan, the latest comer to their cultures but the most absorptive of them all. This became the epitome of the East, until suddenly, almost in our time, it became also the entry port of the West. Its whole span, from the feudal age until now, is within the memory of men now living. In that short time, Japan developed into one of the great powers, by every Western standard. It has absorbed our achievements, industrial, military and political, without losing its own half-mystical Oriental inheritance. The longest isolated nation of the East, it became the least isolated. With it, the complete or partial seclusion of the other Eastern peoples was broken. Humanly as well as geographically, the world was now round. Whatever their future, it was at least certain that it would be one of contact and interrelation. And we who, from looking on from this side of the greatest of oceans, and from frequent intimate visits to the other side, were earliest to realize how close and pregnant this contact was destined to be, never doubted that its nature would determine the whole course of mankind.

We long cherished the hope that the solution would be a constructive one, to unify rather than divide these two historic civilizations. That they could be merged we knew, because we had seen it done in Japan and begun in China. Whether it would be in friendly rivalry or in deadly conflict we could not know, but we did know that the answer to this question would be the decisive fact for the future of the world.

Now it has come, with a clash that is cosmic; for the tragic emergence of the medieval half of Japanese culture has come just when Europe has gone medieval, too. Now, for the first time in history, the entire world is at war, not for the victory of one nation or alliance of nations over another, but for the extermination of one civilization over the other. We need not here analyze how Europe went back to the barbarism of the Völkerwanderung, armed with all the cunning of modern science, nor why Japan cast its lot politically with the super-vandal half. We do know that, both ways, it is not war, which can be ended by defeat, victory or stalemate, but revolution—a civil war of mankind, for the domination of the globe by one of two irreconcilable ways of life. It is the final focusing, on the simple fact of war, of a million complex forces, as old as history and as wide as the world.

The Inner Clash in Japan

The Japanese part of this development is complex, too, but some parts of it may perhaps be outlined without risking too much oversimplification.

When, by the Restoration, just short of three quarters of a century ago, Japan emerged as a modern state under the Emperor, it became an insoluble mixture of the old and the new. All power rested, theoretically, in the Em-
A recent photograph of a festival at the Nikko shrine built in honor of one of Japan’s great Shoguns (generalissimos)

A Japanese air hostess checks passengers boarding a plane

Obeisance before the palace of the Emperor, “Son of Heaven”

Japan has absorbed western achievements without losing its own Oriental inheritance
The 298th Infantry at Schofield Barracks, Oahu, Hawaii, with its mixture of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Americans.

Native hawkers and customers in a Hong Kong air raid shelter.

Men sorting hemp on a plantation near Davao, Philippines.

People in the path of Japan's expansion of empire in Asia and across the Pacific.
peror. Such power as he granted, even to the people and finally to their elected representatives, was limited to the terms of the grant. One of the things never granted to the people or to the Diet was control of the army. And the army had inherited from the deposed Shogunate large self-governing powers which were now limited only by the terms of the new decrees. So the people had only the powers expressly conferred, and the army retained all the powers not expressly denied.

Even after the representatives of the army and navy were formerly integrated into the government, they retained the power of direct access to the Emperor, without going, as the other ministers did, through the premier. By Imperial rescript, the Minister of War and the Minister of Marine had to be the one a general, the other an admiral, both on the active list. No army officer would accept appointment without the consent of his colleagues, and no prime minister could form a government without securing that acceptance. Thus, from the beginning of constitutional government, the military arms had an effective negative control, amounting to an unconditional veto. Also, since the Emperor could do no wrong, and must therefore not take personal responsibility for anything which part of the people might think wrong, this privilege of “access” to the Emperor became increasingly the power to emerge from his presence and say things, inferentially though not expressly in his name, which could grow into a large degree of positive control, quite without responsibility to the civil government.

The rest is familiar history. The army clique, largely to build up its own power into something which now perilously approaches a new collective Shogunate, promoted more and more the tradition of mystic sacredness of the Throne. The nearer the Emperor approached the semi-deification of his ancestors, the nearer he came also to their practical impotence in government. During the Meiji era, an Emperor who was a great and dominant personality and who had been the center of the modernization of Japan, exercised great influence personally; and the remaining power was in the Genro, the Elder Statesmen, who had been themselves the makers of the revolution. His son was not so strong a man, and in his last years was incompetent, ending in a regency under his son. The present Emperor, this grandson, is intelligent and liberal, but could become a really personal ruler only by an effective palace revolution which he has not yet ventured.

The Tanaka Memorial

Meanwhile, as British and American ideas of government and German standards of militarism overspread the world, both these influences took parallel courses in Japan. Parliament took on more and more the Western form, and the beginnings of ministerial responsibility to Parliament and its dominant political parties were well under way. By turns there were liberal and reactionary governments, the liberals alternating often enough to undo most of the blunders of the militarists, but usually just too late to get much moral credit for it.

On the other hand, in and out of power, the policy of the militarists was continuous. There came the famous “Tanaka Memorial”—whose circulation this writer managed to suppress in China for two years, because, by internal evidence, it seemed to contain manifest forgeries. Nevertheless it correctly expressed the “positive policy” of the militarists. The most fantastic and incredible predictions of the Tanaka Memorial are the very ones being carried out today. Even the policy of fraud, by which this war began, was recommended in this document, ostensibly to the semi-divine Emperor in the name of his most revered ancestor. The transformation of what seemed a mad dream into a dread fact, is, like the similar feat of Hitler, the victory of persistence over liberalism. The Memorial may take its place in history alongside Mein Kampf, as a prophecy which devastated the world by its fulfillment, simply because it was too weird for anybody to take seriously.

The final debacle of democracy was too much—or too loose—democracy. Virtually universal suffrage was granted in Japan, and the people did vote. They elected Parliaments which persisted in exercising power and tried to hold ministers responsible. This is not the whole story, of course, for the parties became corrupt, under the corruption of the great business firms, and it was easy later to use this to discredit parties and Parliaments.

But the culmination came when a great liberal Minister of Finance, Yunnosuke Inouye, sought to cut the army budget and another great liberal, Kijuro Shidehara, sought to conduct the foreign relations of Japan with regard to the rights of China and the obligations of treaties with America and Europe. This was too much for militarist endurance. Inouye was murdered and Shidehara driven into seclusion. The coup at Mukden, which seized Manchuria, followed, and was as much a move in domestic politics—to make it forever impossible for any mere civil minister to curtail the army budget—as it was a part of the long time army policy to seize a convenient opportunity to transform economic privilege in Manchuria to political control. The story is too long to tell here—this writer was there, and knows more than it is pleasant to recall about it—but the world now recognizes that it was the beginning of the end of the dream of collective peace on earth. The free peoples of the earth have learned, also, by this time, that without collective peace, there is no peace.

It is a bare ten years from those few shots and much treachery in Mukden to the events of the past few days which have plunged the entire world into war, but all the events of those ten years constitute one war. From this breakdown of good faith between men and the rule of law among nations has come the present assault on everything else which once kept the world partially civilized.

It was this coup at Mukden that made Hitler possible. It was Hitler who made the Japanese try to realize the dream of universal conquest at least a full generation before Japan would have ventured it alone. Now a busy newspaper man, writing in the rush of today’s news, dares not even predict the news of tomorrow, much less what will happen before this can be read. But we all know that we are at Armageddon, in the supreme struggle of all time. It is perhaps a pity to have lived long enough and close enough to it to have watched it all develop, to have foreseen what was coming, to have been one of those who struggled to prevent it, and now to have a front seat at the final tragic struggle.

This Side the Golden Gate

Here on the Pacific Coast we have understood it, perhaps earlier than others, but now no better than others. We all know it now, and we shall all pay now, in billions
of treasure and floods of blood, and perhaps the wreckage of institutions and the nullification of the values we and our fathers have cherished—pay for not having stopped it in time, for the price of a drop of ink, and for lack of the courage, the foresight, and the good faith to live up to the pledges signed in that ink.

The first continental blow, if it falls at all, will fall on us here west of the Rockies. That is a small matter. We can take it, as others, no better than we, have already done. What are a few bombs compared to the vast calamity which half an armed world now threatens to inflict on the other half, with the avowed intent to set back mankind for more than a thousand years.

Close at home we have, too, the problem of our own Japanese. Fortunately, in the sand-lot days when the cry was "The Chinese must go!" we had no foreign war to complicate local gangsterism. Now, in spite of some remnants of that racial caste which is the bane of America, the Chinese are popular. Their third generation, now growing up, is as American in everything but physical features as we are, and if on the issues of this war they are passionately pro-Chinese—so are we, and we honor our Chinese for it. They share the popularity of their nation, and only the old can remember when throwing stale vegetables at the Chinese was a boyhood sport.

Fortunately, too, our Japanese have had time partly to go through this same course of assimilation. Their *nisei*, native-born citizens, are Americanized in language and manner, and if the remnant of racial caste still makes them a community more or less apart, that is our fault, not theirs. Many of them are now serving in our army, and many of the others are organizing patriotic societies, rendering to this land of their birth more loyalty than we have earned of them. The older Japanese have gradually found their several places in the community. If it were not for the misdeeds of the army of their native country, their own generally excellent conduct would have won for them and for their descendants the place which the Chinese, by one generation more of similar conduct, have already won for themselves.

But there will also be Japanese individuals, *issei* (there-born) and *nisei* (here-born) who will act as Fifth Columnists, and may be dangerous. There are Germans and Italians of the same sort, but they do not bear the mark of visible race. A good American citizen of German ancestry goes about his business like any other good American. Nobody notices the difference unless he shows it by his conduct. But every Japanese, good or bad, is visibly a Japanese; and if there comes a wave of hysteria, caused by the conduct of some Japanese, there are precedents in every country for the psychology that would visit anger on them all.

I am glad to report that, so far, there has been no evidence of any such feeling. For their part, Japanese loyal to the United States, are organizing excellently and vigorously. Old-line Americans, under the highest quality of responsible leadership, are doing the same thing. The actually disloyal we leave to the FBI and the military police, to be dealt with as individuals, like any other disloyal individuals. On this basis, if we all keep our heads, there may be little for either of these agencies to do, but they are ready. It is our ambition not to follow, toward our fellow Californians of Japanese race, the bad example set by some Japanese militarists at Tientsin and elsewhere in China, toward legal residents there of European and American race. We who know our California Japanese as individuals know what fine people many of them are, and who know them also in Japan, know how fine and constructive a people they could have been, for the better bridging of the two halves of humanity, if the Japanese government could but have continued under those who really represented the people.

It is the tragedy of the ages that this did not happen. Now God see us through it! And may we have the faith, the courage, and the unity to see it through, no matter what the cost, to the end that, when it is over, the peoples of the earth may once more live together. That they may live together in the peace and decency and respect for each other's rights which representatives of all of them have shown is easily possible, in the once-free conditions of this our once-happy land.

For surely tyrants will not forever ride the earth, to trample under all that makes humanity human. Only the faith that truth and right and justice are eternal can uphold us now.

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**Axis Aliens in America**

by FRANCIS BIDDLE, Attorney General of the United States

(See prophetic article under same title by Earl G. Harrison, Survey Graphic for September, 1941)

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**Statement of Policy Issued December 19, 1941**

The United States is now at war. Every American will share in the task of defending our country. It is essential at such a time as this that we keep our heads, keep our tempers—above all, that we keep clearly in mind what we are defending.

The enemy has attacked more than the soil of America. He has attacked our institutions, our freedoms, the principles on which this nation was founded and has grown to greatness. Every American must remember that the war we wage today is in defense of these principles. It therefore behooves us to guard them most zealously at home.

There are living in the United States today aliens who make up only 3.5 percent of our total population. These aliens for the most part are here legally and are loyal to this country's institutions. Many of them are "aliens" in the technical sense of the word only. Four out of five of them have family ties in this country—most cases, American-born children. Forty percent of those eligible for citizenship have already taken steps to become American citizens. A substantial number of our aliens are ineligible for citizenship either because they are under eighteen years of age or because they have been here for less than the two years' residence required of citizenship applicants, or for other technical reasons.

The great majority of our alien population will continue to be loyal to our democratic principles if we, the citizens of the United States, permit them to be. As a matter of justice and out of duty to our country and to our own institutions we must, therefore, foster their loyalty. (Continued on page 47.)

JANUARY 1942
Church People in the Crisis

by MARGARET G. BONDFIELD

How these last twelve months have witnessed a new force for unity throughout England in the amazing popular response to an outgiving of faith and purpose at Christmastide of 1940—by the first woman to hold the presidency of the British Trades Union Congress, first to be a Cabinet member.

The strength of the movement clearly lies in the fact that it was not forced upon the churches but emanates from them. For half a century and more trade unionists have reproached the churches on their slowness in espousing the betterment of conditions of life and labor. Many have been the times we have been disheartened in our efforts to carry the membership of church bodies along with us.

Now, first had come Pope Pius XII, striking out for the rights of all nations to life and independence, the deliverance of all peoples from slavery to force or tyranny or injustice; and taking his stand that no permanent peace is possible “unless the principles of the Christian religions are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life.” And next, his British contemporaries, representing three great branches of that religion, accepted these basic principles for a better ordering of the world and capped them with “five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested.” Their yardsticks, as you would phrase it on this side of the Atlantic, have to do with abolishing extremes in wealth and throwing open equal opportunities for education; with safeguarding the family; with recognizing the new status of work; and with handling natural resources as “God’s gifts to the whole human race.”

The Hour No Less Than the Message

At any other juncture, such an outgiving by clerical leaders might have been received by the British public with a certain amount of skepticism. This one, however, followed close on the heels of the Battle of London and with the blitz in other parts of the country. Those were days and nights when clergymen and priests, ministers and church workers, strove and suffered heroically, sharing with the general population all the difficulties and dangers of their ordeal from the skies.

I cannot do better than share an intimate glimpse of this an ambulance driver wrote me after a very bad time in her neighborhood:

You will be sorry to hear that we have been again bombed out. Fortunately no loss of life, but all our ambulances and cars were destroyed. Two or three of our unit were injured, and over-sewed member Margaret (who had 270 stitches put
in her back) now back on duty, has a bad broken arm. Notwithstanding cuts and blastings, one of the girls drove the casualties to hospital in the only ambulance that had its engine going, although its top and sides had been blasted away. The Vicar’s first comment when he rushed around to see if we were all right was, “I must at once find a place in which to continue holding early special communion for you.” His church was blasted to the ground.

These men of the churches proved themselves. Small wonder the civilians who for twelve months and more had worked side by side with them were ready to listen to them now and to those who spoke for them in the words of moderator and archbishops, cardinal and pope; all the more because their formulation of things to come was not couched in other-wordliness but held out hopes for a wartorn earth.

The Background of Wartime Service

The popular response to their expression of faith and purpose will be better understood if I run back over the preceding twelve months and trace the growth of an even broader collaboration in works.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, a joint committee sprang up from a sense of the imperative need to safeguard the spiritual heritage of the nation in the administration of the new emergency agencies. Seven members were drawn from the National Council of Social Service; eleven from the churches. Of these last, seven were appointed by the Commission on International Friendship and Social Responsibility, as representatives of the Anglican and Free Churches. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster appointed two; and the chief Rabbi of England, two. The Bishop of London is chairman; and Sir Wyndham Deedes, who has been active in the Council of Social Service and the settlement movement, vice chairman.

This central churches’ group is duplicated in all the large cities of the country. So important has become their collaboration with local authorities that the Minister of Information has issued a special document recording their experiences and indicating the directions in which ministers of religion have found their help most effective.

The Ten Points of the British Churches

Joint Declaration

By the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, by Cardinal Hinsley, and the Rev. W. H. Armstrong, Moderator of the Free Church Council; as brought out in December, 1940.

The present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God.

We accept the five points of Pope Pius XII as carrying out this principle:

1. The assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence. The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence of death passed upon another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, attacked, or threatened, order demands that reparation shall be made, and the measure and extent of that reparation is determined, not by the sword nor by the arbitrary decision of self-interest, but by the rules of justice and reciprocal equity.

2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognized need revise and correct them.

4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be thus laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.

5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that sense of deep and keen responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolable standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal.

With these basic principles for the ordering of the international life we would associate five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested:

1. Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished.

2. Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities.

3. The family as a social unit must be safeguarded.

4. The sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man’s daily work.

5. The resources of the earth should be used as God’s gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

We are confident that the principles which we have enumerated would be accepted by rulers and statesmen throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations and would be regarded as the true basis on which a lasting peace could be established.
They must not only be acquainted with the personnel of local administration, but have a working knowledge of the various means and measures for handling relief after a raid. They assist in tracing church members, organize temporary places of worship, and attend the mortuary and casualty bureaus. There, during the long hours of waiting by anxious relatives, they help frame inquiries and keep up courage.

Not only the strain of the blackout but the drive for continuous war production are apt to make people jittery. Workers arriving in strange towns, often late at night and sometimes during an air raid, have to be met and the difficulties of lodgings overcome. In all these matters the knowledgeable minister or clergyman is gladly welcomed as a colleague by the officials.

This, then, was the setting in which the "Ten Points" were brought out and that in which this past year they have been seeded down in discussion within and without the churches.

There has been special significance in the fact that groups which hitherto had remained severely uncommunicative now broke down the old barriers. Had not the Pope not only given his own communicants a lead which ranged far, but presented us all, from archbishops and moderator to the average Englishman, with something that everyone could turn over in mind and imagination? More, it was not too much to say that the traditional aloofness of the Church of England toward the rest of the Christian community had been blown up by the blitz. Times that tried men's souls drew together the nonconformists, who themselves had been divided between the school that had been for lassiez faire in economics and liberal in politics, and the more radical group, most Wesleyans, who had profoundly influenced the early days of the labor movement.

In their extremely practical and thorough application of religion to their own people, a minority of the churches had always given a shining example to the rest of us, particularly in the loving care of the family unit. Now they were to discover new points in common through cooperative effort in the crisis that spread mutual confidence no less than the spirit of tolerance. A sense of fundamental unity has made itself felt strong enough to override old differences.
Over the years, in every Christian sect there had been individual leaders and groups who had made characteristic contributions to the general welfare. Thus the Church of England produced its Canon Barnett, who founded Toynbee Hall in London’s East End and started the worldwide settlement movement. It was among the Anglicans, also, that the Christian Socialists had made greatest headway in their day. The Wesleyans have a great record of social striving. Many a labor leader, like Arthur Henderson, has been one of their lay preachers. Years ago, in the great dockers strike led by John Burns, it was a cardinal of the Catholic Church who gave countenance to the workers in their struggle for social justice.

There were echoes of his spirit when only recently Cardinal Hinsley spoke straight from the shoulder in the midst of the struggle which has engulfed all Europe. He said: “No one who knows how anti-Christian the ideas and practices of the Nazis are, will for one moment be deceived by Hitler’s latest pose as the champion of European civilization, or that it has become in any way less vital to resist his attempt to enslave the continent.”

It was the senior Archbishop of the Church of England, Dr. Lang of Canterbury, who took a kindred position when, with the invasion of Russia, he denounced the Nazi pretense of a holy war.

As Moderator of the Free Church Council, the Rev. Walter H. Armstrong represents a very large number of denominations, including the Baptists, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, and other nonconformist bodies. More than any of his three colleagues, his participation registered the span of the new team play.

In a special sense, however, it has been William Temple, Archbishop of York, who has caught the public imagination with his leadership. He is known as a great commoner. He has not only been a friend of the labor movement but, as chairman of the Workers Educational Association, has contributed unstintedly to this development for the democratization of learning. Before the war he was chairman, also, of the BBC advisory council, and his own lectures over the air foreshadowed his part in the present crisis, for they were a plea for the application of Christian principles to the solution of social and economic problems.

The Leaven at Work

Within three weeks after the issuance of the "Ten Points," Archbishop Temple held at Malvern a conference of bishops, clergy, and laity which adopted an even more insurgent document for consideration within the Church of England.

In turn, its conclusions were rated so highly by the Labor Party that it issued a special note for speakers about it. These notes are distributed throughout the constituent unions and local party groups, giving specific information about subjects which the executive regards as important for general discussion within the labor movement. Let me single out some extracts from these notes:

The (Archbishop’s) conference was called to consider how Christian thought can be shaped to play a leading part in postwar reconstruction. The document began with the declaration that the church could never commit itself to any proposed change in the structure of society as being a self-sufficient means of salvation. But it could point to those features of existing society which were contrary to divine justice and act as stumbling blocks, making it harder for men to lead Christian lives.

To quote from the document itself:

In our present situation we believe that the maintenance of that part of the structure of our society by which the ultimate ownership of the principal industrial resources of the community can be vested in the hands of private owners may be such a stumbling block. On the one hand, it may deprive the poorest members of the community of the essentials of life. On the other hand, while the resources can be so owned, men will strive for their ownership for themselves. As a consequence, if a way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive will remain, it is contrary to God’s plan for mankind. The time has come for Christians to proclaim the need for striving toward a form of society in which, while the essential values of the individual human personality are preserved, the continuance of these abuses will be no longer possible.
Thus it will be seen that the conclusions of the Malvern conference on this fundamental issue ranged alongside the Labor Party's long advocacy of public ownership and control of essential services and raw material. The Labor notes go on to say that: "Recommendations concerning the church's attitude toward monetary policy, the rights of labor in industry, the revival of agriculture, and other questions are being examined in cooperation with economists, businessmen, and labor representatives."

Let me draw on my own experience for some personal testimony as to the response to the "Ten Points." I have been asked to take part in discussion of them on several occasions. Thus the Bishop of Chichester organized eight public meetings in the largest hall in Brighton. They were held on consecutive Saturday afternoons, and each time the hall was filled to overflowing. The audience was not in any sense a picked one; it fairly represented the whole town, and included many who were without church affiliation. The questions were of a sort which registered intense interest—for example, on the application of Christian principles to India; on the solution of unemployment and the prevention of war.

In the north of England, a week's mission I took part in had for its principal speakers a bishop, a cabinet minister, a trade unionist, a doctor, a scientist. Some of the meetings were held in the town hall, others in churches or chapels. In the west of England I found a similar week of discussion had an equally wide platform. Luncheons here and elsewhere were organized at which speakers were asked particularly to address themselves to the businessmen present and to cover the whole range of wartime production and commercial activities. This stood for a rapprochement between the churches and the industrial world which of course includes both the employers and the workers.

Searchings of the Human Spirit

There remains to bring out how as time goes on the movement gathers headway and—shall I say—heart way, because the Ten Points reach through to some of the deepest searchings of the human spirit among English folk as they muster defense for their island against mechanized aggression in its most ruthless forms. Yet the point which one would wish to underline is that throughout all the discussions there is almost universal agreement concerning the threat to personality implicit in the underlying struggle with the Hitler philosophy. That is regarded as nothing less than a direct challenge to Christianity.

Moreover, there is something lifting and broadening no less than searching in the recognition that, taken together, the Ten Points afford a welcome trellis work for thinking in terms of the peace to come, in ways that are consonant with the invertebrate Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man. And this holds both for the five points in the international panel and for the five in domestic standards.

Thus, the first point of all is a subject of immense controversy throughout the world. But the stand taken by the British churches can mean nothing less than that, in defeat, Germany is to have a square deal; that, in the Pope's words, her right to life and independence is to be regarded—but that her will is never again to be a death sentence passed upon another nation.

Thus, when we come to the second group there is the demand, which to my mind has never been made with such force, that every child, regardless of race or class, shall have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities. That marks more of a forward step in social thinking on the part of British church people than perhaps American readers realize. Without underestimating the worldwide reputation of Oxford and Cambridge, let me point out that Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, Newcastle have expanding universities. We have a network of provincial colleges and universities which could be used far more freely than they are to equalize the educational opportunities of our children. As things stand, our British system at the present time is sharply divided into working class education, which for 85 percent of our children ends at the age of fourteen plus. For only a very small class does education keep up to between sixteen and twenty-five. This is due not only to a wrong conception of education which it is hard to break down in a society as old in tradition as ours; it is a lamentable failure to recognize the waste of good material due to lack of education.*

Looking Ahead

There is no doubt, as I see it, but that this stirring of new life in the churches, with its practical application both to the troubles and suffering of today, and to objectives for tomorrow, will not only continue to be a strength to the country during the war, but will help to prepare the necessary moral and spiritual force required to insure the making of a just and lasting peace.

The momentum of the movement will be enhanced in 1942 by a series of reports embodying the findings of the discussions and debates which are taking place throughout the country. Meanwhile the Ten Points are acting as a leaven, which should leaven the whole lump of our political thinking. More, in every quarter where the post-war world is being discussed—in religious, civilian, scientific, literary or industrial circles—the statement by the churches keeps to the fore that the foundation of peace must be spiritual as well as material and that the spiritual force must help to mold material conditions so that mankind may reach higher levels of living.

One mayhap quote from one's self, and so I conclude with this paragraph from a little pamphlet, "Why Labor Fights":

"We have our eyes open wide to the dangers ahead, and yet we hold the faith that out of this bitter experience will come strength and unity to those nations whose purpose is to build a sane and rational system of international relationships—a new social order founded on security from war, which accepts the fact that we are dependent upon one another, and that will make room for revision and for growth; in which all the fine traditions will be preserved, and the liberties gained by so much suffering are freely extended. For is not that the meaning of the Christian way of life?—that no matter what evil faces us, we can by the power of the spirit, turn that evil thing into a new opportunity for the deepening of life itself.

It is this vital factor which regards the individual as important and entitled by divine sanction to respect from society, that is recognized in democratic states. It is therefore those states alone that can build the things that endure; while dictatorial states have their hour of glory and perish in the dust."

* In the United States, only six out of each twenty-eight children who enter school ever go beyond the elementary grades; fewer than 3 percent enter college.— Editor.
Wage Policies and Price Trends

by ISADOR LUBIN

Why prices have gone up, and why they must be controlled. And why wartime price controls make wage freezing unnecessary (even if wage freezing were feasible or desirable, which the author doubts).

The question of wage policy is part and parcel of the question of prices. We have heard much in recent months about inflationary trends and price control, and whenever prices are mentioned someone is sure to raise the question of wages. The logic is simple: about 65 percent of the national income goes to wages and salaries, hence most people automatically assume that 65 percent goes to labor. But this conclusion overlooks the fact that 65 percent includes the salaries of all the corporation officials in the United States, which together bulk fairly large. However, the fact remains that labor cost is a major factor in determining consumer prices. So, the argument continues, "Can you fix prices without at the same time controlling the wages paid to labor?"

The story of prices during periods comparable to the present has been much the same throughout recorded history. In each major crisis or national crisis prices always start to go up before wages. By the time the peak of the price rise is reached, many workers receive less in terms of goods and services than they did at the beginning. Hence, periods of emergency have always reduced the real income of wage earners—their money buys fewer clothes, less food, fewer services than at the beginning of the price rise.

Figures for government employees in the District of Columbia, for example, show that these workers took a loss of about 28 percent in their standard of living in the last war, despite the fact that they had two wage increases during that emergency period. In many important industries, labor throughout the world suffered a loss in living standards as a result of price changes during the 1914-18 emergency. In general only the workers in strategic industries are able to gain during a crisis, while all those with relatively stable salaries or wages stand to lose.

Chart 1 shows the emergency price pattern. [See page 20.] This chart covers three war periods of American history. During the war of 1812, the price level jumped from about 100 to 150. During the Mexican war there was little rise in prices, because that war was localized. But the Civil War and the last World War show very marked price rises. August 1939, the first month of the present war, saw a sudden rise of almost 30 percent in the prices of basic commodities—raw materials, various imported materials, copper, zinc, steel scrap, wool (Chart 2). Those prices leveled out late in 1939; toward the end of the summer of 1940, they were only about 5 percent above where they were when war was declared.

But when defense began to assume an important part in our economy, those basic commodities started upward again. By September 1941, their prices were about 35 percent above the level of July 1939. In the last two months there has been some tendency for basic commodity prices to level off, but they are still 54 percent higher than in the fall of 1939.

Did Wages Push Prices Up?

Now, how much had wages to do with these price increases? The significant thing is that the commodities that went up the fastest were commodities in which labor cost is relatively unimportant in the cost of production. The goods chiefly affected were imported commodities, certain industrial raw materials, and agricultural products. Their price rise in the early days of the war was entirely independent of wages.

I need not repeat to you the story of the hysterical buying in September 1939. The price of sugar at retail went sky high. There were runs on other commodities and their prices went up. The cost of these basic commodities went up 30 percent immediately after the outbreak of the present war. During those weeks, the actual hourly earnings of factory workers increased only one half of one percent. In fact, it was not until April 1941, that there was any marked shift in the wage structure of this country. If we take the first nineteen months of the war—August 1939 to March 1941—we have the interesting situation of an increase of about 35 percent in these basic commodity prices, and an increase of about 7 percent in hourly earnings (not wage rates) of factory workers.

Three factors account for that 7 percent increase in hourly earnings between August 1939 and March 1941:

1) Overtime work, which meant that for the additional hours of work, wage earners got 50 percent more per hour.
2) Shifts in the type of employment, with a larger proportion of skilled workers on the payroll, and hence a higher average for the whole group.
3) Wage increases.

In terms of money, that 7 percent rise means an average increase of four and one-half cents per hour. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that about two cents of that increase was due to wage increases, the balance to the change in the make-up of the labor force, and to overtime.

Since April there have been significant increases both in wage rates, and in hourly earnings, but those changes have been very uneven, from region to region, from industry to industry, even from plant to plant.

The cost of living has gone up about 10 percent since the war began. Against that figure, Chart 3 shows what has happened to hourly earnings, including overtime, and all other factors. For example, in the telephone and telegraph industries the actual hourly earnings per worker have increased three-tenths of one percent. In printing and publishing, they have gone up 2.2. In electric light and power, 4.3. In baking, about 8 percent. Cotton goods earnings increased 23 percent; engines, 24 percent; shipbuilding, about 22 percent. That fan shows the
irregularity of the wage changes. It shows, too, that nobody, for example, can attribute the rise in the price of meat to wage increases in that industry, because actual hourly earnings, including overtime, are only 7 percent higher than at the beginning of the war period.

In general, I think we can honestly conclude: first, that the wages that have gone up the most since August 1939 were for goods in which labor costs were relatively unimportant; second, that in most instances of wage increases, prices rose before wages went up, so that the industry had a cushion for the higher wages.

I think the best example of a cushion to absorb wage increases is the case of steel. That industry had a ten-cent wage increase last spring and everybody expected a big increase in the price of steel. The price administrator, however, notified the steel corporations that they would be expected to keep their prices just where they were for three months, until the effects of the wage increase were clear. If you look at the earnings reports of all these steel companies you will find they are not paying ten cents an hour more than they did last spring, selling their product at approximately the same price as before they increased wages, and showing an operating profit greater than in 1940.

The answer is simple: they are working at full capacity. Their savings on overhead, savings that are due in most instances to defense orders, more than offset the increased cost due to wage increases. [See "Time and Money," by Merle D. Vincent, in Survey Graphic for November, page 621.]

But once plants are operating at 90 to 95 percent of capacity, these savings do not increase; beyond that point, higher wages are reflected in labor costs, and higher labor costs, in the price of goods. Many plants that have been able to pay higher wages without increasing costs now are working to capacity. In such plants, further wage increases would be likely to lead to higher prices and hence to higher cost of living for those who buy their product.

Tracking Down the Real Cost of Wages

Another point on which there seems to be much current confusion is that higher wages do not necessarily mean a proportionate increase in the cost of the product. In other words a 10 percent increase in wages does not mean a 10 percent increase in cost. That ought to be self-evident, because labor costs are only one factor in total costs, which include taxes, rent, insurance, interest, raw materials, equipment, transportation, and so on. The actual cost of labor in terms of total cost is likely to run anywhere from 8 percent to 60 percent depending upon the type of product made. This means that if labor represents 20 percent of the cost of operation and wages go up 50 percent, total costs go up 10 percent. It seems to be very difficult for people to grasp the fact that an increase in wage rates does not mean a proportionate increase in total costs.

There is a further fact we have to bear in mind—the variation in process as between plants. Take, for example, the actual cost of labor in assembling an automobile. This labor cost will vary from plant to plant, depending upon how much assembly work is done, and how much actual manufacture of parts. Some plants do very little more than an assembly job and the wages paid in that plant may constitute only 10 to 20 percent of the selling price of the car. In such a set-up, the important wage changes are not those which occur in the company itself, but the changes in wages paid by its suppliers. A 10 percent wage change in the
Flexible Wages and Mobile Manpower

Even when people figure the share of wages in total costs correctly, they tend to forget that labor costs are not necessarily proportioned to wage rates, that an increase in wage rate may even mean a lower labor cost per unit. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has the evidence of that in the detailed study it made of wage increases in several large manufacturing plants. These studies clearly showed that the actual labor cost per unit did not parallel increases in wage rates, and in some instances even went down.

The reason for this is, that in buying labor you are not buying a standardized product. A ton of copper at $24 a ton meets certain specifications. Whether it is bought in New York or in Utah, delivered in Chicago, Charleston, or Denver, it has a definite content. A 20 percent increase in that price means a 20 percent increase in the cost of copper. But when you increase what you pay for an hour of labor, from $1 to $1.20, you may get more for $1.20 in terms of units of output than you got for a dollar.

On the other hand, to freeze wages may increase labor costs, because, in that case, the dollar an hour paid for labor may buy less output than it did before wages were frozen. If the average employee knows his wage is fixed, knows that he cannot get more than a dollar an hour for his job during the emergency, how will he work as compared with a man who knows that if all hands pitch in and speed things up, the boss will make more and he himself can share in the extra profit through a higher wage rate? This, rather than "frozen" wages, is likely to increase output and cut unit costs.

Another fact has to be borne in mind in discussing wages. In this country, we always have used the pulling effect of higher wages to move labor—to get workers on their own initiative to go to where they are needed most. So far, we have found no other way to get people to shift from non-defense to defense industries.

The British, on the other hand, have eliminated freedom of movement in industry. If they want people to go to a defense plant, they do not offer a higher wage rate; they just tell them to go there. Under such a system, wage rates are important only insofar as they affect the efficiency and morale of the workers. In return for limiting freedom of movement, the British have said to the worker: "Once you get a job in this plant, that job is guaranteed to you. You cannot be fired." Moreover, his earnings are guaranteed. The only way to get rid of a man in one of these plants is to prove to Ministry of Labor officials that he has been interfering with production or is inefficient. In general the employment of defense workers is guaranteed for the duration of the emergency, in return for their loss of freedom to move. Second, the British have guaranteed a minimum wage in all plants where the system of compulsory transfers is in effect—either the trade union rate, or the rate prevailing in that industry, whichever is higher.

Until this country is ready to make some similar arrangement only the inducement of higher wages will get workers voluntarily to shift from one type of industry to another to meet the requirements of all-out production.

In considering wage fixing and prices, we must realize that we already have voluntary wage fixing in this country. Employers sit down with their unions, and negotiate a contract. A wage rate is set for the term of the contract, seldom with any reference to prices. In contracts which include cost of living adjustments, these provisions, too, are open to negotiations only at specified intervals.

Irrespective of what happens to the prices of what they buy, or what they make, seven or eight million workers have a fixed wage structure, lasting usually for a year. In other words, the prices of the output of these plants are permitted to move freely, while labor voluntarily through these collective agreements, in return for other things, has accepted a fixed wage structure for the life of the contract.

The Difficulty of "Freezing" Wages

Most people agree that current change in the price structure makes necessary some control over the prices of things you and I have to buy. Otherwise, the cost of living will reflect what is happening to wholesale prices. Once the wholesale price level forces up retail prices and the cost of living, general wage increases in this country will become imperative. There is no other way out, except a general lowering of the standard of living.

The woolen industry affords a clear picture of price
trends (Chart 4). Now, the cost of wool is an important factor in the price of a man's suit, and some day soon either wool has to come down or suits have to go up, if the industry is going to continue to exist.

Or take the case of food (Chart 5). There is a very important lag between wholesale and retail prices despite the fact that retail prices of food, as the chart shows, have gone up about 18 percent since August 1939.

Or take the case of cotton goods (Chart 6). Unless something is done to bring about a reduction of cotton and print cloth prices, retail prices of percale dresses will have to go up.

Turn back to Chart 2. Here we see clearly that either wholesale prices must come down or the cost of living has to go up. Perhaps we shall be forced to accept the only other alternative, and cut our standard of living. I, for one, would rather cut it voluntarily through buying defense bonds than to do it by being forced to pay $2 tomorrow for something for which I paid $1 yesterday.

The question is this: Do we want rigid wage ceilings fixed by law, or are we going to continue to bargain about wages under a ceiling set by the profits of companies selling at fixed prices? For if we fix prices, we automatically fix a maximum limit to wages.

This country recently has seen how this works in times of falling prices and profits. During the early thirties, labor generally realized there was nothing out of which to pay an increase and did not demand higher wages. Occasionally, labor leadership is so shortsighted as to be willing to destroy an industry by attempting to force arbitrary raises, but by and large, labor, if it has the facts, adjusts its demand to what the traffic can bear. I believe the same thing is going to be true if we establish price fixing, limiting what a manufacturer can get for a pair of shoes or a sack of flour.

On the other hand, if, after prices are fixed, increased efficiency produces a surplus to play with, there is no doubt that labor is going to demand its share of that surplus. The fact remains that to fix the price that a manufacturer can get for the things he makes in a sense fixes an upper limit to what he can pay in wages. Thereafter wage negotiation centers not on what the manufacturer can add to his price out of the public's pocket, but on how much there is to share, leaving enough for reasonable profits, overhead, and equipment.

The whole question of prices and wages is now before the American public. The price-fixing bills are up for discussion in Congress. From many directions there comes the demand that, if prices are to be fixed, wages must be fixed. In this connection, there is a final point I want to make: Administratively, how can wages be fixed by law? Take a concrete illustration. General Motors has some 1,300 wage classifications. Within each wage classification are breakdowns for different types of skill, reflecting slightly different processes. In all there are over 20,000 different wage rates.

If you freeze wages by law would you freeze all 20,000, just where they are, so the fellow getting 75 cents an hour continues to get 75 cents an hour, and the fellow next to him gets 85 cents? Normally, every time there is a change in process, every time there is a grievance, the grievance committee seeks some adjustment, up or down. Those adjustments have been found necessary to maintain morale and output. Are all those differentials to be frozen? What will be the effect?

Then there are the geographical differentials. For example, two men do exactly the same work in plants owned by the same company, one in Detroit, one in Buffalo—the same product, the same process. There may be as much as five cents an hour difference between the two jobs. Are you going to freeze all existing differentials between Buffalo and Detroit, or between Los Angeles and Detroit, or between the South and the North?

In an economy such as ours, wage relationships always are changing. There is nothing really scientific about a wage structure under free enterprise. Wages are a matter of adjustment, of looking at the facts and arriving at some sort of conclusion that works. That process is fundamental to a voluntary system of collective bargaining.

Once these wages are fixed by law, you face a whole series of problems—differentials between skills; differentials between men and women; differentials between cities, between geographical areas.

To summarize the whole question of prices, I think, will permit some definite conclusions.

First, prices are on their way up and moving relatively fast, though during the last two months (October and November) there has been a tendency for wholesale prices to increase less rapidly. The biggest increase came in the early stages of the war; the climb started again last winter, and since February, particularly, there have been very marked increases.

Second, most of those price increases cannot be attributed to labor costs. Prices went up before wages increased. In some industries, prices have risen in anticipation of wage increases, and wages have not yet gone up.

Third, when wages increase,
they do not give rise to anything like proportionate increases in total costs. In other words, a 10 percent increase in wages usually means increases in costs from 2 to 5 percent—in some industries even less.

**Fourth**, in an important segment of the economy, wages already are fixed through collective bargaining.

**Fifth**, by fixing prices, we shall in fact fix some sort of maximum wage levels, by limiting the amount the employer can pay.

**Finally**, if wages are frozen, is it administratively possible to shift more and more workers to defense industries, and to handle the problem of differentials?

**Morale and Fairness**

When you pay for an hour's labor, you are not buying a standardized product. The labor market is not a one-price market. Labor, doing a given job, may get $1 in one city, $1.50 in the next city, and $1.30 in a third. Because of a whole series of differentials, different people doing the same type of work get different wage rates. Facing that situation, can we say that the existing wage structure is sufficiently perfected to justify our freezing wages where they are, with all existing differentials?

Or shall we accept American experience which indicates that the only way to get efficiency and high morale is to let management and labor iron out these questions in the day-by-day round through negotiations, committees, and voluntary adjustments? So long as labor limits its demands for wage increases to amounts which can be paid without further increasing prices, it seems to me there can be only one answer. So far, the evidence shows that wage demands in most instances have been made with reference to available profit surpluses, and have been a negligible factor in speeding the price spiral toward inflation.

JANUARY 1942
Once before the British had a hundred in the New York — Napoleon’s country. Such prints sold very good copies, and the spelling was of first rate.

The Corsican Conjurer raising the Plagues of Europe.

Selling the Skin before the Bear is caught, or cutting up the Bull before it is killed.
The ambition it was
to all Europe.

Europe only
Britain was
a group of
British Galleries

Though the

I must extend to
Napoleon, the
Napoleonic arms
not fixed

with

Bonaparte

addressing the
Legislature.
The charge, often heard now, that the Department of Agriculture, through Triple-A, helps push farmers off the land with one arm, and seeks with another arm, the Farm Security Administration, to anchor them on the land anew—is an old story to M. L. Wilson. It does not bother him if you suggest that there are conflicts between programs to subsidize large scale commercial agriculture, on the one hand, and programs to subsidize subsistence farming on the other. Although he invented the first working model for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, he has never been among the apologists who seek to deny that working very roughly, Triple-A tended to shore up, for instance, what remains of the South’s plantation system, and to add somewhat to human displacements from the land.

This, ironically, became a greater problem when a liberal element in the Department of Agriculture succeeded in getting some division of Adjustment payments between landlord and tenants. A business way out of that for landlords is simply to reduce share-tens to day-hands and bring in more machines.

As a leading social inventor, with Tugwell and others, of the Department’s Farm Security Administration, Wilson knows plenty about that side of the picture too. The clash of current discord carries him back to the first World War years when the first tractors and combines on constantly enlarging holdings crowded and for the most part swept away the old time family farm in Montana. Newer, faster tractors and mechanical corn pickers and other great implements are doing much the same in the Corn Belt and other parts of the country now. “Out in Montana,” says Wilson, “we went through the whole thing in a whirlwind. We had to stop and ask ourselves: Suppose we got the biggest farms, the biggest and best machinery, the highest technical efficiency imaginable—where would we be?” There seemed only one possible answer: “Technological displacement, technological efficiency, would continue; but this other kind of thing, subsistence farming sustained by part time industry, had to be given a place.”

Philosophy, which used to be his stay and sideline during the hard years in Montana, comes close to being Wilson’s main line now. Amid the dimensions and stir of a great churning epoch, with America developing a democratic collective agriculture; amid all the administrative battles which tend to centralize federal controls, on the one hand, and on the other hand to decentralize them, keep them personal and local—Wilson maintains a remarkable calm. He is a planner, but not of the blueprint order. His planning always has people in it. And the first thing to be noted about him, he always insists in any discussion of the subject, is that he is “a deeply religious man.” His approach to religion is philosophic, the comparative approach. “If you come at it that way,” he argues, “you get a slant on religion as a universal instinct in man.” The corollary to that, you will find as he carries you on into what he calls “the more pragmatic side” of his argument, is simply fundamental democratic dogma: The voice of the people is the voice of God. The truly extraordinary thing about Wilson as a national planner is that he not only believes this devoutly, but he has always planned and acted as if he did.

Nine years in Washington has changed him very little at heart. He is definitely a Westerner. He likes to sit easy, talk easy, wear clothes and shoes that are broken in so that they fit slack and easy. The eastern mode is to buy them that way in the first place, with a lounging country club effect, and then go to no end of pressing and valeting to maintain the effect. The western mode is to take what is generally offered, rather stiffly modelled, break it in and go right on living in it comfortably, once you have it conforming to your individual form and posture.

Home Folks in Washington

So it is with the social forms in official Washington. Few couples of high sub-cabinet rank or “grade” have remained as completely and unself-consciously themselves as Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Wilson. Assigned, late in 1936, as a writer to get some source facts on new trends in industrial-rural living, I was talking with Wilson in his office. He was Under Secretary of Agriculture at the time. It was a big office. The desk was almost bare and he had his legs all over it. One long arm was moving in large, leisurely gestures, describing variegated cycles of human experience. The other arm hung loosely to balance him comfortably at the steeply tilted angle of his desk chair. It happened to be a light day for him. He had asked that the phone be cut off for a half-hour or so. He was talking beautifully, clearly, colloquially, at his ease. The phone rang. This was the conversation:

“Why, hello! Hello, there, Mrs. Roosevelt! How are you? . . . That’s fine. . . . How’s the President? Has he been well too? . . . Well, now, there’s nothing we’d like better, but I’m afraid I’m just going to have to ask you to give us a rain check on that. You see, Mrs. Wilson and I, we’ve just sort of made it a rule for years to be at home together for Saturday suppers, and now that the children are home . . . Yes; surely; that’s right. We’re mighty grateful. . . . Any other time at all.”

He put the phone back on its bracket and returned to his subject. “Now, you take those old mill towns in New England . . .” A door flew open and in came two girl secretaries from the Office of the Secretary all in a dither. One of them had an open book in her hand. Part of the job which they enjoy is to listen in on all important calls, to and from The White House particularly. “Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson! you can’t do that!” they cried. There it was, in the book, the guide of official etiquette. They showed
him. "A White House invitation is a command," it said. Even if you are giving a dinner party yourself that night, with invitations out, you get some one else to sit at the head of your table as host, and go. Wilson read what they showed him and reassured them. "Now don't you worry," he told them, "it's all right. The woman who wrote that book, she knows the rules. But she doesn't know Mrs. Roosevelt."

**Taming the Bureaucratic Machine**

As Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and then as Under Secretary, Rex Tugwell attracted attention and aroused storms. In the same posts, and now as director of both agricultural extension and defense nutrition for the nation, Wilson has exerted a widening influence without ever becoming uncomfortably prominent. He came back as Wallace's assistant after ten months work on subsistence homesteads under Harold Ickes, at a time of high conflict in the Department of Agriculture between young urban liberals, centering around Jerome Frank, and old-line agrarians, centering around Chester Davis. The city-bred liberals, who looked for support principally to Tugwell, wanted the consumer protected as to prices. They wanted a crack-down on the big milk distributors and packers and other bulges in the distributive chain. They wanted to come down hard on child labor in agriculture, and to protect by methods however unprecedented in agriculture the rights of day-hands, sharecroppers and tenants. The old-line agrarians were for all these things, more or less, as a matter of principle; but they wanted most of all to go on with Triple-A as if it were a farm proprietors' strike that they were running, and to keep up the prices of commercial farm products. George Peek had stated the issue, as he saw it, with customary bluntness: "This," he said, "is the Department of Agriculture, not the Department of Everything." And: "I'm for the profit system, if they'll cut the farmers in." And as for the government taking over businesses, such as the milk business: "The government's got more hay down now than we can get up before it rains."

The result of the fight was helpful in the end. Even the most hardboiled Triple-A leader now recognizes that simply to put up farm prices does little good to the 50 percent of our farmers who receive less that 12 percent of the total farm income. The work of the Farm Security Administration, the liberal departures from strict price agrarianism represented in Milo Perkin's social distribution of crop surpluses, and the present tendency to promote general welfare according to the tenets of modern nutrition—all were accelerated by the clash of wills and outlooks which led to the "purge" of the Department in 1935. But it was a nasty fight while it lasted. National figures of headline importance could not so much as pass each other in the hallway without muttering four crisp monosyllables, and to see them using the same washroom and pretending that they did not know one another was one of the sights of the times.

Through it all Wallace and Wilson carried on, quite simply, an extraordinary job of mediation and education. Wallace broke off parley with one skilled outside contender by standing, with bent head, and saying somberly: "Unless we learn to treat one another fairly, this country is going to smash." Because of his greater freedom from office detail, and because he did not have to operate in that attributed air of formality, even of sanctity, which gathers around any flail-fledged cabinet member, Wilson did even more to compose the differences of excited men. His office door always stood open to any contender. He seemed to take no sides but to understand all sides. Men came to him tense and strained and went out laughing.
Some of his closest associates have tried from time to time to figure out how, without seeming effort, Wilson so often succeeds in bringing together persons of widely diverse temperaments and opinions and uniting their efforts and aims. He seems in such instances to enter into the equation as a sort of human catalytic agent which, as chemists know, itself remains unchanged. In a place where personal enmities flare as high and burn as steadily as they do in official Washington it is something of a mystery how Wilson has managed to oppose the ideas of as many resolute persons and keep them as friends. I think this is largely because there is no hate in him, no intellectual arrogance, no disdain. "He's the gentlest man I ever knew without being a bit sissy," one Department field man stated; and this was out in the Dust Bowl where men are Men.

Charged, as they had been since 1933, to remake the Department of Agriculture, all its field forces, and all the state colleges of agriculture and experiment stations, into an active and coordinated instrument of groundline national planning, Wallace and Wilson could not help sense a mounting trend toward rigidity and harshness in the plans. As a stay against the economic emergency arising from the loss of foreign markets, the Secretary had been charged with an enormous responsibility and power. Centralization of authority was increasing. Parley between Washington and the states would often get just so far, in the face of a state's increasing restlessness and resistance; and then, because time or patience lacked, the tendency would be to pass another executive miracle and drive straight through. An even more ominous sign was a tendency in almost any price emergency for rural commercial pressure groups to shout for democracy and in the same breath demand even more autocratic central control. It was not Washington that led the move to make participation in the cotton program compulsory; it was the Cotton South.

Educating the Department of Agriculture

Once a drowsily humming mill of information dedicated to peaceful research, teaching and demonstration, the Department of Agriculture now had actively entered the arena of price and land policies. It was in it up to the ears. The old set-up was not suited to the new functions. Preaching coordination to the states, the Department itself in this particular was in horrible shape. Clique rose against clique, office against office, bureau against bureau. And over it all there appeared, mounting, a somewhat terrifying tendency of rural pressure groups, long denied bounty, to demand more and more.

To humanize the material clash and the increasing class emphasis, Wallace and Wilson made a number of moves in the fields of the spirit as daring as their maneuvers toward a planned crop production democratically controlled. On funds privately contributed by the late Mrs. Mary Harriman Rumsey they brought to Washington the late "AE"—George Russell—the Irish poet and farm organizer. He read his poetry of evenings at Wallace's and other apartments, often with brash young realists of the Department there to snort behind their hands.

Wallace has published a pamphlet, "America Must Choose," a heady brew of thought and surmise, frankly depicting the dilemmas of an export-minded people turning to embrace the restraints of nationalism, with strict interior controls. To keep thought stirring, Wilson called a conference of discussion methods in Washington. A lot of experts on how to discuss came in. The first day's session undertook to evaluate the place of emotion in discussion. It ended, John R. Fleming, a somewhat sardonic spectator of the proceedings, tells me, "at a late hour, with the boys who were defending dispassionate logic beating the table, and the boys who were defending emotion all tuckered out, icy calm." Wilson visited the conference briefly and departed beaming. He said that the whole thing was working out wonderfully and that we would get some first class discussion outlines out of it.

The outlines emerged. Edited by Roy Hendrickson and Helen Hill Miller, they were really excellent, in that they did not so much seek to "guide" discussion as to kick it up and turn it loose. The first five subjects were the farmers' share in the national income, farm and city living standards, the rise of tenancy and dispossession, foreign trade and farm income, and farm efficiency—how much do we want of it? Then came three outlines which approached the developing idea of country planning councils, with farmers discussing and determining policy, from the township up: What good is a farm organization? What kind of agricultural policy is necessary to save our soil? What part should farmers take in making national agricultural policy? By this time the idea of reviving something like the old-time New England town meeting, with the people taking council on questions and actions they knew intimately, because they had to live with them and by them, had been definitely formulated by Wilson and Wallace; and the idea of building an "economic
democracy” has entered into agricultural thinking and planning not only in Washington but throughout the land.

Still Wilson was unsatisfied. “We’re all bound up in occupational ways of thinking,” he said. Wallace agreed. So they next called to Washington for a conference a group of academic philosophers. These came in the main from unagricultural centers—from Harvard, Yale, Chicago, and so on. “The economists have got us all tied up in special knots and channels,” Wilson told them. “Now, what we want is for you to make it all pull together better and make sense.” Similarly, anthropologists, social psychologists, historians, and sociologists have been called. Philosophy schools or institutes for extension staffs, for such staffs as will have them, have been part of the directed agrarian revival ever since. They are remarkable adjuncts to the purely vocational or economic phases of the drive. Urban philosophers who have gone forth to confront such rural groups and meet their questions return, as a rule, exhilarated and amazed.

Many others had a hand in the proceedings through which, in the years following, the Department has itself reorganized so that all its bureaus and services pull more nearly together. But I think it was principally Wilson, knowing no set boundaries, distrustning no one, and proceeding with his customary informality, who drew in divergent persons and groups and made the reorganization more than a job of stilted rearrangement of charts and of words on paper. With the Secretary in large part a prisoner by the very nature of his office, Wilson did most of the human negotiating in Washington and afield. Now, as Director of Extension, he continues this work.

It has not been easy going. Between Washington and the land grant colleges, state rights is the issue, decidedly, and this is especially so in the South. The South was not in the Union and voting in Congress when the state-federal set-up of the land grant system was established. This has never been entirely forgotten there.

To build within a bureaucratic hierarchy a unified aim; to arouse a working understanding between scientists and executives in specialized pursuits as various as genetics, chemistry, pathology and economics—this was an administrative task of the highest order. Wallace and Wilson put it first on their program from around 1935 onward. Good teaching and good administration have much in common.

Nutrition and Non-farmers

Wilson’s interest in nutrition is not of as long standing as that of Wallace, who experimented on his own person with a soybean diet when vitamins were still unknown and when he was still a student at Iowa State University. “I never took much interest in it,” Wilson says if you ask him about it now, “until my daughter Elizabeth was born. And even then I didn’t see the clear connection between good feeding of livestock and good human feeding. But in 1934, right after I came back to Agriculture from Interior, Henry put me on a commission to Cuba. We teamed off, we members of this commission. It was a study of land management and the human consequences. I visited plantations with a man from the Harvard school of Public Health, Dr. Wilson Smiley. He pointed out things. We talked a lot about the problems of our South particularly. He convinced me. He said: ‘You’re an economist. You don’t start at the right place—diet.’ He said that he could go to almost any part of the South, and if it were possible to put the people there in a pen and feed them right, why, in six months they would be new people. He said that a lot of people were nutritionally sick, and if economic recovery isn’t underwritten with proper diet it will never amount to much.”

There is evidence that Wilson, himself, has been nutritionally sick to a damaging extent, at times. He works too hard; he is absorbed in his work; and he eats whatever falls to hand, absent, especially when he is traveling. In Washington he has often appeared to be sustained more nearly by a steady faith and high purpose than by anything that he put into his stomach. “Well,” says Wilson, continuing to discourse on what he calls ‘the new science of nutrition’, “Mrs. Wilson kept after me to take better care of myself, and I became much interested. Henry and I, in ’35 and ’36, along in there, we talked a great deal about nutrition. We could see that we had in nutrition something of great interest, and something unifying, binding together all interests in agriculture, and outside agriculture. It could be the central thing in a new agricultural policy, and a policy in reference to low income people.”

In 1939 he formed the idea that there were a lot of new people in the Department who had not seen the country or rubbed shoulders with its field force and that the simplest way toward a better understanding was to take them out and let them live and travel as county agents live and travel, for a while. He organized and led three man-killing auto tours for sheltered office workers, one to the North Plains, one in the Corn Belt, one in the South. A day would start at six in the morning with a
breakfast talk by a county agent and end as late as ten in the evening with remarks by a Triple-A or Farm Security chairman four or five hundred miles away. As journeys of realistic discovery the tours were perhaps invaluable and everyone said that M. L. seemed more like himself than he had for years. But when he came back he had a breakdown, which expressed itself principally in a sort of sciatica which numbed one hand and arm and sent shooting pains up to the shoulder that nothing could still. He could not sleep, but he would not take sleeping tablets. His only daytime relief and distraction was to hold conferences and try to keep his work going there at home.

Indian friends in Mexico sent him some sacred corn, to be sprinkled with water and kept on a little pagan bedside altar in supplication. It pleased him to tend this offering amid the many specimens of the archeological collection which make parts of his house in suburban Washington resemble a small museum. But it was a more modern alchemy which seems to have brought him out of it, a carefully administered dietary, supplemented with calcium thiamine, nicotinic acid, and other of the latest vitamin plasmas and pellets. Henry Wallace and Dr. Louise Stanley of the Bureau of Home Economics had as much to do with getting M. L. Wilson on his feet again as the medical doctors did.

A Discourse on Poverty
In February of 1940, soon after he had been named Director of Agricultural Extension, he appeared before the members of the American Farm Economics Association in Philadelphia and read a paper he had written during many a painful hour abed. It was a paper on American rural poverty, something no forward-looking, up-and-coming land grant college man liked to believe existed as little as ten or fifteen years ago.

He sketched the extent of the problem: More than a million families destitute by 1933; one rural family in every four the recipient of some form of public assistance by 1936.

Poverty is not so much a result of innate capacities or of inferior heredity, but rather the result of the interaction of people, their institutions and their social environment. Changes in culture and social environment offer much greater hope than changes in heredity. Not much can now be said of human heredity which meets the tests of scientific methods.

Early attempts to define poverty in terms of income only, or in terms of material standards of living, were not adequate. Many families appeared to be securing considerable enjoyment out of life even though their cash incomes were low. The definition which regards poverty as inability to maintain standards sanctioned by the group is somewhat better in that it recognizes the importance of the culture of the group.

A social philosophy which I designate as scientific humanism combines the emphasis on culturally sanctioned ethical standards and income with standards based upon the teachings of science about the needs of man. Philosophy and religion are recognized as the bases for certain values or ends of life which are outside the realm of science. Man's biological needs of diet, shelter, health can be expressed in scientific terms which permit us to speak of adequacy with considerable confidence. How these biological standards fit into the culture of people and how people change from one set of cultural standards to the other is a different question. The sciences of man as they develop and integrate tend to form a new pattern of ideas and tend towards a new culture. The social sciences, particularly cultural anthropology and psychology, are also contributing by making us conscious of the psychological and cultural needs of man; so that ultimately I hope we will be able to speak of these needs with as much assurance as we now speak about diets. When this time arrives we shall speak of recreation, security and aesthetics with as much scientific precision about needs and standards as we now speak of vitamins. With such knowledge at hand, poverty would be defined as that condition which failed to permit the complete physiological needs by means sanctioned by this culture.

Later, in the Department's 1941 yearbook, Wilson developed this thought: “Economists, political scientists, historians, psychologists, geographers, sociologists and theologians, all recognize that the crucial facts in the life of any individual or in any social situation cannot be correctly thought of as exclusively political, exclusively religious, exclusively economic or exclusively anything else.” And: “Our economic problems are moral problems.”

The Great Extender
He was the first county agricultural agent to have risen to sub-Cabinet grade in the federal government, and now he is also the first from the ranks to head our federal-state agricultural extension forces, nearly ten thousand men and women, hustling afield in nearly every county of the land. At the end of a year of directing agricultural extension and a sweeping reformation of all our eating habits he is in far better shape than he has ever been since he came to Washington.

It is thirty-five years since the time when, a country lad at Iowa State College, he took a course in livestock nutrition and did not see that, “The most important livestock is the human animal.” He has come a long way. By 1937 he was developing with Donald Blaisdell and other aides the probable connections between Vitamin A deficiency, night blindness, and other ills. “By changing dairy-feeding practices from the present reliance on cereals to grass pasturage, higher in Vitamin A,” notes Blaisdell, “we may not only decrease auto accidents, but improve the general health, increase the rate of erosion control, and thus benefit the nation's two greatest assets—its people and its soil.”

Under spur of defense needs a vast new program of nutritional planning for the general welfare, with an improved and linked use of food and land, has been launched for 1942. Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, announced the goals in late September 1941. The plan now is for 11 percent more milk production than in 1941, 12 percent more hog meat, 10 percent more green and leafy vegetables, 10 percent more eggs and poultry. To accomplish this increase it is proposed boldly to break into old time one-crop principalities with diversified plantings and rotations, good for soil, good for people. Wilson is dividing his days between Extension and Defense, working both ends.

"It does me good to be back in Extension," he says. He never was really out of it. When it comes to seeding new ideas for trial, nationally, in a wide variety of soils and minds; when it comes to extending agricultural research and teaching beyond the first narrow confines, the twenty-four-year-old pioneer who rode into semi-arid Montana with a steam plow and then set out to pioneer again has certainly turned out to be America's most effective agricultural Extension man.
Family Care for the Mentally Ill

by EDITH M. STERN

How much is saved when the mentally ill and the feebleminded have normal family life instead of institutional routines is described by an informed journalist, on the basis of firsthand inquiry among patients, foster homes, institutions, and public officials.

In a handful of states, some 2,500 mental patients live in private homes instead of being herded in institutions. Under a system called family care, men, women, and children who for one reason or another cannot be returned to their own homes, but who still need protection, are taken out of state hospitals and schools for defectives to board with kindly caretakers under the close and continuous supervision of the institution staff. Some remain permanently to enjoy relative freedom in their family care homes. Others, their social usefulness fastened, effected, or restored by natural participation in congenial family activity, are discharged.

At this time when both financial and human resources must be conserved, family care is an encouraging demonstration that there's a cheaper way of doing something better. It relieves taxpayers from building more institutions, heartens patients, and is often the gateway through which dependents pass into self-support.

Visiting family care homes in New York and Maryland, I found myself deeply stirred: not only because of the patients' pathetic joy at release from regimentation, their delight in the simple normalities of family life. "I can take a bath whenever I like!" "No bells ringing here!" "I can get up when I please!" they told me happily. "Me no like to clean hospital dining room with group," Italian Margaret confided. "Me like to cook spaghetti for family here. Mm, nice people!" White-haired Katie proudly exhibited her cozy bedroom, sighed: "I'm tomeself now. Oh, they was kind and understandin' at the hospital, but it wasn't the same." Like a delighted child, Annie, a thirty-year-old mental defective boarded with three coevals in a New York home, babbled about "Our lovely Hallowe'en party. . . . oh, we have lots of fun with Mrs. Lovell." An old man came close and whispered hoarsely, "I tell you, I got a good home!"

I was moved even more by the enthusiasm and good will with which the families looked after their charges. These families take real pride in their treatment of the mentally ill. Careful preparation in advance has given them the proper attitudes—has made them feel that they play an important part in the curative process.

I visualized the thousands of others like these patients who might be enjoying family care, too, still occupying close-packed beds in bare dormitories, their clothing and little possessions under lock and key; cooped indoors or walking in long lines, two by two, under the surveillance of attendants; eating, sleeping, bathing, working, and playing as so many units of a mass. Every mental hospital and state school is burdened with "continuous care" cases for whom the institution has nothing more to offer in the way of treatment or training.

Even the most enthusiastic advocates of the family care plan do not, of course, suggest pulling down the institution in favor of the boarding home. Each has its function, each supplements the other. The mentally diseased woman who tears off her clothing, the man convinced that wolves gnaw his entrails, need the therapeutic services of the state hospital; youngsters and adults whose minds never develop beyond infantile or childish levels benefit, to a certain point, by the expert training in the state school for defectives. But the very routine, monotony, and impersonality, remedial at first, often tend to be stuflifying in later phases. It is then that those natural resources of emotional health, home life and simple personal kindness, aid the sick mind or bruised personality as sunshine and fresh air benefit the patient hospitalized for an operation.

Home as a Place of Healing

Even at its lowest level any well-supervised family care system fills the gap between institutional confinement and the hazards of a world with which a person who has mild delusions, or who is subnormal mentally, cannot cope. At its highest, family care is curative as are psychotherapy, occupational therapy, insulin shock, or any other technique of restoring the insane to normality. Under it, one piece of institutionalized human deadwood after another has burgeoned.

There was, for instance, Mrs. Chase of Maryland. Her acute disturbance had subsided twenty-three years before she was placed in family care, but during her entire hospital stay she had sat listless in the ward, refusing to work. After careful deliberation by her psychiatrist and a social worker, she was sent to live with a busy, jolly woman who dashed energetically about her large house. One day, about a week after she had been in the house, Mrs. Chase sat with the caretaker in the kitchen while a company dinner was being prepared. Suddenly the patient remarked, "Why not let me help? I'll peel the potatoes." Little by little she took a hand in household duties and now, discharged at sixty-eight, she supports herself by light housework. Another woman had been mute for seven years. Placed in a New York boarding home two months ago, she has already begun to join in the conversation at the family dinner table. Little Joan, eleven years old with a seven-year-old intelligence, had been shy, withdrawn and apathetic in her own insecure home and during her few months at a state school. Now, in response to the affectionate care of her foster "Mama" and "Daddy," she has developed a charming personality and, encouraged by their praise, takes pride in performing simple household tasks.

For others the right kind of home atmosphere has proved soothing. A handsome, ne'er-do-well alcoholic who by his own statement had "spent twenty years either in a
hospital or in the gutter" after a few months' placement on a remote farm became self-supporting, and has been discharged for three years. A formerly well-to-do matron, who had alienated friends and family by acting on her delusions of persecution, forgot her grievances in the friendly and congenial atmosphere of a Maryland home of her own social level and now maintains herself as companion to an old lady. A sullen, delinquent Pennsylvania youth, bitter against his own family and the world, so much appreciated the kindly interest of the farm family with whom Danville State Hospital placed him that he became cooperative and, after a year, was able to find an outside job and be discharged. Another "problem boy" passed from orphanage to reformatory to Utica State Hospital, N. Y.; thence, not without setbacks, to a succession of homes. Happy in his present situation, he stays out of trouble and is successfully pursuing a course in aviation mechanics.

Economies of Family Care

**How much is added to our national income by such productivity; what expense in patient-years have been averted by timely placement of young people in family care as a step towards discharge cannot, of course, be computed.** The immediate economies of family care are more obvious. Take New York's budget, for instance. By simple arithmetic, it costs the state $4 to $6 a week to board patients with families, $7.81 to maintain them in institutions. By less simple arithmetic, total weekly cost of family care when you add costs of supervision and the additional clothing necessary for life in a community, is $6.50 as against a weekly institutional cost of $13 when overhead and depreciation are included. At Danville State Hospital, in Pennsylvania, 85 patients in family care in 1940 represented savings of $29,750 in maintenance costs. Above all, as Hester B. Crutcher, director of social service, N. Y. State Department of Mental Hygiene, says, "Family care is the best way to beat the building program." Every year sees 14,000 new admissions to New York's already overcrowded mental institutions. The net yearly increase in patients is about 3,000. Every new bed costs $3,500. Today, with public welfare budgets competing with defense appropriations, it is desirable to call a halt on construction; indeed, reckoning with building priorities, it is imperative.

Are we going to lay more mattresses on floors of corridors and dayrooms in our overcrowding mental hospitals, keep more seriously ill curables and helpless defectives waiting in jails until there is room for them in mental institutions? Or are we going to extend a plan so thoroughly approved by mental hygiene authorities that Paul O. Komora, associate secretary of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, calls it "the one hopeful answer to the perennial problem of overcrowded institutions"; and Dr. Samuel W. Hamilton, mental hospital adviser, U. S. Public Health Service, tells me, "The only mental hospital administrators I know who don't believe in family care are those who've never tried it."

European family care of mental patients is an old story. Families in Ghel, Belgium, have been boarding them for six centuries. Scotland places nearly 6 percent of its mentally ill, nearly 30 percent of its defectives, in private homes: France, Hungary, Germany, Norway, and Switzerland have long-standing systems. In North America, Massachusetts pioneered in family care as early as 1885, but it is only since the 1930's that this combination of economy, humanity, and therapy has been gaining momentum here and in Ontario, Canada.

The patients now in family care are but drops in the heavy bucket of our 500,000 institutionalized mentally ill, 100,000 mental defectives—1,600 in New York, about 500 in Massachusetts, about 200 in Maryland, about 150 in Pennsylvania. Utah has had family care legislation since 1935, but has no patients out: partly because its state hospital is uncrowded, partly because the $4 weekly board allowed is unattractive to householders. California has about 200 patients in family care and on November 1, 83 homes were licensed with a total capacity of 293 patients. Illinois has just appropriated $360,000 for a statewide family care system.

Developing a Program

**That states are climbing on the bandwagon slowly is not, perhaps, wholly unfortunate.** So strong a temptation for emptying hospitals, so great a potential for happiness, so powerful a therapy, can also be dangerous, and it is better to keep patients under close supervision in an institution than to place them carelessly outside. But the dangers need not deter us. They need only warn us to use careful judgment at every point. To set up a family care system four steps are essential: legislative authority; appropriations adequate for competent, well-staffed psychiatric social service departments; preparation of communities to receive patients by direct or indirect publicizing; discovery of suitable homes, preferably near the institution.

The first few years are the hardest. The experience of Harlem Valley State Hospital, Wingdale, N. Y., in laying the groundwork for successful family care is typical. In 1935 a campaign to educate the community was launched. First the family care plan was discussed with local health officers, then talks were given before granges, parent-teacher associations, and various professional groups. Difficulties arose, had to be combated one by one. Wealthy summer residents protested "letting lunatics loose among our children." A local politician told his constituents, "If you want to get pay for taking care of patients, see me and I'll fix it for you." Applications from homes came in slowly.

The patients must sell themselves, the hospital's staff decided. A few carefully chosen, quiet and useful patients were placed first. Soon, disabused of the idea that all mental hospital inmates are screaming manics, neighbors began to envy caretakers their amiable, appreciative paying guests and assistants. Gradually homes became available even for some of the more difficult cases. Today, as in every other community where family care has become established by similar well-considered first moves and by time, the hospital has a long waiting list of suitable homes.

Which are selected depends on a number of factors. Most important is the caretaker's personality and suitability for the patient's needs. Former hospital employees often make ideal caretakers. In Maryland, where family care is highly individualized, no patient is placed without first meeting the caretaker to assure mutual liking. The next consideration is the physical make-up of the home. It need not be elaborate—"One of our poorest homes physically is one of our happiest," a Hudson River State Hospital, N. Y., social worker told me—but it must be comfortable, clean and, because (Continued on page 42)
Marriage Repair Shop

by GRETTA PALMER

The story of a pioneer in the field of improving family relations through marriage counseling.

A QUARTER OF A MILLION AMERICAN MARRIAGES A YEAR END on the junk heap of divorce. More than half of them could be salvaged if troubled couples called in the marriage expert as naturally as they send, in other emergencies, for the doctor or the repair man, according to the records of the Bureau of Marriage Counsel and Education of New York. In the four years since she founded the bureau, Dr. Valeria H. Parker has advised over twenty unhappy couples a week and has prevented an estimated 2,600 divorces.

Her record of success is so high—over half the couples reconciled—that many clergymen and social workers send warring husbands and wives to her. Other clients come after hearing Dr. Parker lecture before such groups as women's clubs and social welfare organizations. Two New York lawyers now refuse to accept a divorce case until husband and wife have discussed their troubles at the bureau.

The magic employed by Dr. Parker is a simple one. To watch it work, consider the recent case of Jane A., separated from her young husband for several months and wretchedly trying to decide whether to divorce this man, whom she still loved. She came to the bureau—in about six cases out of ten it is the wife who comes in first—and found herself in a comfortable, old-fashioned room with low lights and a stuffed-chair atmosphere. Here she was invited to tell her story to Dr. Parker, as she would to a sympathetic friend, with the promise that her confidences would never be repeated. No notes were taken during the interview—after she had left, Dr. Parker made the usual record of the case, in a private shorthand intelligible to no one but herself.

Jane, an orphan, had been brought up by two indulgent spinsters, who showered her with expensive clothes and gifts. They had jealously opposed her marriage to Bill A., and when, as his wife, she visited them, they pitied her openly for being married to a man who didn't provide "properly" for her. Taught to think that a constant stream of presents and flattery was the only proof of affection, Jane had become convinced that her rather reticent husband didn't love her. When he complained of her extravagance and expressed resentment of the spinsters' meddling in their married life she quarreled with him and returned to her childhood home. Should she divorce him?

At Dr. Parker's request, Bill came in and told his story. He was desperately hurt that his wife had not adapted her living standards to the salary he made. He resented the old ladies, as intruders into their affairs, and he believed that they had killed Jane's love for him. He still cared deeply for her, he said.

With love on both sides, the marriage could certainly be saved. Jane needed to grow up and, in the course of a series of interviews, she made a very good start. She began to see that her husband should not be expected to pamper her as if she were a child. She came to see that it was unfair to blame Bill for not making more money, and that she must realize his love could not be measured in terms of luxury. He, for his part, had to understand that the lonely old ladies were the only family Jane had ever had and that he should accept them, as if they were real in-laws. He was urged to show his love for Jane more openly and to bring her an occasional flower or trinket, as a surprise. The A.'s now live in a suburb discreetly distant from Jane's childhood home and are happy together.

Their case, like two out of every five brought to the bureau, was solved by simple discussion with Dr. Parker, who has had twenty-five years of experience as a physician and a leader in the marriage education field. The other 60 percent of the cases are referred to one of the physicians, psychiatrists, personnel experts, and social workers who cooperate with the bureau. Cases are frequently closed after no more than five consultations of the bureau itself; they are actively followed for periods ranging from one to twenty-four months.

THE BUREAU OF MARRIAGE COUNSEL AND EDUCATION was established with the backing of prominent physicians, educators, and social workers, when Dr. Parker became convinced that the social hygiene movement was neglecting wider problems involved in love and marriage. Her experience in the field was broad: since the early days of the World War she had devoted her time to such organizations as the American Social Hygiene Association, the marriage investigating committees of the American Medical Women's Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. A few years ago Dr. Parker began to realize that the social hygiene groups, by limiting their efforts to the problems of prostitution and venereal disease, were neglecting the greater body of unhappy men and women whose personal troubles sprang from other causes.

She left the organized social hygiene groups and undertook, almost singlehanded, the titanic job of trying to salvage New York's unhappy marriages.

The first step, Dr. Parker believed, was to give a greater understanding of marriage to the two groups who seem most in need of it: those planning to marry soon and those contemplating divorce. She found a number of philanthropists who agreed to back her program and, with their help and that of the Martha Mertz Foundation, she opened the bureau in 1937 as a non-profit organization. The office fee is nominally $5, but about half of the clients can pay nothing and are not asked to.

Money, or its lack, is a serious factor in a large number of cases brought to the bureau. Other common, curable causes of trouble between husband and wife are listed by Dr. Parker as real or apparent incompatibility; childlessness and disputes over adopting a baby; lack of preparation for marriage; and second-marriage difficulties. Sexual
incompatibility is a common complaint, and in such cases the clients are sometimes advised to seek medical or psychiatric advice. But usually, Dr. Parker finds, this situation is only a symptom—when a man and woman have lost their trust in each other, for any reason, their sexual happiness is always affected. When the trust has been restored, the symptom disappears.

A recent case in point was that of Mrs. F., a charming young woman who was contemplating divorce because of jealousy over her widowed husband's first wife. She objected to the presence in their home of a portrait of the dead woman and she felt slighted whenever her husband referred to his happy first marriage. She had worked herself into such a state that each piece of the dead wife's furniture seemed a reproach and she felt that her husband's old friends were constantly comparing her, to her disadvantage, with the first wife. She had become physically frigid and was now debating a divorce.

An interview with Mr. F. brought out the fact that he loved his wife and was deeply troubled by her demand that he be disloyal to the memory of a past romance. He was not asked to change his attitude.

Mrs. F., however, was educated to a new viewpoint, which admitted that there might be room in a normal lifetime for two sincere loves, and that they need not compete. She was told that if she truly cared for her husband, she should be grateful to the first wife for having given him years of happiness. She was brought to see that the man she loved was different from the youngster he had been when he lost his first wife, and to realize that jealousy of the dead was a waste of good emotion. When last heard from, Mrs. F. wrote that she did not understand how she could ever have worked herself into such a state about nothing. The portrait of the first wife remains in a place of honor in the home, to remind her "not to be foolish again."

Situations like that of Mrs. F. have so obvious and simple a solution that it is hard to see why outside help was required. Yet hundreds of cases on the records prove that husbands and wives can become seriously disturbed by worries which seem trivial to outsiders. And small, but constant, annoyances are often built up to the stature of major problems.

In fact, Dr. Parker has found that petty differences are more apt to bring a couple to the threshold of divorce than calamities which require a real sacrifice of husband or wife. Many a woman who has come to the bureau contemplating divorce because of her husband's preference for a different kind of recreation would have risen magnificently to a serious crisis, such as a husband's invalidism, which would have made any outside recreation impossible. Small repeated irritations, too trivial for heroism, are the things which endanger a marriage.

Sometimes one partner in a marriage comes close to the breaking point over a difficulty of which the other is not even aware. Such was the case of Mrs. E., a young and beautiful woman who loved her husband and her home. Yet she came to Dr. Parker to discuss the necessity for a divorce. She had become convinced that her husband no longer loved her, and her pride rebelled against remaining in his home on these terms. As evidence of his indifference, she pointed out that he spent all his evening in his study reading business reports, and he no longer took her out.

When Mr. E. came to the bureau, at the doctor's request, a more surprised man could not have been found; he had thought his marriage a complete success and had no complaints to make about his wife. On the contrary he was very much in love with her and had been overworking in the hope of being able to support her in greater luxury. He was easily induced to rearrange his schedule so that definite evenings were set aside for recreation with Mrs. E. He was also told a few facts about feminine psychology, which required him to surprise his wife with occasional treats and to put his love for her into words. Divorce was averted and a very happy marriage made secure by giving one person a little enlightenment.

This case illustrated an incompatibility which was only apparent, not real; but when Mrs. T. approached the bureau, saying that she and her husband had nothing in common, the facts seemed to bear her out. Their marriage had been the result of a whirlwind courtship, in which a strong physical attraction made them overlook the fact that they lived in different intellectual worlds. The wife was interested in books, music, and art. Her husband was
bored by all these things and cared only for sports, business, and the movies. He was annoyed when Mrs. T. tried to "educate" him.

This marriage would probably never have taken place if the period of the engagement had been longer; but by now both husband and wife had made an emotional investment in their marriage which it would be a pity to discard. Since the wife had all of the intellectual curiosity of the family, she was shown that most of the adjustment must be hers, if she was ever to find a common understanding with her husband. Instead of tactlessly boring him with talk of the arts, she must try to enjoy his kind of fun. At the same time, they both agreed to take up several neutral interests, such as golf, gardening, and Spanish, which Mr. T. needed for his business. The wife was also encouraged to believe that if she had children, one of them might grow up to share her artistic bent. Since the birth of the first baby, she has become less critical of her husband and parenthood has provided them with the strong common interest they lacked before.

The use of children in healing many of the maladies of marriage cannot be overestimated, in Dr. Parker's opinion. A number of the problems brought to the bureau this year have concerned young couples, recently married, who wished advice on whether they should have a child while the husband was in camp. Dr. Parker has always advised them to go ahead, even in these uncertain times.

In many cases the lack of children is the direct cause of the tension. Mr. and Mrs. Y. came to the bureau at the insistence of the lawyer to whom Charles Y. had appealed for a divorce. His only complaint was that after six years of marriage, his wife had not borne him a child. Believing she was sterile, he was about to divorce her. Dr. Parker required both husband and wife to submit to medical tests; these showed that it was Charles who was sterile. This discovery naturally gave his complacency a bad jolt. When the agitated emotions of both husband and wife had calmed, Dr. Parker induced them to adopt a child.

This husband had refused to consider artificial ensemation, although it was suggested, as it often is in such cases at the bureau. Since they have taken a small boy into their home, they seem quite happy.

That was a case which only a doctor could help solve. But many clients have problems which a few words of common sense advice will straighten out. These couples usually have sympathetic friends and relatives who are eager to see the marriage succeed. Why can't they tell husband and wife the simple truths which Dr. Parker tells them, and with the same happy results?

Because, says Dr. Parker, no one who is close to a situation can be trusted to view it without prejudice. Even if a brother-in-law, say, were completely wise and dispassionate, his advice would be viewed with suspicion by the husband and wife. They would feel that something which had happened in the past might have given him a biased judgment of the dispute. For this reason advice, if it is to be taken to heart, must be offered by someone completely outside the family or social circle of the people who are drifting towards divorce.

Sometimes the fact that divorce is possible and is socially recognized keeps a first quarrel alive: if the young people knew that they must live together for the rest of their lives, they would soon decide that wisdom lies in forgetting their differences and trying to be happy together. The function of the bureau, in such cases, is to induce the young people to stay together until time has quieted their anger.

Anne J. came to Dr. Parker with a familiar story: she had married, when she was sixteen, a boy of twenty-one. Both of them planned to continue their education, but Anne's studies were cut short by the arrival of two babies in three years. She now felt dreadfully burdened with their care. Her husband found the domestic atmosphere depressing and had begun to seek diversion outside the home, with girls gayer and more glamorous than his little drudge of a wife. Anne was considering divorcing him and sending the children to their grandparents, so that she might "have fun."

Both these young people were made to see that their craving for amusement was normal to their age, but that they must arrange to have their fling together. Anne saw that she had been worrying too much about her home and babies, to the neglect of her other duty of being an attractive playmate for her husband. The boy was encouraged to set aside a recklessly large portion of his salary into an amusement fund, out of which he was to pay a high school girl to care for the babies two nights a week, while husband and wife stepped out. This schedule, while extravagant, seemed necessary to save the marriage; it tided them past the years when they craved the bright lights and gave them a chance to enjoy their youth together. Now, a few years later, they have established a small, substantial home and are both devoted to their growing children, with many interests and memories in common.

This young couple, like many who come to Dr. Parker, had not paused before marriage to understand just what they expected from each other. It is one of her precepts that the things which engaged couples take for granted are the things which usually cause trouble later. That is why she urges consultation before marriage; if a boy assumes, "Of course we won't (Continued on page 45)
LETTERS AND LIFE

The Bill of Rights
by LEON WHIPPLE


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

On December 15, 1791, the Bill of Rights amendments became part of our Constitution. On this December 15 celebrations of the 150th anniversary of that noble advance toward the ideal of freedom were held in response to a proclamation by President Roosevelt. The people were asked to testify, by prayer and ceremony, to their faith in "the great American charter of personal liberty and human dignity." The cloud of war fell across these memorial services, but that charter shone with new glory and meaning. For the heart of what America cherishes and defends for this nation and all nations is the rights of free men against tyranny. The anniversary has become a time of new dedication.

Now let each citizen hold his own thanksgiving ceremony by reading in quiet meditation this Bill of Rights. The ten clauses cover but a single foolscap page. The words are very simple, without any ornament of rhetoric or resort to legal abstractions. A plain man can understand what they mean, and they mean exactly what they say—"the right of the people peaceably to assemble . . . to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizure . . . not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law . . . nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted." Such bare words are essences, distilled from centuries of struggle. They ring out challenges to every dictator, filling our hands with age-old weapons against present evils.

The First Amendment sets down the four freedoms in forty-five words, as momentous a set of phrases as were ever uttered by any people for the preservation of man's spirit against the State, and for self-discipline. For we know that the people can abridge liberty as well as the State. Let the citizen recall that these guarantees were demanded by people who had known the violence of revolution, who were establishing a government on precarious foundations, and yet set liberty of the individual above all other principles. True, these 150 years have at times seen these guarantees forgotten or disregarded, yet they survive. Men can return to these truths for inspiration and wisdom when other charters and covenants fail.

But words on paper cannot preserve our rights. We cannot inherit liberty; it must be won each day as is our daily bread. We must seek in the guarantees, as the President declares, "the reassessment of their present meaning and their living worth." That worth is revealed by the very nature of the voices recorded in this symposium on "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me" issued by the Sesquicentennial Committee. Priest, judge, statesman, economist, historian—each finds his own revelation in the temple. The virtue of this charter is that it lets each speak, each discover his own way.

Henry Wallace and Mary Beard emphasize the duty that must justify the Right. Pearl Buck foresees enlarged justice and equality for colored Americans. Eduard Lindeman recalls what the Bill of Rights meant to the immigrant. Howard Cooley believes it must protect free enterprise, while John A. Ryan declares that the recent interpretations of the due process clause will no longer sanction the abuse of rights by the economically powerful. The men of religion find in religious liberty the crowning glory of our land. Liberty is at work in this very book to sanction diversity and exemplify tolerance. Here is a brave, and an American, testimony.

In Zechariah Chafee's "Free Speech in the United States," we have an admirable example of "the reassessment of the present meaning" of our Rights. In 1922 his "Freedom of Speech" presented the legislation of the war years, 1917-1918, and the consequent trials and decisions, with scholarly and liberal wisdom. Now, on that foundation, he has written a fresh study of the prohibition of free speech, of the new problems and the new interpretations by the courts over twenty years down to the moment at which we stand. His last reports are on the Alien Registration Act of 1940, and the exclusion of communists from the ballot in certain states. He challenged their implications.

Here is a great book, great in theme and scope, great in its faith that civilization advances as the realm of free discussion is enlarged. It is rock-based on historical scholarship and legal knowledge. Mr. Chafee is professor of law at Harvard. Yet there is no lawyer's stiffness, no pedagogue's aloofness. Case after case is presented with superb clarity and human interest, and each set in the mosaic to reveal how liberty has been lost or won. And from each is drawn the lesson that we need more, not less, liberty. The author is devoted to America, rooted in the ideals of Plato, and Milton, and Mill, he has mastered the facts—and he is not fearful. The only danger is when we stifle truth.

The volume is an encyclopedia that will prove invaluable to men and women who believe that progress by reason is our last hope, and to those who would sense the spirit of our times. You can find no better reading for this day—to steel our resolution in defense of liberty, to teach us what liberty is. Let the judge, the governor, the prosecutor, the censor read this history, and we shall not make some of the errors we have made in the past. Let the citizens as they ponder the Bill of Rights read his final argument for freedom of speech: "It creates the happiest kind of country. It is the best way to make men and women love their country."

History proves that in war liberty is restrained. But let us on this anniversary resolve to use and defend liberty as best we can. We may begin by a reassessment of the progress we have made since 1917. We have learned that we must protect every minority, for if the principle of oppression be established against one group it may soon be invoked against other groups. We recognize that what is done to one individual to deny his right to speak imposes silence on many other voices. Fear is the great censor, and the common cause suffers just as we are deprived of the diverse views from which we might have gained wisdom. The English have set a brave example of the use of contributions from many minds.

We have seen a slow but steady extension of the concept of freedom by the courts. They have set up the test of "a clear and present danger" for expressions of opinion against the old notion that the presumed "tendency" of an utterance proves an evil intent. They have extended the realm of federal protection over the rights of citizens against state laws, by an enlarged interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. They have recognized that freedom of communication means the right to distribute pamphlets and to use pickets. New problems await our study—the implications of the radio and the motion picture. Liberty is never static, and we must be aware of what have been called "the expanding contours" of freedom. We regret that Professor Chafee did not give more space to the field of social communication.

We have learned that many attitudes toward repression have been formed by unjustified fears, and express the self-
interest of certain classes. We perceive that certain minor risks have to be taken to insure our larger aims. How to preserve these long time values is the final challenge of this anniversary. Whatever moratorium war may of necessity impose on our customary freedom, peace will come. "The task of the day after tomorrow is to rebuild our civilization far more solidly than in 1919," declares Professor Chauncey. "These gigantic problems will remain unsolved unless we have free, temperate, and enlightened discussion which shall gradually shape the terms of a lasting peace, without which victory will be only a little better than defeat."

Of that peace the Bill of Rights will be a cornerstone. There will someday come the celebration of another anniversary in which the peoples of the world will join, secure in universal liberty.

**Fighting Liberals**


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The authors of the above-named books are first-rate writers. Most of them are also first-rate thinkers. They have each found a cause. Their sense of mission is aroused and they mean to produce converts. What they have written must be regarded as crusading literature.

I am assuming that these ten writers are devoted to the same cause although that assumption is not wholly warranted. In any case, they are all liberals, and were supposed to have lost their voices, to have nothing more to say to this world, and to be too tired to say anything even though they may have thought it was worth saying. What they seem now to be saying is that we are in the midst of a gigantic world revolution and that neutrality is impossible under revolutionary conditions, and that therefore every sensitive and decent person is obliged to make a moral decision, to make up his mind about where he stands in this revolution. All of this they say with candor and with dignity. Their words carry an overtone of urgency but they do not shout. They write for reflective readers.

Count Sforza, Julian Huxley, Allan Nevins, and Philip Dorf attempt to furnish the reader with facts which reveal how the war came about, how it affects human welfare, and what social changes it is likely to produce. It is still popular in American intellectual circles to express skepticism regarding the extent of genuine social change in England. Huxley and Nevins provide evidence of a convincing character. Huxley begins by admitting the imperfections in British democracy; three of these he believes to be of major importance, namely the failure to achieve a sense of security for the total population, the lack of group feeling among English people, and the perpetuation of glaring inequalities attendant upon the class system. But, says Professor Huxley, there are also virtues in the British brand of democracy and these must not be overlooked or minimized when democracy is compared with the new order offered by the totalitarianists of the continent. Huxley writes in fluent prose and interposes relevant facts without disturbing the flow of his sentences. Nevins uses the method of high journalism: he tells what he has seen in England and how it affects him. His touch is never heavy but seems rather to be a kind of background for a novel or a play. Alas, however, the drama beneath his observations belongs, not to fiction, but to the terrible reality of our time. Count Sforza's story is already familiar to American readers and listeners but it must be told over and over, I presume, until we all understand how we were tricked into this era of violence and what we must do to extricate ourselves, and more important still, what we must do by way of creating a world society in which this type of tragedy is less likely to recur. Philip Dorf begins with the first World War, indicates its relation to the present series of wars, and then supplies excellent though brief descriptions of the ten most important episodes of totalitarian triumph. What he says and what he intimates about the leaders of the democracies of Europe is no more pleasing than Count Sforza's conclusions in spite of the fact that he says it with a journalistic flair for plain statement. This is a handy and condensed reference for those who are inclined to forget that there is a law of continuity in this world and that, therefore, what we do today determines what we may be permitted to do tomorrow.

Laski, Chamberlin, Lerner, and Hutchinson (who is the editor of the volume called "Democracy and National Unity," the contributors being Thomas Reed Powell, Henry F. Pringle, Herbert Agar, Harold G. Moultan, Matthew Woll and Oliver E. Baker) seem to be speaking from academic platforms with the hope that their voices will carry further.

Laski, aware of the fact that there exists in the United States a new type of anti-British sentiment, a feeling which has perhaps done more to retard our efforts toward defeating Herr Hitler than any other single factor, speaks directly and frankly to American youth. He speaks as a socialist, as an influential member of the British Labour Party, and as an Englishman who knows the United States and its institutions better, so I believe, than any other living Englishman. He pleads with American youth to believe in the British cause and to see it as their cause as well. He appears to believe that a large sector of American youth is composed of persons who have misjudged the nature of this fateful moment of history, and in this assumption he is, I am sure, correct. But the attitude of our youth is, I believe, today something positive and forward-looking.

Chamberlin has done for the Soviet regime of Stalin what Rauschning had already done for the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler, namely, to reveal its negation of the liberal principle, its non-humanistic foundations. This is what his title means: the iron age brought into being in Europe and Asia is metallic and brutal in spite of the fact that its leaders so often speak of good human ends. They cannot attain these good ends if their methods continue to be a denial of that which experience has already demonstrated to be good—freedom, for example. It should be noted that Chamberlin's book deals also with Nazism, fascism, and Japanese aggression.

Lerner accepts the revolutionary interpretation of this epoch and carries his thesis to logical, if unpleasant, conclusions. He transposes the metaphor from iron to ice. Only the "tough-minded" can survive an ice age. Lerner strives with all his might to be tough. He uses hard words, but sometimes he puts wings on them and then they fly straight into one's consciousness. His bow is taut and his arrows have speed.

I have left to the last the two philosophic essays of this half-score of books on our time. Scherman's thesis is stated with admirable brevity and clarity. He insists that the world is inescapably traveling towards unity, but that this unity cannot be achieved unless we abandon our backward notion of insulated national sovereignty. Technology and the improvements in communication will, if not frustrated by policies, impel us towards economic and cultural unity. The chief lag, and this is what the war is about, is to be found in the sphere of political immaturity. War is a bitter price to pay for...
political illiteracy but, alas, no other choice is now open.

Among these ten volumes, the one I have wanted to read more than once is Ralph Barton Perry's. He writes also with a sense of urgency in the crisis mood, but his urgency is never allowed to destroy his cogency. Here is fine thought expressed in fine prose. Professor Perry appeals to what is best in American character, our moral sense, our traditional feeling that to know the right is to do the right. "The rest of morale is bold and sustained action." His chapter on morale lifts this entire consideration from the level of monotonous sentimentality and places it where it belongs, namely, on the plane of fidelity to principle.

New York School of Social Work

Eduard C. Lindeman

Three Men Who Made Medical History


The Doctors Mayo, who are a byword in American life, were young men, just entering practice, in the 1880's. In Europe, what was to prove the foundation for modern surgery and modern medicine had hardly been laid by such men as Pasteur, Lister, and Koch; the disagreement of doctors confused the medical scene both in this country and abroad. But most bright young medical students who could afford the journey pushed off to England, France, and Germany to see and hear for themselves and to study in the European clinics. Not so, however, with Dr. Will and Dr. Charlie. They took their medical degrees at the University of Michigan and the Chicago Medical College, respectively, and went home to a little town in Minnesota to enter practice with their father.

Into their education, however, went the best of the old and the new which this country had to offer at that time. The old was their preceptorship, almost from babyhood, under the tutelage of a frontier doctor, their father; the new was the formal medical education in the schools, struggling bravely to establish standards, and continuing will to observe, study, and learn which took first one, then the other, to hospitals, clinics, and offices wherever they heard that some man was improving old techniques or devising new. In their later years, the Doctors Mayo became famous international travelers; but long before that the brothers had ridden day coaches from one end of the continent to the other, modestly watching and noting and answering, when someone chanced to ask their opinion, on the basis of a wealth of firsthand experience and original observation which they believed would hardly be second.

This absorbing and scholarly biography, sponsored by the University of Minnesota, is of signal importance in at least three ways. For one, it is a chronicle of the rise of modern medical science and medical organization, as it was interwoven in the lives of three men who played leading roles in that development in work which stretched over the greater part of a century. It gives, moreover, the clearest portraits of these three—the indomitable, hopeful, forward-looking Old Doctor and his two famous sons, both remarkable in themselves and in the unfailing loyalty, devotion, and understanding of their lifetime of work together. And finally, the backdrop is the rise of the MiddleWest, from the days when Old Doctor cared for those wounded in Indian risings, fled from wolves, and wandered through a trackless wilderness, to the time when rail and plane lines and motor highways led to a flourishing city which grew up in the midst of the cornfields as the result of the work of his sons. It is important that this book, by agreement with Dr. Will and Dr. Charlie before the deaths of both men in 1939, represents the concept and work of historians rather than medical men; neither the men who are its subject nor any member of the staff of the Mayo Clinic saw any part of the manuscript. This guiding principle and the outstanding success of the author in mastering and illuminating what must have been an appalling wealth and range of material, give the book a humanity and freedom which could hardly have been achieved from any less broad and objective approach.

A review cannot do justice to so many-sided a volume. If one aspect stands out above another, aside from the human interest, it is to me the interrelationship of medical organization and medical progress. It was almost by accident that the Doctors Mayo have become famous internationally not only for medical skill but also for the organization of group practice. Because the father and the two sons were what they were—temperamentally, they could work together and could take advantage of the opportunities that association afforded. One could be free to study and observe while the others carried the practice. The volume of their work in itself gave them an advantage in clinical experience and a chance to afford necessary professional facilities which would not have been possible for an individual doctor working alone. By something akin to social genius, they were able to extend the principles they used as members of a family to the colleagues they drew in to help them keep pace with their rapidly snowballing practice and to animate and sustain in others the ideals they set themselves. In the end, more than five hundred members of a highly individual profession were able, as one English observer noted in surprise, "to live and work together in a small town on the edge of nowhere, and like it!"

The Mayo organization, moreover, never ceased, despite rebuffs, to ally itself with broader movements within medical and educational fields, both in this country and abroad. As a group, the Mayo doctors—and their patients—had facilities in research, diagnosis, experience, and skill that individual practice cannot provide. How that organization developed, and how its principles and resources have been upheld to constitute a living memorial is in itself a record of profound significance to social inventors and practitioners in almost any field.

"The Doctors Mayo" is a big book in every sense of that term. It is hard to hold, but still harder to lay down. Washington, D. C.

Mary Ross

Niemoeller's Covenant

GOD IS MY FUEHRER, being the last 28 sermons by Pastor Martin Niemoeller, with a preface by Thomas Mann. Philosophical Library and Alliance Book Corp., 294 pp. Price $2.75 postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

Before me lies the last written communication I received, on September 23, 1937, from "Prisoner Number 1325 Martin Niemoeller." "I hope", he wrote, "my time of trial will not last much longer." Even now, four years afterwards, his trial is not over. Arrested on July 1, 1937, acquitted of the charge of treason by the court on March 2, 1938, Martin Niemoeller was immediately seized by Himmler's Gestapo and imprisoned in the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. There he remained in solitary confinement, his body weakening, his spirit unbroken. Recently he has been transferred to Bavaria, probably to the concentration camp in Dachau.

In these days, thousands whose names are unknown to the world, suffer in Europe for their Christian faith. Martin Niemoeller's name symbolizes their tragic struggle; his name has become the greatest name in Christendom today. The silence of this Christian martyr in a lonely cell speaks eloquently to us.

Niemoeller's biography has yet to be written (let us hope not by the sort of men who exploit his sufferings). His autobiography "From the U-boat to the Pulpit" tells but part of the story. This collection of his last twenty-eight sermons will bring to the American public a better understanding of a fearless man of whom it can rightly be said, "This fellow was also with Jesus of Nazareth." I heard most of these sermons and can therefore vouch for the authenticity of the
text. They should be read by our young people in the schools, by all to whom Christianity is a living force. They give the atmosphere of Niemoeller's parish and let us see the man Niemoeller better than any description can.

The publishers quoted on the dust jacket of the book a Mr. Singer and a Mr. Stein who have appointed themselves experts on Pastor Niemoeller. They could not know that these men are responsible for a recent article in Liberty Magazine which was accompanied by an "authorization" of Pastor Niemoeller that Stein, after he was questioned, admitted to be faked. The story (supposedly told to Stein by Niemoeller in the "I" form) has put Niemoeller's life in danger because, had it been authorized by him it would give Himmel's agents sufficient excuse to have him tortured or executed. The moral responsibility of Mr. Stein (who is busy now writing a biography of Niemoeller) and Mr. Singer as well as of the editors of Liberty Magazine is even increased by the fact that this article was published in full knowledge of its possible consequences: the caption under Niemoeller's picture reads as follows: "A remarkable, challenging revelation from a world-famous prisoner—words that may cause his death!" To Niemoeller's friends the Stein-Singer-Liberty affair is a cause of deep anxiety and I don't like to see the names of these men printed even on the dust cover of a book of sermons by Martin Niemoeller.

Hiram College
Hans W. Weigert

The Critical Responsibility of Free Men


This book is an unusual combination of practicality, reflection, criticism, and inspiration. It gives us good down-to-earth rules about how to treat the daily grit of information we get from all sources, but it also repeatedly points out that all that information in the world is of little use unless we select, arrange, and judge with intelligence. If we really wish to know how to sift and sort this grrit of current happenings, and if we follow even half of the directions given here, we will be a lot prouder of ourselves than we are now.

If, in addition, we wish to apply our critical judgment to the items we select, according to the suggestions of Professor Whipple, we should gain in humility.

This is a "how-to-do-it" book with intrinsic power. The author is interested in practical and observable patterns. He shows us the principle of a news story, of building a human character, of how best to listen to a radio speech or forum, of how to analyze and study all reports we receive, whether from newspaper or radio. He would have us protect ourselves from the haphazard, the vague, and the prejudicial. His suggestions on how to weave facts together from various sources, how to keep a really usable file of news stories and articles, and how to analyze broadcasts should be true eye-openers to most of us.

These things are fundamental practical techniques, but are more or less mechanical, and might be expected in any such book from a professional journalist. Professor Whipple departs from all notions of mere mechanics and of reading or listening habits in his insistence on the critical responsibility of the individual citizen. No amount of machinery can save a soul, or sharpen a mind. Uncritical reading and lazy listening are mere drugs.

The author's way of writing is mainly in the tone of common sense directions, but his underlying sense of individual responsibility frequently lifts his prose to a higher level of urgency. He is not only a useful guide toward, but a true prophet of, an informed public opinion. Witness these terse sentences:

"The great purpose of this study of current events is to

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Is democracy really slow to make decisions? Is it really as inefficient as its critics aver? How was the accusation "democracy always becomes dictatorships in time of war" answered by Lincoln? Here is a working definition of democracy, and a convincing defense of its ideals. This book should bolster our faith in American democracy's future. "This great little book is part of the wisdom literature of democracy."—Christian Century. Price $1.00.

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Edited By William T. Hutchinson

The six most important forces in American society here present their problems in the present struggle toward national unity. A specialist in each field—Constitutional Law, Political Leadership, Business, the Press, Organized Labor, Agriculture—here defines how it can be brought into a working alignment with the others; and the recent succession of domestic crises; present a united American front in the world emergency. An exceptionally timely book. Price $1.00.

THE UNITED STATES AND CIVILIZATION
By John U. Nef

"Civilization at the Crossroads" can be either an empty phrase in the mouth of a spatter of, or, as today, it can be a consideration of genuine importance to every citizen. Here are the changes we will have to make, the state of mind we will have to adopt, the examples we will have to set future generations if we are to make our contribution towards the building of a noble democracy on the twin bases of industrialization and ideas. Price $3.00.

These books are part of the 1940-41 Walgreen Foundation Lectures for the Study of American Institutions

At bookstores, or direct from THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
the administration of planning is democratic both on the score of administration as a process as well as planning as a process. How the devotion of planning is combined with the proper and rightful centralization needs to be spelled out for the skeptical. Certain TVA experiences might usefully have been described here by way of example.

But in the total this is a most valuable addition to the meager literature of social self-consciousness. Here is valid American helpfulness grounded in the recent applied deliberations of experts animated by good will.

New York

Ordway Tead

Background for the Eastern War


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These books are invaluable to all who want more background for the conflict in the Far East. Dr. Buss's exhaustive study consists of two parts: the first discusses the Sino-Japanese war, its causes and effects; the second deals with the interests of the major powers concerned in eastern Asia. It is especially the second part that contributes a great mass of new material. The inside story of the German-Japanese understanding, for example, is a masterpiece, both in its historic groundwork and its dramatic presentation. "With two German divisions I could drive the Japanese out of China in two weeks," General von Falkenhausen told Berlin.) The pre-war position of the United States is clearly defined. Dr. Buss combines a wealth of information with a readable style.

In an important book, Miss Horn presents facts which we need to know about the Philippines, unhappily at the path of Japan's southward thrust. She discusses the complex social and economic life of the island people, and gives good answers to some of the problems she found there. Her chapter on the position of the Church in the islands is excellent, and her presentation of the Japanese Fifth Column is the best that has been done on the subject. Of particular interest is the summary of the Filipino's problems as seen through his own eyes. Fenno Jacob's photographs are impressively dramatic.

New York

Ernest O. Hauser

What a New American Sees


We Americans have a new source of authentic information, good counsel, and kindling inspiration about our life—the exiled cream of the European elite, who have been driven here by the fascistic hurricane abroad. They give us such a chance to see ourselves as others see us as we have never had before. Not that we have not had, during the century and a half of our national life, many another "chiel amang us takin' notes." But, with the exception of the German '48 revolutionaries who brought us such a splendid contribution of disciplined intellectual power, they have been of two classes, neither of whom was in a position to speak from valid experience. The shawled and bundle-carrying wage earners who came by the millions (literally) saw only the poorest and most primitive side of American tenement house existence. They also had no adequate standard of comparison by which to measure what they experienced here. The few others at the other extreme—the Dickenses, Trollopess, Duhamels, Chestertons, Priestleys—had the sketchiest, most partial, visitor's view of the top layer of life in the U. S. A., and as for standards of comparison, they had one all too ready—the rigid, unquestioned, often trivial, European bourgeois code of customs and manners, by which the American way of eating boiled eggs was about as unforgivable a variation as a lynching, from what may be done.

The book shows conclusively how far along in planning we have in fact come; shows that it springs from local needs; that it is time for the planning approach to be more persuasively influential in our political and social thinking; that planning can be plural in method while single in purpose. On one phase of the subject I would have liked fuller treatment in order to answer familiar criticism—namely, the ways now employed and the ideas evolving as to how to be sure that

lit us above the mob, to arm us with individual standards of judgment.

"Do not be stampeded into premature choices. Wait for the ripening of your views, for the clear inner light that alone makes men wise in thought, strong in act."

"Don't spread yourself too thin; you can understand many more events than you can do anything about."

"We dare not deceive ourselves, much, for we cannot, in the long run, even advance our own interests unless we deal with the facts, nor can we do away with facts by calling them names."

We should like to allude, as the author does, to the social and philosophic problems connected with the gathering and distribution of news, via newspaper, platform, and radio. But the continuous consideration is the education of American citizens by whatever means, so that they will develop to the utmost their honest critical judgment of affairs on the basis of ascertainable facts. How complex this process is, Professor Whipple clearly shows, but he shows further how the will to learn is an essential complement to the will to believe. He shows also how the heart of American opinion should be under the reciprocating pressures of old history and new, and how we can neither be saved, nor deserve to be, unless we try methodically to understand the incredible dramas of our own day.

The Town Hall, New York

George V. Denny, Jr.

Progress in Social Planning


Dr. Galloway has performed a signal service to the cause of social provision. At a time when there is an identifiable groundswell of opinion to say that planning for public welfare is impossible or inexpedient unless it is undertaken with totalitarian ends or military purposes in control, he and his collaborators make what seems to me to be an unanswerable case for democratic forethought and foresight. Nor is that case made in wishful terms merely, nor in terms of foreign analogs.

The book is American to the core in background, idiom, sense of need and record of accomplishment to date. It derives as completely from the American scene and its dilemmas as did "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It has, also, at once the unity of its theme seen as national and of its editor's clear vision of the kind of book he was endeavoring to supply. Unlike so many symposium books, this one comes off as homogeneous, sustained, and single purposed. The fact that the senior author contributes the first and last sections helps to impress his objective upon the whole; and the other authors have evidently been editorially constrained, as there are no duplications and no weak offerings.

Planning ideas fall sensibly into a number of related categories—concerning natural resources, economic activities, social issues, regional approaches, and now planning for war. In each field a really eminent and well informed authority has been selected and the data are fresh, salient, and constructive in emphasis. In the social planning section the treatment of population, nutrition, housing, education, health, recreation, and social security is exceedingly well-informed and vital. The chapter on "fiscal policy" is as comprehensive a summary of the current issues in this controversy as any I have seen.

The book shows conclusively how far along in planning we have in fact come; shows that it springs from local needs; that it is time for the planning approach to be more persuasively influential in our political and social thinking; that planning can be plural in method while single in purpose. On one phase of the subject I would have liked fuller treatment in order to answer familiar criticism—namely, the ways now employed and the ideas evolving as to how to be sure that
Now Europe is presenting us, as on a silver salver, with the finest type of cultivated, professionally trained and highly civilized men and women. Though they are of the same class as the little or big celebrities who for a hundred years have looked down their noses at the way we shake hands, at the American formulae for introducing people to them, these later newcomers are as deeply, organically, permanently rooted in American life as the laborer who came from Italy or the coal miner from Wales.

Martin Gumpert is a notable example of these new citizens of our Republic, who are both keen, experienced, and discriminating observers of American life, and also wholeheartedly committed to sharing it with us. In a fine introduction to this volume of impressions of our country, Thomas Mann says, "This man is no emigrant who waits for the return to his Homeland. He does not look back. He is here for good and with all his heart."

There could hardly be more interesting reading for any thoughtful American man or woman than Dr. Gumpert's shrewd, human, warm-hearted, and sharply penetrating report on what an intelligent, open-minded, new American sees, as he lives, moves, and makes his living in the U. S. A. Arlington, Vt.

DOROTHY CANFIELD

American Social Thinking Since 1815


Professor Gabriel has written one of the most important volumes to appear in the field of American history in some years. It is virtually a history of American intellectual life and social thought since 1815, laying special emphasis upon the manner in which such intellectual trends affected the interpretations of democracy and social reform.

We started out in the early nineteenth century with the heritage of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment, which held that all would be well if we could make use of the sweetness and light inherent in Pure Reason. The leading exponents of this point of view were men like Emerson and Thoreau, and the movement culminated in the Transcendentalism of the Forties and the Brook Farm experiment. The main dissenting voice was that of Herman Melville.

The major part of the volume is devoted to the period since the Civil War. The reaction against the idealism and reform spirit of the preceding generation, which was manifested by the irresponsible quest of wealth and the unparalleled political corruption of the days of reconstruction and the Gilded Age, is clearly set forth. For the spirit of reform there was substituted the gospel of laissez faire, compounded out of the lore of the English classical economists and Spencerian evolutionism.

The most influential spokesman for governmental inactivity and the domination of laissez faire was the Yale economist and sociologist, William Graham Sumner. While his assault upon reform and "uplift" gained him the affront of economic moguls and political bosses, Sumner was himself, paradoxically enough, one of the fiercest critics of economic exploitation, political corruption, and capitalist imperialism.

Many arose to battle against the forces of Mammon. Ingersoll and Andrew D. White attacked the corruption in religion. Richard T. Ely, Washington Gladden, W. D. P. Bliss, and George D. Herron created a new social gospel. Lewis Henry Morgan showed that anthropology could not be made the handmaiden of economic exploitation. Ely, Simon N. Patten, Thorstein Veblen, Charles A. Beard, and others, undermined the foundations of classical economics and assaulted the citadel of capitalism.

Henry Adams was the Herman Melville of the turn of the century. He saw clearly how science, technology, and industry had undermined the old democratic assumptions.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)
FAMILY CARE FOR THE MENTALLY ILL

(Continued from page 32)

of the dangers of oil lamps for mental patients, must have electricity. No home is considered where board money is necessary to forestall relief. "Never place a patient in a home where you yourself wouldn't sit down and eat," Miss Crutch-er directs her workers. Rural homes are most available, afford the more wholesome environment; though Springfield Hospital, Md., has several of its city-bred patients thriving in Baltimore apartments.

Patients leave institutions on the understanding that they need stay in no home they do not like; caretakers know, too, that they may return anyone who does not work out in the home. This "on approval" factor has salutary effects. "Sure, old Mr. Blake was actin' up in tantrums again the other night," I heard a jovial Irishwoman tell a social worker. "And then, as usual, he was sorry. So he says sadly, 'Will I have to leave?' an' I says 'Only be a good boy and you can stay here the rest of your life' and he's been grand ever since."

As the Families See It

WOMEN WHO TAKE MENTALLY ILL OR FEEBLEMinded PEOPLE into their homes usually are middle-aged and lonely. Their children are grown, and time hangs heavy on their hands. Their houses are empty. Food is abundant in rural homes, cash scarce. Often, however, boarding mothers spend more money on patients than they get from the state. I visited one home where the caretaker had just given her charge, an adolescent defective boy, a bicycle; in another, the boarding mother proudly showed the social worker and me the complete Sunday outfits she had bought for her three gray-haired "girls." "I want them to look as good as anybody else in church," she explained. A Maryland family paid its own physician to attend a patient who developed heart trouble, rather than return to the home and face frequent visits.

Ask caretakers why they open their homes to strangers, and it is heartwarming to learn the real satisfactions of their responsibilities. There is, for instance, the housewife who cares for four feebleminded boys in her cozy, immaculate home. "My sons got married and moved away," she expatiated, in answer to my question. "And Pa and I were so lonesome in this big house we were going to sell the farm. Then we heard about this family care, and the boys have been with us three years now." Her kindly face lighted. "Why, it's like beginning all over again. We're raising another family!" In another home, obviously too comfortable for the board money for two old women to have been the major consideration, the beautifully groomed boarding mother exclaimed, "Because I like to do for old people! I lost my own mother, you see. Why, I just love these two! They're company for me."

Such affectionate, personal interest is far removed from the inescapable neutrality of an institution where 4,000 adults served from a single kitchen cannot have their seasons of preferences indulged, and no matron can kiss eighty children's bruised elbows. But it is also different from the emotional pleasures and pains of life with one's own family. Old people who have disrupted children's and in-laws' homes by their proprietary meddling may turn into dear old souls among strangers. Mental patients' own homes usually seeeth with the agonized, despairing, or irritated concern of immediate relatives, and sometimes aggravate the very condition that caused commitment. Jimmy, for instance, is healthier under family care than he would be at home. A seventeen-year-old defective in a large family of bright children, he developed a series of hypochondriacal illnesses as the best way to get attention from his solicitous mother. After a few months' hospitalization at Springfield, he was placed with a young farm couple who were given a full understanding of his difficulties and a creative sense about helping to solve them. Not having to live up to the standards of his brothers and sisters, he grew secure by working at very simple tasks assigned by the caretakers. Now he has progressed to running his own egg business and soon will be ready to support himself as a farmhand.

Acting with common sense objectivity, normal, warm-hearted caretakers frequently work out remarkably successful homespun therapies. Miss Harrison, for instance, nightly found chipmunks under her bed. At the hospital all that the busy, overworked attendants could do was say, "Now, now, there aren't any," and pass on to the next patient. The first night in Miss Harrison's boarding home, the man of the house went upstairs before she retired, returned to her in the living room, and reported, "They're all gone." That didn't work; the next day Miss Harrison said the chipmunks had kept her awake. Her protector bought her a toy shotgun, and after that, nothing more was heard of the chip-unks. To another home, after a short stay at Letchworth
Village, a New York state school for defectives, went twitching, bedraggled, eleven-year-old Gertrude, who had never been able to get past second grade. Three years later, when I saw her, she was a fairly attractive, well-poised girl, doing well in seventh grade. "I pet her, I love her, I dress her nice. She is happy," her boarding mother declared in a Swedish accent. "So because she is happy, she does better at school." Psychologists call this "removing emotional blocks by creating a sense of security."

Because it is human nature to grow fond of whatever you nurture constructively, whether it be a puppy or a person, caretakers' attachments to their charges are the rule. A childless woman, married thirteen years, took in two nine-year-old feebledlined girls. One seemed headed for delinquency, the other was highly nervous; neither could safely be returned to their tempestuous slum homes. In quiet rural surroundings and in a one-room school where their being overage was not conspicuous, both adjusted well. Two years later, in tears, their boarding mother confronted the social worker. She was pregnant; would the girls now be taken away? The worker reassured her. I was in the house a month ago. The baby was crawling on the floor, and the mother beamed equally on all three children.

To the confusion of cynics, more trouble comes from caretakers' tendency to overindulge than to exploit. Social workers continually caution, "Let Harry milk the cows if he likes—it won't hurt him to work." "Don't allow Mrs. Brown to stay in her room all morning, make her get up, it's bad for her to brood alone," or "Bobby must have more discipline." Amazingly few instances of overwork or neglect occur under family care and when, they do, they cannot last long. In addition to the unscheduled visits of social workers, neighbors act as voluntary, unofficial supervisors. They are quick to report that "the people over the hill work their patients too hard" or even "Mrs. Jones has her patients sleeping without sheets."

Some of the Problems

Not that family care is all smooth sailing. There are problems connected with the method, of course. Members of hospital staffs often try to block the release of the patients better suited to family care. "How can I run my laundry without you?" "Why, Mrs. Ludlow is the most useful person I have in my dining room," they'll protest to physicians and social workers. Old-timers may be reluctant to leave hospitals or state schools, must be coaxed to go out, assured that they may return. One old lady, hospitalized for thirty years, was placed in twenty-one different homes before she was returned to the institution as a lost hope. She had become so institutionalized that she could not adjust to an ordinary home; in one house she complained because the bathroom was on the second floor, in another she "never heard of a laundry not being in a separate building." A New York boarding home was struck off the list when patients were crowded by an influx of summer boarders. Satisfactory homes must be closed when caretakers die or move away. Sometimes personalities jar on one another. Occasionally, defective children have been returned to state schools because of untrustworthiness.

But on the whole, family care has overwhelming more successes than failures. Among the many reports I have read, the cases I have seen or discussed, about the most spectacular mishap was one chicken coop burned either through neglect or spite. Only one patient had a charge of any kind against him—and that unproved—among the 2,154 placed in New York during one year. Such good behavior, according to Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, N. Y. State Department of Mental Hygiene, corresponds to that reported by large family care systems in other countries. It is, in fact, better than the behavior of New York's population at large, whose incidence of crime, in 1939, was sixty times greater. (Continued on page 44)
Community Experience

The system's safety both for community and patients is not mere good luck. Patients and homes are carefully selected by psychiatrists and social workers respectively. Wherever family care is now operating in the United States it is honestly and conscientiously run, calls for no muckraking.

In Massachusetts, Gardner and Worcester state hospitals and Belchertown state school are outstanding placement centers. At Worcester putting convalescents in family care as a therapeutic step towards discharge was emphasized. But, for a complex of causes, the state as a whole has not capitalized on its headstart to develop the plan.

Pennsylvania has an excellent system so far as it goes. Progressively conceived as a means of rehabilitation, it is handicapped in execution by lack of special appropriations.

California, to date, has used family care largely for chronics, Rhode Island for elderly women.

New York is an outstanding example of a state having extensive family care, well organized, centrally supervised, and statewide. New York has twenty-seven mental institutions, some with 4,000 patients, one with 9,000. Of these twenty-seven institutions there are twenty-three—eighteen civil state hospitals and five state schools—which might place patients in family care. Up to the present, two of the state schools have no patients in family care. With the high cost of living that makes New York caretakers reluctant to take only one or two patients, and with the urgent need to relieve jammed wards and get patients out into family care, there has been, in some of the state's placement centers, danger of a compromise with individualization. Visiting a home where one old lady was in family care with a middle-aged widow, I found two women eating and chatting together in the kitchen, like two women in any home anywhere. In another home, harboring six old women, I saw "the patients" eating before the boarding mother and her daughter, being waited upon by them. In both homes the food was abundant, the caretakers kindly and solicitous, the patients serene. But I felt a difference: one place seemed like a boarding house, the other was a home.

Operating under less pressure and on a smaller scale, the intensive Maryland Plan consistently utilizes assimilation into the natural family group and has gone far in realizing the therapeutic possibilities in family care. First administered by Dr. Katherine Stuber, out-patient psychiatrist, and Mrs. Henrietta B. DeWitt, head social worker at Springfield hospital, its objective is discharge. Usually only one patient, never more than two—and those of different ages or sex, because normal homes do not usually contain two old men or two women in their forties—are placed in homes specifically selected for their needs and backgrounds. As naturally as any maiden aunt, putting grandpa, or sturdy son, patients take part, within their capacities, in everyday home and farm duties; they are not only with the family, but of it and its pursuits. Two thirds of Springfield's family care patients are self-maintaining. But whether a boarder, working for maintenance, or maintenance and wages, everyone I encountered used a confidant first person plural: "We're going to plant cherry trees here next spring." . . . "Have you seen our new puppy?" . . . "Won't you have some of our cider?".

The Successes of Family Care

Each patient is given as much sense of responsibility toward his caretaker, as everywhere caretakers are impressed with their responsibilities towards patients. One old man, formerly an electrician, his judgment too befuddled and his hands too tremulous to carry through a job on his own, directed the electrification of the farm where he was boarded. An imbicile found satisfaction in carrying heavy weights for his beloved caretaker, an elderly man with heart trouble. A sensitive, exclusive, musical boy with hallucinations was reluctant to leave the hospital because he would "be in any family's way." Convinced that he was needed to accompany a proposed caretaker when she sang, a year ago he consented to "try it." Once he realized that he had become useful, even to a limited extent, he gained some self-confidence and gradually began to run errands, mow the lawn, and take over the other chores that usually devolve on the son of the house. Today he leads a normal social life with young people he has met through the church choir, and is almost ready for discharge.

The sense of belonging, of participating in real activities in a real, though circumscribed world, is the essence of what Dr. Stuber and Mrs. DeWitt call "situational therapy." It is progressive and positive. As patients improve, they are moved to other less sheltering homes, or given greater responsibility where they are. Among the first one hundred patients placed in family care from Springfield, thirty-six have been discharged.

Utica State Hospital, N. Y., has also had marked success with situational therapy. Some of its patients have been placed in family care as late as two months' hospitalization. "Definite abatement of psychotic symptoms is the rule," reports Dr. Newton J. Bigelow and Miss Eva T. Schied, R. N.

On some details of family care, authorities differ. For instance, some specialists believe in community centers where patients can go for recreation and minor medical care, others do not. The more, the latter say, you keep patients away from the atmosphere of mental illness, the more they go driving and shopping and to the movies and to church among normal people, the better. But on the basic principle of the plan—giving the happiness, mental healthfulness and freedom of home life to everyone no longer benefiting by the specialized services of overpopulated institutions—there is complete accord. That goes for the patients, too. "In the hospital they ask, 'When can I get out?' in family care, 'How long may I stay?'" a New York social worker told me. In her state I visited palatial institutions, simple homes. But in every home, when the worker said, smiling, "We're going back to the hospital . . . anybody want to come along?" there were unanimous choruses of "No!"

Family care also has incidental, far-reaching values. Neglectful families begin to take an interest in "screwy" or "dumb" members who, they find, can live comfortably outside institutions; conversely, patients who had been ashamed to write from a mental hospital plunge into correspondence once they are in family care. Sometimes these renewed contacts result in a patient's restoration to his own people. At institutions, when the aristocracy of labor like telephone operators and laboratory animal husbandmen are drawn off into family care, patients on the next lower level have the chance to fill their places, and another cycle of progress is begun. In family care communities, a new, healthy attitude toward mental illness and deficiency supplants horror and disinterest, and augurs well for a much-needed popular understanding of the problem.

"Sooner or later," Dr. William A. Bryan, superintendent of Norwich state hospital, Conn., wrote to me, "I am sure every state will adopt the plan." With an inexpensive, natural mental health measure so successfully tried and proved here and abroad, let us be pound-wise by investing the necessary pennies in it soon—before more young curables become chronics, before more chronics sink into apathy and parasitism. Later, it may be too late.
MARRIAGE REPAIR SHOP
(Continued from page 35)

have children until I'm making twice my present salary," and a girl expects to become a mother the first year, it is important that some outsider bring this unspoken disagreement into the open and let them reach an understanding.

Another favorite thesis of Dr. Parker is that husband and wife need to be jointly devoted to a strong, common interest outside themselves, if the marriage is to be a happy one. Most often, of course, this factor is provided by children, but it may just as well be a cause, a business in which both are concerned, or even the career of one of them, provided the other is passionately and personally involved in its success.

With these principles and a quarter of a century of experience to back her, Dr. Parker is tackling, almost unaided, the job of saving New York's threatened marriages. Besides the consultation service, her mail queries run as high as 10,000 a year; more than half of the out-of-town correspondents are put in touch with local agencies which may help them, for Dr. Parker has a comprehensive file of doctors, psychiatrists, social workers, and adoption agencies who have offered to assist her with cases in their areas.

Dr. Parker believes that we should no more think of dissolving the unhappy marriage than of abandoning a sick man to die. We should treat every troubled home with therapy as cunning as that of the physician trying to save a patient's life. Even if this were done some divorces would still occur, just as men still die of tuberculosis and pneumonia. But these scourges claim fewer victims every year, and the diseases of marriage may be as susceptible to treatment and cure as they. Dr. Parker's record of more than half of all pre-divorce cases cured gives her theory some laboratory support. The next of man's enemies for scientists to isolate and destroy may, if she is right, be the elusive and complicated virus of divorce.

THE STRATEGY OF PEOPLE
(Continued from page 8)

for men on leave, and far from home, rests with the communities and with the civilian population at large. After a short space of breathless confusion the communities, social agencies, and the federal government are rushing into the breach—occasionally knocking each other's heads in the process—to provide the needed services. From the beginning the greatest blocks to the quick provision of wholesome recreation for soldiers and sailors have been lack of cooperation among the various levels of government and among public and private organizations, but indications are that these are gradually being removed. The general pattern today includes the council of social agencies assuming leadership in organizing community services for men on leave, the agencies of the United Service Organizations operating additional facilities where needed, the federal government providing clubhouses for USO operation and, through the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, stimulating those communities with no previous organization to form local defense recreation councils.

Equally important is the need for recreation for defense workers and their families in areas where normal services are being overburdened by the sudden growth in population. This need seems to have been somewhat overshadowed by the more dramatic appeal of the armed forces. The arguments that well-paid defense workers can turn to commercial recreation; or that they are working too hard to want any recreation except sleep and rest are not borne out by the facts. In

(Continued on page 36)

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THE STRATEGY OF PEOPLE
(Continued from page 45)

many communities the need for recreational facilities for families of defense workers is acute, particularly for children, many of whom have both parents away all day on jobs in war industry.

Pointing the directional beam of recreation toward the armed forces and industrial workers does not mean that recreation in communities not affected by the location of training camps and war industries should be overlooked. The high rates of delinquency in areas where leisure time opportunities are scarce, lower Harlem in New York City, for example, are continual reminders that our defenses are vulnerable at many points. One of the best methods of assuring a generation of citizens with a fervent respect for the ideals of democracy is the provision for them in their formative years of recreational opportunity, not on a regimented "strength through joy" basis, but through facilities and guidance to help them follow their own freely chosen interests.

AXIS ALIENS IN AMERICA
(Continued from page 13)

and give it our encouragement. We must remember, especially, that most of those who came here from other lands did so because they revere and respect the freedom which America is able to offer them.

So long as the aliens in this country conduct themselves in accordance with law, they need fear no interference by the Department of Justice or by any other agency of the federal government. They may be assured, indeed, that every effort will be made to protect them from any discrimination or abuse. This assurance is given not only in justice and decency to the loyal non-citizens in this country but also in the hope that it may spare American citizens in enemy countries unjust retaliation.

Inevitably, there are some among our alien population who are disloyal. The federal government is fully aware of the dangers presented not only by such persons but also by disloyal citizens. The government has control of the activities of these elements. At no time, however, will the government engage in wholesale condemnation of any alien group.

The Department of Justice believes that an alert and vigilant citizenry can aid in the defense of the nation against hostile elements. The Department is convinced, however, that it is against the best interests of the nation for citizens to attempt themselves to apprehend or punish real or fancied violators of the law. Citizens should transmit all evidence of hostile activity either to the nearest office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or directly to the Department of Justice in Washington.

The Department also urges that state and local authorities take no direct action against suspected aliens in their communities, but instead consult with representatives of the Department of Justice, which is qualified by law and experience to handle any situation threatening the interests of the nation.

The defense of our country will be hurt, not helped, by any persecution of our non-citizens. If we create the feeling among aliens and other foreign-born that they are not wanted here, we shall endanger our national unity. Such an impression could only give aid and comfort to those enemies whose aim it is to inflict us with distrust of each other and turn aliens in America against America. To do this would be to defeat what we ourselves are defending.

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The Gist of It

The task ahead in 1942 will strain every muscle of domestic life. It means transferring twice again as many men and women into war production as are now so employed. Beulah Amidon, industrial editor, discusses what this great shift of workers entails. Page 53.

A WESTERN WRITER WEIGHS THE VALUE of Alaska to the Pacific coast and the whole of North America. Page 57. Our readers will recall Richard L. Neuberger not only for vivid articles on conservation and land reclamation but as the author of a most engaging bit of autobiography—his experiences as a new member of the Oregon legislature.

MARGARET MEAD TRACKS DOWN A SPECTER that is haunting many Americans in these times of shifting fortunes. Those who read Dr. Mead’s article on page 64 will appreciate why the books of this distinguished anthropologist, who is assistant curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, are so engrossing.

DORIS D. REED AND THOMAS H. REED will be remembered as the authors of “The Republican Opposition” in Survey Graphic for May 1940. Much of their work is in local government as consultants for municipal officials and civic groups. Dr. Reed’s book, “Municipal Management,” has just been published by McGraw-Hill. Page 68.

With America’s need for rubber brought sharply home to all of us, Ruth Ringle’s discussion of the merits and promise of home-grown guayule has exceptional interest. Page 74. The author spent considerable time in the guayule fields, laboratories, and processing plants of Salinas Valley, Calif.

In “Our Ailing Mental Hospitals,” August Survey Graphic, and in last month’s article, “Family Care for the Mentally Ill,” Edith M. Stern proved that authentic factual material of this type can be presented so well that it attracts wide reading. On page 79 she writes on nursing as a career.

Guest editor of “Homes,” third in our “Calling America” series, Albert Mayer has long been a proponent of well-planned large scale housing. He is architect for Bellmawr Defense Housing Project and New Rochelle public housing projects. Page 82.

“Instead of Inflation” in the August Survey Graphic has been widely quoted. The author, John M. Clark, well known economist and writer, is on leave of absence from Columbia University to work full time on price problems in the Office of Price Administration. Page 85.

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SHEY ASSOCIATES, INC.

Publication offices: 34 North Crystal Street, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Editorial and Business Office, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

Chairman of the Board, Julian W. Mack; president, Richard B. Scanorert, Jr.; vice-president, Joseph P. Chamberlain, John Palmer Gazit; secretary, Ann Reed Brenner.


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Survey Graphic published on the 1st of the month. Price of single copies of this issue, 30c a copy. By subscription—Domestic: 1 year $3; 2 years $5. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c. Indexed in Reader’s Guide, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Quarterly Cumulative Index Medecins.

Joint annual subscription to Survey Graphic and Survey Mid-monthly $5.

Survey Mid-monthly published on the 15th of the month. Single copies, 30c. By subscription—Domestic: 1 year $3; 2 years $5. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c.

Cooperative Membership in Survey Associates, including a joint subscription, $10.

“To the Editor: I am sure that very many of us Americans who accept the theory if not the name of pacifism deserve the attack upon our passivism made in A. Maude Royden’s article, in Survey Graphic for December 1941. But I wonder if an “yes” should not have been added to the word failure? If every movement which cannot muster as many as ten thousand men to perform an unprecedented act of supreme courage is a failure, then we may as well abandon our fight against disease, desitution, and excessive egotism. It is a truism to say that every progressive movement has been represented by a handful who have been persecuted sometimes for centuries before their reforms were accepted. From last accounts pacisim still has Philippe Vernier and Siegmond Schultz in the thick of the fight, not to mention the English leaders whom Miss Royden probably knows better than we do; and in America Eugene Debs’ heroism has been reproduced in at least a dozen instances.

I am sure, too, that if Jesus were living in the flesh today, he would not be content to do “nothing at all.” I am sure, because when he was so living and his country was invaded by a foreign nation, he escaped from those who would force him to become king and lead the Zealots, in order to stage a peace demonstration with only eleven followers, one of whom turned militaristic at the climax, and then, like the others, forsook him and fled. And yet the author of St. John’s Gospel represents the shrewd Calaphas as predicting: “If we let him alone, the Romans shall come and take away both our place and our nation”—which happened in the next generation any way.

Monte Ne, Ark.

Frances Denton

I should like to remind the writer that many more than a thousand volunteers are found for war, even for forlorn hopes that mean almost certain death for the volunteers. If pacifists cannot take an equal risk, their case goes by default.—A. MAUD ROYDEN
DONALD M. NELSON

Chairman of the War Production Board, and thus director of all American industry, the former Chicago businessman now stands second only to the President. "His decisions as to questions of procurement and production will be final."
American Speed-Up

by BEULAH AMIDON

All-out war demands that we get ten million more workers on the industrial front by next December. A Survey editor discusses what this means in terms of job shifting, training, new recruits, new attitudes.

When the President in his January 6 message to Congress set the sights for war production during the 1942 fiscal year at $53,000,000,000, he summoned the nation to a task demanding industrial reorganization to provide output at a pace and on a scale unprecedented in the history of this or any other country.

Following the message, the establishment of a War Labor Board and the appointment of a war production chief were the first two steps taken by President Roosevelt to shift the industrial front from a defense to a war footing. These steps followed the Washington conference between representatives of labor, industry, and government; the federalizing of the public employment service; changes in the Labor Division of OPM; the conference on the conversion of the automobile industry from the production of cars to the production of tanks and planes. Undoubtedly there will be further front-page developments between the time this article is written (January 14) and the time it appears in print.

The war production program is less confusing to follow if it is kept in mind that its essentials are those of “normal” industrial enterprise. Like the flour mill across the tracks, or the shoe factory up the street, its success depends on the supply and correlation of raw materials, facilities (plant, equipment, and transportation), and manpower. The difference between the familiar industrial activity of the typical American community, and the $53,000,000,000 war task is not a difference in the factors involved, but a difference in scale and in urgency.

This article will not attempt to discuss the program as a whole. It will look at only one aspect, manpower, exploring briefly such questions as these: How much manpower will the war production effort require? Where will industry find it? How is it being mobilized? Trained? Placed? Where are the shortages in skill, today, and in view? How are they being met? Can problems of industrial relations be so handled as to assure the cooperation between management and labor which is essential to smooth, efficient production?

Of the 1942-43 war budget, as it now stands, some $3,000,000,000 will be spent for the maintenance of the armed forces, about $50,000,000,000 for arms and supplies. According to the first rough estimates of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, this means the employment of about 15,000,000 workers in war industry. After eighteen months of defense production, there were, as of December 31, approximately five million men and women at work under defense contracts. Today’s effort calls for the mobilization of industry to employ an additional ten million by December 1, 1942. In other words, the number of men on our industrial front will have to be trebled in the ten and a half months between mid-January and December if we are to achieve production on the scale fixed by the President. It must be borne in mind that various factors may serve to modify the first estimates of the help wanted by the war program, notably the possibility of increasing output per man employed. This is particularly true of plane manufacture, where many steps toward mass production are still experimental. The BLS statisticians feel that the figure of ten million “may be off by 400,000 either way.”

From what sources can war industry draw approximately ten million additional workers by December first? According to BLS estimates, between two and three million will be potential workers not now employed, or not fully employed—young people just reaching working
age; women in non-productive employment, chiefly housewives with marketable skills, domestic workers, and saleswomen; a relatively small group of part time workers; and "the employable unemployed." The rest—seven to eight million—will have to be shifted from non-war to war industry. The first to be transferred, obviously, will be those in industries making civilian goods out of materials needed for war goods—workers who normally make cars, refrigerators, aluminum utensils, steel office and library equipment, rubber shoes and coats and toys, and so on. But the conversion from normal to war industry will have to be swift, and it will have to go forward in many fields simultaneously. Many of the comforts and luxuries that we are accustomed to include in "the American standard of living" will disappear from stores and shops, because we cannot afford to use materials, tools, and manpower to make them. [See page 85.]

Many of the men and women who now are employed in providing the endless variety of styles and brands with which we satisfy fashions and tastes in shoes, clothing, furniture, rugs, cosmetics, candy, dishes, clocks, handbags, sporting goods, soft drinks, movies, writing paper, and countless other gadgets, goods and services, will have to shift from these occupations to the stern task of producing enough planes, guns, ships, tanks, trucks, uniforms, ammunition, for the armed forces of this country and for the nations united with us.

Organizing the Labor Market

Several interlocking agencies have the task of organizing the labor market on a war basis—training and placing workers, and determining labor priorities.

An organization chart today (it may be changed tomorrow, of course) would show the Labor Division of OPM headed by Sidney Hillman, with Col. Frank McSherry as his deputy; a training section, directed by Lt. Col. N. A. Burnett, who also is director of defense training in the Federal Security Agency; a labor supply branch, headed by John J. Corson, who recently was named administrator of the federalized public employment service; a priorities branch, directed by Douglas Brown, "on loan" from Princeton University; a training-within-industry branch, headed by C. R. Dooley; a labor relations branch under Eli Oliver.

A large scale national production effort calls for an employment policy developed and applied in national terms. Even during the months of the slower paced defense program, it became increasingly clear that the federal-state employment service was inadequate to the growing demands upon it. It turned out to be, as one of its staff members describes it, "a partially rotten apple." Fully three quarters of the state employment services have had a sound development since their reorganization in 1935 under the Wagner-Peyser act. In these states, federalization will make little or no difference in procedure or personnel within the state, though in many instances it will facilitate clearance across state lines. But in some communities, the state and local personnel was selected or promoted for reasons of political expediency rather than professional fitness. In other places, a competent staff was unable to function because of constant political pressures. Some offices failed to develop sound procedures and usable files. In these states "a thorough overhauling" seems indicated.

Many "situation" under the defense program have underscored the need for a national service. In Kansas City, Kans., for example, the local public employment offices insisted on recruiting a labor force for a new bomber plant from all over the state of Kansas, before allowing men from Kansas City, Mo., to walk across the bridge and go to work. In one small town which straddles the state line between Tennessee and West Virginia there have been for two years two public employment offices on opposite sides of the main street, one of them a local of the Tennessee Employment Service, the other a West Virginia office. An Indiana office in the southern part of the state sought to recruit construction workers for a powder plant from Indiana towns and villages a hundred or more miles distant. The location of the plant had been determined in part by the availability of a "labor pool" in Louisville, Ky., only ten miles away but across a state line.

The whole problem of labor recruiting and placement has been complicated by the AFL-CIO split. The resulting jurisdictional disputes frequently make it impossible to place unemployed CIO members in shops organized by the AFL. Similarly, a CIO union will bring in members of their own faction from other towns, even from other states, rather than see the jobs go to qualified AFL members. Another complicating factor is the attitude of many anti-union employers. For example, the much heralded "Buffalo plan" to transfer displaced automobile workers to local airplane plants in order to prevent serious "priority unemployment" in that area, was hampered by refusal of the non-union Curtis plant to take on the Chevrolet workers who are members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO).

The Federalized Service

The drive to pull up mediocre and unsuccessful systems to an acceptable level of efficiency already is under way. The new administrator, John J. Corson, and several members of the headquarters staff, are making a swing around the circle to discuss with state and local directors the problems of running a public employment
service in wartime. The state-local personnel, more than 22,000 in number, have been inducted into the federal service on a probationary basis. During a six months' period they may be dropped, demoted, or promoted in the interest of increased efficiency of the national employment service. Employees of state and local offices who lacked civil service status will be required to qualify by passing federal civil service examinations. Later, the administrator plans to call a conference in Washington at which the labor requirements of the army and navy and of various types of war industry will be discussed, and wartime policies and procedures for meeting them will be formulated.

Among the problems which cut across state lines today are the allocation of manpower between the armed forces and industry; the saving of man-hours of production by reducing time lost between jobs, or in following reports or rumors of “better jobs over yonder”; the problem of planning and timing training, so that as plants are built, expanded, or retooled, there will be an adequate labor force with the skills and experience required to “get on with the job.”

In the six years since the passage of the Wagner-Peyser act, the 1,500 public employment offices have developed records and reports which are proving even more useful as the labor market tightens than they were in the period when the problem was not to recruit manpower, but to spread employment.

The occupational dictionary, for example, based on analysis of more than 70,000 occupations, groups occupations by “job families,” and reveals possibilities for transferring workers from employment areas in which there is a “slack” to areas in which there is a shortage of skill. Thus a new shell loading plant recently absorbed a number of “excess” coal miners, whose work had taught them to handle explosives, to observe safety rules, and to work as members of a small “team.” Similarly, the relations between “normal” construction work and shipbuilding have been analyzed, and the data used in transferring workers from a field of increasing priorities unemployment to one in which a program of 8,000,000 tons of new shipping is faced with increasing labor shortage. Looking farther ahead, the employment service is studying all non-military jobs in the army, with an eye to the post-war placement of men who have had army experience.

The files of the public employment service provide nationwide data on the number, location, and vocational experience of available workers, and on employer demands. These data will be of increasing value as the record keeping of the employment service in all the states reaches a uniform standard of speed, accuracy, and completeness.

Allocation of supplies and materials has had repercussions throughout the labor market. The first direct wartime control probably will be “preferential referral,” which may be in effect by the time this article is printed. The policy has been for some time to give employers working on defense contracts the first call on available workers. Under “preferential referral,” the Labor Division of OPM would establish priorities as among employers with war contracts. Also under consideration is the requirement that all hiring under war contracts be through the offices of the United States Employment Service, with hiring at the gate largely eliminated.

Stepping Up the Training Program

The problem of training workers to meet the demands of war industry is increasingly urgent. The employment service certifies applicants for training in the public schools and in certain designated technical and engineering schools and colleges. Of the country’s 1,200 vocational schools, about 500 were operating on 24-hour schedules before Pearl Harbor. The number holding classes around the clock is increasing week by week, though the program is handicapped by a growing difficulty in securing teachers and equipment. Thus out of some $50,000,000 spent for new equipment in the current fiscal year, a total of $28,000,000 in tools and machines has been delivered to date. Industry is not only reluctant to release skilled workers to serve as vocational teachers, but is drawing many instructors away from the schools to production jobs.

So far, from 60 to 100 percent of the students attending the “defense classes” have been placed in industry, the proportion varying with the skill acquired. The proportion has increased as the demand for workers has grown, and as the training offered has been geared more closely to local employer demands. Placements of WPA workers enrolled in training courses to refresh their skills or to acquire new skills have not run so high. Of about 120,000 referred for training, approximately 80,000 have gone back into industry. In this group, age, health, and personality handicaps frequently are complicating factors.

The demand for workers is beginning to solve some problems of discrimination both in training and placement. Women workers, Negro workers, American citizens of German and Italian descent are being accepted in increasing numbers in training classes and placed in
skilled and semi-skilled industrial jobs. For example, several West Coast airplane plants, including Lockheed, Consolidated, and Vultee, are using women on the assembly line, and report them particularly successful as welders. Women are working in plants making small arms, and in assembling delicate mechanisms such as the timing devices in anti-aircraft shells. Women from the needle trades are stitching gas masks and parachutes.

Robert Weaver of the Labor Division of OPM recently reported a marked increase in the number of Negro workers, skilled, unskilled and semi-skilled, at work in navy yards, particularly in Virginia and South Carolina. The rigid color line which existed in the airplane industry less than a year ago is being breached both in training and placement by the shortage of skill. [See Survey Graphic, June 1941, page 321.]

At this writing, it is not clear what changes in training will be brought about by the shift from a defense to a war program, and the reorganization of production under Donald M. Nelson. Nearly 2,700,000 persons have been enrolled in training classes in the last eighteen months. An additional two million have received in-plant training under plans worked out by employers and the training-within-industry branch of the OPM Labor Division. NYA and CCC provide training and work experience, and most of their projects now contribute directly to the war effort, both in training and in accomplishment. Special courses in the engineering schools of colleges and universities, with federal subsidies for the students enrolled, have helped reduce the shortage of technical and supervisory personnel. The need for expanded training opportunities, both to up-grade employed workers and to train the inexperienced, is obvious. Critics of what has been done along these lines in the past eighteen months have asserted that the generous sums appropriated by Congress and allocated by the U. S. Office of Education to state school systems for defense programs do not afford equally effective training in all sections of the country, and are without adequate checks and supervision; to a lack of correlation in some communities between the types of skill needed by local industry and the types of training offered; to discrimination against women and Negroes in some training centers; to overemphasis on classes and courses, not enough emphasis on training within industry; to lack of adequate plant and equipment for sound training in many communities, and especially in provisions for southern Negro workers; to the familiar jealousy and friction among agencies and programs, notably between the Federal Security Agency and OPM, and between the school people and the "youth agencies." It seems reasonable to suppose that the reorganization of production will mean changes in the training program, both inside and outside the schools.

The most recent move toward "wartime mobilization of education" is the establishment of a commission within the U. S. Office of Education "to facilitate the adjustment of educational agencies to war needs; to inform the government agencies directly responsible for the war effort concerning the services schools and colleges can render; and to determine the possible effects upon schools and colleges of proposed policies and programs of these government agencies." John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, is chairman of the commission, which has two "divisional committees," one on state and local school administration, and one on higher education.

At a meeting in Baltimore on January 2, attended by representatives of more than 1,000 colleges and universities, it was voted to "speed up" college training through summer sessions and elimination of many holidays, and to offer "general or specialized intensive training" required to furnish "a greater number of men and women in the categories in which there is a shortage."

The Handling of Industrial Controversy

With the accelerated effort to recruit, train, and allocate manpower for war needs, what is being done to bring about the orderly settlement of industrial disputes, and encourage effective cooperation between management and labor?

Industrial relations early became one of the problem areas of the defense program. The National Defense Mediation Board, which was set up last spring to handle union-management controversies, was handicapped by the fact that it was an experimental agency, hastily cobbled, with little reference to the lessons of World War I. [See Survey Graphic, November 1941, page 611. In spite of notable gains in the direction of civilized industrial relations in the past eight years, the fear and mistrust generated by decades of bitter conflict still linger in labor-management attitudes toward one another. The board confronted difficulties not faced in 1917-18, some of them arising out of the split in the labor movement, and the activities of a number of large new unions with inexperienced membership and leaders. The board had no set of principles, agreed to by both sides, on which to base its work. It was made up of outstanding representatives of industry, labor, and the public, serving on a part time basis without remuneration. In spite of these handicaps, the NDMB made a notable record. By autumn, the observance of a "waiting period" was widely established through habit, instead of by government fiat. In the last week of November, for example, nearly 400,000 workers were involved in disputes before the board, but they were all at work, instead of on strike, during the mediation process.

The "captive coal" case virtually destroyed the usefulness of the board, and threatened to bring about the enactment of harsh anti-union legislation. The CIO refused to accept the ruling of the NDMB, denying the extension of the union shop to the captive coal mines. Many employers and a large section of public opinion were shocked by the CIO rejection of the board's findings, and of the board itself. Editorial writers, radio commentators, members of congress, and many others pointed out that when employers refused to abide by the findings of the NDMB, their plants were taken over by the government. Labor spokesmen argued that the board had established a precedent in granting the union shop in the Bethlehem Shipyards on the Pacific Coast, and in the Kearny case. The controversy was reminiscent of nursery squabbles: "You let Tommy do it—why can't I?" The board insisted that "We handle each case on its merits," not on precedents.

The final handling of "captive coal" was not reassuring even to many union leaders, who saw in it a precedent dangerous to their own interests. John R. Steelman, head of the Conciliation Service in the Department of Labor, was "temporarily relieved" of his governmental post, in order to serve as chairman of the three-man board appointed to "reconsider" the (Continued on page 92)
Alaska—Northern Front

by RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Distant outpost by sea, with no land approach for supplies, Alaska ties the United States close to both theaters of war as the crow—or plane—flies. This western author weighs the value to us of the vast territory once called in derision “Seward’s Folly.”

Alaska’s big agricultural colony at Matanuska, in the uplands behind Anchorage, has long been divided into two conflicting factions. One opposed the present government administration, the other supported it. Now the quarrel has been ceremoniously dropped. The Ice Worms and their rivals, the Cut Worms, have decided to work together for increased farm production, for extra quotas of peas and cabbages and potatoes and barley. More people must be fed in Alaska today than ever before. For two years civilian workers have been constructing extensive fortifications, and now the armed forces of the United States are arriving to man them.

Eighteen thousand adventurers struggled over Chilkoot Pass in the great gold rush of ’98. Figures from the Federal Employment Service reveal that nearly that many persons have come to Alaska to level air fields, deepen harbors, and build barracks. On Kodiak Island, at Dutch Harbor in the volcanic Aleutians, at Anchorage and Sitka and Fairbanks, men are constructing bases and outposts which may become key points in the war that encircles the earth. Already Japanese submarines have been reported near Kodiak, and the navy has announced that “our fleet is ‘on the alert’ for any possible Japanese thrust at Alaska or the Aleutian Islands.”

The war in the Pacific has a northern front. On it fighting has not yet occurred, but fighting men are there and anti-aircraft guns point skyward and lean destroyers patrol the waters offshore. This front is in North America. Most Americans associate it with Eskimos, fur traders and scarlet-jacketed Mounties. Its main areas are Alaska, British Columbia, and the Yukon Territory. This vast wilderness is closer to the war centers than many people realize. Fairbanks, where the army has an expansive air base, may be 5,000 miles from New York, but over the top of the world it is only 4,300 miles to Berlin. Russian aviators have flown over the Arctic ice pack, across Alaska and British Columbia, and landed a few miles from Bonneville Dam in Oregon. America even has an air base at Kiska Island in the Aleutians, which is actually west of Midway.
In The New York Times Hanson W. Baldwin recently pointed out that the increasing strength and vigor of the Soviet armies "probably means, as soon as possible, the flight ferrying of planes to Russia via Alaska and the Aleutians. It surely means strong holding of the Hawaiian-Alaska-Aleutian bases by the United States and the development from those bases of gradual raiding and other aggressive operations against Japan. Strong outposts of American power established at the tip of the Aleutians might lead eventually to combined American-Russian use of the Kamchatka base at Petropavlovsk and to full participation of Russia in the Eastern conflict."

Alaska—a Sword of Damocles for What Country?

Alaska, British Columbia, and the Yukon were far from the first World War. Combat in the Pacific was confined to a few German raiders in the South Seas. The airplane had not yet been improved to any considerable extent. Men from these frontiers fought in the Argonne and at Vimy Ridge, but the frontiers themselves were way removed from the conflict. This time it is different. Kodiak, the principal community of wooded Kodiak Island, was a sleepy town of 500 people until 1939. Now it has 3,000 inhabitants. In the rain and snow, barracks, hangars, and gun emplacements take shape. From the forests the lumbering brown bears that weigh 1,400 pounds and are the biggest meat eaters on earth watch cannily. The war has come to their lairs.

The contours of the globe and the fat western bulge of North America work many strange wonders on distances.

Juneau, capital of Alaska, is 1,200 miles nearer to Tokyo, the capital of Japan, than is Sacramento, the capital of California. American bombers based at Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians are west of our planes based at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. It is 4,000 miles to the nearest Japanese land from Pearl Harbor, less than 2,000 miles from Dutch Harbor. American sailors stationed at Dutch Harbor eat their brisket and boiled potatoes within 1,700 miles of the big Japanese naval base at Paramushir. San Francisco is closer to Guam via Dutch Harbor than via Pearl Harbor.

Today the Allies are fighting the Japanese invaders in the thick jungles of Malaya and the tropical verdure of the Philippines and the East Indies. This is across the world from Alaska's windy plains and the cathedral-like ramparts of British Columbia's mountains. But look at the globe on your desk. By holding a shoelace taut from Yokohama to our great naval base at Bremerton on Puget Sound you will find that the shortest route between these opposing symbols of ocean strength crosses the long chain of the Aleutian Islands, which extend from Alaska almost to the International dateline. This is the Great Circle Route, the Aleutian course to Asia.

What does all this mean? It means that as long as war continues in the Pacific Ocean, the northern ramparts of this continent are always a potential zone of combat. Long before the attack on Honolulu our army and navy realized that bombers based in the Aleutians were a fiery sword of Damocles for us to hold over Japan's bamboo cities. This is particularly true with the Soviet Union as an active or passive ally. From Dutch Harbor to the great Siberian base of Nikolaevsk our B-17 Flying Fortresses do not have to fly as far as from San Francisco to Pearl Harbor, and deliveries over the latter distance are made constantly. Surprisingly, Dutch Harbor is 2,558 miles from the Golden Gate, while Pearl Harbor is 2,402.

So into the amphitheater of conflict in this stupendous conflict have been swept men and women whose lives—and the lives of their ancestors—have seldom been so directly touched by war. When war started in Danzig in 1939, who would have thought that in two and a half years Whitehorse and Anchorage and Vancouver might be military objectives? Yet women and children have been evacuated from Sitka and sent to Seattle. There have been blackouts in Juneau and Victoria and Portland. Radio stations have been off the air twenty-four hours at a time in Spokane and Tacoma and even in Boise, Idaho, where Senator Borah lived. Hostile airplane carriers have been rumored off the mouth of the Columbia River and the Straits of Juan de Fuca. On their mountain patrols in British Columbia, the Canadian Mounties watch for enemy planes.

Not all the defense booms have occurred in New Jersey and California and Massachusetts. At isolated airfields in Alaska mechanics have earned $25 for an eight-hour day. It has not been uncommon for electricians at Kodiak or Fairbanks to receive weekly pay checks of $200. The army wants all the canned salmon it can get, and Indians with rusty boats in Bristol Bay have received as much for the Sockeye they hauled in within a month as they formerly were able to earn for an entire year's effort. Occasionally this has amounted to $5,000. Military posts and the lease-lend program have taken nearly 2,000,000 cases of Alaskan and Columbia River salmon.

But the war which has turned the red flesh of salmon into a golden stream may soon shut the spigot. The prin-
principal Alaskan fishing area is Bristol Bay, which lies north of the Aleutians. Already government insurance against bombardment and other military damage has been extended to the canneries and other fishing property along the shore. The big arrow-shaped inlet is extremely vulnerable, and Senator Mon C. Wallgren of Washington has asked for insurance on fishing vessels and dories as well. The Fishermen’s Union, a CIO affiliate, also is seeking this protection. “Salmon fishing boats in Bristol Bay,” says the president of the union, J. F. Jurich, “are virtually without defense against enemy action.”

Many people in the Northwest and the North have realized these things with something of a shock. Men and women in Seattle have watched in considerable amazement as big army transports from Alaska docked with hundreds of women and children fleeing the threat of total war. These are the families of both defense workers and military officers who are garrisoning the Territory. In British Columbia a man said to me: “When I read about those refugees in Poland it seemed like I was reading about events which went on in another world, sort of in Mars or on Jupiter. Now we have refugees in our own part of the world. It seems almost unbelievable. I didn’t think any place could really be as far from the war as British Columbia.”

In 1939 Alaska Had One Outmoded Army Post

Yet in Alaska, even before France fell, some men realized what was going to take place. In 1939 the only military establishment in Alaska was two companies of infantry stationed at Chilkoot Barracks in Haines, near the upper end of the Inside Passage. This was an obsolete post. It had been strategic during the days of the gold rush, but it was strategic no longer. It was the Alaskan counterpart of the barracks that dot the Far West as a hangover from the Indian wars. Then in 1939 the army decided to build bases at Fairbanks and Anchorage. In March of 1940 Governor Ernest Gruening of Alaska went to Washington to seek appropriations for the defense of the Territory. Gruening, well known as a newspaper editor and the author of “Mexico and Its Heritage” and other books about the Western Hemisphere, told members of Congress that Alaska would be vital in any extension of the war to the Pacific.

“Alaska,” said he, “is not only closer to Japan than the Hawaiian Islands but fronts Russia both west and north and is likely to be extremely important in the event of trans-polar aviation which is already an established reality.”

But from the appropriation bill for the army that year Congress cut out $68,000,000. That squashed plans for the Anchorage base. Anchorage lies at the source of the Aleutian Peninsula, is only a short distance north of Kodiak and commands the vast interior. All that was left for Alaska was the automatic maintenance of the Chilkoot Barracks and expenditures for an experimental flying field at Fairbanks. And the Chilkoot post was about as useful as an arsenal of bows and arrows. General George C. Marshall, the army chief of staff, agreed with Governor Gruening that the base at Anchorage was the most essential item killed by the cutting of $68,000,000 from the appropriations. For three weeks Alaska’s governor and the head of the American army pleaded with the House Committee on Military Affairs, with no apparent success.
Hitler on April 9, 1940, assured the fortification of Alaska. On that day he invaded Denmark and Norway. Congressmen looked at the top of the globe and saw how comparatively short was the distance across the Arctic from Alaska to the fiords where Nazi warships and planes were thrusting at the peaceful Norwegian towns and countryside. The funds for the Anchorage base were immediately restored. Additional money was soon made available for other Alaskan defense projects. Today Governor Gruening remarks reminiscently: "After the Germans attacked Scandinavia, we got back the Anchorage base and subsequently a lot more. Now of course, in my judgment, has the greatest potential offense possibilities of any region under the American flag."

Gruening is the most unusual governor in the history of our 586,400-square mile Territory in the North. He went into journalism after becoming a physician and surgeon. On his trips to far-flung sections of his domain he brings medical as well as social and economic advice. Although fifty-four years old, he goes swimming in the chilly waters near Sitka and has vanquished the Juneau tennis champion, Joe Bird. He once was editor of The Nation. Gruening has insisted that the territorial legislature levy new taxes to expand social services as education, public health, and care of indigent children. He also demanded early in 1941 that the Territory do its part in the defense program by constructing armories for the troops to be sent from "outside" to defend Alaska. When a minority of the legislature blocked this proposal by shrewd parliamentary maneuvers, Governor Gruening went before the electorate and named those who had opposed the measure.

Democracies react slowly, and only now are the people of Alaska, British Columbia, and the Yukon begin...
ning to awaken to the emergency confronting their sector of the continent. Long ago Vilhjalmur Stefansson declared that the colonization of Alaska was essential to its protection. The total land available for farming and grazing in Alaska has been estimated as being equal in area to that of the Atlantic states as far south as Virginia. It is a myth that most of Alaska is frozen. At Fairbanks, 120 miles south of the Arctic Circle, it occasionally is 100° in the shade. North of the circle, potatoes and spinach grow. In much of the Arctic lowlands of Alaska there is less snowfall each year than in New York City. Yet despite all this, only 2,000 of the Territory’s 73,000 population are farmers, and this is true even after the intensive encouragement of the highly controversial Matanuska project.

Increased food production is one of the big jobs facing Alaska today. Troops are arriving all the time. Civilians, many of them skilled technicians, have come in to build the military establishments. The colonists at Matanuska realize that agricultural output on their land, for example, must be increased at least 35 percent. Dr. Herbert C. Hanson, the manager of the colony, says that crops, herds, and all other activities will be boosted at once. He hopes not only to produce enough food for Alaska but to send produce down to Seattle on the ships which steam up the Inland Passage with contingents of soldiers.

A paramount reason why Alaska must raise more produce is that the United States has no land communication with its great northern outpost. To all intents and purposes Alaska is an island. The British Columbia and Yukon wilderness cut it off from our trains and trucks as surely as does the water surrounding Honolulu. The rail and highway transportation system of the North American continent ends at Hazelton, in the British Columbia fastnesses. From there only two ways lead to Alaska—by air, or by steamship from Prince Rupert on the Coast. These methods are inadequate for a military emergency, because one is too slow and the other cannot transport heavy equipment.

For the past three years there has been considerable talk about completing the road from either Hazelton or Prince George to Whitehorse and Fairbanks. The bombs that fell on Pearl Harbor made people realize that the undertaking must soon emerge from the talking stage. The Alaskan International Highway Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt, has announced that the eight-day ocean voyage to our base at Anchorage in Alaska could be reduced to sixty hours with a highway north from Prince George. Surveys for the road have been completed. Engineers estimate that if construction began immediately, trucks would be starting for Fairbanks by the end of 1942. Road crews can work in the British Columbia woods during most of the year.

“Alaska at the present moment is reached from the United States only by water and air,” reports Congress-man Warren G. Magnuson of Seattle, who is chairman of the American Highway Commission and also a lieutenant commander in the American navy. “In case of loss of control of the Pacific to hostile forces, the great air field at Fairbanks and the large army post at Anchorage would be cut off in the matter of heavy equipment. Tanks and trucks could only be flown in unassembled. It would take thousands of freight planes to supply the military and civilian populations. Alaska would probably have to be evacuated, especially should Russia fall and a German-Japanese combination control the Asiatic shore. With Alaska an alien base, the whole northwestern part of the continent would be under continuous threat.”

**Neighbors on the Coast Become Alarmed**

HARD, BRISTLING FACTS SUCH AS THESE HAVE HEAVILY JARRED the men and women who live in the immense coastal belt extending from the California-Oregon border to the Bering Sea. Of the 21 Senators and Representatives from the Pacific Northwest, 14 opposed repeal of the Neutrality Act. They decided even more lopsidedly, 16 to 5, against extending the draft. Until the Japanese assaults on December 7 the war seemed far away from the North Pacific Coast. Now all this has changed. In the neighborhood of Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams more than a third of the country’s aluminum soon will be produced. Crowds in Seattle smashed in store windows which failed to darken during the recent blackouts. Barbed wire has been strung along the beaches which lie below Oregon’s stern capes.

A farmer not far from Vancouver, British Columbia, observed: “I’m past 60. This is the first time that I have ever seen my neighbors really excited and disturbed. The last war was not very close to us. The Spanish-American War was clear across the earth. But this war is right on our seashore.” The accelerated pace of the lumber industry has added to this feeling. Out of the Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia woods is coming the
timber for barracks, shipyards, and airplane hangars. Sitka spruce is at a premium. Logging outfits walk through a whole grove to get just one spruce tree. It is ideal for trainer planes, and hundreds of woodworking shops all over England are trimming and sawing it into airplane parts.

There are many recriminations in the West because of the immense shipments of oil and scrap iron sent from every port to Japan. Nor was that all. Spruce is scarce now because so much was shipped to our present enemies. Countless huge blocks of Douglas fir were sent to the Japanese to be made into cantonments for the Emperor's troops and as early as 1938 loggers in the Oregon woods were calling these blocks "Jap squares." In 1940 hundreds of men and women in Portland picketed loads of scrap iron consigned to Tokyo and Yokohama. Today men and women in the towns along the Columbia River and Puget Sound remark, "Well, when will the old logging railroad that was pulled up back in our hills be dropped through our roof?"

These circumstances may have an important bearing on post-war developments. After Armistice Day, 1918, it was the West which turned its back on Europe first. From the West came many of the leaders in the struggle against the League of Nations. Today, America is involved in war along its western shores. Since early in December the Pacific Coast has fronted on that war. This may mean that when victory is won again, the West may be more willing to participate actively in organizing a permanent peace. Professor G. Bernard Noble of Reed College in Portland, who was a consultant to the American delegation to Versailles in 1917, said recently: "I am sure that now our western states recognize the need for a lasting world order. The threat of hostile forces off the Oregon Coast has done more to insure such an attitude than ten thousand books and pamphlets."

Defense of Alaska is directly tied in with the defense of the western shores of continental United States. The headquarters of the 13th Naval District in Seattle supervises operations in Alaska. Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt in San Francisco is also commander of the Alaska military area. And the Pacific Northwest headquarters of the National Resources Planning Board in Portland oversees the use and development of the resources of Alaska. Although it is not commonly recognized, the problems of Alaska are not vastly different from those of the Northwest. Timber, diversified farming, mineral development, grazing and control of the Public Domain are paramount issues in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, just as they are in Alaska. Juneau, the Alaskan capital nestled at the base of high mountains, is not unlike the lumber towns which cling to the shores of the Olympic Peninsula in the state of Washington.

Dutch Harbor Becomes a Symbol

All along the Pacific Coast, from Los Angeles to the Arctic Circle, the main interest centers on one base. That base is Dutch Harbor. Few civilians have been there. Yet it is sort of a symbol. Now that the Philippines are in jeopardy, it symbolizes America's farthest flung outpost in the direction of the enemy. Should the United States assault Japan or Japan strike toward Alaska, Dutch Harbor may become as familiar a name in the headlines as Singapore or Manila or Suez. What are a few of the facts about this remote base?

Dutch Harbor is part of Unalaska Island in the Aleutians. It is not a new settlement as most people believe. In fact, it is much older than Seattle or Portland or Omaha. A Russian trader, Fedor Solovief, camped at Unalaska in 1779. Members of the Greek Orthodox Catholic Church were worshipping there before Fulton invented the steamboat. Today American seamen pray for victory and eventual peace in weatherbeaten old churches with towers that look like rounded minarets. The harbor is big enough to accommodate our whole Pacific fleet. Above it frown peaks and dark hills. Below the rugged slopes American warships cruise vigilantly, ready to play a part in the war centered in the distant south.

Even before Hitler struck at Poland Merle Colby wrote: ("A Guide to Alaska," Federal Writers' Project. Macmillan): "A fleet based at Unalaska is in the most powerful position for either offensive or defensive operations at any place in the Pacific—to prevent an attack on the West Coast or Honolulu, and to intercept or destroy a fleet attempting to attack the Panama Canal." Dutch Harbor is one and three fourths mile long and a half mile wide, and it gets its name from the legend that a Dutch schooner was supposed to have been first to sail into it. This is probably apocryphal, however, and the Russians were undoubtedly the bay's discoverers. The naval reservation covers 64,640 acres. Near Unalaska, on the island of Unmak, a rancher from distant Utah, Carlyle Eubank, has a herd of 15,000 sheep which annually yields about 120,000 pounds of wool.

Atu Island is the last westerly extremity of the Aleutians. In the United States Naval Institute Proceedings for June of 1941, W. L. Goldsborough maintained that any force "proceeding from northern Asia would be intercepted by forces based on Atu while still far from our coasts." He pointed out that the average winter temperature at Dutch Harbor was only 32⁰ Fahrenheit and during the summer 54⁰. He also claimed that while there is fog in the area, it is less than around Lands End near Halifax. Mr. Goldsborough has stated that airplane flight from Seattle to Siberian bases via Dutch Harbor would entail no single hop longer than 1,707 miles, and Seattle is the site of the huge Boeing plant where the Fying Fortresses are constructed. Anthony J. (Tony) Dimond, popular delegate from Alaska, who for years has been the Territory's spokesman in "the States," vouches for the accuracy of these statements.

Not since Alaska was purchased from Russia by Secretary Seward for $7,200,000, has the sprawling outpost north of British Columbia and west of the Yukon been so conspicuous and prominent in the eyes of the people who own it. Do not forget that 98 percent of Alaska's land is still Public Domain, the property of the American government. Today the emphasis is on war and preparation for war. Yet Alaska's biggest boom—a defense boom that is bigger and more significant than the Klondike gold rush—may make possible greater development and progress when peace is restored. Listen to the prophecy of Major General H. H. Arnold, chief of the army air corps:

Air bases and airway facilities, emergency landing fields, radio beacons, weather stations, and other air improvements which the federal government is introducing in Alaska are equally usable for civil air commerce. They lie along the logical air routes from the Far East to the industrial centers of the United States. They are the airways of the future.
Foreshadow of War

The twig was already bent in Japan in the direction of war a decade ago, as these illustrations show. The drawing at the right by a nine-year-old boy was included in the official Japanese exhibit sent to an international show of children's drawings held in Vienna in 1934. The child's knowledge of up-to-date equipment speaks for itself.

The poem under this picture in a Japanese book for children published in the early 30's reads as follows:
"There was war on the sea
And the cannons made much noise.
Turn your course
And the enemy runs away.
Get the enemy!
Get the enemy!"

Another martial illustration in a book for young Japanese. These photographs of material in pre-Nazi exhibitions in Austria are published by courtesy of H. Felix Kraus, artist and author.
Has the “Middle Class” a Future?

by MARGARET MEAD

In this stimulating article a distinguished American anthropologist answers the question in a typically American way— with the same practical, dynamic, healthy optimism that made this country great.

This question has been posed to me as one who is accustomed to look at societies from the outside. In particular, I was asked to consider the American middle class in the light of the changes which have gone so much farther in Germany and England. Now this assumes that the class structure is something which cuts across national boundaries, that the middle class in Germany, the middle class in England, and the middle class in America, are essentially similar. Only if they are similar is it safe to argue from their fate under Hitler or under the Churchill government, to their probable fate here.

The argument might run something like this: first we would show that the middle class, defined as small businessmen, shopkeepers, white collar workers, some types of professionals, and so on, has suffered occupationally, as modern industry has been rationalized for war; and then that the German middle class in the course of their suffering had turned more and more to fascist solutions. Consequently, assuming that class is class the world over, we can become very alarmed when we hear that some group of small businessmen have started banding together to lament over their hard fate, or when the Saturday Evening Post publishes an editorial called “Total Taxation” about a poor man who used to make wrought iron ornaments and has to go out of business because he can no longer make wrought iron ornaments. Thus, whenever the business and financial press talks about the woes and persecutions under which an abstraction called “business” suffers in this country, we can glibly foresee that what happened in Germany and Austria is in a fair way to happen here.

When businessmen’s associations talk of the New Deal as having set “class against class” they are doing a good job of work for the Marxian analysis, and one which most of the workers’ leaders in this country have failed to do. It is possible that, just as Marx was followed in the Russian revolution so faithfully and successfully in a country without a formidable proletariat, so the Nazi dogma, which idealizes the “healthy middle class” and tells it that it is suffering and must rise to defend itself, might conceivably be followed in this country where actually the “middle class” is undergoing no such terrible suffering as it did in Germany, and as some romanticists have attributed to it here.

Before Hitler, the Weimar Republic made a great effort to stabilize the middle-aged middle class, leaving the streets filled with young men without jobs, without money enough to entertain a girl, without, in fact, any stake in the future. The Hitler party used the still discontented and unstabilized middle class—left penniless and insecure by the inflation—as the backbone of Nazism, and their unemployed sons as its storm troopers. In Germany, shortages of raw materials and the German version of priorities meant that a lot of small manufacturers and shopkeepers had to close down, and a lot of people who had prided themselves on working for themselves had to go to work for someone else. So, if we carefully read our newspapers for the same kind of news and we believe that the American middle class is the same as the German middle class, we might assume that our middle class, class being class, would have the same fate, and that it will take then the same political line. England’s methods of sharing production among big and small businesses might be cited in contrast, but the recent American announcement that the conversion of small factories for defense orders is to be allowed to wait will be compared, with an ominous shake of the editorial head, to the German, rather than to the English method.

The Dangerous Dogma

Now this type of class analysis assumes that class is a sort of reality, with laws of its own, inexorably correlated with the degree of industrialization of a country, about which it is possible to predict accurately. In repudiating any such iron-clad regularity, I want to make it clear that the dogma of “class” has enormous potential danger in it. It makes not the slightest degree of difference whether the people who believe that the middle class is doomed want it to be doomed, or fear that it will be doomed; whether they are fascists at heart using well tried fascist techniques, or the most devoted anti-Nazis, patiently trying to explain to the American people the terrible danger that they are in. If the dogma is sufficiently well promulgated, if enough people succeed in identifying themselves as members of a terribly endangered middle class then this country will be in danger of a fascist revolution. Should such a revolution occur, a revolution like the Nazis’ which does not save the class on which it climbs to power, those who accept the class analysis will then point to what has occurred and say it was “inevitable.” It is, however, certain that while one of the possible futures of the American middle class is to accept this European definition of its own fate, it is not the only possible future, and there are reasons to hope that it is not the future. The belief may be inaccurate or, if accurate, means may be found of combating it.

There are two ways of considering the question of whether a given group has a future. One is to take a passive attitude towards history, to say: “Such and such a process is going on. Chain stores are replacing individually owned shops, priorities will upset a lot of small manufacturers— these are the indices; from them we read off the future.” The other way is to take a more dynamic

In the references in this article to European experiences of recent years, Dr. M. Mead wishes to acknowledge the helpful assistance of Grett Stoffel-Gluck and Peter Stephen Gluck, who are now engaged in a study of the German middle class under Nazism, and of Heinz Stoffler, formerly identified with white collar labor unions in Austria.
point of view, to say: "As the members of the middle class think of themselves, so will others think of them. As the members of the middle class conceive of their future and the future of their children, so will it work for and attain that future." The middle class are the people who have determined the future of the United States since its inception. Ground down by no feudal system, on the defensive against no terribly hungry workers fenced into too narrow a space, the American middle class has been virtually most of the American people.

When the American Talks of Classes


PARTS OF NEW ENGLAND ALSO HAVE RETAINED A CERTAIN AURA OF THE ENGLISH CLASS SYSTEM; AND RICH AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ANXIOUS TO APE THE ENGLISH SYSTEM AS CORRECTLY AS POSSIBLE, TO GET THEMSELVES PRESENTED AT COURT AND MARRIED INTO SOME (VIRTUALLY ANY) EUROPEAN ARISTOCRACY. IMMIGRANTS COMING TO THIS COUNTRY HAVE BROUGHT WITH THEM CLASS-TYPED ATTITUDES, PERHAPS NONE MORE THAN THE IMMIGRANT WITH A TINY BIT OF CAPITAL, WHO BROUGHT HIS CLINGING LOWER CLASS ANXIETY WITH HIM TO HIS CIGAR STORE IN ST. LOUIS OR OSHKOSH. GENERATION AFTER GENERATION, THOSE WHO CAME TO THIS COUNTRY FROM EUROPE OR THOSE WHO LEFT THIS COUNTRY FOR EUROPE HAVE TRAFFICKE WITH EUROPEAN IDEAS OF THE CLASS SYSTEM.

IN SPITE, HOWEVER, OF THIS CONTINUAL IMPACT OF EUROPEAN IDEAS, IN THE MOST SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS TO INTERPRET EUROPEAN SOCIETY IN TERMS OF A CLASS ANALYSIS—THAT MADE BY PROFESSOR LLOYD WARNER AND HIS ASSOCIATES—THERE IS ONE VERY FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN CLASS SYSTEMS. EVEN WHEN THE SCIENTISTS CHOSE TO STUDY THE TWO MOST CLASS-IDEA-RIDDEN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, THE FORM WHICH THEY HAD TO GIVE THEIR ANALYSIS IS VERY SIGNIFICANT. THEY IDENTIFY SIX CLASSES: UPPER UPPER, LOWER UPPER, UPPER MIDDLE, MIDDLE MIDDLE, UPPER LOWER, AND LOWER LOWER. IN ENGLAND, ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY PEOPLE WHO ARE SIMPLY LOWER (I.E. MIDDLE LOWER), MIDDLE (MIDDLE MIDDLE), AND UPPER (MIDDLE UPPER) CLASS, WITH A FRINGE ON EACH OF THESE CLASSES OF THE UPWARD AND DOWNWARD MOBILE PEOPLE (I.E., A NINE CLASS SYSTEM). IN A REAL CLASS SYSTEM, IN WHICH THE MIDDLE CLASS ARE WHAT THEIR NAME IMPLIES, A MIDDLE GROUP DEFINED BY INHERITANCE AND OCCUPATION, THERE MUST BE A MIDDLE MIDDLE, PEOPLE WHO SIMPLY ACCEPT THAT THEY ARE WHERE THEY ARE—"IN THAT STATE OF LIFE TO WHICH IT HAS PLEASED GOD TO CALL THEM."

The "Middle Class" Attitude

WHEN WE SAY THAT AMERICA IS A MIDDLE CLASS COUNTRY, DO WE MEAN THEN THAT AMERICA WAS SETTLED BY MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE, OR THAT IT HAS A MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO CAN BE CLASSIFIED AS LOWER MIDDLE AND UPPER MIDDLE BUT NO MIDDLE MIDDLE CLASS? WHAT ASPECT OF THE EUROPEAN IDEA OF MIDDLE CLASS ARE WE USING? ARE WE DEFINING THE MIDDLE CLASS MERELY BY A "MIDDLE POSITION" IN A HIERARCHY THAT CAN BE IDENTIFIED BY SIZE OF INCOME, "THE MIDDLE INCOME BRACKETS," THE TYPE OF OCCUPATION? WHEN WE GO OVER THE UNITED STATES, WHEN WE LOOK AT INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES TO DECIDE WHETHER WE WOULD OR WOULD NOT CALL THEM MIDDLE CLASS, WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA? POSITION IN A HIERARCHY? HARDLY, FOR IF WE USE THE WARNER ANALYSIS WE CAN FIND MUSHROOM TOWNS WHICH HAVE NO UPPER CLASS, IF THE TEST OF AN UPPER CLASS BE THAT ITS MEMBERS CAN MIX INTIMATELY WITH THOSE DEFINED AS UPPER CLASS IN THE NEXT THREE OR FOUR TOWNS. OCCUPATION? CERTAINLY NOT, BECAUSE IN THE STRONGHOLDS OF ARISTOCRACY IN THE SOUTH, TWO MEN MAY HOLD IDENTICAL JOBS, BOTH MAY BE LAWYERS OR BOTH STATION AGENTS, BUT ONE, ON THE BASIS OF BLOOD AND ACCEPTANCE IN UPPER CLASS GROUPS, IS STILL "REAL OLD SOUTHERN ARISTOCRAT," THE OTHER IS NOT. AND MOST ENLIGHTENING OF ALL, WHEN THE WARNER ANALYSIS IS APPLIED TO NEGRO COMMUNITIES, THERE WE FIND ALSO AN "UPPER MIDDLE AND LOWER MIDDLE CLASS," WITH OCCUPATIONS WHICH WOULD BE CLASSIFIED "LOWER CLASS" AMONG WHITE GROUPS; BUT THE PRACTITIONERS OF THESE OCCUPATIONS DISPLAY ALL THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC MIDDLE CLASS ATTITUDES. NOR CAN WE IDENTIFY THE MIDDLE CLASS BY WHAT THEY DON'T DO—BY THEIR REFUSAL TO WORK WITH THEIR HANDS, OR TO WORK AT DIRTY JOBS. ASIDE FROM THE EXAMPLE PROVIDED BY THE NEGROES, THERE ARE NUMEROUS EXAMPLES WHERE MEN EITHER EAGERLY OR UNDER PRESSURE, AS FIRST JOBS OR BECAUSE OF THE LOSS OF MONEY OR DURING A DEPRESSION, WORK WITH THEIR HANDS IN VARIOUS JOBS WHICH WOULD BE DEFINED AS "LOWER CLASS"; YET THESE MEN NEVERTHLESS RETAIN THEIR TYPICALLY MIDDLE CLASS ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS. LEAST OF ALL, PERHAPS, IS INCOME A CRITERION. IT IS POSSIBLE TO FIND FAMILIES WITH A TYPICAL MIDDLE CLASS ATTITUDE LIVING ON A HUNDRED DOLLARS A MONTH, AND OTHER FAMILIES WHERE ADULT WORKING CHILDREN BRING IN LARGE WAGES, AND THE INCOME MAY BE THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS A MONTH BUT THE ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR ARE NOT MIDDLE CLASS. IF, THEN, THE MIDDLE CLASS CANNOT BE DEFINED BY OCCUPATION, INCOME, POSITION IN A HIERARCHY, OR EVEN BY THE OCCUPATIONS WHICH IT DOES NOT FOLLOW, WHAT DO WE MEAN BY THE PHRASE "MIDDLE CLASS"?

WHEN WE ASK THE QUESTION THIS WAY, WE FIND THAT WHAT MAY BE CALLED A "TYPICAL MIDDLE CLASS BEHAVIOR PATTERN" IS A PATTERN OF BEHAVIOR WHICH IS IN EFFECT A DENIAL OF ALL THOSE ASPECTS OF THE CLASS SYSTEM WHICH ARE HOLD-OVERS FROM OR TENDENCIES TOWARDS A CASTE SYSTEM. SUCH AN ANALYSIS EMPHASIZES THE ASPECTS OF CLASS, VERTICAL MOBILITY WITHIN ONE GENERATION WHICH DISTINGUISH CLASS FROM CASTE, WITH ITS RIGID PATTERNS OF INHERITED STATUS. A MIDDLE CLASS ATTITUDE, IN THIS SENSE, MAY BE CALLED THE PRINCIPLE COMPONENT OF A SUCCESS SYSTEM, USING THE TERM SUCCESS SYSTEM AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO CASTE AND CLASS SYSTEMS, TO DESCRIBE SOCIETIES WHERE THERE IS A WIDE RANGE OF STATUS AND WEALTH BUT WHERE INDIVIDUALS DO NOT CLASSIFY THEMSELVES, PRIMARILY, IN REFERENCE TO GROUPS OF OTHER INDIVIDUALS. SO THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS MAN THINKS OF HIMSELF AS A "SUCCESS," AS "HAVING MADE THE GRADE," NOT AS HAVING GOTTEN INTO A CLASS.

THE MOST TYPICAL ELEMENT IN THE SUCCESS SYSTEM, BEST EXEMPLIFIED BY MIDDLE CLASS FRINGES IN EUROPE, AND BY THE BULK OF AMERICANS, MAY BE DESCRIBED AS A MORAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS LIFE, A BELIEF THAT SUCCESS IS THE RESULT OF EFFORT, THE REWARD FOR SAVING, SELF DENIAL, AND HARD WORK, AND A DEPENDENCE UPON THE SELF FOR ONE'S FATE IN THE WORLD. COUPLED WITH THIS ATTITUDE WHICH DEVELOPED CON-
currently with the emergence of the middle class in Europe, there is another element, the element of fear and guilt. As success is the reward of virtue it is also the proof of virtue; to fail is to be branded as having sinned. Unfortunately because the middle class man, whether trader, shopkeeper, small landowner, or artisan, has lived in a highly complex and competitive world in which trends beyond his immediate control operate, his success has never lain fully in his own hands, as his creed has taught him to believe. This discrepancy between the belief that virtue is always rewarded by upward social mobility and the fact that it is often is, is a continual breeding ground for fear and insecurity. So we may speak of the middle class attitude as a compound of two things: the expectation and duty of rising, and the fear and dereliction of falling. (If this attitude is combined with an old established caste system held over from feudal times, there may be whole groups who are able to stabilize the success attitude and the caste attitude inversely, and settle down as "merchant princes" or as Mittelstand; defining success as merely the maintenance of past status.) This acceptance of immobility may be said to be least typical for the middle class, a hold-over from the caste system, and not the new attitude which appeared in Europe with the so-called "rise of the middle class." In fact the typical middle class attitude which assumes mobility—a rise with virtue and a fall with vice (vice being defined as spendthrift behavior, which is shiftless, improvident, lazy, and so forth) is a denial of the caste system within which it developed. Caste systems are essentially hostile to mobility, although almost all of them have a safety value to present—carefully circumscribed and supervised mobility. The English caste system has always had mechanisms by which commoners could enter the aristocracy, by which the poorest peasant lad, if he showed extreme promise, might enter a university, and by which the more gifted sons of impecunious professional people were assured opportunity. But in spite of such safety devices within a caste system, it is still assumed that the vast majority of people will take their cues to a way of life from their parents' position, and will accept that way of life. The middle class, by insisting upon the association between psychological security and mobility, denied the caste system from the start.

**America Is a Success System Country**

It is this aspect of the middle class, the association of virtue, diligence, and social mobility, which has characterized the whole American attitude toward life, and which justifies us in saying that however much our wealthy may play at a caste system, or however much our prodigal contempt for democratic values may depress millions of sharecroppers and mine workers, America is essentially a success system country in the attitudes which we foster and by which we live.

But, you may well ask, if these attitudes of thrift, personal ambition, and emphasis upon success as the proof of virtue are found in the middle class in Europe and found predominantly among those who can be classified in the same way in America, aren't these attitudes simply due to the continuance of an old caste system into modern capitalism and dependent upon it? To this question, there are two answers. One is that among the Manus, a small tribe of 2,200 natives in New Guinea, living in the Old Stone Age, worshipping the ghosts of their dead ancestors, who had not only never experienced the whole economic evolution which is supposed to have produced our "typical middle class attitudes" toward success, but had never even had iron, writing, or monotheism, I found the entire set of middle class attitudes. Not one was missing—thrift, prudence, denial of immediate pleasure for future goals, focus on the economic future of the child, manipulation of capital for one's own and the children's mobility, the interpretation of failure as sin and success as virtue, emphasis upon continual mobility, and continual anxiety over the fear of failing. Yet this was not a caste society; what ideas of rank they had preserved had merely been absorbed as goals for "middle class striving." Each man rose or fell as an individual. Success systems are one way in which human beings can organize their lives, a way which happened to be developed in Europe during the rise of modern capitalism, because the rise of capitalism gave a particularly good chance for individual initiative for the individual who was willing to trust to his own efforts rather than to the structure of society. Conditions in America, before 1929, where opportunity was so much freer than in Europe, were again analogous to conditions at the end of the Middle Ages, or in the early nineteenth century in England. Open frontiers of opportunity accentuated the development of a positive attitude towards individual initiative.

**How the Success Character Is Produced**

**Before considering what chance people with this attitude towards life, with its contrast between boundless optimistic energy reinforced by a strong sense of guilt, and its terrific fear of falling below standards, have of survival in the next half of this century, it is necessary to explore a little further how this middle class success character is developed. Obviously, it is not the direct result of white table cloths or piano lessons, or being in church, plans to send sons to college, or contempt for whatever happens to be classified as "lower class," and envy and moral disapprobation of "upper class looseness" . . . although it may be compounded of all of these in our society. The Manus natives who showed such a typical middle class character structure have no lower class to despise and no upper class to envy and depreciate, no white table cloths and no piano lessons. What are the essential elements?**

The first essential to producing a middle class success character is that parents should bring up their own children and put a good deal of time into it, punishing their children when they do wrong and rewarding them when they do right. This, of course, is the way in which children are brought up in a great proportion of American homes and it may seem strange to single it out. But in the typical upper class home, the children are reared not by parents but by nurses who teach them how to behave towards their parents; and in the lower class home, there are too many children, and parents are too pressed to do more in their formal teaching than explain necessary precautionary behavior towards the upper class or castes—they have neither the time, nor the time-perspective to make it worthwhile to devote the same efforts to forming the character of their children. In "Children of Bondage" by Dollard and Davis, there is a most precise description of the definite motivation of the middle class Negro mother spending infinite pains choosing her children's friends, insisting on their achievement in school, planning for their future. Only in the middle class do we get these
necessary conditions, mothers who think that forming their children's character is important, who also have the time to spend and few enough children so that they can give them enough attention. (Among the Manus, there was an average of 1.2 child per married couple.) Among the great majority of the primitive peoples of the world which we have any record, children are cared for and disciplined by child nurses, by grandparents, by scare dancers, by mothers mimicking fear (not preaching duty), by a hundred other devices, but not by the typical middle class device in which the parent holds herself or himself up as a model to the child.

From this method of child training, through which the child accepts as his ideal the parent's presentation of himself, and feels guilty all his life if he does not do what his "conscience" tells him, and is willing to interpret failure to succeed in life as punishment, arises the typically middle class idea of progress—the belief that each generation will improve on the last. This again is a typically American idea, grounded in the adolescent's rejection of his own parents as far less perfect than he thought, coupled with his memory of that high ideal which he absorbed in early childhood. Father is not so much, but it is possible for man to be great and good, just and infinitely successful. Significantly, our American ideals are placed far in the past—Washington and Lincoln—and in the future, what our children are going to do. As long as we keep our middle class character as a nation, essays on "the American Century" will be congenial reading; and romantic accounts of the downfall of American business, disproved by any sober comparison between expanding industries which have continued to expand and contracting industries which started contracting during the Coolidge administration, won't make so much sense.

The Theory That the Good Man Makes Good

But now it is necessary to return to the beginning of the article, to the wail of many small businessmen and white collar workers, that the middle class is losing out. Why have we had thousands of American citizens, authentically middle class in attitude and behavior, who were willing to join organizations more or less conspicuously fascist? It cannot merely be European propaganda, whether pro-proletariat, pro-fascist, or anti-fascist, that is responsible. Powerful as ideas may be, they must always have ground in which to take root.

The ground is, of course, in the double attitude of the middle class towards success, that attitude which, while typically American, is found in its most intense form in those whom we here classify as middle class, or "those who are concerned with the problem of mobility." In good times, when opportunities are opening up, and there are jobs everywhere, the positive side of the middle class character is given play. Mr. Jones is succeeding, making more money this year than he did last, sending his children to good schools, buying a new car. All this Mr. Jones takes as proof that God is in his heaven and satisfied with him. But in times when there are few opportunities, during depression when hundreds of thousands of people suffer in spite of their best efforts, Mr. Jones loses the proof that he is a good man of whom God approves. All of his life he has identified success and goodness. When he fails, he feels terribly threatened, he looks about for someone to blame, for someone to take the load of guilt which he cannot bear alone. So while the conscience and ambition of the middle class provide enormous driving power for a country in good periods, the guilt of the middle class at failure provides an equally enormous vulnerability in bad times.

If the typical American middle class man's attitude is a moral one, if he is not concerned—like the German middle class man, with whom he has been over-compared—with status as status, with petty self-importance or petty officialdom, and pride of place and the right to call his wife Mrs. Assistant Bank Collector Brown, but primarily with success, movement, sense that he is going places and accomplishing things, that the world his son lives in will be better than the world he lives in—how is he going to behave during the war?

The Average American's Future

The answer will depend, in great measure, on the leadership given, on the way in which the situation is defined. A moral position is quite different from a status one. Where a German shopkeeper may feel hopelessly degraded by being asked to re-train for work in a factory, Americans have been habitually contemptuous of status, have prided themselves on their mobility rather than on the particular job which they happened to hold. During the next five years, many people in America will have to take new kinds of jobs; the young man over whom the Saturday Evening Post lamented, who could no longer make iron ornaments, may have to become a skilled mechanic in an aircraft factory, at the same time that the new automobile which he would have bought, and the new rug for the living room, and his wife's three new hats vanish from the market. He can define this, or have it defined for him by the Post, as failure. If it is so defined as failure, then the young iron monger will feel angry, confused, and resentful; he will be thrown back into the state when no jam for dinner meant that he had been bad; he will become a potential fascist. On the other hand, he can define his ability to shift jobs, to use his skill now in one place and now in another, to fit in quickly and fast with the national effort, as success. He can be proud that America is the kind of country where such magnificent construction jobs can be done and that he is not the kind of man who sticks in the mud and can only do one thing.

Which interpretation he makes will depend a great deal on whether this growing and lamentable tendency to think of "the middle class" or "business" or "small businessmen" really gets under way. The politicians of the upper and lower class ideologies, the Marxists, the National Socialists, and the Big Industrialists in Vienna who constructed white collar unions in such a way as to separate a foreman over four workers from those workers and trap him into a so-called "white collar class position," have always tried to make people with middle class attitudes think of themselves as a class. Although those with the middle class attitude are, in their most basic character, non-believers in class, rebels against class constructs, and advocates of mobility and effort and independence, it may be possible to manipulate them so that they will repudiate their beliefs and identify their success or failure as the result of their class position. If this can be done, it will be possible to beat them, first into despair, then into supporting any party which promises them a way out, finally, into annihilation, because they can never hope for success in a state constructed along class lines. Whether the assault comes from the top or (Continued on page 95)
Insurance for War Damage

by DORIS D. REED and THOMAS H. REED

If our homes are bombed—however much we hope that time never comes—we want to have logical plans for the care of the damage and the injured. In this discussion of the recently established U. S. War Insurance Corporation, the authors suggest its development according to British experience.

At 7:35 Sunday morning, December 7, Japan loosed her bombs on Pearl Harbor.

At 6:53 Thursday morning, December 11, “Mussi” declared war on the United States.

Fourteen minutes later Hitler began his 88-minute harangue.

At 10:30 Henry, the handyman, appeared to shut off the pilot light of our kitchen stove.

“Oh, Henry,” we protested, “you don’t really expect New York to be bombed.”

“Hmm, that guy,” said Bremen-born Henry, “you can’t tell what he might do. He’s crazy.”

When we opened the front door a little later we almost fell over two shiny red buckets of sand labeled “Fire.” Tucked in our letter box were typewritten instructions to be followed in case of air raid. These instructions are not great literature; they may not even be the last word in practical air raid advice. But at the first reading they touched a spot which no other combination of words had ever reached. They told us more clearly than a Winston Churchill speech that Apartment 13-F was in the war. There might already be a bomb in Germany addressed to us and there was nothing we could do to prevent its delivery.

Naturally, we talked about this new and devastating truth a good deal through the three false alarms in which nobody seemed to do any of the things expected of them except turn on the radio. We decided not to be greatly alarmed about our personal safety. We could look after that pretty well by going to the ninth floor as instructed, thus putting six floors of steel and reinforced concrete between us and any bomb. We realized, too, that through the confusion of the first days effective plans were working out to minimize loss of life, provide first aid for the injured, rescue work and fire fighting. We could, however, feel no such confidence about our cherished home. We could not take it with us to the ninth floor. What if our apartment, or anyone’s home, were damaged or destroyed? In the New York area there are literally millions of homes more exposed than ours. The savings of a lifetime or the accumulation of loved possessions which families gather round them might be wiped out in a moment. To begin all over again, with nothing, is always hard and sometimes impossible. Then, too, how would the permanently disabled and the dependents of those killed manage?

Uncle Sam Makes Himself Liable

Our first thought was of the insurance policies tucked away in our safety deposit box. We have been carrying fire insurance and accident policies in reliable old-line companies for many years, so long we had forgotten just what was in them. We got out our fire insurance policy. It said: “This Company shall not be liable for loss or damage caused directly or indirectly by invasion, insurrection, riot, civil war or commotion, or military or usurped power....”

Our accident policy likewise “does not cover bodily injury or death...caused by war or acts of countries at war.”

Practically all fire and accident policies read similarly. Furthermore, it has been agreed by the executives of all the large insurance companies—at a meeting shortly after the declaration of war—that they will not write any form of insurance against war damage. Even Lloyds of London, famed for its willingness to bet on anything, after first boosting war risk premiums in the United States from 10 cents to $1 per $100 a few days after the Japanese attack, decided to discontinue insurance of property in the United States and Canada against air raids and war risks.

We were very pleased, therefore, to read in The New York Times of December 14 that the government, through the RFC, had “created the War Insurance Corporation, with a capital of $100,000,000, to provide reasonable protection against losses resulting from enemy attack which may be sustained by owners of property in continental United States, through damage to, or destruction of buildings, structures and personal property, including goods, growing crops and orchards,” but not “accounts, bills, currency, debts, evidences of debts, money, notes, securities, paintings and other objects of art.”

In a later release, dated December 22, Jesse Jones announced that the same protection had been extended to property owners in Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and especially the Philippine Islands and Hawaii. It was also announced that “when the plan has been fully worked out, it is expected that a premium may be charged for coverage of losses in excess of some stated amount. In the meantime no application or report will be required unless there is a loss.” No other details have been forthcoming. All we know is that protection up to a total of $100,000,000 has been provided against any damage suffered since December 13. This is very vague, but it is reassuring. It is considerably more definite than the declarations of the British government made shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939, which have since been implemented by binding legislation.

It is obvious that, because of the possible extent of war damage and the impossibility of actuarially predicting its amount, private insurance companies cannot undertake the writing of war damage insurance. This fact has been recognized by the government of the United States. What is still more significant, the government has gone on
This was once a home in Hawaii before the Japanese bombed it. The U. S. has promised reasonable protection against loss.

record for the principle that losses to individuals as a result of the way wars are now fought are a responsibility of the country as a whole. That is all it has done for the present, except to serve notice that some kinds of "portable property," to use the expressive phrase of Dicken's Mr. Wemmick, we must take care of for ourselves. It is all that could be expected until there is more definite knowledge in official quarters of how much air-raiding and other destructive practices we may have to face.

The British War Damage Act and Real Property

It certainly cheered us up to learn that, in case of a bomb-hit, our landlord would be reimbursed for the damage to the structure, and that we could expect to recover something at least for any damage to our belongings. We were still unable, however, to understand from what we had read so far, what we might get and how and when we might get it. So, since it seemed likely that our government would follow closely the teachings of British experience, we betook ourselves to the British Library of Information. There we found a copy of the War Damage Act of March 26, 1941—97 pages of technical English lawyers' writing not recommended for bedside reading—which makes good the earlier and vaguer promises of the British government to the owners of stricken property.

It provides for compensation for all "war damage" suffered since the beginning of hostilities. War damage—and this definition will undoubtedly be followed by the United States—means not only damage caused directly by the enemy but damage caused by efforts to repel attack or to minimize the damage resulting from attack. In other words, it includes damage from such things as anti-aircraft shell fragments, a falling plane, and buildings blown up to check a conflagration. Injuries from defense preparations are covered, but not those from the blackout or merely training activities.

Boiled down, Part I of the War Damage Act, relating to real property, comes to this: when damage to property can and should be made good by repair, the government pays the cost of the repair (by a "cost of works" payment made when the work is finished) providing it amounts to at least £5. If the property is beyond repair, or in the judgment of the War Damage Commission should not be repaired, the government awards a "value" payment which the property owner will get at the end of the war, with interest at 2.5 percent from the date of the damage. Cash advances, however, are made to home owners and storekeepers, to enable them to get new living or business quarters, but these advances cannot exceed £800 for one or £1,600 for both these purposes together.

The procedure has been made very simple. Up to a repair cost of £100 no formalities are necessary except to get Form CI from the Information Center, fill it in and send it to the Regional Office of the War Damage Commission. Where the repair costs over that amount, in order to insure that urgent repairs to buildings necessary for war effort are made first, a license must be obtained from the Ministry of Works and Buildings before the repairs.
can be made. The system is liberal in not holding property owners to their original estimates of damage when it is found that it is more serious than appeared at the outset. The London Times, last October 21, reported that the enormous number of claims for damages suffered before the War Damage Commission got under way would, before the end of the month, have been put in order for action by the commission. Municipal authorities had already been paid "many millions of pound sterling" for first-aid repairs to bombed buildings and "thousands of cheques" had been sent to individuals in payment of claims for repairs made by themselves.

A special financial background is provided for "cost of work" and "value" payments, by a special tax for five years on all taxable property, estimated to produce about £200,000,000, which is to be duplicated from other government resources. It actually brought in £36,233,000 between April 1 and November 29 of this year. If this does not prove sufficient the tax rate may be increased or the period over which it is to be collected extended. Do not be alarmed by the fact that the $100,000,000 provided for our War Insurance Corporation is less than one sixteenth of the anticipated post-war damage payments in Britain. The figure of $100,000,000 is no more than a token guess as to the probable cost here. It is to be hoped it is too high, but if it is not enough it will doubtless be increased. In no event, judged by the experience of much-bombed Britain, is it likely to be a very large amount as compared with the other costs of waging war, or anything to strain the resources of the United States.

War Damage and Personal Property

Part II of the War Damage Act contains the provisions of most interest to that large majority of us who pay rent. Householders, which seems to mean everyone except those living in furnished rooms, are given free compensation (without premium) for any loss suffered since the beginning of the war, up to £200 if single, £300 if married, and £25 additional for each child. Actual payment normally will be made after the war, with interest at 2.5 percent annually from the date of the loss. However, and this is important, immediate payment is allowed, in practice, on the claims of persons of small means who need the money to recoup a home.

It would appear that the RFC contemplates that the War Insurance Corporation will afford similar protection to householders. As a practical precaution we suggest that householders make an inventory of their belongings, noting for all the principal items the date acquired and the price paid. The British government does not and our government will not buy you new furniture or clothing for old. It will give you what an insurance company would—the replacement cost less depreciation. The inventory will help you prove your claim. It will be much easier to make now than after the raid.

In the British scheme personal property used in business—stocks of goods, machinery, equipment (business or professional)—if worth more than £1000 must be and if less than that amount may be insured with the Board of Trade. Losses suffered before the Act went into effect are paid, subject to a deduction of the premium that would have been paid if a policy had been in force. Also householders who want coverage in addition to that allowed free may insure voluntarily up to a value of £10,000. The premiums in both cases are moderate, 30s per £100 for business concerns and £1 and up per £100 for householders. Payments are deferred to the end of the war but liberal exceptions are made in case of hardship.

Payments and Pensions for Civilian Fighters

But that is not all Britain has done to insure the comfort and morale of the civil population. "John Brown of London Town," like his counterpart in New York or San Francisco, is a great fellow for joining up as a civil defense volunteer. Such a person is liable to be injured in the course of his strenuous duties, many of which are performed in blackout and confusion without the protection of any shelter. Or he may be serving his country in an ordinary civilian job and get knocked out by a bomb or a piece of anti-aircraft shell. In either event, he may be disabled or die and leave dependents. In this country, so far, no special provision has been made for these cases, except such first aid as may be furnished by the Red Cross or the civilian defense organization, by the hospitals—of which, generally speaking, we have too few for normal times—and the general relief supplied to those in need by public and private agencies. Britain, however, as early as September 3, 1939, authorized the Minister of Pensions to set up a scheme of payments for "war service injuries" to civil defense volunteers and "war injuries" to persons gainfully employed. Under this scheme a married man gainfully employed who is temporarily disabled by war injuries, gets as much as 35 shillings a week. The same maximum is allowed a civil defense volunteer for war service injuries which might include something as unwarlike as falling off his bicycle in a blackout. Pensions for those permanently disabled are fixed at 34 shillings weekly for men and 24 shillings.

The British government pays the cost of repair
for women over eighteen. "State burials," on the same principle as military funerals for soldiers, are provided free of cost to the relatives for those who die as a result of war injuries or war service injuries. Much of the extensive burying after a big raid is quietly done in this way by municipal authorities to avoid public reaction. Liberal grants are also made toward the cost of private burials. Widows get a special temporary allowance of 50 shillings weekly for ten weeks, and a permanent pension of 22s 6d weekly if there are children under fifteen or the widow is forty years old or is incapable of self-support, plus 6s 6d for each of the first two children and 5s 6d for each additional child. Similar pensions on varying scales are provided for dependent children, dependent parents, and orphan brothers and sisters. In only these latter cases is a means test applied. Persons not gainfully employed are compensated on a lower scale.

These pensions, judged by American standards, are small. They do not represent much additional sacrifice on the part of the paying public, for the injured persons and their dependents would have to be cared for in any event. The British way of caring for them, however, puts the help received on the same honorable basis as soldiers' pensions. Even burial is like the honorable interment given soldiers and sailors. The relation between such treatment and high citizen morale is obvious. A man who dies in an air raid has given his life for his country as truly as if he had died on the deck of a battleship at Pearl Harbor. Anything which helps people to realize this elementary truth helps win the war.

How Britain Gives First Aid to Buildings

Satisfied that a scheme of national war insurance would take care of damage to our landlord's building and to our clothes and furniture, and with the comforting assurance in case of injury that "there will always be" a Bellevue—albeit an already crowded one—and a Department of Public Welfare, we had another query. What if our landlord were unwilling or unable to get our damaged premises back into habitable condition again? Perhaps our windows will all be blown out and there will not be enough glass or glaziers available through normal channels to put them back. Perhaps the roof will be gone, with snow or rain filtering down, spoiling our clothes and putting our electric appliances out of order, contemporaneously with a shortage of carpenters and lumber. Perhaps the plumbing will be "done in" and not even the fictional fellow who forgets his tools will be at hand to fix it. What would happen in a fifteen-story apartment building in such contingencies is beyond imagination.

Buildings as well as humans need "first aid" in crises like an air raid, and for the same reason—to enable as many as possible to carry on and to prevent further damage from neglect. Our civilian defense literature has a great deal to say about nurses and first aid stations, but we have not yet got around, even conversationally, to first aid for buildings. Britain has. The municipal authorities have been attending to it. Their first aid repair work has been "comparable with the finest efforts that have been made during the war." They have gathered stores of materials, organized corps of workmen, entered into definite detailed arrangements with neighboring municipalities for exchange of help. Supplemented by a national repair force under the Minister of Works and Buildings, they have slapped covers on roofs, restored windows, rehung doors, applied plaster board or building paper to walls, and repaired water, gas, electrical and sanitary services, with a minimum of delay. We are wondering how many raids we must have before we wake up to this necessity.

War Damage Can Have a Silver Lining

There is still another aspect of undoing war damage which is purely public. It's a grim thought, but if the damage to buildings is very extensive it may furnish an opportunity for planning a new city to be a better place to live in than the old one was. As these words are written, we look out over the historic Lower East Side of Manhattan, already dying of blight—a slow disease but even more destructive in the end than Axis bombs. If public money has to be spent to compensate East Side property owners for war damage on a large scale, it would be a public calamity if the selfish motives of unenlightened individuals were permitted to rebuild that unhappy section in the old bad way. It would be no more than fair to attach conditions to the benefits allowed to insure that the money be spent in conformity with a sound plan of redevelopment. War damage benefits, in other words, should be made to help—not hinder—good planning. We should not commit again the oft repeated error of rebuilding on old street and lot lines because it is quicker, simpler, and momentarily cheaper. San Francisco did just that after the earthquake of 1906, although the Burnham plan was at that moment before the city fathers, because the self interest of some large property owners, strong in the confusion and haste of the moment, lay in immediate reconstruction on their old holdings.

Here again, the British have from their travail evolved something worthy of our emulation. Section 7 of the War Damage Act provides for the execution of that act "in conformity to the public interest, as respects town and country planning, the provision of housing accommodations, the development of industries and services and of agriculture, the preservation of the amenities," as well as other more immediate considerations. The War Damage Commission is authorized to designate area and types of property or repairs for which notice of intention to repair must be given to the commission. It may then set up conditions as to the nature of the work that shall be done and the materials to be used, or it may if it thinks repairing the damaged building would not serve the public interest refuse "cost of works" payment and substitute for it a "value" payment. The commission may also attach conditions to a value payment as to its use in the construction, alteration, or acquisition of buildings. In taking these steps the commission is bound to consult the regular local government and planning authorities of the areas affected. Provision is thus made in Britain for keeping proceedings under the War Damage Act in step with town and country planning.

It is too bad that so many communities in this country have so little in the way of planning with which the War Insurance Corporation might keep in step. This is the eleventh hour for making plans which would be useful in the reconstruction following possible war damage. No community should be put in the position of having to get on without a plan merely because no plan is ready when the psychological moment for rebuilding arrives.
Human Interest Pieces

by HARRY WICKEY

In 1925 The Survey reproduced four of Harry Wickey's etchings with a comment that turned out to be prophecy: "There is reason to believe that he will continue to grow in craftsmanship and in human understanding." Later prints and, now, sculpture mark the progress of a devoted artist and warm-hearted man. In fourteen years as teacher of art, many students testified to his ability to inspire others. He lives, as he did in childhood, close to nature, whether in the country or in the crowded lower west side of New York. In "Thus Far," the book of his 49 years of robust living, recently published by the American Artists Group, Wickey refers to boyhood happiness on his grandmother's farm as "experiencing life with the throttle wide open"; and one finds in the autobiography that through lean days and less lean, through eighteen months in the last war, developing creative years, and maturity that the good phrase still holds true of him. Guggenheim fellowships enabled him to spend all his time for two years on sculpture. Most of the work is what he designates as "human interest pieces," adding, "I make no apologies on that score." And he makes this keen observation: "There is no such thing as sentimental subject matter, although many artists furnish us with examples of the realities of this life sentimentally conceived."
BUSINESS INTERLUDE

BOYS WRESTLING

LITTLE BOY
Rubber from Western Weeds

by RUTH RINGLE

The story of guayule, a tough desert shrub adapted to American soil and climate. Authorities say it can meet our rubber needs in a few years and that guayule rubber is cheaper than synthetic rubber.

Out in California one answer to our present rubber crisis has been written in fields of gray-green shrubs. For thirty years a group of scientists, technicians, and farmers have struggled with nature and weathered economic storms. They have been ignored and derided, but today they offer us home-grown rubber from a desert weed, guayule, that now produces, acre for acre, as much rubber as rubber trees and at comparable cost.

Two years ago, with growing and processing problems solved, guayule developers began pulling Uncle Sam's coat sleeve for attention to their contribution to national wealth and security. In spite of the dagger hanging over the 12,000 mile supply line that brought 90 percent of our rubber from the Orient, Uncle Sam refused to consider guayule seriously. He was so intent on a revival of rubber tree growing in South America, and so interested in test tube rubber, that he impatiently shook off the guayule growers.

Since we entered the war, however, Washington has been forced to seek every available rubber source, and reluctantly and belatedly recognized the homefolk's product. Recently the Department of Agriculture approved a plan to cultivate 45,000 acres of guayule* from the 24,000 pounds of seed stored for this emergency by the Intercontinental Rubber Company, developers of the rubber shrub.

According to an official survey and report of the United States Tariff Commission, these 45,000 acres of guayule, if harvested in four years, will yield about 21,300 long tons of rubber. Seeds gathered from these plants after one year's growth would plant another 450,000 acres. This acreage would produce 213,000 long tons of rubber in 1947. Enough seed could be harvested from these shrubs to plant 4,500,000 additional acres. This acreage should yield 2,130,000 long tons of rubber in 1948—more than three times our annual peacetime consumption.

* As we go to press, the Senate has passed a bill authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to put 75,000 acres of guayule under cultivation in the Western Hemisphere.
parative purposes, about 9,000,000 acres are planted to cotton in Texas.

Those are the Tariff Commission’s conservative figures, based on the minimum yield of 1,280 pounds per acre. Actual growing experiences show that present high-rubber species of guayule produce 1,500 to 1,800 pounds of rubber per acre after four years’ growth, which would increase the Tariff Commission’s figures considerably.

A harvestable crop of guayule rubber can be grown from seed in one year, but the limited amount of rubber stored by the plants in this time increases the cost of production. Dr. D. Spence, nationally known rubber chemist, claims that he has experimented with this type of growing, sowing seed broadcast, and has gathered over one thousand pounds of rubber per acre after one year’s growth.

How Much Rubber Do We Need?

The United States normally consumes about 600,000 long tons of rubber each year. Even with civilian consumption reduced to a minimum, it takes a lot of rubber to supply war equipment. For example, more than 75 tons of rubber goes into a medium battle ship, 1,750 pounds goes into a medium tank, and each tire on a big bomber weighs 1,000 pounds. Added to all this are tires for trucks, scout cars, and tanks, and the innumerable rubber details and gadgets of other defense supplies.

Rubber stores, even under government control, are sufficient to last about ten months at normal consumption rates, but with present rationing will last longer. Proper foresight and appreciation of guayule would have made possible an immediate supply of rubber to ease the present crisis. Guayule has been in practical, nominal-cost production for several years; over two and one half million pounds of cultivated guayule rubber have been grown in California, and an average of 1,000,000 pounds per month have been processed in Mexico. While this is not a great amount compared to consumption, the output has been limited, primarily, by economic restrictions and lack of government support.

In Mexico, native land of guayule, the wild plants are hand-pulled from desert wastes by peons, and packed to processing mills on the backs of pilloing burros. Wild guayule contains, at most, about 10 percent rubber, but a scientific-minded rubber company realized that the plant might be “Burbanked” to higher rubber content. So they hired an earnest young botanist, William B. McCallum, to take over the task of developing and acclimating guayule to the United States.

That was thirty years ago. Today guayule offers American farmers an easily grown, high demand crop—hailed by some experts as the greatest agricultural opportunity since cotton was first cultivated.

Guayule Adaptable to American Soil and Climate

Tested in over a hundred different climates and soils throughout Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California, guayule grows in almost any well-drained soil (roots rot in clay). The land need not be rich, and only ten inches of rain a year is all it requires. Guayule will stand considerable heat, and it has weathered a temperature of ten degrees above zero. Little cultivation is needed, and shrubs may be planted fairly thick; an average of 8,000 per acre, the number regulated by soil and climatic conditions. With plenty of water and good soil, closer planting is advisable; guayule needs the hardship of competitive growing or of stern environment to spur it to active rubber production.

Specially designed machines lower planting, cultivating, and harvesting costs, compensating for cheap Oriental labor. Pre-sprouted seeds are planted in sheltered, sprinkled nursery beds. After eight months, the seedlings produce their first crop of seeds, which are harvested by a brushing-vacuum device. Then the young plants are pruned and uprooted by a tractor-drawn bar which cuts the roots about eight inches below the surface. A novel machine plants the seedlings, six rows at a time, in open growing fields, with cultivating, seed-harvesting space between rows. One of these machines with a crew of fourteen men plants fifteen acres in one day.

At maturity, plants, roots and all, are plowed from the ground, and another machine gathers and chaps them ready for the mill.

If the market is poor, harvesting can be delayed. Guayule is really a dwarfed or miniature deciduous tree that will live for fifty years. It continues to store rubber at the rate of about 320 pounds per acre each year, but after ten years the saturation point is reached, though the shrubs remain live storage plants for another thirty or forty years.

As an agricultural crop, guayule has one great advantage: practically no parasitic insects or plant disease attack this sturdy desert weed, a claim that can be made for few plants. Guayule will grow and produce rubber in light or submarginal soil that supports other crops poorly, but it does best in light, fertile soil. Its slight water requirement and limited cultivation needs make it an ideal crop for the rolling wastelands of Texas (where a wild variety grows) and other southwestern states, and is a promising consideration for the dust bowl areas. One requirement for high rubber-production is a climate that has no summer rains, for the plants store rubber only during the dry season.

These rubber shrubs are not destructive to soil. One farmer reported that he harvested three times as many sacks of beans from land previously growing guayule as on neighboring land.

Processing: Guayule vs. Tree Rubber

There is only one difference in guayule and tree rubber. Tree rubber has about 4 percent resin, and guayule rubber has an average of 16 percent. For some purposes, a certain amount of resin is desirable as it makes rubber adhere to fabric more firmly. Tire manufacturers take all the guayule rubber they can get for this reason, and would welcome an increase in production. Mixed with tree rubber, it has been used in about 80 percent of tires, galoshes, raincoats, and other fabric-rubber products. Combined with reclaimed rubber, which must now be used extensively, it will increase freshness and wearability to approximately 85 percent that of new rubber.

The resin can be removed from guayule rubber by a simple solvent method at small cost. Dr. McCallum and Dr. Spence have desugested small amounts and claim that, with quantity processing, the resin content could be reduced to 5 percent for about one cent per pound. The Tariff Commission experts agreed that one or two cents per pound should cover desugestion costs.

The development of guayule has not been a story of sweet success unmarred by difficulties. Dr. McCallum's
first task in botanical eugenics was to increase rubber content of wild guayule plants. There are several thousand varieties, so seeds of each kind had to be grown under test conditions, and the best rubber producers chosen. By selective breeding among these, the rubber content of the five types now cultivated has been increased from 10 percent to 22 percent.

The chief obstacle to extensive guayule cultivation was the slow germination of seeds. Guayule bears an abundance of seeds each year which may be harvested as the plants grow, but these seeds germinate slowly; a few sprout the first year, a few more the second, and so on. Nature can afford to be deliberate, but if only one seed in every thousand germinates when planted, wide cultivation is almost impossible.

Dr. McCallum finally discovered a chemical that solved this problem. Soaked in a solution of this chemical, 50,000 seeds per pound — about 95 percent — will sprout. It used to take five or six pounds of untreated seeds to plant a seed bed. Now one half pound of treated seeds will produce the same number of seedlings.

Growing problems were only part of the difficulties Dr. McCallum and his staff faced. The toughest processing problem was to find an efficient method of extracting rubber from the weeds. Latex, the rubber from trees, is a fluid that flows from beneath the bark when trees are tapped. The guayule plant, however, stores solid molecules of rubber securely inside bark cells. A German scientist, years ago in Mexico, extracted the rubber with a solvent, but this impaired the quality of the product.

The American developers of guayule finally adopted the logical way; ground the plant so finely that every cell was broken and its rubber freed. It sounds simple, but the designing of machinery that would crush every plant cell took ingenuity and time. In processing plants today the chopped weeds are run through dehydrator tanks, then are ground to a meal by heavy serrated steel rollers. This meal is broken to a still finer state when tumbled in revolving tube mills that contain extra-hard, fist-size pebbles and water. Left in water-filled settling tanks, the wood fiber silt sinks to the bottom, while the rubber grains, called worms, remain afloat and can be skimmed off.

Dried under vacuum, this rubber can be pressed into solid cakes, packed in boxes, and shipped to manufacturers where it undergoes a vulcanizing process similar to that which tree rubber requires.

Since last spring, most of the cultivated guayule has been left in the ground to produce seed. Seeds planted in Salinas Valley nurseries last year are now ready for transplanting, and will plant about 2,000 field acres.

This is not the first rubber crisis we have faced. Twice since rubber became important industrially have foreign developments threatened our supply, and each time an attempt was made to develop guayule in North America. But each time market difficulties were cleared up before guayule production problems were solved.

In 1519, when Cortez found the Aztecs in Mexico bouncing rubber balls made from guayule, no one was interested. After Charles Goodyear discovered
vulcanization, however, rubber started on its way to become one of the most essential materials in modern industry.

It wasn't long before Brazil, the only place where wild rubber trees grew, realized she had the economic world by the horns and decided to make it kneel. A Portuguese-Brazilian merchant, Joao Goncalves Vianna, sold the idea of a closed monopoly on rubber to Brazilian bankers and government leaders in 1878. Then began the first rubber "squeeze." The price of latex soared, and all the money stayed in Brazil.

So did the rubber trees. Many attempts to smuggle seeds out of the country failed until Sir Henry Wickham, an English botanist, slipped seeds that fathered today's vast East Indies plantations past Brazilian immigration authorities.

Rubber trees will not mature in a single season, however. It takes seven years from seed to latex. In the meantime, a German scientist attempted to break the Brazilian monopoly single-handed by developing guayule in the land of Montezuma. He found the plants a good source of rubber but was balked by processing difficulties. Intercontinental Rubber Company bought him out and set their own specialists to work on guayule problems.

About the time these problems were being solved, another manmade storm began to brew on the rubber horizon. In 1920 the post-war depression hit rubber markets which had sailed high since the automobile industry mushroomed to the billion dollar class. By that time British and Dutch interests in the East Indies controlled the world's rubber supply—due to technical shortcomings and the ravages of disease, the flow of Brazilian rubber had dwindled to a trickle. The East Indian plantation owners attempted to control the price slump by another squeeze play, the Restriction Plan of 1922.

When this plan raised the price of rubber to $1.22 a pound, American guayule developers had several years of successful growing and processing to their credit and began to expand production. They invested several million dollars in nurseries, processing plant, and harvesting equipment, and made an agreement with Salinas farmers to grow the plants: the company furnished and planted seedlings on soil prepared and cared for by the farmers. At maturity, the company was to harvest the crop and growers were guaranteed a price for every pound of rubber produced. Then disaster struck.

Dutch planters supported the British Restriction Plan, but some of them slipped seedlings and cuttings to natives who took them into the jungle and started their own wild plantations. When the natives began tapping their trees in 1926, Dutch colonial warehouses became gorged with cheap rubber. Corrupt officials allowed tons of the black gold to be smuggled from island ports, and by 1928 the British found the Restriction Plan tumbling about their feet, so the act was repealed. When accumulated stores of restriction years were dumped on the market, prices hit the toboggan and sold at 2½ cents a pound in 1932.

The American Farmer and the Oriental Native

JUST THE TIME WHEN HARVEST SEASON CAME TO THE SALINAS guayule crops! A settlement was made with farmers who insisted on an immediate harvest, though some growers agreed to postpone marketing until prices rallied to normal.

That was a costly experience for the rubber company, but ranchers were enthusiastic about the new crop. One farmer, Harvey Smith, wrote to his congressman:

When the rubber company began contracting with farmers to raise guayule, I made a contract and put in 98 acres. When
it came time to harvest, the price of rubber was practically
nothing, so the company came to the farmers and asked us to
carry on. . . . A few of us carried on and played ball, until
three or four years later when the price of rubber was between
10 to 11 cents per pound. Then we harvested.

The first check I got was for $4,000, which exactly paid off
a mortgage on my ranch, and frankly saved the day for me.
In spite of doing many things wrong in cultivating and har-
esting, I still made more money than I could have made on
any other crop and they can have my farm anytime they
want. I know this is the opinion of most any farmer in the
Salinas Valley.

The cause of the British Restriction break, cheap native
labor, has been an ever-present threat to rubber market
stability, and has been the chief deterrent to guayule de-
velopment and expansion in the United States.

When the first Dutch harvests in the East Indies were
marketed in 1926, prices were high, and the natives found
themselves rich as Caliphs. They bought phonographs,
bicycles, flashlights, and so on. For awhile they lived in an
Oriental paradise. When the bottom fell out of the rubber
market, they sold their gadgets and returned to the jungle
to live serenely on bananas and breadfruit.

American guayule growers, although they saw the ap-
proaching shadow of war, did not dare attempt further
peacetime expansion on their own. They knew that a
severe rubber slump in Java would not be a catastrophe to
native growers who would only have to give up their
radios (a popular instrument served by many native sta-
tions), and return to the old home jungle.

When an industry hits rough weather in the United
States, though, there is no opulent jungle to support work-
ers until the storm blows over. If heavy industrial and
farming investments became dependent on guayule rubber
-growing in this country, a drop in the market price below
production costs would be disastrous. So the Salinas rubber
-growers have awaited some plan to insure market stability
—or the all-out defense need, now upon us, that would
support expansion.

**Guayule vs. Synthetic Rubber**

*Some critics doubt that guayule production costs can
compete with imported rubber, but as long as the world
market price remains above 15 cents per pound, guayule
can be produced profitably. Recently, President William
O’Neill of the General Tire and Rubber Company made
public a statement confirming this:*

“The government can grow and process in two years
enough guayule rubber to meet domestic and defense
needs far more cheaply than it can build synthetic rubber
plants to produce a similar tonnage,” he said.

Present small scale production costs for guayule rubber
are from 15 cents to 19 cents per pound, and imported rub-
ber cost 22 cents a pound in October of this year. Large
scale production of guayule, Mr. O’Neill says, should
lower the cost of guayule rubber to about 10 cents a pound.

Two powerful groups have actively opposed the devel-
opment of guayule rubber. First, those with investments in
rubber tree plantations in the Orient, many of whom are
Americans; and second, the petroleum interests who want
support for the development of synthetic rubber, most of
which is made from petroleum.

The government has already put millions of dollars into
subsidizing synthetic rubber development, and will spend
many more. In mid-January the Federal Loan Administra-
tor announced that the nation would spend $400,000,000 to
increase the production of synthetic rubber to 400,000 tons
annually by the middle of 1943.

Synthetic rubber, however, is not real rubber and cannot
replace para or guayule in many uses. Synthetic rubber has
some advantages, such as resistance to heat, sunlight, and
oily substances, which make it a valuable contribution to
manufacturing efficiency. But old Mother Nature still has a
few secret ingredients in natural rubber that makes it
more elastic and wear-resistant.

Synthetic rubber is much more costly to produce than
guayule; it has sold at from 65 cents to $1 per pound. The
capital investment for expansion of synthetic rubber pro-
duction is also more costly than that required for guayule.
The United States Tariff Commission’s report states that
the total cost of constructing plants for the production of
synthetic rubber would range from $75,000,000 to $100,-
000,000 for every 100,000 long tons of yearly synthetic rub-
ber capacity. For guayule, however, the capital investment
for agricultural equipment, nurseries, buildings, mainte-
nance shops, rubber extraction mills, and desalinizing fac-
tories probably would amount to about $20,000,000 for
every 100,000 long tons of yearly production capacity—
one fourth to one fifth that of synthetic rubber.

**A New National Asset**

*In addition, guayule growing would give American
farmers a valuable new crop, and initial production facili-
ties would not require, as in the case of synthetic rubber,
large quantities of steel, chemicals, and chemical equip-
ment, now sorely needed for defense production.*

The Department of Agriculture favors support of the at-
tempts revival of rubber tree growing in Latin American
countries, and millions of dollars from both the United
States government and private funds have been poured in-
to this enterprise. But the leaf disease that nearly wiped
out Brazil’s trees several years ago has seriously hindered
present ventures. Botanists are trying to develop resistant
strains, and otherwise to control the destructive disease,
but little practical success has been achieved so far.

Inadequate reports on guayule’s price and promise have
been turned in to department officials. Guayule supporters
(farmers, scientists who developed the shrub, and public-
spirited citizens with no personal financial interest in the
project) have been blocked at every attempt to get a com-
plete and unbiased hearing. Another damper to govern-
ment interest in home-grown rubber has been the admin-
istration’s policy of discouraging any American enterprise
that conflicts with exports important to other friendly
nations.

The army and navy, vitally concerned with our rubber
supply, have sent their own investigators to survey guayule
possibilities. Their very favorable reports and recommen-
dations for support were sent to Washington.

Several years ago Thomas A. Edison zealously sought a
substitute source of natural rubber that could be grown in
this country. He realized that the United States should
plan for a day when she must be independent of foreign
sources for so vital a commodity as rubber. He spent many
years and much money growing and testing everything
from daisies to dandelions, but never found any plant that
had more than one half of one percent rubber.

Today, guayule with 22 percent rubber is past the ex-
perimental stage. And today, as never before, the United
States needs a nearby supply of rubber to assure na-
tional security.
Nurses Wanted: A Career Boom

by EDITH M. STERN

What kind of job is it that the government is asking thousands of young women with education to equip themselves for? A dead end job, once the war emergency has passed? Or an expanding profession with a future?

The federal government wants 50,000 young women between eighteen and thirty-five—highschool education required, college preferred—to enroll immediately in nursing schools. There is a shortage of graduate nurses.

To meet the emergency requirements of the armed forces and the civilian population, every graduate nurse available for wartime duty must be relieved by newcomers to the profession.

It is a profession with a future. Girls who now embark on a nursing career will have more than the satisfaction of serving their country in an emergency. They will also have a post-war career with a future. Demand has exceeded supply in more than a hundred varieties and levels of nursing jobs, from bedside care to deanship of a university school of nursing; from direct service as a rural county nurse to supervision of a state public health nursing service; from being an airplane hostess to directing 3,000 nurses in municipal hospitals. “Even in the depth of the great depression, nursing jobs went begging for the kind of nurses the field required,” says Anna L. Tittman, R.N., director of the Nurse Placement Service, Chicago. For graduate nurses who are also college women, job opportunities have been dizzying. Western Reserve and Yale University Schools of Nursing could place three or four times as many of their graduates as are available. An 1871 Godey’s Lady’s Book prophecy that one day nursing would be a field for “educated ladies” has been fulfilled.

It is shocking to discover that many college girls interested in nursing are discouraged by their parents. Nursing is looked down upon by some middle class mothers as not quite a nice sort of job, and nursing is thought of as being on the career level of glorified domestic service. This wrong impression on the part of parents has kept many talented young women out of a profession that for a generation has been raising its standards so that it really is a scientific profession, not just a job. Of course, nurses have some unpleasant duties to perform. So have doctors and dentists. Members of the medical profession have never been looked down upon because of such tasks. They represent science. Today, nursing is on a scientific plane undreamed of in a day and age when country girls with little education could easily become nurses. It takes more than a grade school education to prepare for nursing in an era of new medical techniques, blood banks, fever therapy, and modern nutrition.

Parents of college girls who wish to become nurses should visit a good school of nursing, see for themselves the carefully planned curriculum, the fine student body, the well prepared faculty, and learn of the revolution which modern science has brought to the careers of all who take care of the sick. Modern physicians, with their precise scientific approach to their own professions, must count upon modern nurses. This means that more college graduates must aspire to the nursing profession.

The Public Health Nurse Teaches by Doing

Even at the bottom of the ladder a nurse’s duties nowadays are not wholly concerned with the ill. She is also a teacher, a missionary for fitness of mind and body. Surely that is as fine a profession as any American mother could wish for her daughter.

The contemporary visiting nurse does far more than care for the sick poor or give treatments by the hour for a fee. When I went with one on her rounds I saw her being family counselor, adviser on nutrition, sanitation, and child psychology. In a modern apartment Helen, eleven and precocious, had been ordered to bed for two weeks because of a continual temperature which the doctor said might indicate tuberculosis. The nurse gave the child a bed bath; told her mother, a cooperative, intelligent woman, what simple sickroom equipment to get; showed her how to keep a temperature chart. What was Helen eating? An informal discourse on principles of nutrition followed. Helen bounced restlessly. Was she like this all the time? “Yes,” the mother answered. “She runs me ragged.” The nurse capitalized on the child’s adoring appreciation of the bed bath treat to explain to her, smiling, that her mother had other duties and that she must be considerate of her; later, she suggested some simple, inexpensive bed occupations for the child. “Be careful she doesn’t become spoiled,” she warned.

Five floors up in a tenement, Mrs. O’Brien, aged twenty-six, had had her sixth child. Five youngsters crowded the stuffy rooms. While the nurse attended to the mother, bathed the baby and spotted a sore in its mouth which she said must be watched, she chatted about general family matters. So they wouldn’t eat liver . . . would Mrs. O’Brien like a little book telling different ways to prepare it and other inexpensive meats? . . . And six-year-old Mary wasn’t eating well? Maybe the O’Briens fussed with her too much . . . leave her alone through a few meals and see what happens. Jimmie oughtn’t go to kindergarten with that bad cold, and keep him away from the baby. . . . What did the children think about the new baby, anyway? Were they asking questions? Now would be a good time to enlighten them simply. . . .

Deftly the nurse showed Mrs. O’Brien’s sister, in temporary charge, how to make bags of old newspaper for the disposal of waste matter; explained that the window should not be flung wide open before the baby’s bath. When we were about ready to leave, the young father, released for a few hours from his truck, came in. He beamed upon the baby. “Quite a responsibility,” the nurse commented, as she racked her bag. He grinned. “Oh, I
dunno. Keep their bellies full, give 'em a penny once in a while, and that's about all there is to it," he said. "Oh, there's more to it than that," the nurse answered, and I felt a to-be-continued in her tone. "Well, goodbye—
I'll see you all tomorrow."

Such apparently casual instruction in familial responsibility, child welfare and home economics, given as an obligato to ministrations, is, actually, thoroughly schooled and planned; all in the day's training and work of every public health nurse, whether she be paid by private or public funds. The cleavage between bedside care and preventive health measures is fast disappearing. Two decades ago, some health officers boasted, "Our nurses do no nursing." On the other hand ministering angels put hands on fevered brows, but did little teaching. The modern public health nurse becomes an effective teacher through doing; doing, in an emergency, is her springboard for teaching. Her main role is being popular interpreter of the findings of science, the link between the laboratory and the community. "Educated ladies" must be informed and articulate as well as deft.

Sometimes, of course, a public health nurse has her hands too full to give much individual bedside care, and must exercise all her ingenuity to transmit her health message. This is the case at present, for example, where U. S. Public Health Service nurses have gone to work with local health agencies in suddenly overpopulated defense areas. Their jobs often have the challenge of pioneering. In one district, composed largely of islands, the nurses' work consists chiefly in arranging regular meetings for mothers' clubs and midwifery classes. In another, from an office where orange crates serve as filing cases, the nurse instructs a group of 75 pregnant Mexican women through an interpreter; and, so far, although handicapped by an unsatisfactory water supply, has helped stave off any epidemics. Another federal nurse serves in the first organized county health unit in the state: none of the population has ever before heard of a public health officer, and the nearest doctor—except for one M.D. who is also the town mayor, druggist, and ambulance driver—is twenty-two miles away. Quite the opposite is a colleague's problem of organization: she was stationed in a county containing two rival cities, each with its own well-organized type of health work. Her "nursing" duty is to combine their facilities for their own and the county's defense health needs.

The Industrial Nurse's Day Has No Monotony

Coincident with the call for public health nurses in war production areas is the demand for industrial nurses employed by individual plants. On December 6, 1941, a single nurse placement agency had twenty times more requests for industrial nurses than it could fill. This nursing field had been expanding long before the defense boom, as industry discovered that it was cheaper to pay for health services to employees than to have them lose time through poor health. An industrial nurse's typical day includes almost everything except monotony. A worker comes in, back from sick leave for influenza; she talks with him, estimates his fitness to return to work... A forewoman sends down a girl complaining of headache; the nurse consults her records; are headaches habitual with the young woman?... Men in the chemical division come in to have dressings on scratches changed. . . . Her office unpopulated for a few minutes, the nurse wanders through the plant to check on its health-housekeeping. How is the ventilation? Are men in grinding departments wearing their goggles? Are too many colds about? . . . At lunch time she hovers in the cafeteria, tactfully suggesting luncheon choices. . . . Later, she may hold a class in first aid, or show a group of young men how to lift to avoid hernias. . . . She encourages dental care; prescribes precautions for pregnant women who remain at their machines; maternally advises imprudent girls to wear rubbers or warmer clothing. A good industrial nurse day by day gains the workers' confidence, straightens out off-hour difficulties. One company nurse, discovering that a factory girl's anemia came from malnutrition, managed to revolutionize the dietary habits of her whole family of eight. When to another a worker confided: "I wasn't really sick, all those days I was out. But my wife gets doubled up with arthritis, and I got to help with the kids," the nurse told him how to secure the services of a WPA housekeeper. Now he stays on the job. Similarly, the long arms of nurses employed by large offices, banks, department stores, and schools, touching first their immediate charges, reach out among families and indeed entire communities to put them in contact with agencies that help them solve their health problems. There was a nurse in a rural school where many of the pupils had trachoma, an infectious eye disease. The parents had been unwilling to let children go to a distant hospital for treatment; but through their personal confidence in the nurse, one after another consented to the journey. Within a few years, the county's incidence of trachoma dropped from 30 to less than one percent.

The Special Nurse Is in Demand

If the challenge and gratification of some nursing jobs lie in variety and scope, in others it springs from specialization. Medical specialties like obstetrics and pediatrics have their nurse as well as physician specialists. Nurses, with Children's Bureau cooperation, are getting postgraduate training at places like Tuskegee, Ala., in order to help lower our appalling rural maternal and infant mortality rates. Orthopedic nursing has been extended since 1937; one exciting aspect of its work is preventive. The orthopedic nurse can detect a youngster's slight abnormality of gait which may indicate congenital hip dislocation, see that it is treated in time to prevent lifelong lameness; knows how to strap a newborn baby's clubfoot, under a doctor's direction, to obviate severe, possibly unsuccessful, operations later. Psychiatric nursing is in its infancy, but mental hospitals are more and more coming to recognize the need for staff nurses trained in the peculiar problems of the mentally ill, able to relate psychiatric to organic care. A longer established specialty is surgical nursing, with duties grading from scrub or suture nurse to operating room superior. Hers, as much as the surgeon's, is the responsibility for a smoothly proceeding and successful operation: it is she who must know the technique of each surgeon, assign each assisting nurse her duties, see that equipment is kept up and in order. The post is ideal for nurses with a precise and systematic cast of mind.

Many "specialists" are to be found among "private duty" nurses. They constitute a reservoir of nurses who prefer to practice as individuals and not as part of a staff,
and to give care to individual patients. The experts among them are always in demand. The less expert are subject to all the fluctuations of economic cycles.

Nursing in Institutions

About 49 percent of all nurses, today, work in institutions: the proportion of private duty nurses dropped from well over half in 1936 to one third in 1941. One spurt was given to hospital employment by the eight-hour day which automatically increased the need for staff nurses by half. Another came from the growing number of people using hospitals, thanks to the three-cent-a-day hospitalization plan. Increase in rural hospitals—many of them community health centers—growing use of graduate nurses in tuberculosis sanitarium and in homes for the aged and for children, have also contributed to institutional demand exceeding qualified nurse supply.

As against the rewards of intensive care of a single patient, institutional nursing offers the satisfactions of the greatest service to the greatest number. It affords, too, opportunities for executing large scale projects. When vitamin therapy for pellagra was inaugurated in a southern hospital, a physician, a dietician, and a nurse were integral parts of an experimental triumvirate. The doctor prescribed; the dietician supervised preparation of the food; equally important, the nurse persuaded the patients to eat it. Materially, hospital jobs in contrast to private practice assure regular employment, vacations and sick leave with pay, and opportunities for advancement. In the hospital department of a large eastern city, for example, among every ten staff nurses earning $900-$1,600 a year with maintenance, one may become head nurse; one of every two head nurses becomes supervisor; one of every two supervisors, assistant superintendent of nurses; one of every three assistant superintendents, superintendent, at $3,000 a year with maintenance. Finally, one of these superintendents of nurses is slated to become director of the organization, at $5,000 a year. With some variations, similar opportunities and pay obtain for the country at large.

A Profession with Many Niches

Most needed of all are nurses qualified as instructors and administrators in schools of nursing whose standards, despite the urgent need for their graduates, have been steadily rising. No longer are such schools merely a device for supplying hospitals with cheap help. Students today study for a profession, and do little glorified chamber work like making empty beds, carrying trays, and arranging flowers.

No longer is one student assigned to taking all the temperatures, another to giving all the sponge baths; class room and clinical work are interrelated, and nurses-in-training gain experience with patients, not procedures. No longer can “these gentle helpers,” as an 1878 nursing textbook stated, be “guided by simple knowledge and simple rules.” Present nursing techniques, like diet therapy, fever therapy for mental patients, after-care in heart surgery, and administration of intravenous injections require a background of biology, chemistry, and anatomy. Present nursing functions, especially in public health work, are based on knowledge of family and community relations gained through psychology and sociology. Openings for nurses to teach natural and social sciences at the college level are numerous.

There are desk jobs available for nurses, too: serving with a state board of examiners to maintain nursing standards; acting as officer of a nurses’ organization; being a nurses’ vocational guide. And occasional odd jobs, like being hostess in a private home for mild mental patients; boarding children; being a boat, plane, or train nurse.

“Any good nurse,” says Katharine Faville, R.N., director of the Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service in New York, and chairman of the National Committee on Recruitment of Student Nurses, “can practically name her own job.” Salaries rate favorably with those in other professions for women—that require comparable training. Many teaching, supervisory, and administrative positions in the institutional, nursing education, and public health fields pay from $2,500-$6,000 annually. A few pay more. College-trained nurses, during the first year of employment, have a median salary higher than any other group of college women. The profession has opportunities for travel: Children’s Bureau consultants are on the road more than half the time; other government nurses serve in Alaska, Iceland, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. For those who prefer to stay put, it offers stability: some Henry Street nurses who began with Lillian Wald in the 1900’s still go their rounds in New York. A nurse has her choice of serving in a modern hospital with all the reinforcements of equipment and staff or of pioneering, possibly without a doctor, on an Indian reservation. For every temperament—academic, executive, pedagogical, adventurous, home loving—the profession has niches, many of them at the top.

But It’s Not Just a Job

There is, among qualifications for nursing, only one essential common denominator. A nurse must, first and foremost, be a nurse; a teacher, administrator or organizer secondarily. I talked with two nurses, each in a key position: one, director of a governmental nursing service; the other, head of a nationally famous visiting nurse organization. Each spoke glancingly of her satisfaction in building up a staff, in stimulating the creation of far-flung nursing services; and each added, almost wistfully, “Though of course I miss the contact with patients.” Earlier in the century, England tried sending out college women without nursing training to teach public health. The attempt was a failure. One young girl, frankly expressing her interest in organizational work, her disinterest in bedside care, was turned down by one good nursing school after another. Finally one consented to enroll her—within three months she was dropped as unsatisfactory for the profession of nursing.

Only young women with a sincere interest in caring for the sick should answer their government’s call to enroll in a training school for nurses, and step on the first rung of the profession’s ladder. After that, with a world of worn, battered, undernourished peoples; with a South America rapidly awakening to the need for governmental health services and modern nursing schools; with positions waiting in the United States and one fifth of our counties still having no department of public health, they can climb as high, and in whatever direction, they please.

FEBRUARY 1942
Why Dreary Housing Projects?

by ALBERT MAYER

Lack of imagination in design is minimizing the value of most of the large scale housing being built, declares this writer, who has served as architect and consultant on many projects.

Certainly these matters are of prime importance. Certainly we must struggle to solve them well, both for now and for hereafter. But there is another vital aspect of housing which should be, but is not, receiving earnest attention. The generally depressing architectural character of the projects, their mechanistic rather than human quality, are visible tangible aspects—which are alienating people and communities, or at least leaving them indifferent. Yet very likely it is this which influences the public's attitude toward housing more than any other factor.

The driving motive behind the housing movement is an inspiring one, the goal of a proper living background for all our citizens, whatever their income; in its present form, the provision of housing which will make our human productive power as efficient as our splendid physical productive plant by creating broad-gauged living conditions. The crucial question is: are we capable of creating an architectural and living character in housing projects as inspiring as our motives?

The fact that this subject is getting practically no organized attention may indicate that—either there is no hope of doing better, or the feeling that there is no posi-
tive way to improve the situation, that the occasional attractive project is due to luck. This is far from true. Of course, in such a complex creative field as architecture, no method will guarantee masterpieces, but we can much improve the general level of achievement, can fertilize the field out of which masterpieces grow, without sacrifice of all-precious speed.

**What are the common defects of projects? What are the conditions under which the work is thought out and carried out?** Finally what can be done to call forth an architecture commensurate with the national opportunity in housing and community design, accelerated and heightened by the war emergency?

A couple of provisos to a general indictment must be noted. While the general level is low, there do exist isolated examples of fine large scale housing. Such, for example, are Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, Carl Mackey Houses in Philadelphia, Quinipiic Terrace in New Haven, the defense housing at New Kensington near Pittsburgh, at Stratford, Conn., Wyvernwood in Los Angeles. Again, the general dullness is not any more characteristic of public than of private work. Take, for instance, the large scale projects undertaken by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—every bit as leaden as any public housing project I might name.

By and large, a typical large scale housing project of today is merely a multiplication process of a single unit or two units. Their designer has not grasped the fact that a project for 1,000 families, or even 500—to say nothing of several thousand—is practically a town; that endless multiplication of the same unit, endless square feet of red brick or stucco or asbestos shingles will not do. Heaven defend us from the spurious individuality of the subdivider’s home project with its myriad of styles and finishes pilfered from all countries and all epochs. But, on the other hand, the harsh barracky tradition of the state hospital or asylum or the company town is deadening and unsatisfactory. There must be warmth instead of the present grimness; in place of the present monotone, there must be a symphony of tones. If it isn’t putting it too sententiously, the need is to create a tone poem instead of hitting one chord continuously. We can create interest and variety within one underlying idiom, as in the old New England towns—Chestnut Street in Salem, or Craftsbury Common for example—or as in Edinburgh and Bath in eighteenth century England. The typical rigid uniformity of our modern projects is not only a matter of architectural poverty or of failure to relate them to site and city. It does violence to the human content, for the people in them are not all alike, don’t all do the same thing. Essentially, planning a large scale project offers this opportunity of reflecting both the group as a whole and the sense of inviolacy of the individual within that group.

This does not mean that every house or apartment must be different—as a matter of fact the similarities of status, outlook, and activities of the residents far outweigh their differences. It simply means a reflection in design of the realization that a community is an integrated, inter-related summation of living individuals, not a multiplication of cells. Though the immediate effect on morale and the long range effect on the community are possibly immeasurable, they are of profound importance.

**Large scale housing offers another basic opportunity.** The physical area involved presents a much freer scope for ideas in the inter-relation of buildings, known as site planning; and the need of the large population for playgrounds, parks, community facilities, sometimes shops, offers the opportunity for an integrated design of various elements—not just of dwellings. Here again we must record a general failure. Either the site plan is so open-ended that one doesn’t feel he is in a community or entity, or it consists of a series of courts which produce a feeling of complete enclosure. In the current prevailing straight line or zigzag assembly of buildings, you know the whole story at once; in the current defense idiom of irregularly placed buildings, all is confusion. Interest, suspense, climax, are totally lacking. There must be an emotional nucleus or core to every project so that the people living there identify themselves with it, so the visitor or passerby feels sure This Is It. Maybe it’s the community house or the shopping center, or a common, or a grove of glori-
ous old trees—something that symbolizes the particular community. The whole site plan, which must have intimate nuclei of interest, should build up to this major focus.

It would be wrong to conclude that the failure to achieve such things is due to the size of the projects. The New Kensington defense project, perched in the steep Alleghenies, is an example of good design. The bold massing of the large units, the dramatic use of the steep differences of level, the contrast of warm redwood with the more formal brickwork, the projections in redwood which subdivide the long buildings into human intimate units, reveal the possibilities in large scale housing. Chatham Village, also in Pittsburgh, achieves its pleasing effect because the houses seem to nestle into the hillsides—while New Kensington seems to challenge them. Two different approaches, both thrilling. One feels that the architects have lovingly studied the sculpture of these hills. Quinnipiac Terrace in New Haven illustrates a different set of conditions: situated on a curving slope overlooking the Quinnipiac River, the architecture of this development is gay with color and offers unexpected vistas and river view from most of the apartments and most places in the project. The community house in white and blue stands out attractively from the yellow-red of the brick. These projects show what can be done.

And in other large scale projects in this country we have done good, even splendid, work. The architecture of the TVA—its dams, power houses, bridges; the conception and landscaping of any of our parkway and recreation systems; the bold masses of Rockefeller Center, these are living expressions of a vital architecture and a vital nation.

But we have failed to achieve any such grandeur in housing generally. I think the fault lies with the architects, the Housing Authorities, and other housing agencies in their misemployment of architects.

In the first place, these employing agencies have preoccupied themselves with their ambition to achieve durable buildings at ever lower costs, lower costs than the last job and lower costs than everyone else. The program is designed for that, with a technician for each item, and a board or a deputy administrator to make doubly sure. Quite right too, for added cost, doesn’t necessarily make better architecture. But until the Authority or the Public Buildings Administration or the insurance company or whoever builds these projects realizes that it is a tremendous human responsibility to create a community; that it means more than economical plumbing, so many square feet per room, so much drying space; until they insist that equal emphasis be placed on the spiritual and evocative aspects of the project, satisfactory results will be achieved only occasionally as now, through the efforts of a particularly gifted and passionately interested architect.

The housing agencies make a second mistake, in the method of choice, and in the choice of architects. This is a hangover of the depression, for housing was born in the depression and one of its major objectives was the spread of employment. Groups of architects were employed on an individual project—in some cases as many as ten men; even had each individual been an ideal selection, together they could scarcely have turned out worthy work. But due to the nature of this criterion, the selections were far from ideal. Even where the criterion was superficially more suitable, such as the general standing and reputation of the architectural firm, the results have been no better, for as a whole the architectural profession had given little thought or study to housing and community planning. Firms that had done outstanding office buildings or churches or costly residences, knew little and cared less about housing. While as a job it was all right to do, far from being thrilled at the opportunity to create a new kind of life and a new kind of community, they just took it on without grasping the opening of new horizons.

To the housing agency and the architect there has been plenty of technical knowledge available, plenty of cost studies, of maintenance and management studies, heating reports, financing reports. Just one thing is missing. Nobody gives affection or love to planning these projects. You plan a country house with love, and so does your architect. Jointly and separately you and the architect devote long hours to the design of a church or a community center. But a housing project scarcely seems to get out of the status of a technician’s cross-word puzzle.

Instead of determining to do better, and trying to figure out how, there has been a further tendency to conclude that as long as the results are pretty terrible, we might as well cut architect’s fees, or simply dispense with architects and go in for the wholesale adaptation of previous plans to new projects; or leave it to some bureau to do the designing. The quality of such projects born of this attitude—mainly defense projects—proves to be still lower in the scale than their predecessors.

What to do about it? The Federal Works Agency in a limited number of cases has done what common sense should have dictated in the first place. Wherever it could, FWA selected for defense housing projects architects whose previous work and known outlook indicated their deep interest in and their ability to make a constructive contribution to housing and planning. While the supply of such architects wasn’t enough to go around, and the quality of their projects was uneven, it can be safely asserted that their defense projects are more stimulating and more spirited than (with a few exceptions) anything that has gone before, public or private. It should be said in fairness that the government housing agencies, benefiting by earlier experience, have themselves become more interested in the living quality and the spiritual lift of the new defense communities. And more and more they are refraining from dictating their own ideas as to how to attain those ends. Particularly the New York State Housing Division, the Federal Works Agency, and latterly the United States Housing Authority, are now sensitive to these matters. While this is an indication that at least some of the numerous housing agencies are on the right track, the proportion of stirring projects still is lower than it should be. Many agencies and authorities are still not vitally interested or not clearly aware that fine work has been created, do not appreciate what it is, or that it can be created without loss of speed. Architects are still chosen for more or less irrelevant reasons. The public is not without responsibility. It can do much to impress on housing agencies, public and private, how important is their interest in producing inspiring projects. They must work out means of selection of architects to effectuate the achievement of these important intangibles. For one thing they can take stock of those projects that stand out. The architects responsible for them (Continued on page 93)
Wages and Prices in All-Out War

by JOHN M. CLARK

Not higher wages to bolster "the American standard of living," but a national willingness to forego comforts and buy guns—this, a well known economist urges, is the cost of victory. A reply to Dr. Lubin's article "Wage Policies and Price Trends," in the January Survey Graphic.

Several months ago, Isador Lubin, head of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the U. S. Department of Labor, appeared before the House Banking and Currency Committee, the dominant purpose of his testimony being opposition to the inclusion of a wage ceiling in the pending price control bill. This was back in the time when we were still half in and half out of the world struggle—decades ago, in terms of events. The substance of Dr. Lubin's article in January dates back to that testimony, but the original material suffers from undue condensation, with omission of some important parts of the picture. As it stands, the article defends existing wage policy as non-inflationary, without such safeguards as the original testimony contemplated, and has the effect (through arrangement and emphasis) of encouraging organized labor to battle to maintain or increase its standard of living, wherever it has the economic power.

While the article was on its way through the press, the world in which it was written suddenly came to an end, and the article is so timed as to have the effect of a keynote pronouncement for the new world in which our civilization, with its back to the wall, is fighting for its life.

For this new period, I believe the keynote should stress a more positive wage policy, and a real sharing of the sacrifices which are now clearly necessary. And I have hopes that in the light of present conditions Dr. Lubin himself might agree, at least in part.

With Dr. Lubin's contention that wages should not be "frozen" by a rigid ceiling, I agree heartily. Parts of the article also suggest that Dr. Lubin might agree with me in a further proposition, which I will state as follows: "Labor has assumed responsibility for maintaining war production and avoiding stoppages. There is great need of extending this responsibility to the matter of wages: to the avoidance of wage increase which would bring on a serious inflationary spiral of rising prices." So far, so good. The rub comes in implementing such a generality, and preventing it from degenerating into lip-service. And I believe that unless more is done than Dr. Lubin's article calls for, we are sure to get the kind of inflationary spiral which farm and labor representatives alike insist they want to prevent. Rather than trace points of disagreement, it seems more useful to make a brief positive statement, much of which finds support in the facts cited by Dr. Lubin himself.

What is needed is neither rigid wage-freezing nor a do-nothing attitude, but a general and positive wage policy which cares enough about avoiding inflation to do something about it, flexible in application, but not so flexible as to permit everything. The specifications would need to be worked out by a representative body and to be definite enough to afford a guide to boards concerned in the settling of wage disputes. They must be based on a clear recognition of the factors in our present course which are bound to lead to a big and calamitous inflation unless we change them. This wage policy would need to be joined to a farm price policy in a way that would put an end to the futile race of each to get ahead of the other, or else costs of living and wages will chase one another endlessly.

The Price of Freedom

Until the past summer, we were getting only enough more guns to give us "more butter" too. People got more dollars, spent them, and got, let us say, half their extra spending in the shape of more goods, the rest going into increased prices. We have passed with painful suddenness from this golden age to an all-out war economy which has as its goal the devotion to war of more than half the national output in the new fiscal year, and a drastic cutting down of all civilian products that stand in the way.

When President Roosevelt announced this to the country, thirty days after Pearl Harbor, he was telling us two things.

First, we must work and produce as never before. Second, we must do it without the usual reward for hard and productive labor—more comforts and enjoyments. We shall have less of these things, because we must produce weapons instead. President Roosevelt was telling us, in his message of January 6, that our national "standard of living" is going to be reduced, heavily.

More strictly, our standard of purchase of goods for consumption will be reduced. We can still "consume" our present houses and our present cars—while the tires last. And we can buy defense bonds, or save in some other way. With these qualifications, our standard of living will be reduced, no matter what happens to money incomes, because the goods will not be there. From now on more money in our pockets will not mean more goods for us to buy. There will be less goods no matter how much more money there is. One group cannot buy more goods except as others suffer more than the general curtailment. And two such great groups as farmers and labor cannot get more goods, because there are not enough others for them to take the goods away from.

Most of the curtailment will be in comforts and conveniences, rather than in outright necessities. There will be plenty of unpleasantness and some hardship. In a general way, the reduction in standard of living made necessary by the curtailments of supplies of goods may be thought of as naturally divided among different groups, roughly in proportion to their consumption of the con-

Professor Clark wishes it made clear that the views here expressed are his own, and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Office of Price Administration to which he is on loan from Columbia University.

The Editor

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veniences and comforts that are being cut down or cut off.

If, for example, a family that spends virtually its entire income for food, clothing, and shelter finds that its money income will not buy approximately the usual amount of these things, it is suffering more than its share of reduction in standard of living, since these things are not going to have to be curtailed very much.

The national effort we must make is too great to permit encouraging or temporizing with the idea that the greatest classes of the population can be exempted from all share in the general sacrifice, or that they may even increase their standards of living; as they did (in the aggregate) up to the summer of 1941. It is a wrench to realize that that golden age is over; but that realization is the beginning of wisdom for the hard months that are ahead. We know now that we are at war; and our morale should be strong enough to accept the idea of a general sharing of sacrifices. If not, we shall deserve the defeat we are likely to suffer—and defeat in this war means destruction.

The Present Wage Policy

The existing wage situation consists of a series of disconnected bargains, nominally free, but actually made under pressure of the emergency, which works consistently upward. Government boards reflect and transmit that pressure. They may recognize the inflationary effects of increased wages but be unable to act on this knowledge in any single case, lacking an over-all policy to which the case may be referred.

This wage situation operates in connection with a farm price policy which has helped push farm prices up to approximately average “parity,” giving farmers greatly increased buying power and raising the cost of living.

In the aggregate, wages have risen ahead of cost of living and kept well ahead. This is true in terms of hourly wage rates, and still more in terms of earnings. While no doubt considerable numbers have failed to keep up, they would hardly be helped by encouraging the stronger bargainers to get still farther ahead.

Workers have demanded and received increases beyond increased cost of living, where employers had earnings out of which such increases could be absorbed. This gives workers increased buying power while the goods for them to buy are being curtailed, which in turn bids up prices. Further, it creates differentials between industries which the workers who are left behind will try to iron out, and their employers may not be able to absorb the increases. (The railroad wage case is perhaps the most recent.) It may squeeze the high-cost producers in the same industry and so create pressure on prices.

Workers feel they have a right to wage increases to match any further increases in cost of living, which would mean (a) holding the gains they have made so far; or (b) even increasing them, since earnings rise faster than hourly wage rates, and it is in terms of hourly rates that wage adjustments would be made, if the matter were left to “free bargaining.” (c) Wage demands of this sort will not wait for existing contracts to expire. (d) These further wage increases could not be absorbed, but would increase costs and thus push up prices. (e) When costs of living rise because goods are short, the idea that “standards of living” in general can be maintained by increasing money incomes as fast as cost of living rises is 100 per-cent delusion. In the conditions we face, it would lead to a hopeless pursuit-race between wages and cost of living. The speed of the resulting inflation would be limited only by the frequency of the adjustments. One principal result would be to put the real necessities of life out of reach of the unfortunate folks who cannot increase their money incomes. The money incomes of all groups should enable them to buy the necessities the country can actually supply, and if not, they should be increased, and that increase should have right of way. But to swell them to cover imaginary outlays on comforts and conveniences which are not going to be supplied, is to court trouble for a purely mythical gain. That is what will happen if wages, already liberal, are raised by a cost-of-living factor applied to the whole wage. If we go through this empty motion, in deference to people’s settled preconceptions, the useless money must be kept out of the goods-markets in some more effective way than by means of voluntary bond subscriptions.

Adjustments to rectify existing wage differentials, including those created by the present wage policy, would always be upward, and would also push prices up.

To sum up, this wage policy justifies any wage increases which would not directly and immediately push up the price of the product concerned, though it might create excess demand which would pull up prices in general. Many of these increases to date have been absorbed by the economies of capacity output, but these are now exhausted. Future wage increases will push up prices. Further, it justifies wage increases based on cost of living (and increasing earnings more than cost of living) even though these would push up prices, and price ceilings would have to give way to them; ironing out of differentials, even though this would push up prices; a total farm-price-wage policy creating dollar income vastly in excess of possible supply of goods.

Such an inflationary pressure cannot be successfully combated by price ceilings alone. Mr. Henderson’s shoulders are broad, but he cannot make two plus two equal five. If costs are increased by approved wage increases, OPA could not successfully resist. General excess purchasing power cannot be sterilized by direct price controls alone without the impossible job of rationing pretty much everything. Voluntary sterilization of excess purchasing power by buying defense bonds would not accomplish enough.

If we get a representative and responsible labor policy board, which accepts among other things the duty of formulating a wage policy aimed to prevent destructive price inflation, its efforts in this direction will be condemned to futility from the start if they are based on a platform which accepts and sanctions what I have outlined as the actual wage policy, and ignores or disguises the inflationary forces it contains. Any hope of success must rest on a frank facing of these unpalatable facts and of the necessity of sacrifice, fairly shared among all the people.

This will not be easy. But our old world is gone—we hope temporarily—and in the new world that has taken its place there is one supreme quality: courage. Let us show it, and demand it of our leaders. Have we not been thinking too much of who has to be placated, and too little of what must be accomplished, if the threatened life of our nation is to be saved?
LETTERS AND LIFE

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by LEON WHIPPLE

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At Christmas I heard of a man who bought a Vermont attic for $100. He wanted the fun of clearing out the hoarded things of four thrifty generations. The new house-owner thought him mad, but useful. The attic-cleaner mulled for days over his dusty treasures. He was not a dealer or antiquarian, but just an American studying his country's past, a kind of historian, and certainly a patriot for he had reverence for an American way of life and its symbols. In any real attic we shall come upon reasons for pride, and self-searching. Shall we, with many things, achieve less than our forefathers? Nowadays we believe in the charm of the old, we love to touch, and get close to our hearts, asking: what have we been that now we must defend? This is a kind of pioneering backward—to get at the roots of our tradition and faith in democracy. For many plain people the story becomes real if they can see how folks lived, with what tools and clothes and furnishing they went about their work or rest or play. The spirit of free men on the march across a free land made America, but they had tools in their hands. They did not dream roads and homes and farms and factories; they built them, with axe and plough, as now with steel and power. The things we used are symbols; they tell part of our story, and so it is good sense to recall, as history, the things that Americans have made, and that made them, and made America. Man is material, his life is won by the conquest of materials.

Consider the realm of light. There were certainly candle-molds in that Vermont attic from which came tapers for ceremony, plain forms for everyday. My grandmother H. used to make us tallow "dips"—a rag-wick tied round a button to hold its smoky flame upright in a tin of grease. The coal-oil lamp lit my first schoolbooks, then gas and the Welsbach mantle shattering at a touch, then the miracle of the incandescent bulb. Now bloom strange fluorescent vapors that imitate the very sun. What a history could be written of this conquest of the dark! Light everywhere—until the symbol of new barbarism is the blackout.

Happily our two present recorders of everyday things found different roads to the field. Mr. Train, in his rich and scholarly study, lists the things we want to know about—houses, furniture, clothes, food and agriculture, transportation, and life in the community. In each division, he notes the modes and contributions of the pioneers: Spanish, Dutch, French, English; then of the Middle Colonies, the South. Last we follow the changes as machine replaces craftsman, the West is opened by gold and ranching, industry conquers all, and modern life becomes an age of transition. Today houses, tools, travel, music, clothes have all suffered strange metamorphoses. Our family tree is traced from the Indian's tepee to homes of plastics; colonial, Victorian, jazz-age fashions; flat-boats and clipper planes; Indian meal and chemically born tomatoes, with a hint that to-day's children will remember nostalgically little cardboard nests of vitamins as the Vermonters remembered sap buckets. And the pictures are as fascinating as the text. Dip in anywhere, and you will see America in the making.

Things serve social functions, they become institutional for progress. So Mr. Langdon's chapters, covering 1776-1876, deal with roads and waterways, stores, newspapers, metals, horsepower for agriculture, and early railroads. The community things rather than the personal things are pictured. Keel-boat and canoe become canal-boat and steam packet; the terrors of the native corduroy road are ameliorated by the McAdam turnpike; the hefty Conestoga wagon gets onto rails behind a steam engine; the peddler by pack or wagon settles down at the general store. What a picture of an expanding people; what ingenuity of technical experiment; what giant steps preparing for the miracle of today!

The covered bridges we photograph as picturesque survivals were born of need, not esthetics, and the Burr Truss or Howe Truss represented achievements in mechanics. On the construction methods Langdon is especially rich. This is how our forefathers labored to get across a wide river, drawing blueprints that made history. How life followed these conquests is recorded too—read of the drivers and horses, the innkeepers and whiskey-making, the mail robbers and snow-storms along the Cumberland-National Road. Fifteen miles of westing was a day's toll—and now truckdrivers race double that in an hour along super-speedways. Read of the coming of the bathtub (1832), once prohibited in Boston except on advice of a physician. Of the daguerreotype, or boomers, or the McCormick reaper. From one, the movies; from one, freedom for the feminine body; from one, the threshing-machine.

The delight of recognition, comparison, pride, leads one on and on, but we cannot repeat here the story of the thing-makingest people in history. We just say: here is good reading for these days, escape literature, yes, but even more a challenge—to carry on.

Some like sense of what it takes to make a nation comes from Mr. Thornton's Almanac, or Book of Days of the Republic, a reminder that history is made every day. The form is novel: under each day of the year we read half a dozen notes of what once happened on that date through the years. January 1st: in 1863, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation; in 1913 the Parcel Post set to work "for the ready and cheap exchange of goods among the people."

The effect is interesting and instructive though the items are not connected by time sequence or theme. The grouping is fortuitous and personal, but the pages register a massive impression of the variety and complexity of our endeavors. We remember events forgotten, and perceive how some advances have been won, how some plans became ironical failures, and how much of the agenda waits to be fulfilled. For instance, in January—Tom Mooney free (1939), the Fourteen Points (1918), Paine's Common Sense (1776) Votes for Women (1918), Horatio Alger born (1834), gold in California (1848), U. S. Marines in Hawaii (1892), American events, and worth our meditations. This Almanac, like others, is a tickler-index of things to be done.

We seem to record lists of things; but who can record American life without a catalogue? Walt Whitman made poetry of lists, on things and places and people. We had so many things to make, so many places to win, so many people to provide for; and we were inspired by a vast dream of the good life for everyman. The lists are like the inventory of a noble inheritance. We are heirs, enjoying the usufruct, but charged with responsibility that the estate be not plundered or wasted in our hands. The lessons of our inventory are not material.

We learn of the hard work and ingenuity and sacrifice that made this country. It was built and won. The continent
has been watered with blood and sweat and tears, and is worth preserving in freedom at like price. The everyday things mean nothing without that resolve. Our survey imposes on the spirit the sense of profound change, change that we hope means progress. From stagecoach and candle to stratomobile and photo-electric eye. In his epilogue, Arthur Train foresees new things—television, factory agriculture, air-conditioning, new materials, dream homes, and heavenly cities. But can he foresee new men? While that Vermont attic amassed its clutter of outworn things, we passed into a different time-frame. The creation of the strengths and ambitions to live at new speeds with new mastery of ourselves may be the next pioneering adventure on. Can we conquer leisure as we endured toil?

The old-fashioned among us wonder at the lighthearted skill with which the young dart through life. What roots can the family put down in the city apartment or following a job in the trailer? Things certainly no longer own them. Yet to own a bit of land and tools and a house knits a man or woman into the nation. To be responsible for a cow or some sheep is a dull chore, but it may prepare for larger responsibilities. Our age sees a ceaseless turnover of things, for better things often, but often because we are taught style and prestige criteria. The economy of the machine is to make a lot of one thing, shoes, say. We must use up a lot of shoes and quality, permanence, are minor concerns. Well, this is familiar criticism. The answer of the young may well be: "We are rising superior to things. We love people. On our travels we see the lovely face of the land and learn to love it all, not home but the homeland."

They may be right, but things are still symbols, links with the past, benchmarks of progress. It is a good thing to learn of them, perhaps to laugh at them. They are part of the heritage.

The World We Fell Heir To


History can either be a useful or a useless subject, depending on the purpose and skill of the historian. Historical writing can be a dull exercise in the recording of events, or it can be an important analysis of the past which seeks to integrate all the historical forces in operation at a given time and interpret them as a step in the development of human society. If historical writing falls in the latter category, the science of history can be of fundamental value in our actions and judgments. It can supply us with a standard of judgment without which our contemporary patterns have no meaning or substance.

The series "The Rise of Modern Europe" is dedicated to the task of historical analysis. European history is divided into periods, and various authors attempt a synthesis of the tremendously varied streams which make up human life at that time. Since a synthesis of historical forces is a subjective matter of choice and interpretation of facts, we have to rely on the historian who presents it. This volume by Professor Hayes is the product of a rich experience and learning, and a mind which is not diverted by the external appearance of events.

The period from 1870 to 1900, "a generation of materialism," opens with a war and closes with a war. It was the period in history which saw the acceptance and application of the evolutionary idea with all of its ramifications in social theory and practice. In these years, the Marxian dialectic was popularized and was applied to thought and politics. The quantum theory of physics led to an outlook which judged standards in material terms and presented theories with a dogmatic assurance of their truth. The generation of materialism called itself liberal; it likewise gave rise to democracy. It established colonial empires and a world controlled by Europe in the name of humanity. Many representatives of this generation are taller and more profound than has been supposed. In short, the generation of materialism gave rise to the institutions and mores of the twentieth century and provided a materialist norm which conditioned the intellectual and social patterns that were to follow. Whether it was patriotism or progress, science or religion, politics or economics, the materialist generation judged them dogmatically on the basis of the quantum theory. This generation laid the basis for the first World War, and their sons fought it. Their grandsons took up the struggle again in 1939 to test the theories or to defend the loyalties of the materialist generation.

A reading of the first chapter might give the impression that this is "the same old book" on Europe since 1870. It is far from that, for the book does not follow the traditional arrangement of material for this period. Chapter I discusses the European state system after 1870 and traces the tortuous system of alliances which followed the Franco-Prussian war. Professor Hayes returns to this subject several times. Reference is made, to be sure, to the patterns which obviously governed state action in diplomacy, though Professor Hayes definitely integrated these patterns with the actual process of European diplomacy as well as he does other phases of European history. For example, the sections on liberalism are presented in a masterful fashion in relation to time, place, and conditions which surrounded the development of the liberal idea. European diplomacy admits of the same integration.

This book is important in historiography, for it presents a successful attempt to analyse a period which has hitherto admitted chiefly of description. The book is also important to the layman who desires to understand contemporary life. When we talk glibly of a new order of democracy and peace which is to emerge from an Anglo-American victory, we have no conception of the magnitude of the problem of creating that order unless we realize that one of its greatest enemies is the generation of materialism. Let us hope that we may approach the problems of our age in a manner a little more humble, a little less dogmatic in our interpretation of truth, and a little more varied in our standards than our predecessors did in the period from 1870 to 1900.

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A Man of Our Time


CLARENCE DARROW'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY WAS A STATEMENT OF FACTS about his cases, his career, and his life. Irving Stone's biography is more enlightening; it is a study of the man, his feelings, emotions, his family, his women, his motivations—all as exemplified by the facts. To one who knew Darrow, the result is amazing. For here he is and to the life.

Darrow's book was the result of memory, no doubt refreshed by old records. Stone's book is the result of investigation, painstaking inquiry from Darrow's family, from old friends, from associates and antagonists; from those who loved Darrow as well as from those who hated him; from Darrow's public statements in court, on the platform, from his writings, from his private comments in intimate circles. It is clear that Stone came to know Darrow better than Darrow knew himself.

And what a man to write about! A man who lived as a Christian, but who was an agnostic; a woman-hater who loved women; a cynic and pessimist who was full of fun and the joy of living; a man who broke idols with a phrase but who would not take away any idol from any human being if it added to his happiness. Darrow was prejudiced against spinach, but he had no objection to anyone else eating spinach if he liked it.

And what a career to write about! As a young man, Dar-
row, attorney for the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, was headed for an easy life of rich emolument. He quit to defend Eugene V. Debs. Then came his work for labor—the Haywood, Pettibone, Meyer case, representation of the United Mine Workers before a national commission, the fateful McNamara case, and finally the defense of himself when charged with crime. After his vindication—and it was a sorry vindication since on the second trial the jury disagreed—Darrow returned to Chicago at the age of fifty-four, ill, discouraged, penniless, compelled to begin again the business of making a mere living. He was in the middle sixties when along came the Leopold-Loeb case, where he made his plea against capital punishment and where his argument did much to abolish the fixed distinction between mental sickness and legal insanity; the Scopes case in Tennessee involving anti-evolution laws, where he made his plea for freedom of the human mind; the Sweet case in Detroit where he made his plea for the equality of human beings. Throughout his life, in court, in writings, on the platform, in numberless private contacts, Darrow led the battle against bigotry, dogma, superstition, and gave of himself for the poor and the oppressed.

To many he was the greatest man of his generation. And in this book Irving Stone has brought Clarence Darrow to life.

New York
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

Keeping Up with South America


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WRITING ABOUT TWENTY SEPARATE AND DIVERSE SOUTHERN REPUBLICS in a single volume makes for confusion in the minds of both reader and writer. We need fewer books like those under review and more books on individual countries, cities, regions, personalities, movements and problems. Yet these four writers do contribute something.

Mr. Green simply compiles to handy compass all that the group of countries have in common, and thus gives us a sort of 180-page definition of the word “Latin-American.” This may have its uses.

Mr. Herring gives Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, 240 pages; 17 other Latin countries, 80 pages; the United States angle, 30 pages. In this assignment of space some national individualities and problems begin to take shape. Mr. Herring looks behind the facade of estancias and palacios and tree-lined avenidas to show us just where our South American neighbors have been sowing their own “Grapes of Wrath.” The leading Latin American countries, it would seem, are now plied on top of their ancient, complex problem of the landless worker on the land, a new set of industrial labor problems.

Mr. Crow does not try to box the entire Latin American compass. He is an authority on China, where he has lived, and a mere visitor in South America. But he is also a foreign trade expert, and so the most valuable part of his book is his attempt to refute the notion that our businessmen have made a mess of export trade to Latin America. Says Mr. Crow: “The American manufacturer and exporter have done a good job in the export field. . . . They have introduced into foreign trade the principle of selling on quality rather than price, have in fact established a new system of commercial ethics. Because of the high standards of quality maintained by the manufacturers and because of the high standards of the salesmen, they have given us a reputation for commercial integrity enjoyed by no other nation except Great Britain.”

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failed to reflect the aspirations of the masses. And for centuries the great mass of people made no attempt to lay down a program for the prevention of war or the coming of peace.

Before the outbreak of the first World War, almost for the first time in history, labor had shown itself articulate on questions of war and peace. During the war, its voice—though far from dominant—was heard in the councils of the nations, and at the peace table labor demanded a peace which would have laid a firm foundation for the avoidance of future international conflicts. That type of peace it was not able to obtain. But, declares Professor Van Der Slice, "just as the defeat of Wilsonian idealism cannot alter the historical importance of the position he assumed as the first American . . . to acquire so high a place in European councils, so labor's failure cannot hide the fact that this was the first peace conference at which labor demanded a place."

And, the author adds, "while the labor clauses of the treaty are the most obvious evidence of labor's influence, nevertheless it is the political program which labor failed to put across that historically will loom as the most important."

Professor Van Der Slice, in this thorough, well-documented, and understanding volume, gives the fascinating story of labor's efforts to prevent the outbreak of the European war, of the efforts of the labor and socialist movement to bring about a just peace, and of labor's successes and failures at the peace conference. "As the war progressed," he states, "the organized labor movement as a whole developed a policy and a program which were quite independent of the program of its governments . . . Two features of labor's wartime peace program stand out distinctly. The first is that the organized labor movement drew up a statement of the terms upon which the coming peace should rest which anticipated the Fourteen Points of President Wilson. The second is that the policy of public diplomacy which Wilson . . . inaugurated with his January 8, 1918, address . . . had already become the policy of the organized labor movement."

One of the reasons for these similar programs, the author asserts, is that both Wilson and the European labor movement were free from the commitments and obligations of European diplomacy and could thus offer an ideal program for the coming peace. It is likewise true that some of Wilson's advisors were also keen students of European labor's peace programs and were influenced by labor's war aims.

The book does not attempt to describe the labor movement in all of the warring countries, but deals largely with peace activities of labor from 1914 to 1919 in Great Britain, France and the United States. It contains discussions concerning the economic, social and political foundations of peace which have a direct bearing upon the situation in the world today. Students of labor and international relations owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Van Der Slice for this scholarly and searching study of this vitally important phase of labor's activity.

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rather than on the complex of forces that made the event possible, he fails to clarify either Japan's internal predicament or the international balance of power tug-of-war in the Far East. In his personal experience material there is much that is interesting, and if the milieu which he describes is, for the most part, the restricted one of the foreign office and ambassadorial drawing room, he gives nonetheless many revealing glimpses of life in Japan.


This book, which appeared on the eve of Shanghai's occupation by the Japanese, deserves wide attention. Surveying economic trends in the treaty port during the first four years of Japan's war in China, it presents the amazing picture of a city which found ways and means of continuing its precarious existence in the face of Japanese bayonets. The author shows how cooperation between Chinese and foreigners not only postponed the "death" of Shanghai as an industrial organism, but managed to revive its commercial and industrial life in a spectacular fashion. There is an excellent chapter on labor in Shanghai which contains many truths applicable to Oriental labor in general, dramatizing some appalling facts by presenting the fate of an average Shanghai tobacco worker.

Mr. Barnett's book is highly readable and will serve as a guide for those who will rehabilitate Shanghai (and indeed China) after the war.

AMERICAN SPEED-UP
(Continued from page 56)

case. Dr. Steelman cast the deciding vote in favor of the union shop in the captive mines, for which John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers had contended.

With increasing friction in industrial relations, and the attack on Pearl Harbor to give new urgency to uninterrupted production, the anti-union Smith bill was passed in the House by a thumping majority. It was clear that extreme legislation, creating a fresh source of resentment and controversy, could not be staved off by protest; that it was necessary to offer a satisfactory substitute plan. One possibility discussed was to head off the Smith bill by a less extreme measure and mustering administration support for it. It finally was decided to seek a solution for the strike problem through voluntary agreement between representatives of labor and industry, called together in a war labor conference. Congressional hearings on anti-union measures were postponed, to await the conference results.

While the conference was made up of representatives of labor and industry, its moderator was William H. Davis, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, who had as his assistant Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, member of the Senate Committee on Labor.

The original plan for the conference contemplated agreement as to strikes and lockouts for the duration; the creation of a board to handle disputes; the formulation of a set of principles which the new board would apply; a detailed plan for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, including machinery and procedure.

When the conference got under way, there was no pressure for these four points. Agreement to forego strikes and lockouts in war industry was almost immediately forthcoming. Then the conference got into a wrangle over the closed shop, on which its members could not agree. The industrialists wanted labor to agree to "freeze" the present union status. The unions, for the first time, said "We will consent to arbitrate the question of status," but they refused to make a further concession. The conference agreed that all disputes should be settled peaceably, and that Presi-
cooperation with the new board. But AFL members, the council states, will oppose the formulation by the board of a "national labor policy," and will insist that the board "consider each case on its merits," as did the NDMB. The CIO has made no official comment on the agency, but the fact that two CIO leaders have accepted membership on the board indicates that this more militant wing of the labor movement is prepared to "go along," at least for the present.

It is of course a mistake to think that there can be anything simple about the complete reorganization of the national economy on a war footing. The times will demand of us adjustments and sacrifices which individually and as a people we do not yet vision. But we begin to see that by the end of 1942 nothing will be unchanged among us except, if we are courageous enough and swift enough, our liberty, and the security of our democratic institutions. To man all-out production raises difficult problems, some of which have been indicated in this article. But along with the difficulties are the gains of more effective organization of the labor market, and of a fresh attempt to reduce friction due to industrial disputes. The country has welcomed with enthusiasm and relief the concentration of authority over production in the firm and able hands of Donald M. Nelson. There are more reservations about the initial scheme for the new War Labor Board, but, on the whole, there is a willingness to "wait and see how it works."

To any American, it is a heartening experience to go into Washington offices these days. Executives and administrators work ten, twelve, fourteen or more hours of day and night, with two or three shifts of clerical workers mopping up behind them. There is no ballyhoo or oratory. But under the steady pounding of the days' demands runs a wordless "We can do it," a steady faith in America's capacity to "give what it takes."

**WHY DREARY HOUSING PROJECTS?**

(Continued from page 84)

could be used in two ways: as designers of projects, and as associates and advisers to new men. The relatively small number of men both gifted and steeped in housing work suggests this method of making the available talent more fruitful and assures a wider base for the work eventually.

As another specific suggestion, suitable bodies—such as civic associations, chambers of commerce, state housing boards or local authorities—could inaugurate a program of awards for outstanding projects within their state or region, as is now done in other fields of design. Such awards are always well publicized, and would have a number of beneficial effects. Architects and particularly housing agencies who have done poor or mediocre jobs could get inspiration or at least stimulus to do better.

The public, and even close supporters of housing, are disappointed by the general character of the results. Publication of the awards will show them that there is some good housing, and give them ammunition to convince others. And the awards will raise the status of housing among the architectural profession, and attract those men of standing and talent who haven't yet shown the enthusiasm of which they are capable, or felt that an interest in housing could enhance their prestige and professional standing, or seen that through this service they could likewise themselves to the war effort and render lasting values to the community.

I have suggested only a couple of possible instances of the kind of mechanics that could be employed to solve this problem of the general architectural and spiritual inadequacy of our housing. The chief purpose of this discussion has been (Continued on page 95)

(Continued from page 84)
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HAS THE MIDDLE CLASS A FUTURE? (Continued from page 67)

from the bottom of society, it is equally threatening to the middle class, to those who are really not a class at all.

Has the middle class a future? No, not if they ever begin to think of themselves as a class, and organize as pressure groups for class privileges! When Mr. Jones is willing to excuse his own failure because of what “Government is doing to business,” “because all the Big Companies are hogging defense orders,” because “this is a managerial revolution,” because, in fact, of any single major factor beyond his own efforts—he is acknowledging himself to be beaten.

Yet, the depression and the post-depression period have demonstrated that the individual, no matter what his degree of moral energy and initiative, cannot depend upon himself, and that to interpret own failure as own sin means intolerable and unbearable self-repudiation for hundreds of thousands of middle class men. If the modern world is so complex that we are going to be forced to substitute more and more planning for “the natural play of economic forces,” is there going to be any place in it for the “middle class character” who must rely, not on any external structure of society, but upon his own efforts if he is to feel real satisfaction?

Here again there is a possible answer in the history of the middle class way of life which has risen and grown and flourished in periods of expansion. The war period may be regarded as a period of expansion or of contraction just to the extent that Mr. Jones is more interested in winning the war by speeding up industry, or fearful of losing his special foothold in the business structure. If, through the war period, Mr. Jones is able to get a sense of movement, success, progress, out of the national effort, then after the war, he is guaranteed again an open frontier, a world shorter of necessary commodities than it has ever been in the most optimistic businessman’s most halcyon dream, a whole world to reorganize, restructure, feed, clothe, and set on wheels again. The middle class attitude, the man who believes in his own efforts, has never before been faced with such a future. Only foie, only trafficking with class and status ideas, with some trivial association between keeping a special kind of shop or holding a special kind of job and respectability, only accepting alibis for failure rather than looking for new roads to success, can deprive the middle class men—the average American—of this future.
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(Continued on next page...
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Business manager, Walter F. Grueninger; Circulation manager, Mollie Condon; Advertising manager, Mary R. Anderson.

Survey Graphic published on the 1st of the month. Price of single copies of this special number 50c. Regular issues 30c. By subscription—Domestic: year $5; 2 years $8. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c. Indexed in Readers Guide, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus.

Survey Mid-monthly published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 30c. By subscription—Domestic: year $5; 2 years $8. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c.


The Gist of It

Never before in a lay journal have so many life conservation experts joined forces as in this special number of Survey Graphic. Sixth in our "CALLING AMERICA" series, designed to reach key people throughout the land more effectively than a conference or a book, this number is dedicated to strength of mind, body, and spirit.

Getting fit and keeping fit is more than a medical problem, an economic problem, a nutrition problem, or a private personal problem. The total personality of each and every one of us is involved in the human struggle of the historic present; our conception of ourselves and our neighbors, our attitude toward society; our application of science, religion, philosophy; our will, our purpose, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Thus this special number is more than a handbook for the perfection of our physical health.

We be ever so sound of wind and limb, and have not courage, our strength will avail us little. Man not only lives and breathes, "he has his being." That is the intangible message underlying the practical advice of every writer in these pages.

The introductory article by Dr. Winslow projects the theme of the number. The three articles which follow contrast, in some detail, the difference between 1917 and now; between health in the armed services and health on the production lines; between British experience and American plans for women and children in wartime.

In sequence to these broad canvases, eight articles portray in sharp outline areas of immediate action where citizens can take hold through organized activities, here and now—and press for a healthier and more efficient nation in war, a healthier and more efficient next generation. The three major articles which conclude this special number deal with three great decisions facing the American people in their task of winning the war and winning the peace. The world horizons of future wellbeing, seen through the magnifying lens of war, by Dr. Parran, provide a goal toward which Americans must strive.

Get fit, keep fit! Use every means within your power to do so. And help your neighbor, through support of positive social and medical programs, to get fit, and to keep fit, too.

It is our hope that this number—Fitness for Freedom—will be a source of inspiration as well as a source of factual reference. It was prepared, with the generous cooperation of medical men and social researchers, as an instrument to spread the gospel of health.

We hope every reader will want to help give it the widest possible circulation.—VICTOR WEYBRIGHT, Special Editor.
The Health Front in a People's War

C. E. A. Winslow, Dr. P. H.

Health and fitness in wartime, and after—a goal which means we must use all our knowledge and all our science, our individual will and our common purpose, to up-build the strength on which our freedom depends. The keynote article of this special number challenges us to regard Fitness for Freedom not only as a wartime necessity, but as the peacetime aspiration of a democratic society:—by a pioneer professor of public health, Yale University School of Medicine, author of "The Road to Health"

Our confidence in the survival of civilization in this crucial year of 1942 rests on the power of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to turn out more guns and tanks and planes and ships than can be produced by the nations which have gone barbarian. Yet we cannot forget that there must be a man behind the gun and a man behind the machine that makes the gun. Trained and coordinated manpower is after all the ultimate rock upon which success must be built. In the health, the vigor, the efficiency of the people lies the basic assurance of victory.

This truth has not been ignored by our leaders in the United States; and, so far as the most immediate problems of national mobilization are concerned, the news from the health front is encouraging.

The Men Under Arms

The first of such problems is, obviously, the selection for the front line of as many millions as may be needed of young men of the highest degree of physical and mental and emotional fitness. This process has been well planned. The clinical examination is, in the main, as thorough as circumstances permit. Every man is given a Wassermann test. Every man, in nearly all—perhaps in all—corps areas is subjected to a chest X-ray. Every man is checked as to his emotional status; and, though only fifteen minutes is available, that is fifteen minutes more than has ever before been allotted to the vital problem of mental health in any recruitment program. Our Draft Army is probably the most physically and mentally competent large body of young men ever gathered together under any flag.

Once these young men are in service, the resources of modern medicine and modern public health have made it possible to protect their health status with a success which was not attainable in any earlier war. For sound military reasons, it has been necessary to locate camps in areas on the West Coast where sylvatic plague might constitute a serious menace; but, with the control machinery now in force, that danger is rendered negligible. Last summer, large bodies of troops were maneuvered in the Southern
Belt, passing through areas where hookworm and malaria are still serious endemic disease; but the army appears to have met this test with success. We cannot, as yet, effectively check influenza and the minor respiratory diseases; but we can, in large measure, control the secondary lung invasions which follow influenza and other primary virus diseases and constitute their most serious hazard. Thanks to the sulfonamide drugs, the greatest scourge of armies in 1918, pneumonia, has been robbed of its major terror.

With these advances, gonorrhea and syphilis constitute the outstanding present challenge. Nearly two years ago the army, the navy, and the Public Health Service adopted a joint program for medical treatment, epidemiological control, and repression of prostitution which was sound and adequate. In July 1941, the May act prohibiting prostitution within reasonable distance of military and naval stations came into force and a special Division of Social Protection was set up in the Federal Security Agency. The task of controlling prostitution is a gigantic one and no one can rest fully satisfied with the results of either military or civilian activity in this field. Yet here, too, the test of accomplishment has been on the whole encouraging.

The enormous expansion of military personnel always tends to raise venereal disease incidence; and this tendency must have been greatly increased by encampment and troop movements in southern states where venereal disease rates are normally high. In three southern states, the incidence of syphilis infection was shown by the Wassermann tests to be more than fifteen times as great as in such states as Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In view of this double strain, it is not strange that the rates for venereal diseases in our armed forces have increased slightly; but the figures for August 1941 were almost identical with those for August 1940 and about 80 percent below the corresponding rate attained in August 1918.

The Home Front

SCARCELY LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE PROTECTION OF THE health of our armed forces in the field is the safeguarding of manpower in the vital defense industries. Here, too, our federal and state governments and our industries have not been neglectful. Thanks to grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act, divisions of industrial hygiene have now been created in most of our state health departments; and under the defense program the U.S. Public Health Service has greatly increased its personnel for assistance to local authorities and industries. In most of the large munitions plants reasonably effective machinery has been built up for protection against accident and poison hazards. The writer recently visited an airplane factory in California where an almost perfect program of industrial health protection was in operation. The problem of the small plant, however, still remains unsolved.

The sudden and enormous aggregation of thousands of new workers and their families in the neighborhood of expanding war industries creates health problems—and particularly housing problems—of an urgent nature. This is clearly a federal responsibility; and the post of housing coordinator was created in Washington to cope with the situation. The confusion of federal operating agencies in this field has not been fully resolved. Building carried out by Washington bureaus familiar with the construction of postoffices and docks but not of homes has not yielded ideal results. The policy of sale rather than the rental of houses to temporary defense workers has inevitably proved unsound. Yet, on a total balance, accomplishments have been notable. About 130,000 homes for defense workers have been constructed at public expense with an uncertain—but smaller—number by private capital.

The new housing bill which has just passed Congress should make great progress possible if it is implemented by a much needed reorganization of government machinery for its administration.

On the whole, we have not done badly in meeting the challenge of the most immediate health needs involved in our war effort.

Test Tubes in the Crisis

IT IS NOT ENOUGH, HOWEVER, IN THESE SWIFT-MOVING DAYS to live for the present hour alone. The outstanding fact which emerges from a thoughtful view of the problems which we have discussed is that no one of them is a new problem created by the war emergency. Each is a test tube sample of a wider menace to the health of the nation in peace as well as in war. The threat of physical disability among recruits, of malaria and syphilis in camp zones, of occupational hygiene and slum conditions near war industries—each of these emergency challenges highlights a fundamental and continuing national problem.

The selective service procedure is providing an army of sound recruits; but it throws upon the slag heap nearly as many of our young men as are found suitable for acceptance. A program for rehabilitating some of the rejectees for military service has been announced and is making halting progress. Yet this is scarcely an answer to the situation. These boys who have been called in the draft are random samples from our population. They tell us that young and old, male and female, nearly half of us suffer from some degree of physical defect. Certain of these defects are relatively minor. Some of them are irredeemable. Many, however, are serious but subject to correction. Should not such defects be corrected—not only among the draftees but in both sexes and at all ages and particularly among the children who are to constitute the America of the future? This is a challenge which brings us face to face with one of the major health and social problems we have not yet dared to meet—the problem of medical care.

The studies of the past ten years have made the answer to this problem reasonably clear. We have in the United States nearly enough physicians, nearly enough hospital beds, nearly enough nurses (though only half enough dentists) to render completely adequate medical care to all the people of the United States and we are spending, as a nation, about enough to provide such care. Yet the lower half of the population from an economic standpoint is receiving less than half the medical attention it needs. The first essential is a proper distribution of the cost burden through voluntary prepayment for the middle income group of families and through compulsory insurance for the lower income group. The second essential is an effective utilization of our medical service facilities through group practice units associated with hospitals. No other serious alternatives have been proposed and these solutions
The southern maneuvers highlight another national health problem, revealed but not created by the war emergency. In peacetime, too, great numbers of people move from state to state in this Union. Have they not the right to find similar health protection wherever they go? Yet some thousand counties are still without any form of organized health service. As pointed out above, three southern states have syphilis rates fifteen times as high as three New England states; and spend about one tenth as much for venereal disease control per case reported. Nor is this evidence of any dereliction on the part of such states. In many cases they have done more—in proportion to their resources—than their more fortunate neighbors in the North. They have greater problems and they have more limited financial resources with which to meet them.

The responsibility is a national one which we have begun—but only begun—to assume through the grants-in-aid provided under the Social Security Act. Much more generous grants are required for the states with special health problems and slender financial resources; and the provision of full time service by trained health officers should be made universal. It was once said that this nation could not exist half slave and half free. It cannot safely be permitted to exist half rich and half poor, so far as the basic opportunities for healthful living are concerned.

Inside Industry

In similar fashion the immediate need for industrial health service in airplane factories and shipyards reminds us of our long range responsibility for the health of the worker everywhere. Over the Sailor's Hospital in Lubeck in the Middle Ages was a legend which translated, read: "It is necessary to sail the seas. It is not necessary to live." There is an essential heroism in industry. We cannot mine coal and make steel and build high buildings without sometimes killing men. Yet it is surely our responsibility to see that the risk is no heavier than need be.

In large industries the responsibility for health and safety rests with the management of the industry itself, under the supervision and with the technical counseling of health and labor department experts. The small plant can never solve the problem without more direct and substantial aid. I believe that local health departments, with the cooperation of medical societies, manufacturers' associations, and organized labor, should take the initiative in this important field.

Health means much more than just staying alive. It means vigor and efficiency and satisfaction in living. From this standpoint the problem of nutrition is of major importance; and it is vital at the present moment with respect to the industrial worker. Only 26 percent of the workers' families studied by Hazel K. Stiebeling of the U.S. Bureau of Home Economics had good diets. In a West Coast plant with 5,000 workers most of the men were reported by Robert S. Goodhart of the Committee on Nutrition in Industry to arrive without breakfast, and every morning the local cafeteria served more than a thousand breakfasts of coffee and doughnuts. The distribution of vitamin pills does not furnish the right answer. The Committee on Nutrition in Industry of the National Research Council has prepared an admirable report on this subject and recommends "as the first and most important step in the campaign to improve the nutrition of defense workers, the provision of diets of natural foods rich in all the essential food factors." Education is of little value if it cannot be applied; and the actual provision of a low cost meal on each shift would accomplish more than volumes of letter press. In England the Ministry of Labor has ordered the establishment of canteens in every plant employing 200 or more workers. In the United States the devotion to such projects of a fraction of the energy spent on first aid courses and air raid precautions might make a tangible and immediate contribution to the winning of the war.

Homes and Health

Finally, in connection with housing, we find one more problem which is only somewhat more acute in wartime than it will be in the after period of peace. "A third of a nation" is not a bad guess at the proportion of our people who are inadequately housed in "normal" times. In the period of post-war economic readjustment it is probable that large scale developments of both public and private housing will play a major role. What we do for defense workers in 1942 should fit into a wider future program. Where low rent, subsidized housing is needed, defense housing should be designed to be transferred to housing authorities for low income families after the crisis has passed. Where such permanent use cannot be anticipated, the defense housing should be of temporary character, preferably demountable so that it can be salvaged for what it is worth.

Foundations for Peace in Time of War

There are those who tell us that such long range planning is irrelevant to the present issue—that we should think at the moment of nothing but winning the war. There are others who see in the war emergency a golden opportunity to serve their own vested interests and to get rid—as they hope, for all time—of all this socialist nonsense.

There have been wars in the past in which this happened, but this is not that kind of war. This is a war so arduous and so difficult that it can only be won by a united people, by a people who know that the civilization for which they must be ready to die is, in truth, worth dying for. That is why in England the last two fateful years have seen no retrogression but the most outstanding progress in all the public social services—in insurance benefits, in hospitalization, in child care. The magnificent endurance, the unshaken loyalty of the British people is, in no small measure, the result of this national policy.

Furthermore, even if we could win the war by sacrificing our basic social ideals, the achievement would be of doubtful value. This is not a war between nations for territory or prestige. It is a war between two philosophies of living. We are fighting the forces of hate and selfishness and injustice not only in Nazi Germany but also in all the nations of the earth, including our own. As Edna St. Vincent Millay has reminded us recently in a noble poem, we must kill the dragon in such a way as "not to be shattered by his blood." We must defeat Germany and Japan and we must at the same time go forward with the building of a world of better opportunity for our own people and for all mankind.

Can we accomplish so difficult a double task? The poem just cited concludes: "Yes. With God's help I can."

MARCH 1942
The Army Has a Good Check-Up

The procedure in the pre-induction center contrasts with the inadequate consideration given the industrial army and civil population. Photographs by Lawrence D. Thornton.
urine analysis

blood pressure

neuro-psychiatric

orthopedic

height, weight and chest measurements
Mobilize the Civil Health Army!

1917 AND NOW

We're better off than last time, but still far short of the fitness more and better health officers could insure. A program for the present—by an authority on public health administration; author of "Alcohol and Man".

Our democracy cannot unload its belligerency, its military and naval duties, upon its most precious youth and be content with paying taxes to buy them machines of destruction and protection. The utter and complete involvement of our whole people, their society and material resources, their abilities, potentialities, and cultural ambitions in a war to protect, create, and enlarge human liberties demands a vision of rare clarity and long distance.

If we are concerned, as we may properly be, at the imminent dispersal of our savings, our principal and income account, and the accumulated substantial wealth of our nation, what shall we think of the spending, saving and upbuilding of that human wealth which the vital economists tell us has a monetary value not less than five-fold that of all our material possessions? Persons are expendable national property in wartime, listed in suitable categories of age, sex, social circumstance, nativity, and work ability. The hundred and thirty-two million of us represent the total asset of our country for re-creating the world which will be fit for little children to grow up in with confidence, faith, and happiness.

Are we thrifty and forethoughtful in husbanding this our people for the duration and thereafter?

About a million and three quarters of us are engaged according to our respective capacities in healing the sick and saving the well from illness. Of these, the one tenth who are physicians must carry the leadership, the responsibility for policies, for standards, for results and for the process and method of putting human biology to work so that the threads of genetic variation and superiority may be still more free to build incomparable successors.
The 150,000 to 175,000 physicians privileged by society to apply their science and art to know, to treat, and to prevent disease; and to be the interpreters of the rules of right living to their fellow men and women—these are the measure of our insurance for both military and civilian fractions of our population.

Why We’re Better Off Than Last Time

What have we done and where are our evident inadequacies? Are we better off than during the first World War; and what still lacks for creditable performance?

First for the military, since to them we have sent our best. In an army of 3,600,000 there will be 5 percent of the soldier personnel required for medical, sanitary, hospital and dental service, or 180,000 men; and 13,333 nurses besides at the present ratio of one army nurse for each 270 officers and men. The ratio of medical officers to total force, whether army or navy, is 6.5 for each 1,000 officers and men, although there has been some consideration of pushing this ratio for the army as high as 8. At the present ratio, not less than 23,400 physicians and surgeons will be needed for that army in the making, or one medical officer for each 155 of the total force of officers and men. That would leave us one licensed practitioner for each 844 of the remaining 128,000,000 of the population. Even if we deduct from the list of licensed physicians some 22,000 whom we shall find to be no longer actively serving medical purposes because of age, infirmity or their diversion into other pursuits, we should still have for the civilian population one physician for every 988 persons, a ratio generously larger than that found in the countries of pre-war Europe where Sweden, best and most thriftily organized, had one doctor for each 2,890 persons; England and Wales, more liberally provided, had one doctor for each 1,490 persons; and Switzerland, with the highest ratio among the European countries, one doctor for each 1,250 inhabitants.

Briefly then, we have a quantity of physicians adequate for a more liberal allowance to troops than has ever been asked for before, as well as provision for the civilian population to make us better off in this respect than any other nation. Furthermore, with half the world's telephones and most of its automobiles and a great network of concrete and hard surfaced roads, each doctor today is nearer to a larger area and population than at any time in the past.

The medical officers in the armed services have all been born out-of-the modern medical school of the past two decades, a quality of man and of educational discipline and of practical interne training and hospital experience never equalled in prior years here or abroad. And if one can believe, as I think we must, the thoughtful opinions of recent official critical investigators of camps and their base hospitals, of disease control, morbidity, mortality and the non-effective rate among the first million of draftees in training, we learn of a change since 1918 little short of revolutionary in the diagnostic and treatment services and epidemiological and sanitary supervision provided in the army and navy.

The more leisurely selection and drafting of men, the better camp accommodations, the more fortunate weather of the first winter and year of training, the more adequate hospital equipment and bed ratios and the very superior young physicians on duty familiar with the refinement and accuracies of clinical and laboratory diagnosis, and most fortunate in the possession of a valuable range of new chemical therapeutics for infections by the streptococcus and staphylococcus, by pneumococcus, meningococcus and gonococcus—all these combine have produced a picture of skilled, in- (Continued on page 168)
A Prescription for Production

TROOPS AND WORKERS

The ill and the injured, the badly nourished and the fatigued, are nearly all unnecessary casualties in the battle of the assembly lines.

Some pointers on vigor for victory—by the N.A.M. consultant on healthful working conditions; author of "An American Doctor's Odyssey"

LAST DECEMBER 7 EVERY HUMANITARIAN AND PRACTICAL program in the United States became dependent on one great national aim—victory in the war. All our plans for the future—whether for the health of children in a Kansas county, for the welfare of sharecroppers in the South, or for the economic improvement of all our people—suddenly were tied up with what is to happen in China, the East Indies, Russia, and North America.

No one can say that we, a nation of 131,000,000 people and untold material resources, are afraid; but I, for one, am convinced that we cannot overemphasize the seriousness of our situation. Superiority in numbers and vastness of natural wealth are no grounds for complacency. If recent history has anything to teach it is that a well organized minority can sometimes defeat a disorganized majority. The number of men in the battleline no longer is the decisive factor in determining the outcome of a war. This is a day of mechanization when victory or defeat depend upon the efficiency of men in the factory assembly line.

The Troops Are Fit

EVERYONE KNOWS FROM HIS OWN EXPERIENCE THAT EFFICIENCY is dependent on good health. A person cannot work quickly or accurately if his back aches or his hands tremble or his vision is blurred; he cannot do his best even with a headache. It follows then that if the men on the assembly lines throughout the country are to produce to maximum efficiency they must be clearheaded, clear-sighted, steady. They must feel "in the pink."

The U. S. Army, realizing the relationship of health to efficiency, guards the health of its forces with every feasible precaution. The best of medical and nursing attention is available to nip any incipient disease in the bud; psychiatrists are on hand to watch for signs of mental breakdown; educational programs keep the soldier aware of the danger signs of impaired health. And, probably most important of all, regular hours and proper food keep his body resistant to the germs which we have always with us.

War Workers Face Hazards, Too

ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS NO NATION-WIDE, SYSTEMATIC approach toward maintaining the health of the men on the industrial front. Whether a worker will be able to stay on the assembly line is largely considered to be his own concern, or at most the concern of his employer. It is, of course, very much the concern of both. Nonetheless, as we see all too clearly in wartime, the misfortune of the worker who must lose pay for two weeks because of an attack of flu or an injured hand, the misfortune of his employer whose production declines, is the misfortune of the nation, which is losing time. The Gallup Poll has estimated that the time lost from war industries or war connected industries because of illness in December could have built two heavy cruisers, 448 medium bombers, or 3,200 light tanks. I do not believe that we can set up a nationwide industrial health program as integrated as that of the army, but we ought to expect the utmost cooperation on the part of the employer, the employee, and government to see that everything possible is done to reach maximum fitness in the industrial ranks.

Speed is our immediate goal, yes, but the old proverb that "haste makes waste" still has modern validity. Too close a concentration on speed may draw us into a vicious cycle by producing many of the factors that reduce efficiency: such as increased accidents; fatigue; illness.

Already accident figures are becoming ominous. The National Safety Council estimates that final figures for industrial injuries for the year 1941 will show a 10 to 15 percent increase in frequency and severity rates over 1940. Such percentages are based not only on an increase in the total number of accidents but in the number of accidents per man-hours of production, thus indicating a rise beyond normal expectancy. Behind these percentages lie many factors connected with a war production program: sudden employment of inexperienced help; expansion into two or three shifts leaving little time for maintenance work; hasty renovation of old machinery and the crowding in of new machinery; opening of long closed factories and of new ones planned in haste; use of poisonous chemicals required by War Department specifications and of large amounts of dangerous materials not toxic in smaller quantities.

Some of the health hazards in defense work are old hazards which many years of safety education had reduced to a minimum in pre-war industrial practices. One is benzol, a highly volatile chemical whose fumes, if inhaled, can cause serious blood destruction and even death. Labor, enlightened industry, and government have for years waged a war against the use of this toxic substance where substitutes could be employed. Now, however, it is again becoming an important hazard because of its usefulness as a rubber solvent and in the manufacture of certain airplane parts. Airplane manufacture also exposes workers to toxic paint sprays required by War Department specifications which, in certain instances, cannot be applied under the protection of a spray booth. Other dangers are presented by the increased activity in radium dial painting and in the use in machine tool shops of certain cutting oils which cause skin eruptions. Fortunately, knowledge as to the prevention of radium poisoning is far more advanced than during the last war when so many cases of this fatal disease were contracted. Workers properly instructed in protective methods can also sidestep the discomforts to which cutting oils give rise. More ominous for them is the introduction of new processes on
Exhaust ventilators in the booths where wings and fuselages are sprayed protect aircraft workers from a hazard to health.

which little safety information is, at present, available. It would be unfair to imply that nothing was being done to offset these increasing dangers. I have found industry no less anxious than government and labor to

avoid the waste of occupational disease and accidents. The National Safety Council, a membership association of industrial organizations, has long campaigned for the introduction of safety equipment and accident prevention programs into industrial plants. That its campaign was by no means a failure has been indicated by a steady downward trend in accident frequency and severity rates since 1926 until the beginning of the defense program. Safety experts believe that the sharp accident rise in the past two years has been due in large part to the process of getting new industrial programs under way and that frequency rates will tend to level off as defense activities become more stabilized.

Safety and Health

The greatest problem is presented by the smaller industrial plants, employing less than 500 persons, which have never been as safety or health conscious as the large plants with many thousands of employees. But even in this area, a gloomy view is not entirely justified. In a survey of 2,064 industries of all sizes which I directed for the National Association of Manufacturers last fall we learned that 70 percent of the plants that had introduced safety and health programs during the past five years were small plants. This would indicate that health consciousness is penetrating into the realm where it is most needed. One block in the path of translating this consciousness into going programs is a shortage of qualified industrial doctors. Since these men are physicians, and since physicians are in great demand by the army, navy, and civilian protection services, chances that the shortage will be diminished at any time in the near future are practically nil.

The modern habit by which labor, industry, and government get together to work out problems of mutual interest has resulted in a scheme for tackling the prob-
lems of safety for defense workers through a Committee on the Conservation of Manpower in Defense Industries. Appointed by the Secretary of Labor the twenty-four man committee consists of safety experts from private industries, executives from the national and local safety councils, labor representatives, and officials from state divisions of industrial hygiene. Its job is to act as safety watchdog as the defense program expands. This it does through its regional representatives, all safety experts lent by their employers to the government for the duration. Upon the award of a defense contract the regional representative is notified so that he can immediately assign a safety expert from the district in which the contractor’s plant is located to get in touch with the plant manager with offers of technical advice on the best means of safeguarding the employees involved. These contact men, all serving on a volunteer basis, offer to assist in the organization of safety systems, in the establishment of training programs, in the appraisal of physical hazards and the devising of plans for their correction. Whether or not their offer is accepted is left up to the management.

Fortunately, however, the decision of whether safety measures are to be taken is not entirely the prerogative of industrial managers, who vary in their wisdom and concern as much as any other group of men. In many states minimum requirements for precautions against industrial dangers are set by law, and are enforced through a system of routine inspection of engineer’s plans and of plant operations administered through a division of industrial hygiene operating either under the state labor department or the state department of health. Today these divisions are concentrating most of their efforts on defense operations in order to expedite the approval of new plans so that delays in installation of equipment will be avoided. They are also studying methods of control for meeting the new hazards introduced with the manufacture of highly specialized products.

In spite of their “enforcing” role industrial hygiene divisions are usually regarded by industrialists as services to be called upon for help when trouble is in the offing. Typical is the attitude exemplified by a recent occurrence in New York where a plant manager, suspecting that his workers were becoming sick from benzol, sent an urgent request for advice and assistance to the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the State Department of Labor. The division immediately dispatched a toxicologist and an engineer to the plant where forty workers were found applying benzol in a manner not only menacing their own health, but also the health of the 100 other workers in the same room. Medical tests showed that the blood of nineteen men already was affected. On the advice of state officials the sick men were transferred to other jobs immediately, a less toxic chemical was substituted for benzol for part of the plant operations, safer methods of application were introduced where benzol was necessary.

Such services, available in only about half the states a few years ago, received tremendous impetus from the defense program. Since last July, five states have instituted industrial hygiene divisions, bringing the total of states with this means of protection to thirty-six. Steady prods to stimulate state action have been piled by the federal government through the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the National Institute of Health. During the past year the division received appropriations of $550,000 for a defense program which has developed along three lines: It examines from a safety and health viewpoint plans for all army ordnance plants as well as for plants owned by the army but operated by private contractors; it assists states in setting up and operating industrial hygiene services covering other defense plants by lending them personnel for this work; and it engages in research in the various health problems which are by-products of the new type of warfare. In this research function the division is particularly occupied with the toxicity of substances used in manufacture; the development of instruments for the detection and measurement of toxic dusts, fumes and gases; the effect of high altitude exposure in aviation; protection of human beings under crowded working or living conditions.

Fatigue—Fifth Columnist

Fatigue, a frequent precursor of both accidents and illness, is one of the most elusive enemies facing us in our battle of production. The point at which it attacks the worker depends on a host of variables—robustness of constitution, type of work, mental attitude, posture, diet. Studies have shown that if production schedules are set at about 75 percent of the capacity of the workers most able to withstand fatigue, breakdowns will occur among the less able. The problem of real production speed, then, becomes one of raising the fatigue point for

In this British munitions factory war workers exercise in the works canteen, under the supervision of a qualified instructor supplied by the management of the firm.
the weak by eliminating contributory factors—physical defects, worry, bad posture, malnourishment (not necessarily undernutrition). The worker’s home life becomes as important as his working conditions.

But even a machine that is strongly built, well handled, and fed with the best of fuel will begin to “act up” after long periods of constant use. In many large industries in this country it has been noted that men can stand long hours and intense work over short periods of time, but after three or four weeks of such conditions their production will begin to decrease. Notwithstanding experience in the first World War this has been one of the “trial and error” lessons learned in England since Dunkirk. In a feverish effort to raise production after that tragic occurrence workers were put on a seventy-to-eighty-hour week. After several months of these schedules fatigue began to take its toll and production lagged.

British workers now are on a lightened schedule of from fifty-four to sixty hours for men and forty-eight hours for women.

Pearl Harbor, our Dunkirk, has made us similarly conscious of the race against time. At the request of the War and Navy Departments many men and women are now working seven days a week. That they do so is a necessity caused by shortages of persons skilled in the type of work required in defense industries. But if we are to profit by the British experience no time should be lost in training additional persons in the required skills, so that the lengthened work week may be shortened when fatigue signs set in.

A certain amount of vigilance against this Fifth Columnist, fatigue, is provided in those states with minimum-hour laws for women which have taken measures to see that the requirements of these laws are waived only when absolutely necessary. For example, in New York, where the legislature last month gave the state industrial commissioner the power to “grant dispensations” from the working time provisions of the State Labor Law, the legislators have made it clear that such dispensations shall be granted only for fulfilling army and navy contracts in industries where there are definite labor shortages. Dispensations may not be granted for more than six months at a time, though they may be renewed upon proof of need.

Illness Off the Job

However, all conceivable precautions against the dangers inherent in an accelerated production program will not eliminate the major deterrents to speed. The reason is a simple one. The largest proportion of man-days lost are lost because of illness not related to the job or because of accidents occurring away from work. The National Safety Council has estimated that three times as many accidents happen to employees while off the job as happen to them in the factory. A recent Gallup Poll has indicated that the illness responsible for more lost man-days than any other is the common cold.

The same poll produced evidence that American production lost 23,000,000 man-days last December through illness. A breakdown of the rates of loss revealed a strange discrepancy. The rates for all industry in December was 23 lost man-days per thousand man-days of production. The rate for defense industries was only 14 per thousand. Normal industries apparently have been losing more time from illness than the speeded up defense industries. Whatever the cause, this difference in rates would seem to indicate that the sources of the illness holding up defense production go back beyond any recent factors entering into wartime industry. They stem from the home and the community, from weaknesses in programs of medical care, health education, nutrition, from lack of knowledge or concern on the part of the worker, whose resistance to illness depends largely on good health habits—sleep, exercise, food.

The tragedy of our situation today is that we know definitely how our morbidity rates can be reduced, but we do not seem to be able to apply our knowledge. Numerous scientific experiments have produced evidence that diet bears a relationship not only to gastric disturbances and to the well known “deficiency diseases” but even to the incidence of such seemingly unrelated ills as pneumonia, heart disease, enlarged tonsils, appendicitis. Today we know enough about the importance of nutrition to be able to say that the number of planes, guns, tanks that come out of the nation’s plants is determined largely by what the nation’s workers put into their stomachs. The speed of a machine depends on the quality of the
fuel used; the speed of a factory depends on the diet of the men on the assembly line.

**Better “Fuel” for the Men Behind the Machine**

Fortunately, “high octane gas” for the worker is inexpensive and abundant, for it is derived from five basic foods: milk, whole wheat or soy bean bread, meat or eggs (liver occasionally, at least seven eggs a week), leafy vegetables and raw fruit; to these he can add such other foods as he likes. Unfortunately, the worker who consistently follows a balanced diet is probably the exception rather than the rule.

Education, no doubt, is the best method of bringing about the application of scientific knowledge. The goal of education must be to teach the individual to get the vitamins and minerals he needs in his daily food. But education is a long, slow process. Thirty years ago when I was in the Philippines it was demonstrated conclusively that beri-beri could easily be avoided by the addition of unpolished rice to the diet. Today Filipinos still fall sick with beri-beri. Engaged as we are in a mad race with other nations, we cannot afford to wait thirty years or even for five to see that our assembly lines are fed “high octane gas.” We must find quicker processes than formal education or health campaigns to serve as funnels for fueling purposes.

**This is no time to sneer at the commercial channels.** Americans have always been particularly susceptible to advertising and it is reasonable to suppose that products containing the vitamins and minerals they need could be “put across” as easily as cough drops or little liver pills. I am not endorsing anybody’s everything-in-one pills—it is doubtful whether any “pill” is large enough to hold all the necessary vitamins and minerals—but I do not see why, if products can be shown to contain the vitamins and minerals necessary to health they should not be exploited in this emergency. In spite of the fact that vitamins and minerals are best obtained through the natural foods, it is easier to persuade people to take “medicine” than to change their diet. It seems to me that even those who plan their meals carefully might benefit from artificial food supplements or from enriched foods containing all the important known vitamins and minerals, for under conditions of life today we cannot always be sure that the food we buy in the market has not lost much of its vitamin content through storage, processing, cooking, transportation, or has not been grown on soil providing little mineral content.

The effect of an artificial food supplement on efficiency is now being tested at the Pratt-Whitney plant in Hartford, Conn., where 500 men receive vitamin-mineral cakes daily and 500 others from the same age and occupation group serve as controls. Comparisons are being made of the health and production records of these two groups. If experiments such as these prove successful, it is conceivable that industrial workers may wish to take food supplements in the factory just as salt pills are taken by workers in steel mills to prevent heat exhaustion.

Good results have been reported from experiments which have brought natural foods to the men in industrial plants. In England many workers are now receiving “Oslo meals,” so-called because they were first provided to industrial workers in the Norwegian capital. These be-tween-meal snacks consisting of cheese, whole meal bread, a raw carrot, milk, half an orange, half an apple are served at rest periods in the forenoon and afternoon.

However, in many areas in this country the most pressing question is not whether the defense worker’s meals can be supplemented but whether he can get a decent lunch at all. Where new plants have brought large crowds to formerly small communities, eating facilities are often entirely inadequate. The result is that by the time workers can obtain any food they usually have only a few minutes of their lunch period left in which to gulp it down. A survey of a community in the Middle West showed that defense workers were spending nine minutes on their lunch; and that workers with box lunches ate just as hurriedly because there was no place available that was conducive to relaxation and restful eating.

**A Red Cross Story**

It is a refreshing characteristic of democracy that experiments for solving problems spring up almost simultaneously with the situations that cause those problems. In Springfield, Mass., a method of bringing food to the defense worker in areas where eating facilities are scarce or to workers who are on night shifts (when restaurants and cafeterias are closed) has grown out of a demonstration sponsored as part of a local newspaper’s “food for defense” campaign. This was thought up by Ernestine Perry, a feature writer on the Springfield Union, to give a practical illustration of the theme of her series of nutrition articles and at the same time to provide experience for Red Cross canteen and motor corps volunteers. The demonstration involved the serving of hot lunches to the seventy-five factory men and the office staff of a small defense plant. The men were so appreciative of the service that they raised $100 for the Red Cross on the closing day and asked that the project be continued on a paying basis. Impressed, too, were industrial executives, Red Cross officials, and civilian defense leaders who have since set in motion many other plans for canteens and soup kitchens for defense workers. Beginning last month, Red Cross volunteer canteen workers have been appearing at an armory at four o’clock in the morning to serve food to workers engaged in turning out guns.

**The Duty to Be Healthy**

Convinced of the close relationship of food to the product of the assembly line, the National Association of Manufacturers is considering a nationwide nutrition campaign aimed at the women who pack the lunch boxes and who plan the home meals. Nutrition education as the concern of industrial management is a logical next step in the development of industrial health programs, which in the past thirty years have advanced from the single-tracked concept of providing protection against danger to a wider view concerned with prevention of all ills. Today a good plant health and safety program includes over twenty factors, ranging from accident prevention education to periodic medical examinations. To these, I hope will be added a definite effort to improve the worker’s nutritional status so that full production efficiency can be attained. This perhaps can best be approached by concentrating as much effort on making the worker health conscious as has been expended in the past on making him safety conscious. Defense workers must be made to see that to remain healthy is their duty to their country.
Women and Children in Wartime

BRITISH EXPERIENCE AND AMERICAN PLANS

MARTHA M. ELIOT, M.D.

As an official observer in Britain during and after the blitz Dr. Eliot writes with unique authority on the welfare of mothers and children —there and here—by the associate chief, U. S. Children’s Bureau

IT IS MORE THAN A YEAR NOW SINCE THE DAY WHEN, AS A member of the Civil Defense Mission, I paid my first visit to Sir Wilson Jameson, the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, in his office in Whitehall, London. To all external appearances the Ministry was much the same as in 1936 when I last visited it. The dark corridors, the long iron stairways, the small lifts with folding doors, the cordial greeting of the staff, the cheerful soft coal fires, the comfortable leather chairs for visitors.

But there were differences! The sandbags at the entrance; the register to be signed, and the “chit” to be countersigned by some official; the increased number of people in the corridors; the sense of activity and movement; the cots tucked away unobtrusively in corners of offices but ready for use in case the blitz kept the staff from leaving at night; the absence of sugar in the cup of tea which came as usual at four.

And still more fundamental changes were soon apparent, changes in the job-to-be-done brought about by the war, changes in the basic philosophy of government in its responsibility for the health and welfare of the people. Through the expansion of the public health services and medical care, the strengthening of the maternity and child welfare program and its adaptation to the war situation, through the provision of food and housing for the workers and recreation for young people, the rehabilitation of the bombed-out families, and the placement and care and education of evacuated children, the British government has expressed its concern for the well-being of the people and especially of children. The government recognizes that the first line of defense is the civilian population, that the health and well-being and morale of the workers depends on food and shelter and on the knowledge that their families are safe, their children well cared for. Now that women are called into the national service, wartime nurseries are being provided, and girls of sixteen to twenty are joining the child-care reserve to take the place of their older sisters who must go into the factories. The concern of government for the health of the people extends today beyond the traditional services of doctor and nurse and sanitary engineer and includes the food expert, the factory welfare worker, the child guidance expert, the nursery school teacher.

Women and Children First

FOR MANY YEARS THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF ENGLAND, the Department of Health for Scotland, and the Boards of Education of both countries have acted under broad powers given by Parliament to provide through grants to local authorities for the health of the people, especially for mothers and children. Gaps there were, of course, in the maternity and child welfare and school medical programs; but to my ears, accustomed to hearing figures like one public health nurse to ten, twenty or thirty thousand people in rural counties of the United States, complaints of only one nurse for every 3,000 people in a rural area sounded like stories too good to be true. A district nurse in every town and village, a skilled midwife, medical consultants, health visitors to supervise the maternity and child health services, child welfare and prenatal clinics, school medical services, school treatment clinics—these were the contributions of British government to the health of children and mothers before the war came. Even in the rural areas, except perhaps in parts of the northern counties, it was said that no mother would have to go more than a short distance from her home, at most not more than six to seven miles, to find a child welfare clinic.

As would be expected, war has taxed these maternal and child health and school medical services, but the need to maintain them and strengthen them has been held of paramount importance. The serious disorganization of the child welfare and school medical service in London and other industrial cities when war was declared and the Emergency Medical Service set up was not easy to rectify, for physicians and nurses and health visitors had been drawn off from their regular duties and assigned to casualty service or to the military forces. Once the mistake was recognized, the authorities set about correcting it. Within a few weeks the school medical service was again in operation; within a few months the child welfare service.

Throughout Great Britain there is an awareness that the strength of the nation tomorrow will depend on what is done to assure the health and well-being of children today; that the outcome of the war depends to no small extent on what is done to maintain the health, the vigor, and the morale of the workers in the factories, on the farms, in the offices. And so the whole life of the nation is geared to a plan to produce and a plan to keep fit. In each of the major departments of government, attention is concentrated on how the health and medical and social needs of the civilian population can be met. The issues at stake are so critical that the government foots the bill, relying on the central or local authorities to carry out the necessary measures. Many of these measures have been drastic, revolutionary, but they are becoming part of the accepted way of life. When peace comes they will not be discarded.

Food Distribution in Britain

THERE ARE THE "BRITISH RESTAURANTS," THOSE LIFE SAVING community feeding centers established by the Ministry of Food in the blitzed cities for workers and bombed-out families, in industrial plants wherever men and women are engaged in war industries, and in the reception areas...
for evacuated mothers and children. No other single measure is making a greater contribution to the health and social welfare of the nation. Food is conserved in these communal kitchens, and the cost is far below that of preparation by individual families; well balanced, well prepared, and palatable meals are served in these centers; new and sometimes strange foods are introduced and accepted cheerfully by the people as part of the fight on the home front. In February 1941, 70 percent of all factories employing more than 250 men or women were provided with a canteen at which good meals could be obtained at cost and the number has been increased since then. Extension of the plan for school meals is being pressed by the Board of Education to make it universal. Free milk or milk at greatly reduced cost is made available to women at prenatal clinics, to young children in child welfare clinics, to older children at school. Children and pregnant and nursing mothers are given priority in the distribution of milk.

Through the “dried-milk scheme” of the Ministry of Food, thousands of nursing mothers are getting a better diet. In December 1941 a new scheme for the nationwide distribution of cod liver oil and that new found source of vitamin C, black currant juice, and concentrated orange juice went into effect for children under two years of age.

The Future of Medical Care

In the method of distributing medical care the war has brought great changes, some of which will no doubt be carried over into peacetime. The British Medical Association is giving serious study to the problem. Proposals now before the people present three alternative plans: (1) An extension of the existing health insurance scheme to include dependants of insured persons and other liberalizing benefits; (2) a frank scheme for full time government-employed salaried physicians who would render service free to all who sought it and who would come within the civil service; and (3) a more moderate plan for part time employment of physicians by government to serve all the people except those who wish and can afford to pay private physicians’ fees. Under this third plan the capitation fee to physicians under the present health insurance scheme would be done away with and in its place a part time salary would be paid. The existing health insurance scheme would be diverted to provide hospital care. Physicians employed by government would be allowed to practice privately, but they would be required to give service to all people electing to come under the government plan. They would not be under the civil service. This third proposal, known as the Walker plan, is very similar to the medical care scheme now successfully in effect in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In certain respects it is very like the Emergency Medical Service that has been put into effect by the British government for the period of the war.

Sixpence (a dime) for meat, three veggies, and a pudding
At the outbreak of war a large number of physicians were employed on full time salaries by the Ministry of Health under its Emergency Medical Service to staff the emergency hospitals and casualty stations in cities under bombing and the base hospitals in the country back from the front line of attack. When casualties proved to be fewer in number than were expected, many of these full time salaried physicians were put on part time salaries by the government for a specified number of hours service each day and allowed to return to practice on a private basis for the remainder of the time. Many thousand other physicians are liable to call to national service in case of emergency and receive fees for “sessional service,” that is, on a time basis. It is these physicians who take charge of the first aid posts when a blitz is on.

I am told that some 70 percent of the physicians in active practice are in receipt of government pay when a war emergency is at hand. Add to these the physicians who are paid by government for sessional service in the maternity and child welfare and school medical programs, the factories and the shelters, all of which are outside the Emergency Medical Service, and it becomes clear that a very large proportion of physicians in Great Britain are in one way or another in the service of the government.

Maternity Care
It was under the shadow of Stirling Castle in Scotland with the ghosts of Wallace and the Scottish Chiefs hovering around that I got my first glimpse of maternity care as it is being practiced in Great Britain in wartime. I was on my way from Glasgow to Edinburgh where I had visited a school treatment clinic and had stopped in Stirling County to see the maternity care program of the county health department. I know now that the Stirling County Health Department is one of the “best,” but that does not lessen my admiration for its program of service, excellent even in wartime.

An able health officer and deputy with six medical assistants, twelve health visitors, and in the towns and villages some fifty district nurses and midwives were carrying on an up-to-date public health program for a population of 180,000 persons. Sanitation and housing, tuberculosis and syphilis control, nutrition, industrial hygiene, maternity and child welfare, each had special departments in full swing. Here, as everywhere I went in England, it was apparent that the war had enhanced the importance of public health. The control of communicable disease had become doubly important. The British nation could not afford to have one unnecessary epidemic. A new and vigorous campaign to immunize all children against diphtheria was under way. Seven thousand children had been immunized in Stirling County in one month and a systematic countywide search was being made to catch all would-be delinquents. This was part of a nationwide undertaking throughout Great Britain made possible by funds and supplies from the Ministry of Health.

The wartime maternity program of Stirling County has been built upon the provisions of the Maternity Welfare (Scotland) Act of 1937. Nowhere, in my opinion, unless it is in Sweden, is there a more satisfactory basic law. Applicable to all women alike who may apply for the care, the law provides for the service of physician and skilled midwife for prenatal care and delivery in the patient’s home, for consultation by an obstetrician, for the attendance of the midwife as a maternity nurse if the delivery is conducted by the physician. For those who can pay, a moderate fixed fee is charged; for those who cannot pay, the service is free. Whether payment is to be made is decided by the health visitor, the British counterpart of the American public health nurse.

The plan provides that all women shall be examined by the physician three times antenatally and, in all cases whether delivered by midwife or physician, within twelve hours after delivery. Hospital care, if recommended by the physician, is provided by the local authority. If the case is a normal one, the physician may recommend that the midwife conduct the delivery, but he must be available to assist the midwife if she summons him. Regardless of whether the physician or the midwife conducts the delivery, both physician and midwife receive their fees from the Department of Health, the physician £2, the midwife 35s. Actually, in peacetime, about 75 percent of deliveries in Scotland are conducted by physicians.

With the onset of war only two years after this plan had been started there was some apprehension that it might be interfered with. Actually the program has progressed satisfactorily, maternity hospitals have been built, and a very considerable number of maternity homes established under the evacuation scheme for women from the target cities. In rural areas from which medical personnel had been withdrawn because of the needs of the military forces, full time salaried obstetric consultants had been stationed by the Department of Health to assure good care to the women of these regions.

It was to one of the maternity homes for evacuated women that I was taken in Stirling County, the first of eight that I was to visit before leaving Great Britain. It was a large mansion set back from the main road in a great country estate. The whole house had been transformed into wards, separate rooms, labor rooms, and nurseries. Forty women from Edinburgh and Glasgow were being cared for. Some were waiting the onset of labor, others had been delivered from one to fourteen days before. The labor rooms were well equipped with all the facilities for normal deliveries. The staff of the maternity home consisted of a resident physician, midwives, and a domestic staff. A consultant obstetrician employed by the County Health Department on a part time basis made daily visists and was on call in case of need. She also served as the health department consultant to physicians practicing in the county and was chief of the obstetric staff of the county hospital.

Such was the program of maternity care in Scotland. Throughout Great Britain the development of the wartime "improved" maternity homes for women from the bombed cities has been highly successful, as is evidenced by the continued drop in the maternal mortality rate in 1939 and 1940 and by the satisfaction with the scheme expressed by the women themselves. During the height of the blitz in the early winter of 1940-41, only 25 percent of the usual number of deliveries took place in London. Seventy-five percent of the women voluntarily accepted the government plan of care in one of its 90 country maternity homes.

The Example of Good Organization
The success of this wartime plan for maternity care, like that of many of the wartime services for children, depended to a large extent on the basic provisions for care that had been solidly established in the period since the

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last world war. The whole plan for the evacuation of children from London and other industrial cities would have broken down if it had not been for the nationwide school medical and child welfare services. The health and medical service to children remaining behind in the cities under bombing has been provided through the continued operation of peacetime services, except for hospital care which comes under the Emergency Medical Service. A shortage of physicians in the reception areas has depleted these services to some extent, but in no area has a complete withdrawal of physicians been permitted. On the contrary, in many cases physicians and other health and welfare personnel have been sent out with the children from the cities to supplement those in the country areas.

The war, the blitz, the evacuation of mothers and children, has greatly disorganized family life in Great Britain. Thousands of families have been broken up by the movement of men or women workers to new industrial areas, tens of thousands have had their homes destroyed by bombing, hundreds of thousands have sent their children into the relatively safe areas of the country or their fathers and sons into the army. As a result, one would expect to find restlessness, uneasiness, instability, insecurity. But such is not the case. Instead, there is an amazing confidence in the government and a will to see the “job done.” The morale is high and the mental health of the people good. The situation is difficult but real; and the realities have been faced. Neuroses and psychoses due to the war situation have been far less common than was anticipated.

Among a relatively small proportion of children, the insecurity and fears arising from destruction of homes, separation from families, uncertainty as to the safety of parents, has resulted in a variety of emotional and behavior difficulties, in petty delinquencies, in a few true psychoses. In the blitzed cities recent reports show that the smallest children, those under five years of age, have shown emotional disturbance more frequently than those who are a bit older. Among evacuated children such disturbances are often exacerbations of earlier difficulties brought out by adding new insecurities to old and frequently unrecognized maladjustments. But most of the children have stood up well. How well they take it depends usually on how well their parents take it.

All this has meant an increased interest in mental health, in social work, in child guidance clinics, in nursery schools. The Ministry of Health in discharging its responsibility for the evacuation of children has recognized the contribution to be made by social workers by appointing “welfare officers” to its regional offices and to many of the county health offices in the reception areas. Likewise, child guidance workers have been added to local health department staffs in many areas and a number of new child guidance clinics for evacuated children have been established. Nursery school activities form a part of the daily program for all children under five years of age evacuated to residential nurseries and for children in the now numerous “wartime nurseries” provided in reception areas and in industrial cities to allow mothers to go to work. No one in authority in England wants women with young children to go to work. But if the war situation demands it, then the best of a bad situation must be made and the government, through its maternity and child welfare education authorities, is providing care for the children that gives a chance for health and growth and mental development.

While mothers work in the war industries, their children are cared for in British day nurseries established since the blitz.

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SURVEY GRAPHIC
Lessons for the U. S. A.

The lessons to be learned by us in the United States from this wartime experience of the British with health and medical and social services are very many, too many to list here. The situation in this country is in many respects like that in Great Britain.

Unpleasant as it is to face, our basic problem in this country lies in the fact that we, today, have no such complete network of public health services, of maternity care, of health and medical services for children, of hospital and clinic care, as did Great Britain when she entered the war. The inadequacies in our provision of medical and hospital care have been long recognized. They were clearly set forth at the time of the National Health Conference three and a half years ago. Some progress has been made in providing health services, but the greatest part of the need then described is still unmet. The consequences of our lack of foresight, long apparent, are increased tenfold by the war situation.

The results of examination of young men for the selective service, and of youth in the health program of the National Youth Administration, have brought freshly before us the urgent need for an effective nationwide program of medical care for children. There are still nearly a quarter of a million births each year at which there is no physician in attendance. A great proportion of our children, probably nearly half, still live in small cities and rural areas where there are no out-patient clinics for the treatment of sick persons who cannot afford a private physician. School medical services are generally inadequate, especially in respect of remediable conditions. There is still an insufficient number of general hospital beds in many areas. An insufficient number of maternity beds in places of less than 10,000 population, as well as inability to pay for hospital care, means that only 22 percent of women in these areas are delivered in hospitals. In contrast to this, however, 81 percent of those who live in cities are delivered in hospitals. In rural areas one public health nurse still serves on the average 9,000 people; in cities one nurse serves 4,000. Most small towns and villages and rural areas still do not have child health conferences or prenatal clinics; most large cities are so provided.

For more than a year and a half we have been confronted with migrations of hundreds of thousands of workers and their families to help in the building of military camps, factories, and arsenals, and to man the production lines in the plants. Problems of health and medical care, such as those with which we had long become familiar in earlier struggles to provide for the migrant population, have loomed large, not so much because people cannot pay but because the service is not available. Boom towns, trailer camps, overcrowding in cities, lack of housing and sanitation, inadequate medical and nursing service and hospital care, all have a familiar ring today to those who struggle to meet needs without adequate resources of money or personnel. Through the Community Facilities Act, urgent sanitation needs have been met in many places, a few hospitals have been built. Through other resources health departments have been able to place a few additional health officers and public health nurses. But the needs for medical service, especially for mothers and children, has increased far beyond the ability of states and communities to provide it. With the growth of the army and navy, thousands of physicians, usually the younger ones, have been taken into the medical corps. Small towns and rural counties are being left with a great shortage of physicians, sometimes without any.

No over-all, systematic plan for the provision of medical care and health service to the civilian population has as yet been developed that gives major consideration to the needs of mothers and children. The needs of the military forces for physicians and nurses will undoubtedly continue to deplete the smaller communities out of proportion to the large cities unless vigorous steps are taken to prevent it by the Board of Procurement and Assignment Service recently set up. We are assured that such steps will be taken.

If we should be faced with more serious war situations than exist today and were forced suddenly, to provide special protective services for children in cities or other areas in danger from bombing or sabotage, or to evacuate children and mothers and the infirm, we would find ourselves confronted with a task for which we are still ill-
prepared. The deficiencies in child health and welfare service in the smaller cities and towns back from the sea-coast and away from the great metropolitan centers would suddenly become highlighted because these are the communities to which many children would have to be sent. One bombing incident would probably galvanize us into the action for the protection of children that nearly two years of "defense" has failed in large part to provide. But should such an incident occur today, we would find ourselves short of professional personnel to meet the situation and without an adequate program for interstate action.

What We Must Have—Now

The urgency of the need today calls for:

—immediate action to stop the withdrawal of physicians and nurses from areas already poorly provided or recently depleted, and the inauguration of a plan to give national recognition to those who stay at home to serve the workers and the mothers and children, the aged, the infirm in our civilian population;

—a prompt review and a plan for supplementation, where needed, of the health and welfare personnel and medical facilities for care of maternity patients and children in all cities and towns and rural areas to which war industries or military establishments have brought or are still bringing large numbers of families or to which children might be sent in case evacuation of danger areas became necessary;

—the immediate development of a plan for the establishment of day-care centers for children of mothers who must go to work in connection with the war effort;

—the establishment on an interstate basis of an emergency mobile corps of child health and welfare personnel—physicians, nurses, nutritionists, child welfare workers, child guidance workers, and non-professional aides—to be available to supplement existing services in areas where war emergencies make such assistance necessary on more than an acute disaster basis;

—a nationwide campaign to immunize all children against diphtheria and smallpox and, as needed, against typhoid fever;

—a nationwide school lunch program;

—a nationwide program of training for child care volunteers to assist professional health and welfare workers and broaden the scope of their service in wartime and peacetime;

—the immediate inauguration of an effective school medical service that will provide thorough diagnostic examinations, the necessary medical care, child guidance, and health instruction that will permit children and youth to take full advantage of educational opportunities, and fit them when they leave school to undertake work within their individual capacities;

—the extension of the provisions for maternity care and for health, medical, and welfare services to children under the Social Security Act until all areas of the country are adequately served.

Nothing short of this will assure the nation that its children and youth of today will have the health and vigor necessary to carry forward in the peacetime to come the work that must be done in establishing a true democracy for the citizens of tomorrow.
For Fitness on the Home Front

British wartime posters for general display.
From the Central Council for Health Education

Adequate Rest

* Remember the night-worker—let him sleep by day

Take up a hobby

* Hobbies that contrast with daily work give your mind the most rest
The Lesson of the Rejectees

HUGH CABOT, M.D., LL.D.

A bold proposal for rehabilitating rejectees in real life as well as on paper—and a prediction of far-reaching reforms in the distribution of medical care:—by a great surgeon; author of "The Patient’s Dilemma"

The most striking lesson to be learned from the fact that something like half of those who should be the fittest people in the country have been rejected for military service is that we have been caught squarely in the trap of our own complacency.

For years we have been warned that a large proportion of the people did not get proper medical care. For years we have known that eyes, teeth, and venereal disease were subject to serious neglect. But we have been lulled to sleep by the assurance from high places that we were "the healthiest people on earth" and that medical service of the best grade in the world was available. Now we must recognize that we have been deceived. Half the draftees are unfit. Colonel Rowntree says that the acceptees will be the "finest manhood found in any army anywhere in the world today." One may wonder whether the Colonel would care to stack them up against an equal number of picked Finns or Russians. I should hate to chance it. Stamina is not discovered by these methods of physical examination.

Where Do We Go from Here?

It is a bootless business now to undertake post mortems and attempt to fix the blame. The fact of the matter is that we have all been at fault. The only valid conclusion, so plain that he who runs may read, is that our present methods have failed to produce fit people. Distribution of medical care has been very uneven. Little attempt has been made to avoid waste of time, money, and duplication of expensive equipment. Sound economic and financial principles have been neglected or disregarded and, as a result, costs have been unnecessarily high. In a word, we have been asked to be satisfied with methods quite out of step with modern social conditions. Most of the remediable defects found in the draftees spring from inability to pay the bills which are often beyond the people’s means.

The situation presents us with two problems:

1. To remedy the defects discovered in the draftees where it is reasonably possible and will make them proper fightin’ men.

2. To reform fundamentally our methods of distributing medical care to the end that this care really reach the people, really produce a fit race and not do so simply on paper.

The rehabilitation of draftees—Briefly and dogmatically this should be done promptly and as follows:

1. Only such defects should be dealt with as can be corrected promptly and effectively.

2. These men, though rejected, should still be regarded as part of the armed forces. They should be required to have their defects remedied except where this involves danger to life. The remedial measures should be carried out and paid for by the government.

3. It will not be satisfactory to refer these men to their family physicians or family dentists and trust that the results will be good and the costs reasonable. These physicians and dentists may or may not be competent, their work cannot be supervised, and the cost will bear little relation to the results.

The treatment should be carried out by the army and navy medical corps, preferably at the large training centers. Here there have already been set up staffs of medical and dental officers properly equipped and properly specialized with the necessary hospital accommodations and nursing personnel. Here the treatment can be supervised and good standards insisted upon.

HOW MANY WILL BE REJECTED BECAUSE OF ILL HEALTH?

Pictograph Corporation for The New York Times

SURVEY GRAPHIC
Most of the required work will fall in the fields of
dentistry, repair of hernia, and the cure of so-called
venereal disease. Whether or not the numerous defects
of vision can be satisfactorily corrected I do not know.
The largest single category will be repair of the teeth.
To do this work properly teams of dentists and dental
mechanics will be required. A plan for such an or-
organization has already been worked out by a dental
surgeon in New York.

To reform our present methods of distributing medical
care—Fortunately we are no longer required to continue
the endless argument as to whether good medical care
is now being received. The plight of the draftees has
proved up to the hilt that the statement is false. Our
present plight is largely due to expensive methods which
attempt to retain the shibboleths of free choice, in-
dividual competition between physicians, and fee for
service methods based on "what the traffic will bear."
Another weakness is that stress has been laid chiefly
on curative medicine. What we must now demand is
positive health with the widest application of the
methods of preventive medicine. Until we italicize in
our thinking sound health with proper regard to the
prevention of disease, the maintenance of good standards
of nutrition, and prompt medical care in illness, we
shall miss our goal.

To apply this remedy will obviously be difficult. In the
first place, contrary to what we have been told, we have
too few physicians. The number of physicians per capita
has been steadily decreasing for more than forty years.
Modern medical care requires more physicians and many
more of other medical personnel than at any previous
period. The great improvements in medical and nursing
education with their inevitable increase of costs will prove
an expensive luxury if they do not produce enough
trained people to do the job. The medical and nursing
education of the future will be required to keep step
not only with scientific but with social change.

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, physicians
are poorly organized for the delivery of the kind of care
which we require. There is too much wastage of time,
there is excessive overhead expense, and the younger men
are not adequately utilized while at the height of their
physical power.

To make the best possible use of our present personnel
we shall need:

1. Many more nurses trained in public health nursing.
The present standard course of nursing education—three
years in an approved hospital—is too narrow. It is well
planned for nurses who are to spend most of their lives
as staff nurses in hospitals. It is satisfactory for what may
be called the private practice of nursing, but unfortunately
the number of people who can now afford the luxury of
private nursing in their homes is small and diminishing.
In addition to these, there is a considerable field of nurs-
ing of private patients in hospitals and for this the pres-
ent training is satisfactory.

But what we have long needed and now need acutely
is a large number of public health nurses. This is a much
broader field and equips them to play a more important
part in the modern practice of medicine. Their training
must cover a knowledge of public health methods and
procedure and a basis for public health education. The
well trained public health nurse is, today, really a prac-
titioner of medicine in a limited field, though this fact is
as yet unrecognized by our Medical Practice Acts. The
training of these women should cover a period of at least
four years and should lead to a degree of Bachelor of
Medicine, a degree not now commonly used in this coun-
try. This would have the effect of indicating that they
were part of the medical profession and yet not on a par
with the men and women who have received the Doctor's
degree. With such training and such a degree they would
supplement and complement the work of the physicians,
round out the care which it is now possible to give, and
allow the physician with his long and expensive training
to spend his time where it will pay the best dividends in
our people's health.

But in order effectively to improve the distribution of
medical care, much education of the public is necessary.
These nurses trained in the methods and atmosphere of
public health will make the best teachers of personal
hygiene, the problems of nutrition and community health.
They will do their work where it is most effective, in
the families and with the problems at hand.

2. Better organization of physicians will be required.
The experience of the last twenty-five years amply justi-
fies the opinion that group practice will largely have to
supersede the type of individual practice which has been
the habit of the past. It is beyond question that physicians
banded together in groups can do better work than an
equal number of detached individuals. Group practice
makes better use of physicians of all ages and of many
capacities. It will have the great advantage of utilizing
from the start the younger well-trained physicians who
now as a rule lack full oc- (Continued on page 176)
In the clinic, children as well as mothers learn how to keep babies well.

A class in anatomy and hygiene in the well-lighted new little school.

Food for their own tables. Note the trim new houses in the background.

FROM MIDWIFE DOCTOR

Take Gee's Bend, an isolated settlement of Negroes in southern Alabama, as a test tube sample of how little it takes to improve the health of a community. Descendants of slaves who remained on the large plantation after the white landowners had moved away, these families depended on one-crop cotton, ate meat, meal and molasses if they had them, lived in dilapidated cabins. Aunt Sally, the old midwife (above), was the only doctor or nurse they had ever heard of. In 1931 their shaky fortunes hit bottom.
TO COMMUNITY HEALTH

Some years later the government's rural rehabilitation program came to the rescue with loans and expert advice on farming and diet. Now the people grow fruits and vegetables for their own use, canning the surplus for winter eating. They are building snug frame houses with screens, and sanitary privies. Families pool the funds to pay two county doctors who hold a weekly clinic at the community health center, where a full time nurse is in charge. Malaria and pellagra, Gee's Bend afflictions, are fast disappearing.
Perils of Pestilence

JOHN L. RICE, M.D. and SAMUEL FRANT, M.D.

In a worldwide war of movement, and of civilian migration, we must be on the alert against epidemics and pandemics—and take steps to prevent an increase of tuberculosis:—by the commissioner of health, in collaboration with the director, Bureau of Preventable Diseases, City of New York

Typhus fever on the eastern front, in Spain and Portugal; smallpox in Morocco; plague in the Azores; yellow fever in South America! The Four Horsemen—War, Famine, Pestilence and Death ride again. From the beginning of time these partners of evil have attacked mankind. Civilizations have been overthrown when arms begat want and want bred disease. Witness Pericles, besieged at Athens, the Spartans victors over him when a plague struck the city crowded with refugees. Or follow typhus fever throughout the ages, conquering the armies battling in the endless European wars or decimating Napoleon’s soldiers in the campaign of 1812.

In more recent years, there were typhoid fever and malaria in our own Civil War, typhoid fever again in the Spanish American War, and influenza and typhus in the first World War. All of history tells the same story, that epidemic disease spreads its desolation far more widely than the bullets of the battlefield. Nor is its toll only in the military; civilian populations in the end are even more severely attacked. Typhus fever in 1918-21 in Russia and Serbia alone caused over 3,000,000 deaths, and the staggering world mortality of influenza in 1918 was 22,000,000.

In our own country, problems of epidemic disease have for some time receded into the background. But our present war conditions greatly increase the danger from such outbreaks. Dislocations of large parts of the population, movements of industrial workers and of troops, and refugee resettlements, both during and after the war can become sources of danger. Even in peace times modern transportation and the airplane have brought closer to us than ever before countries (Continued on page 161)
No War Boom in Venereal Disease!

WILLIAM F. SNOW, M.D.

The campaign against syphilis and gonorrhea must be intensified. An urgent communique from a vital sector of the fight for fitness:—by the general director, American Social Hygiene Association

The venereal diseases are not problems for solution tomorrow. They must be dealt with today. We inherited them from yesterday. With that heritage came the knowledge and experience on which to base united and vigorous wartime action. Fortunately, today’s public leaders understand what must be done, thanks to the constructive publicity which has been given the united efforts for venereal disease control of the government and voluntary agencies with the leadership of Dr. Thomas Parran, U. S. Public Health Service. Laboratory tests, medical examinations, facilities and drugs for treatment, tracing of contacts and sources of infection, reporting of cases and quarantine when necessary, have become recognized parts of the established public health and medical program for combating syphilis and gonorrhea.

The people now accept the idea that these are “germ” diseases spread almost wholly through human contact, and that they can be fought successfully even though slowly, as tuberculosis is being conquered, by steadily increasing the search for early cases and concentrating treatment particularly upon the clinically significant infections among individuals from fifteen to thirty years of age.

In addition, as has been discovered in fighting tuberculosis, there must be a program of long range preventive measures. These have to do with environmental and educational factors. Opportunities for satisfying occupation and recreation, for marriage and having children, good living conditions, community protection against antisocial exploitation are necessary. Vigorous law enforcement measures against prostitution are essential. Sexually promiscuous persons are especially likely to become infected or to be transmitters of syphilis or gonorrhea, so prophylactic treatment facilities need to be provided under proper supervision and follow-up precautions. The in-

State Laws Against Prostitution

13 states Have laws against all aspects of prostitution
6 states Have laws against all aspects of prostitution except activities of customers
22 states Have laws against same activities of prostitutes and their exploiters
7 states Have laws against activities of exploiters of prostitutes only "

Many cities in all states have ordinances against the activities of prostitutes.

MARCH 1942
Nationale application is now being retarded because there is a sector of this
battlefront of medicine for which the plan of action is not clearly understood.
This sector lies between the established
lines of attack mentioned—the recog-
nized public health and medical pro-
gram, and the equally acceptable recrea-
tional and social protection program. It
affects those men and women (or more
truly and tragically we may say boys and
girls) who find themselves facing ex-
posure to disease and social difficulties
which can only be obviated by enforce-
ment of socially protective and legal
measures against sexual promiscuity, and
by development of adequate instruction
regarding mechanical and chemical pro-
phylactic procedures.

Now that we are again at war, one
hears it said that we must stop all the
reform and sentimental business and deal
with realities by recognizing prostitution
and examining the women, but the plain
facts are that cutting down venereal dis-
eases is greatly aided by cutting out com-
mercialized prostitution. The only sup-
porters of brothels and medical inspection
of their inmates are uninformed opinion-
ists, and the racketeers and their asso-
ciates who make huge profits out of sell-
ing the services of prostitutes, including
their infections, to men and boys who are
exploited by medical charlatans as heart-
lessly as are the girls who are dragged
down into this business.

Recently the New York State Medical
Society adopted the following position
which is a forcible restatement of views
generally held by leaders of the medical profession:
First: That the control of venereal disease requires elimina-
tion of commercialized prostitution.
Second: That medical inspection of prostitutes is untrust-
worthy, inefficient, gives a false sense of security, and fails to
prevent the spread of infection.
Third: That commercialized prostitution is unlawful, and
that physicians who knowingly (Continued on page 160)
What About Alcohol?

HOWARD W. HAGGARD, M.D.

At long last—through the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol—scientists are grappling with one of the most ancient human mysteries. There is no quick wartime solution, but a hopeful, long range approach: — by the director, Laboratory of Applied Physiology, Yale; author of “Devils, Drugs and Doctors”

Neglect of a Problem

The fault can hardly be said to lie with industry, for it has dealt realistically and definitely with the problem of alcohol when it saw the problem. The problem which confronted it, and which it solved, was that of the employee who drank at the factory during his working hours. In the past it was widely believed that alcohol was beneficial to heavy muscular work; in some occupations the men were actually encouraged to drink. There were doubts, however, and these doubts could be resolved into problems which could be answered, not by opinion, but by scientific investigation. The results of such investigation showed that alcohol did not restore or increase muscular strength. Industry then adopted rules against drinking in factories.

Far more important, with the recognition that the drunken man was a menace to his fellow workmen, the labor organizations joined against factory drinking. They made it an unpopular practice and so brought into play the most potent and perhaps the only method of controlling excessive drinking—control by the pressure of social standards and customs. Today, drinking in the factory and drunkenness in the factory present no problem.

But this fact does not signify that excessive drinking is no longer a problem of factory production; it means only that it is no longer recognized as a problem. In reality, it persists as two problems: that of the effects of heavy drinking at night on production, accidents, and absenteeism the following day; and that of the long time effects of habitual excessive drinking on the health and longevity of the worker. Inferences have been made and general conclusions drawn, but there are few facts on these problems of industrial production.

It is only recently that a careful survey has been made in one large steel mill employing 14,497 men to find out how many were absent on one or more occasions as the result of intoxication. In the year the number was 382, with a loss of 483 man-days out of a total of 3,865,488 man-days.

The effects of heavy drinking on industrial accidents have not been determined in the United States. Statements have been made concerning the presumed effects of Prohibition on both accidents and production. But such data are, unfortunately, of little use, since many other factors influencing industrial safety and output were operating at the same time. If the figures for the period 1918 to 1933 only are taken, as it is often done, there is a continuous yearly decline in accidents and a continuous yearly rise in production; but if the figures are extended back to 1910 and up to 1935, it will be seen that the same trends were going on before Prohibition and (Continued on page 163)
Food for a Vital America

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.

An army moves on its stomach. So does a nation. Total use of modern nutritional knowledge is as important as production of the right foodstuffs:—by the chairman, Food and Nutrition Board and Committee on Nutrition in Industry, National Research Council; executive director, Milbank Memorial Fund

Food will win the war and write the peace, says Secretary Wickard. But if it is to win the war for us and for our Allies, the right kinds of food must be produced in adequate amounts, and it must be consumed by the men, women, and children who need it. Even before Hitler came into power, our food production was becoming more and more satisfactory from the point of view of modern nutrition. In recent years production has been stepped up to meet wartime needs—our own and those of our Allies. But our nutrition drive, concerned with getting the food to all who need it, has been a long range peacetime program, and the importance of adapting it to wartime was not fully appreciated until recently.

The National Nutrition Conference for Defense in May, 1941, marked the change in the nutrition drive from a peacetime to a wartime program. The weakness in our intensified nutrition drive is that it did not begin sooner. Just as we lament our delay in manning and equipping our armed forces, and in preparing for civilian defense, so we regret the time lost in strengthening the health and morale of our people through the new knowledge of modern nutrition. The nutrition authorities and experts are not to blame for this delay. It was due to the state of mind of the whole people who could not be awakened to the dangers confronting them, in the Atlantic, in the Pacific, in every community and home in our land.

Now, while every American hopes above all things for the defeat of Germany and her accomplices, he is forced to admit that no other country has won such a succession of victories. He realizes that the secret of success is preparedness. It is no coincidence that Germany was the country which paid the greatest attention to food and nutrition in the years preceding the war. Like all of the German propaganda, the slogan “Guns instead of Butter” was deliberately misleading. In her war preparations Germany made full use of the modern knowledge of nutrition. Milk became scarce because none was available until every child and every pregnant woman was supplied. Shall we in America fall into the error of neglecting food and nutrition at a time when war seeks out every weakness among our people? Let us not be misled by the hotheads who would have us sacrifice what they regard as the non-essentials in the drive for quick victory, these non-essentials being the food, housing, and medical care essential for the health and morale of our people. Victory demands the most strenuous efforts of
the armed forces, the producers of food, munitions, and shipping, and behind them the whole force of a strong united people. Says Surgeon General Parran, "We must (also) translate scientific fact into positive action for three thirds of our people, in order to raise the level of strength, endurance, and morale for the grim work ahead." In the last twenty-five years more scientific fact capable of being translated into positive action for human benefit has come out of the field of nutrition than from almost any other field.

Victuals for Victory

The charter of good nutrition in wartime was written by the National Nutrition Conference for Defense which met in Washington in May, 1941. Here is the briefest summary of its recommendations which may be said to constitute the national nutrition program.

As food affects the health, strength, stamina, nervous condition, morale, and mental functioning of the individual, it is vital for this country to make full use of the modern knowledge of nutrition in this emergency, not only for the armed forces, but also for industrial workers and the whole civilian population.

Widespread weaknesses in our nutritional armor have been revealed by dietary surveys, selective service examinations, and studies of the nutritional status of individuals and groups. The yardstick of dietary adequacy has been established by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council in its table of daily allowances of calories, proteins, minerals, vitamins, and other nutrients. Our aim should be to ensure that every family in the land consumes the common foods which provide them with the amounts and kinds of nutrients prescribed by the Food and Nutrition Board.

Three ways of reaching this goal are open to us:

1. Education

Millions fail to be well nourished because of ignorance. These must be taught in simple terms the need for good food habits. But to reach these vast numbers, teachers must be trained. Doctors, nurses, dentists, social service and other professional workers must be given opportunities to keep abreast of advances in nutrition.

2. Supplementing Inadequate Diets

Education is a slow process, and immediate action is needed. Moreover millions cannot afford diets which are adequate by the new yardstick. Hence, full use should be made of all such practical devices as the food stamp plan, school lunches, and low cost distribution of milk, which will bring poor diets rapidly up to more adequate levels.

3. The Enrichment of Staple Foods

Modern processes of manufacture such as the milling of flour remove from certain foods which constitute cheap forms of energy some of the essential nutrients. The nutrients must be restored to these foods by enrichment as an emergency measure, and by attempts to retain them in the process of manufacture.

The national nutrition program also includes research, production, and mobilization. Rapidly as the science of nutrition has advanced in the last twenty-five years, major problems still call for solution. To drop research in nutrition in wartime would be to handicap ourselves and to give the enemy a considerable advantage. For every new fact coming out of the laboratory or out of field investigations makes the nutrition program more economical and more effective.

Improvement of the American people's nutrition cannot take place unless the right kinds of food are produced in the necessary quantities and offered for sale at prices the public can afford to pay. Protective foods must be grown for home use as well as for the market.

Mobilization applies to educational machinery as well as to organizations and services. Means of public education include the school, the press, the radio, and motion pictures. By the mobilization of organizations is meant the concerted drive of all agencies, community, state, and national—public and private—which can contribute in any way to the improvement of American nutrition.

Here, then, is the essence of the national nutrition program. How rapidly and effectively is it being carried out?

How the Nutrition Gospel Reaches the People

In September following the May conference, the national nutrition agency was reconstituted in the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services. M. L. Wilson, one of the assistant directors of these services, is in charge of nutrition. Dr. W. H. Sebrell of the United States Public Health Service is the deputy assistant director and both are assisted by an expanding corps of competent and enthusiastic assistants. Twelve regional coordinators of the nutrition program are to be (Continued on page 156)
They Also Serve

Two of the successful entries in a nationwide competition of water colors, drawings and prints that record wartime activities. It was sponsored by OEM and conducted by the Section of Fine Arts, Public Buildings Administration. Twenty-five hundred entries were submitted. The 109 pictures purchased by the government, and currently on exhibit in the National Gallery in Washington, will be shown in other parts of the country.
Morale—the Front Within

ABRAHAM MYERSON, M.D.

What everyone should know about mental health. How adjustment to society in crisis affects every man, woman, and child in the land: — by the chairman, Committee on Mental Health (Mass.); author of “When Life Loses Its Zest”

IN A MECHANIZED WAR, NO MACHINE IS BETTER THAN THE man who operates it. The conditions of modern warfare demand extra keen attention to the type of mentality and personality, as well as the nervous stability, of the men selected for service.

There is as yet no system of bookkeeping by which we can list liabilities and assets in this field of medicine. The best we can do at the present time is to exclude, in part by the history of the life of the man and in part by examination, those who have had or who are suffering from the major mental diseases, such as manic-depressive psychosis, schizophrenia, and severe neuroses, as well as the epileptic and feebbleminded. Many of these individuals can do perfectly good work under the protected circumstances of their home environment. They tend to become problems under the conditions of camp life and active warfare. But a man unfit for work within the army may still continue at his job as automobile mechanic, and his rejection need not be regarded as a loss to the wartime effort.

Within the army, there should be a readiness to evaluate the causes of failure and to apply our psychiatric knowledge either for a man’s discharge from the army where he acts as a demoralizing factor, or for treatment if such treatment is possible under army conditions. Usually such treatment will not be of much value, so that when a soldier or sailor who has already been inducted into military service is discovered to suffer from personality or mental disorder or a neurosis of any type, or if he develops a major psychosis, his discharge from service should be as speedy as possible.

The army medical man or the army psychiatrist will sooner or later find himself confronted by disorders of personality which are not easily detected by the quick survey of the induction machinery. The constitutional liar and swindler will appear. So will the man whose sexual life is aberrant or disorganized. The shut-in, odd, and paranoid personality will present itself in disconcerting ways to the company commander, or to the sergeant who is attempting to lick a man into military shape.

The problem of alcoholism will become prominent. A man who occasionally gets drunk off duty is not the victim of any substantial defect. The man to whom alcohol is a necessary drug, which he seeks in an obsessive manner, cannot be depended upon. He should be sent back into civilian life as soon as this failing is detected.

The reason for emphasizing these very simple and incontrovertible injunctions is that there is a tendency to hold a man within the army despite these defects because the reality and seriousness of personality disorder and alcoholism are not often appreciated by military men. The army doctor may tend even to become angry with such individuals and seek to punish them rather than to send them back to the community where they can be more adequately cared for.

Mental Health on the Home Front

IN GREAT BRITAIN THERE HAS BEEN NO INCREASE in neuroses and mental diseases of civilians in wartime. This fact, so contrary to assumptions continually made by those who look for spectacular and distressing events as the source of neuroses and mental diseases, is, however, explainable on other grounds. These make up the logical background of that effort of wartime America to prevent neuroses and mental disease and to enhance individual morale so that we may win the war.

The human being is a tough animal who, in the main, adjusts himself to any situation which limits his liberties and increases his dangers by expecting less from life and, concomitantly, by a lessened fear of death. There is probably less frustration in a wartime community than there is in that same group of people during peacetime, the reason lying fundamentally in the greatly lessened expectation of men and women living under stressful conditions.

The great strains of life are those associated with competitiveness and private living. When men seek to become highly individual, they may suffer two sets of strains: one from the intense effort constantly necessary to attain a competitive goal; and second, the isolation which quite as naturally follows any attempt to separate and segregate oneself from the group or the herd.

To develop refinement of taste and privacy of liberty does bring individuality of character and heightened self-esteem. It also develops a greater liability to disgust, more sense of frustration and more loneliness. As war conditions break down caste levels and substitute for private living communal living, competitiveness gives way to collaboration, and isolation to social communion. A misfortune individually experienced strikes hard at the spirit of a man. When misfortune is the common lot, the tragedy of the individual experience greatly lessens. Misery loves company, because company greatly lessens misery. When some men are rich, it becomes a tragedy to lose one’s fortune. In a general financial depression men often boast of their loss and their poverty.

I use the term “minor treason” to express the results on community morale of certain strong individual trends. There is an enormous contagion to emotion and, in fact, the sociality of man inheres primarily in his capacity to participate in the emotion of others and to communicate what he feels to his fellows. The boss passes on his mood, engendered by his relationships at home, to his subordinates in his office. The father, returning to his home, communicates his good and his ill fortune by the mood which he transmits to his wife and family. There is a constant ebb and flow of mood from man to man, and so there are certain people who should be isolated because of the mood which they communicate just as much as a person with a communicable disease needs segregation.
Since instinct, mood, and emotion are the engines of life, with intelligence acting mainly as a director, it becomes of the highest importance for each individual to govern the expression of his mood, to control his pessimism or, at least, its utterance, to act as if he were cheerful and hopeful even if he is not. He must avoid spreading cynical or depressing rumors because, in the main, these will be found to be false and even malicious. Each individual must regard himself as a center for the dissemination of the positive, energizing emotions rather than those that depress and lower the morale of others.

A second minor reason is the effort to maintain private comfort and private refinement of taste in a war in which men are being drowned, battered to death by bombs, or horribly frozen on the battlefields. The man who complains of under-done chops at a time like this is a minor traitor, and so is the housewife who fusses and fumes because of the annoying derelictions of the maid, or because of her frustration over some utterly unimportant detail of her household or her house. (Continued on page 155)

Indifference
—The Deadliest Disease of All

by D. B. ARMSTRONG, M.D.
Third Vice-President,
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

THE President of the United States has declared that "Today the need for conservation of health and physical fitness is greater than at any time in the nation's history." And Surgeon-General Parran has added that the physical fitness of the people in this emergency "will determine almost entirely the effectiveness of all other defense efforts." We cannot afford human waste—especially where it is most controllable, namely in our civil population. Disease and physical deficiency are waste of the most destructive kind.

Great strides have been taken in recent years in the control of disease. But the accomplishments have been largely in infancy, childhood, and in the younger age groups; they have also been largely the result of collective effort toward sanitation of environment through organized public health activities.

There still remains the heavy burden of unnecessary illness, physical incapacity, and untimely death among those in the older age groups. Much of this loss is preventable—not so much through social organization as through individual initiative. We still are burdened with thousands of cases of tuberculosis not detected in early and readily curable stages. Many damaged hearts prematurely cease to function because they are not favored by a reasonable adjustment of work and play. Many accessible and early malignant growths are not recognized and treated; thousands of cases of incipient diabetes are not diagnosed and controlled. Think, too, of the almost limitless impairment in vigor resulting from bad physical or mental hygiene, poor nutrition based on indifference rather than poverty, dental defects carelessly neglected, overweight disregarded, unnecessary worry and mental distress unattended. The list is endless.

It has been estimated that in our more mature age groups today, probably 70 percent of the handicap of disease results from functional disorders or premature degenerative conditions that are readily detectable, easily controlled or postponed in their incipiency, or preventable altogether either by the application of simple scientific procedures based on periodic medical surveillance and competent and timely professional guidance, or by the use of simple and widely advertised rules of personal hygiene.

All of this means not only an unnecessary burden upon the people, on their efficiency, their productivity, their national effort in peace or war, but it also places an excessive and protracted load on our medical profession. It is estimated that probably 70 percent of the average doctor's time is taken up with the continued care of conditions exaggerated or prolonged by earlier neglect of preventive measures—a luxury which we can now ill afford, in view of the impending scarcity of professional services of all kinds.

It is generally agreed that these forms of negligence apply not only to the uninformed and underprivileged, but, more significantly, even to those with the means, the information, and the intelligence necessary to their own assistance. Most of us have the facts about disease prevention, or know where readily to secure them. That they are not being more generally used, therefore, would appear to be a matter of human laziness and indifference, or procrastination, or underevaluation of the importance of the whole problem.

It may be that many of us are not yet aware of the extent to which health is a prerequisite to successful work and to happiness. Perhaps many of us have still to realize the importance of individual health maintenance as a patriotic obligation. Individual health is an asset and a social contribution at all times. Now, more than ever, we owe its enhancement to ourselves and our families, to the conservation of professional resources, to the ultimate conquest of preventable disease, and to the service of our nation at war.

An understanding of the relation of individual health to national vitality will help us to a conquest of Indifference—The Deadliest Disease of All.
Moving Toward Health Security

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

In a democracy social gains are linked with politics. An interpretation of measures now discussed in Washington—by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; author of "America Organizes Medicine"

What is health security? Al Thompson, auto worker of Detroit, answered by saying, "It's when I can get doctors and hospitals when I need them and not live in fear of being broke by their bills."

A teacher of medicine at a top-notch university responded from another point of view. "Health security means making available to the American people the best services to prevent and cure disease, under conditions which promote high quality and maximum economy of performance."

The officer of a state medical society said, "Our people should be able to get medical care when they need it while maintaining the American way of private practice and free choice of doctor."

Are these statements consistent or compatible? How far do they fall within a larger framework such as I described, in substance, nearly six years ago at Town Hall:

The problems of health security are much broader than those of medical care. Housing, working conditions, and nutrition, for instance, affect health directly and indirectly. The trend and rate of population growth has important influence over the types of prevalent disease. Education and recreation involve health also. All measures which make for more regular employment or for larger and more stable earnings are health measures in the same generic sense. They contribute to individual and social security, of which health security is a part.

But in the more immediate sense of the words, health security for the American people means two things: financial security against the continuous economic risks and the occasional catastrophes due to sickness; personal security that skilled care will be available in all sickness which modern knowledge can now prevent or control.

It is natural that a big-city worker like Al Thompson should take doctors and hospitals for granted, and think first and foremost about sickness costs; that a university physician should emphasize quality of service; that those who have spent a lifetime in the private practice of medicine should identify the habitual with the necessary. These and other points of view, such as those of hospitals and of rural people, came to focus in the National Health Conference of 1938. Never before had medical needs come to such resounding expression in this country. They had been kept within conferences of specialists when the Social Security Act was framed in 1934 and 1935.

Senator Wagner's "National Health Bill" of 1939, incorporating the results of the conference, was complex and confused in its administrative provisions, but broad and simple in its essential policy. It proposed that the already well established use of federal grants-in-aid to the states be expanded greatly. Thereby, the prevention and control of certain diseases by state and local health departments could be improved and extended; hospitals could be built and maintained in needy rural sections; the states could be helped to set up whatever plans of public medical service, hospital care, or health insurance they might determine for themselves under broad federal standards.

The support of this bill was widespread but diffuse, the opposition specialized but active. The failure of the bill was evidence that progress by categorical approaches is easier than by broad planning.

Health Issues Before Pearl Harbor

During the decade before Pearl Harbor, organized action concerning medical care has proceeded partly by governmental, partly by voluntary, action, more rapidly and on a more extended scale than ever before in America. Voluntary nonprofit hospital insurance plans, negligible before their endorsement by the American Hospital Association in 1913, had an enrollment of 8,000,000 beneficiaries by the end of 1941 and were then increasing more rapidly than ever. State medical societies, beginning with California and especially impelled since the conference of 1938 by fear of government action, have developed plans of voluntary insurance for physicians' services which, while limited in scope and as yet inconsiderable in membership except in Michigan, are displaying a pattern of professional action instead of opposition, and are providing the medical profession with lessons from experience. Health insurance plans initiated by private medical groups, labor unions, and industries have also been extending despite, sometimes because of, controversies with organized medicine.

Tax supported medical care for needy persons was vastly expanded during the depression; was returned from federal to state and local governments in 1936; has been contracted in some places but enlarged in others, especially in behalf of the aged. Notable are its improved administration by welfare authorities and the organized participation of the medical profession. A pattern of state medicine for needy Americans seems to be evolving, with physicians paid from public funds under slowly increasing public supervision. It is chiefly a state and local pattern, but has also grown under the federal Farm Security Administration to serve over 900,000 rural people. Needed aid to rural hospitals and rural medical practice has not yet arrived, but full time public health departments have doubled in number through federal grants-in-aid since the Social Security Act of 1935. The same policy has greatly advanced public health work on its "categorical fronts," especially in combating venereal disease and promoting maternity and child health.

Public attention to health problems will run in narrower but deeper channels because of the war. The rehabilitation of young men, particularly their dental care, is already a program of national action on a limited scale, and that of
Questions After the Budget Message

The President's budget message of January brought certain medical issues into the forefront of action. "I recommend," said the President, "an increase in the coverage of old age and survivors' insurance, addition of permanent and temporary disability payments and hospitalization payments beyond the present benefit programs, and liberalization and expansion of unemployment compensation in a uniform national system."

Within twenty-four hours national organizations of physicians and hospitals were trying to learn from Washington what kind of action was meant by that part of the proposal which seemed to have the most obvious relation to medical care; namely, "hospitalization payments."

Is it intended that 80 to 100 million workers and their dependents who are or who may become beneficiaries of the federal old age and survivors' insurance system shall have their hospital bills paid by federal funds? Will the hospitals be paid directly for such care? Or will payments be made to the beneficiaries so that they may reimburse a hospital? Will the payments equal cost or will they, like other social insurance benefits, provide only a minimum of essential security? Will the voluntary hospital insurance plans be recognized, or will the new proposal wipe out their possibilities of extension?

At the present writing these and other questions must go unanswered; for no bills to effectuate the recommendations have yet been introduced into House or Senate.

Hospitalization is not the only medical implication of the President's proposals. If people who become permanently disabled before age sixty-five will be entitled to receive federal benefits, the determination of disabilities will require medical examination. Moreover, the medical care of many such persons will become a public issue just as it has with the aged.

Payment to workers during temporary disability requires medical certification at the beginning and the end of each illness. For this service, either the physician who treats the worker, a specially selected paid physician, or both must be utilized. Some public supervision of the medical work will be necessary. Some extension of government action in medicine will therefore be required. The demand for temporary disability benefits has been growing, especially since unemployment insurance gave some compensation to workers unemployed for industrial reasons but left them without any reimbursement for lost wages and the added cost of medical care when kept away from the job by illness.

State or National Health Insurance?

This country's four years of experience with unemployment insurance has brought forward one major political issue: Shall the system be administered nationally instead of, as at present, by the states with national aid? The President now recommends a federal system, but this issue will be hotly contested in Congress and may delay the enactment of, or substantially alter, this part or all of the President's program. As regards public health, medical and hospital services, many would prefer a grant-in-aid policy, as proposed in the Wagner bill, to a direct national system.

Hospitalization is an illogical beginning for a national health program. Following sound medical principles, we should first apply all known preventive and control measures, bring medical care to people in "minor" and early-stage disease, and then wrestle with the residue of terminal, chronic, and catastrophic illnesses. It is just these illnesses that, in and out of hospitals, cause the greatest disability and are the most costly to treat. Moreover to make payments for (Continued on page 167)

How to Organize a Medical Service Plan

by KINGSLEY ROBERTS, M.D., director, Medical Administration Service

The great pitfall for the organizer of medical service plans is to overestimate the number of potential subscribers and the speed with which they will join. It is axiomatic that the more extensive the medical facilities created by the plan, the greater the number of people necessary to carry it financially. Care must be taken not to overreach and organize a plan that cannot be readily supported.

In designing the plan the organizer must be prepared to make concessions in two directions. First, he must meet the needs and desires of those to be served. Second, he must satisfy those whose support may be required, as employers, unions, medical societies, etc. Crucial is the necessity of maintaining or securing hospital staff appointments for the physicians serving the subscribers. It requires considerable financing adequately to organize and promote a plan. It is dangerous to misjudge this need. The services of a full-time organizer or administrator should be secured at the earliest feasible time. Volunteers can determine policy; they can rarely carry it out effectively without full-time direction. Funds must be available to underwrite the plan until the break-even point is reached, not merely until services begin.

Vigorous leadership with vision and integrity is an essential. It must be of such caliber that the community will accept the result of its efforts. Of the utmost importance is the medical leadership. Most plans are no better than their medical directors. It is better to wait until such leadership can be secured than to proceed without it.

Expert advice is as necessary in the formulation of a medical service plan as it is in the design and construction of a hospital. It is essential that advantage be taken of the knowledge and experience of those who have done the job before.

Once the plan has been formulated, the major problems are to secure the necessary physicians, whether the plan calls for an open panel or a group clinic, and to pre-sell the initial group of subscribers. The manner of presentation is often decisive. It is important that the physicians understand the objectives and the nature of the administrative set-up if later difficulties are to be avoided.
How to Choose a Doctor

To make a connection with a good doctor takes time; to maintain it means some effort. If you won't take trouble, you'll take chances. Don't wait until sickness comes to make a choice.

If you move to a new community, get the names of one or more local physicians (a) from your former doctor if possible, (b) otherwise from friends or hospitals near your new home, or (c) if necessary, from the American Medical Directory (below). Choose from the list after investigating the points suggested.

Points to Look For

Three main ones:

- **Professional Qualifications**
- **Personality**
- **Charges**

Technical Points re Professional Qualifications

1. Licensed to practice in the state where he has his office?
2. Graduate of a Class A medical school? (If graduated before 1915 it may be hard to answer this.)
3. Served an internship or a residency in an approved hospital?
4. Member of a staff of an approved hospital or clinic?
5. Member of county medical society?
   In addition, if you are looking for a specialist:
6. Certified by the Specialty Board in the branch in which he practices?
7. Recognized as a specialist in this branch by an approved hospital or clinic, of the staff of which he is a member?

How to Find Out

**Professional Qualifications:** Talk if possible with a doctor you know well. Failing that resource, there are two sources of information which will cost you some trouble but are reliable as far as they go:

1. **American Medical Directory:** published every other year by the American Medical Association; found in larger libraries and in offices of many hospitals, most medical societies. Contains (1) a list of all physicians in the U. S., classified alphabetically and geographically; giving age, medical school, specialty practiced if any, recognition as a specialist by professional bodies, other information; (b) a list of hospitals, with indication whether on approved lists of American College of Surgeons and American Medical Association.

2. **Local hospitals:** Get last annual report, if one is published, containing list of medical staff, usually classified by specialties. If no report is published, hospitals will generally give a list of staff members. Don't ask for opinions concerning them. Check such lists.

**Personality:** Ask friends who employ the doctor; don't be guided by stories of wonderful cures or operations.

**Charges:** Ask the same sources, or the doctor himself. If you feel embarrassment, swallow it. Your pocketbook may be less embarrassed later.

Don't choose a doctor who advertises or who promises to cure disease for a fixed fee.

Don't expect hospital superintendents, public health officers, or county medical society secretaries to recommend an individual physician. Competitive customs in medical practice prevent them from doing this.

Don't choose a specialist without advice. Best obtain one through your regular doctor. Otherwise consult the Medical Directory, hospitals, or truly wise friends.

Don't be afraid to ask for a consultation in serious or doubtful cases.

Don't have several different specialists treating you at once without a general physician as co-ordinator and adviser.

Do change your doctor if you are dissatisfied for professional or financial reasons; but be sure you are right in being dissatisfied. You and your doctor are human.

Do have an understanding regarding rates of charge, especially before a surgical operation or a consultation.

Do choose a doctor if you can, or a group of doctors, who work through a prepayment plan, thus removing economic barriers between you and your physician.
RELAXATION. Deprived of ordinary means of fast-moving self-escape, Americans will rediscover the Photos from Three Lions; bottom right, Rosska.
Priorities for Play

MARK A. McCLOSKEY

Vacations, recreation, and rest in wartime—by the director
of recreation, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

January 4, 1942, marked the emancipation of American
legs. The start of rubber rationing took our feet off the
accelerator and placed them, I hope firmly, on the ground.

What this eventually may mean to jobs and business is
a national headache—the first, and, perhaps for many, the
most potent personal impact of the war. The American
people may not like it—but they can take it.

The rubber ration spells at least as much upheaval in
play as in work. One way or another, most Americans
count on "bounce" for their recreation:

Variations on the oldest sport in the world—the
manipulation of a ball—supply most of our athletic ac-
tivities and our "spectator sports." And modern ball-
football, softball, baseball, basketball, bowling, tennis, golf,
and all the rest, except perhaps ping pong and croquet—
depend for their "oomph" on the latex of the euphor-
biaceae (rubber to you).

Planning Vacations

A whole generation of Americans have depended
heavily on the rubber-shod family jaunty to carry them on
vacation or to wherever the fun is. Perhaps nowhere else
in the world has transportation played so large a part in
the recreation picture. Besides our almost abstract passion
for sheer speed, there is in our peregrinations an element
of practical necessity. In a country made up of congested
cities and of great open spaces, travelling 30 miles to a
movie or 300 miles for a picnic or a sports spectacle is
taken as a matter of course. Or was. Boat travel will be
out, too, except perhaps on the smaller inland waterways.
We will no doubt take to trains and still more to buses,
at least— for the short haul; but even these may eventually
be limited, at least for civilian use.

There are, or will be, other limitations on pleasure: Time
will be short, as working hours and volunteer defense ac-
tivities increase. Money may be short, too, with high prices
and mounting taxes taking most of the cream out of
earnings. Besides all this, civilian defense rules, to say
nothing of our own emotions, will prompt us not to get
too far from home, should there be real danger in the
offing. Except for the emancipation of our legs, we could,
indeed, look forward to becoming a nation—willing or
not, according to our own natures—of "home hodies."

So what? Will we become robots, existing in a dull
squirrel-cage routine of eat, sleep and work? Will all the
fun be ground out of us?

Not if I know my fellow citizens. They can take the
strain and tension of longer hours and faster pace. But
come Saturday night, and they get an itching foot. And
sometime in the year, they think, at least a few days of
sheer loafing are their due.

And they're right. This war will be won by grind, not
glory. But for that very reason, the grind must have its
interludes, its moments of compensating sucrease from
labor. Weekends and vacations are not a sop to the innate
laziness of man. Relaxation is a necessary—an essential—
concomitant of toil. Even the Creator rested on the
Seventh-Day—

We need not descend to the bathos of Pollyannic optim-
ism to recapture the simple pleasures which are left to us.
The native ingenuity that made horseshoe pitching a na-
tional sport when discarded horseshoes were the only
"sporting goods" at hand—and manufactured synthetic
horseshoes to pursue this sport when the horse himself
retired to the luxury class—that ingenuity will not let us
down now.

It's Fun to Be Free

The British have already been through what we have
hardly begun to face. What can we learn from them?
There are some pitfalls in trying to draw too close a
parallel between English experience and our own. Neither
soccer and cricket nor bank holidays on 'Ampton 'Eath
have precise counterparts in the American scene. But in
their curious combination of self-expression and mass
participation, our pastimes and those of the English have
much in common. One has only to cite the goose-stepping
regimentation of totalitarian "recreation" to realize how
deep is American and English kinship, as expressed in
what we do with our free time.

In England "free" time has already been cut to the
bone—by longer working hours and by intensive volun-
teer services such as have not yet been even contemplated
in this country. But for that reason it is more valued than
ever. And for that reason too, no doubt, the British motto
still is "We'd rather be bombed than bored."

The official circular on civilian recreation issued in 1941
by the British Board of Education and Ministry of Health
has this to say: "Recreation...is an essential part of the
communal life of every area, whether in town or country,
and its importance is not limited to any one section of
the population."

If England is any criterion, in the months to come we
can expect more, rather than less, community music, little
theater dramas and ballets, folk dancing, gardening, hobby
clubs, and local sports. I hope that is a valid prediction.
Speaking personally, I shall put all my weight on the side
of making it so. We shall learn to set greater store by
leisure when there is less of it and when we have to
create more of our own pleasures without depending
solely upon the amusements that money can buy. We'll
go in more for games and less for gadgets.

But not all. A little commercial recreation. Thea-
ters, movies, concerts, bowling, sport exhibitions, and
decent dance halls—most of the towns in this country could
do with more of these and other legitimate "pay-attract-
tions." But they will not satisfy all times and all tastes.
And furthermore, even utilized to their limits, they repre-
sent only a relatively narrow range of choices and only a
drop in the bucket, as compared to our recreation needs.
Three-Shift Recreation

What are our other resources? What can our towns do—our neighborhoods, our families, ourselves?

We can do a lot. And we can begin by making creative and imaginative use of our community recreation facilities. During the past ten years or so, many of our cities have built up their plant and equipment for recreation on a community-wide scale. But like the old sundial, too many of these facilities only "mark the hours that shine." In parks and playgrounds the gates still close at dusk, though most folks have no daylight hours for play. Presumably this is a hangover from Puritan fears of philandering, to which bars and gates never put a stop anyway.

Actually the answer to the whole problem is simple, obvious, and legitimately a part of the American pattern: What our parks and playgrounds need is not barred locks, but bright lights—floodlights on our swimming pools and bowling greens, our tennis courts and baseball diamonds, in our school gyms and shops and reading rooms. This is already an accomplished fact in some few places.

War or no war, night lighting of public play space is plain business common sense. This small addition to overhead would make our tremendous investment in public recreation yield double returns. In wartime it is more than common sense; it is a necessity. When factories work around the clock, recreation must follow suit. Its lights must go on at dusk and stay on as long as those on the production line of industry. Sport page headlines like "Midnight Marvels Play the Dawn Patrol" give evidence that athletics can flourish at odd hours, and that three-shift production can—and must—be matched by three-shift play.

Will the Twilight Tennis Tournament have to be abandoned this summer? What will the Lobster Trick Eleven use for a football, come autumn? The stocks on hand, so informed opinion predicts, should last out the current calendar. The probabilities are that the rubber in our athletic supplies can be stretched a good deal by standardizing styles and finding substitutes. What happens after we have squeezed the last ounce of bounce out of every ball is anybody's guess. Meantime, both players and spectators may find some comfort in the fact that manufacturers, retailers, and the municipal procurement officials, who are our largest purchasers of athletic equipment, refuse to worry—or at least refuse to admit it.

In spite of this atmosphere of semi-optimism, we would do well to explore ways in which we can play without fear of shortages.

First—and most neglected—is just walking. Walking, unless on a golf course, has become so nearly a lost art that people who can, and like to, cover the miles, especially on city sidewalks, have been good any day for half a column of "human interest" in the metropolitan newspapers. Now that legs have come into their own again, more people will, I hope, learn to share this pleasure. And who knows, we might even develop enough stamina to pay those long intended and seldom realized visits to the municipal art gallery, the museum, and the zoo.

Even more than walking, a day on the water—be it ocean, river, or the old swimming hole—would seem to be immune from the threat of priorities. Shoe soles are made of leather or rubber—both current scarcities. But a pair of swimming trunks or a mess of fishing worms should still be beyond the pale of priorities (except that you may have to carry the worms in a jelly glass instead of an old tin can). Or maybe this is the summer to build that dream boat. Sails, oars, and canoe paddles carried our forebears to far places, and can do the same for us. And neither lumber nor canvas are yet on the ration cards.

Reaching clean water brings us to the problem of "going places" in spite of our diminishing means of locomotion. One could, perhaps, walk as far as the city park for a rowboat. But it seems unlikely that many of us will long be content with so short a tether. Nor need we be. There are still subways in New York, elevateds in Chicago, and surface transportation everywhere. And out at the end of the line, there must surely still be—as there were in one's childhood—some places "where the blue begins."

City transit companies and commuters' railroad lines might well develop a patriotic (and profitable) service in "cheap-trip tickets." Such excursions to the nearby and middle distance countryside seem both pleasant and practical; they could take advantage of slack hours between travel peaks of the working day. Customers would be available the week around; for with factories on a seven-day schedule, time off will no longer be confined to the conventional weekend.

Organized groups—labor unions, civic clubs, and others—might well develop cheap camping facilities, overnight shelters, or even old fashioned summer boarding houses, as a service to their members. State and county parks might do the same for the people at large.

Courage and the Leisure Front

But there will be times when there's no place to go but home. For some this will no doubt be a comfort and a relief. For even the most confirmed gadabout, the unusual experience of staying home can, with practice and patience, become supportable.

Now is the time to plant a bigger and better garden—if you're good at gardening. Now is the time to build a backyard fireplace and make a name for yourself as an outdoor cook. Now is the time to set up that carpenter's bench, or photographic darkroom in the basement. Now is the time to take up or return to the piano, or the violin, or whatever the instrument is you've always harbored after. Now is the time to get out those water colors that you bought one summer and never touched again—or to get hold of a good fat piece of clay and try your hand at modelling. Learning new skills and refreshing rusty ones is a prime objective on the labor front. Why not on the leisure front, too?

We have the WPA to thank for helping to break the ice in which the urge toward beauty had so long been frozen in this country. The man in the street has begun to learn that he needn't be shamefaced about aesthetic pleasures. Taking the stigma off art will stand us in good stead now; a new renaissance may just possibly be conceived in these days of trial.

Perhaps that is too far a view. But certainly it is safe to assume that, without their ordinary avenues of fast moving self-escape, the American people will rediscover themselves and their families. There is, I think, no way of preparing ourselves for some unpredictable and, hopefully, imaginary zero hour when the bombs begin to fall. But the man, woman, or child who can create his own pleasures will be the better equipped to create his own courage if, as, and when the need is at hand.

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S U R V E Y  G R A P H I C
The Nation’s Health Resources

GEORGE ST. J. PERROTT and DOROTHY F. HOLLAND

Can our professionally trained people, and our hospitals, meet the war needs of the civilian population and the armed services? A survey of U. S. medical personnel and its distribution—by the chief, Division of Public Health Methods, National Institute of Health, U. S. Public Health Service (in collaboration with Miss Holland)

Fundamentally, the nation’s health resources consist of trained people. Obviously these professional persons depend upon certain facilities in carrying out their work. However, despite the developments of modern technology, services rather than mere mechanical equipment remain the essential factor in caring for the nation’s health. Granted adequate priorities for materials, medical facilities of high quality can be reproduced with relative speed even under wartime conditions. But the training of a physician, dentist, or nurse is a painstaking process which cannot be accelerated beyond a certain degree without materially impairing the quality of the product. Hence the central task in planning health services for the emergency is to make most effective use of present professional resources and to train new personnel as rapidly as is consistent with high standards.

Approximately 160,000 physicians provide medical care, the majority operating as private practitioners. The treatment of dental disease and defects is the special field of some 70,000 dentists. Registered graduate nurses actively engaged in private duty or institutional service number approximately 175,000. Institutional facilities for care of the sick include 6,291 registered hospitals with a bed capacity of 1,226,245, and a staff of some 25,000 anesthetists, dietitians, laboratory and other technical personnel, exclusive of physicians and nurses. Over 1,000 public health departments under full time medical direction, operating as municipal, county, district or state supervisory units, provide local health services, employing a staff of some 600 physicians, exclusive of health officers, approximately 9,500 public health nurses, and technical and professional personnel including bacteriologists, sanitary engineers, statisticians, and specialists in health education together numbering about 6,800. Coordination of local public health services and other special functions are performed by forty-eight official state agencies, with the technical and financial aid of the United States Public Health Service, the Children’s Bureau, and other federal agencies. About 4,000 public health nurses assist in supervision of school health programs conducted by local boards of education, and an additional group of 9,000 public health nurses serve in national and local non-official health and nursing agencies and industrial nursing services. Units of municipal government, usually outside the health departments, operate 10,938 plants for the treatment of water supplies and sewage.

This enumeration does not take into account practical nurses, osteopaths, optometrists, and other secondary practitioners, pharmacists, the technical personnel employed by private industry in the preparation of drugs, biologic products and medical supplies, and the amount of these essential materials. However, it indicates broadly the diversity of services and facilities required in the maintenance of health and, by implication, the difficulty of their expression in identical units. The varied commodities which constitute the nation’s food resources can be reduced to a comparable basis through measurement of their caloric value or vitamin content. An enumeration of dwelling units according to size affords a broad measure of the nation’s housing facilities. Our health resources do not lend themselves to so simple an appraisal. Each type of health and medical service or institution makes its unique contribution to the whole, but the whole cannot be expressed in terms of the total number of persons, institutions, agencies, and materials involved. The nation’s
health resources must be appraised separately with reference to their adequacy to meet specific needs, and their availability to the individual citizen in each of the forty-eight states. War introduces an additional criterion—the adequacy of our health resources to meet the needs of the civilian population and the armed services.

Resources for Medical Care

The nation's most vital health resources are embodied in the medical profession. Prior to dislocation by the war effort, the national average was approximately 1.2 physicians in practice for every 1,000 persons, medical officers in active military service absorbing slightly more than one percent of the country's active physicians. In order to anticipate the maximum medical needs of war, the medical "strength" of the armed forces is maintained at a higher level than is usual in a civilian population. Between 60 and 65 physicians are required per 1,000 military personnel, or at least 24,000 physicians in a force of 4,000,000 men; on such a basis, about 15 percent of the nation's physicians would be withdrawn from service to the civilian population. However, this average figure obscures the fact that virtually all of the physicians taken by the armed forces will be drawn from the younger and more active medical men. Since it is the younger age group from which physicians are normally recruited both for general medical service and public health work, its depletion holds particularly serious implications for future civilian needs.

The states vary widely in their ability to meet the medical quota of the armed forces without dislocation of services to civilians. In general, the supply of physicians is relatively low in areas in which a high proportion of the population lives in rural communities—the Atlantic States from Virginia southward, the South Central States, North and South Dakota, and most of the Mountain States. However, variation is marked as between urban and rural communities in a given state. An essentially similar situation exists in the dental profession. The armed services require an average of 1.5 dentists per 1,000 men, three times as high as the peacetime ratio for an equivalent number of civilians. Thus, an armed force of 4,000,000 men would withdraw 8 percent of the nation's dentists from civilian practice.

The maintenance of balance between medical services for the civilian and military population therefore requires adjustments at the local level. The American Medical Association and the American Dental Association gave early consideration to the problem of medical preparedness. As a result of these efforts, the President on October 30, 1941 directed the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to create the Procurement and Assignment Service for physicians, dentists, and veterinarians. Dr. Sam F. Seeley, executive officer of this agency, reports that an organization is being developed which will carry the functions of the service "to the last county of the country." The Procurement and Assignment Service and the Public Health Service are now conducting surveys to determine the needs both of civilian communities and such organized agencies as hospitals, health departments, and medical schools for professional personnel.

Such coordinated planning is essential to prevent the serious dislocation of medical services among civilians in many rural communities now inadequately supplied with physicians. The medical needs of civilians in the defense industrial areas must also be brought within the scope of planning. Notwithstanding the acute shortage of physicians, dentists, and other professional personnel in many of these areas, there has been relatively little spontaneous movement of physicians and others to such communities which offer neither the assurance of permanent opportunity nor adequate financial reward. The financial stability necessary to attract professional personnel to these areas might be provided by increased tax support of services for the medically needy and the organization of insurance plans for the self-supporting group.

The activities of the Procurement and Assignment Service also include the registration of medical students eligible but physically disqualified for commissions in
The rate at which doctors move from civilian to military service depends on size of army. Each figure represents 10,000 doctors.

The armed services to assure their allocation to fields in which their professional training will be utilized. By a recent ruling, all medical students and pre-medical students of acceptable standing are eligible for commissions in the army or navy. Medical students thus commissioned come under the jurisdiction of the military authorities who assure deferment until the medical course and at least twelve months of internship have been completed.

At the end of the academic year 1940-1941, there were 5,275 medical graduates from a total enrollment of 21,379 students in the 77 medical schools of the United States. In the last two decades the rate of growth of the medical profession has been approximately parallel to that of the general population. The Association of American Medical Colleges has urged an increase in the enrollment of medical students as a contribution to the medical needs of the emergency, and several medical schools have reported a gain in registration in the present academic year. A second emergency measure urged by the association was a shortening of the medical training period by the elimination of summer vacations, a recommendation which has also been adopted by several medical schools. However, as has been noted by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association, “the financial aspect (of this proposal) is an important consideration both for students and for schools,” students being deprived of the summer vacation as an earning period, and the medical schools facing the necessity for larger teaching staffs.

The nation’s facilities for hospital care, represented by a total of 1,226,245 beds in 6,291 registered hospitals, are not uniformly available for the treatment of all types of patients. Beds in mental hospitals number 621,284, in tuberculosis sanatoria, 78,246, and in hospitals providing general medical and surgical care, 526,715. Professional opinion indicates that adequate hospital facilities for general medical and surgical care are represented by a ratio of 4.5 beds per 1,000 population. In 1940, the ratio of beds in general and allied special hospitals to population was 4.5 per 1,000 or higher only in the New England, Middle Atlantic, Mountain and Pacific States, and fell below 3 per 1,000 in the East and West South Central regions. On the basis of a ratio of 2 beds per 1,000 population, the United States Public Health Service estimated in 1940 that at least 270 new hospitals with a combined capacity of 15,500 beds would be required to provide minimal general hospital facilities for rural areas. The most recent careful estimates of the additional facilities required for adequate care of the tuberculous and mentally diseased, made by the Technical Committee on Medical Care in 1938, indicated that facilities for the tuberculous were deficient to the extent of 50,000 beds, and those for the mentally ill, by 130,000 beds.

The expansion of the armed services in itself results in no diversion of the facilities of civilian hospitals to military uses, since the army and navy maintain hospitals to meet their needs. However, facilities for civilians are entirely inadequate in many areas in which defense industries are expanding, as well as in the extra-military zones. The reconnaissance surveys of the United States Public Health Service indicated a need for about 10,000 additional hospital beds in the critical areas surveyed as of November 1941, and physicians, nurses, and other professional and technical personnel would be required to staff these new institutions. Federal funds have been made available under the Community Facilities Act for the construction of hospitals in these areas. However, since federal aid for hospital maintenance is seldom provided, many communities hesitate to seek federal aid for needed hospital construction because of the burden of future maintenance on local public funds.

The evaluation of nursing resources for bedside care with reference to the needs of the emergency represents another aspect of the general appraisal of personnel and facilities required in care of the sick. Fulfillment of the nursing needs of the armed services at a rate of 3.7 registered nurses per 1,000 men from a total supply estimated at 1.5 registered nurses per 1,000 population will bring a substantial reduction in the number of nurses now in active service in behalf of civilians. However, the potential dislocation does not have equally serious implications for each (Continued on page 165)
If you don’t need it...

DON'T BUY IT

Neighbor Canada makes civilian self-discipline seem easy. A poster issued by the Director of Public Information, Ottawa
Rationing for Civilian Strength

MILDRED A. EDIE

Wherever shortages occur in goods basic to maintenance of life and health, rationing must distribute commodities with regard for backs and stomachs instead of pocketbooks—by a consumer authority; former editor of "Tide"

Production for use is necessarily the goal of a modern nation at war. Although the phrase has been distorted by its past associations, neither the politician nor the social idealist can be blamed or credited for the fact that America is now becoming rapidly organized to just such an end. Modern technology, which has bound us all together in a closely knit economic system, has forged the logic behind this effort. And every citizen is a part of this dominating production and consumption web.

What does this mean to you and to me in our daily lives? What does it require of us in our devotion to the cause of freedom? How does it affect our fitness?

Without so phrasing it, most of us are aware that keeping fit is first of all a matter of obtaining the necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter. Hollow hunger is even more destructive than hidden hunger and all the knowledge of nutrition in the world won't help the family who can't obtain adequate supplies of necessary foods. Exposure threatens life itself. Even primitive man knows that. But when the price or supply of clothes or housing is such that you get left out, your knowledge of the hazards to your health won't warm you.

This problem of basic necessities, as it relates to the physical fitness of the civilian population, is broader than the sum total of each individual's problems nor can it be solved by any but a broad social approach. We may not be our brother's keeper but we can and do catch his colds and flu. His cynicism or disaffection makes our community efforts difficult. His ruggedness or hunger robs us of his strength and effort now needed to cope with a potentially serious shortage of manpower.

In other words, whether we like it or not, whether we will it or not, we are so closely bound to one another through the kind of life that modern science and industry has shaped for us that domestic isolationism (rugged individualism) is fully as false as the dream of isolationism was proved to be at Pearl Harbor. There are no more ivory towers and no man's home is his castle. Instead, each man's home is a tiny nerve center in an economic system that must produce the wherewithal to defeat the Axis. Each trip to the grocery store affects the power to produce. Each demand made on the market place is felt throughout the network of production and distribution upon which we are now depending for victory in this war.

As far as the war effort is concerned, it would probably proceed most effectively if none of us needed to eat, wear clothes, or live in a house for the duration. But since we are, human beings and hence must eat and keep warm to live and be fit, we must face the fact that the war effort will be most effectively promoted when all of us have what we need to be efficient citizens and none of us too much or too little.

In times so recently past, getting what we wanted, and hence thought of as what we needed, was largely the result of getting the income to buy it. Jobs, not goods, were scarce. Today the reverse is true.

Although there is a priority unemployment and will probably be more of it, it will most likely be of a temporary nature. Before the year is out there will be more jobs than men to fill them. This doesn't mean, however, that everybody will be rich. And there will still be families that number in the millions whose income will remain far below the fitness consumption standard.

From Surpluses to Shortages

Goods are not scarce today because any great number of families are living too well. Goods are scarce because war demands are taking more and more of what we grow and manufacture. For this coming year at least half of our productive effort must be spent making things that civilians cannot eat, wear or live in—making things for military use. And goods are also scarce because some commodities like silk, rubber, and tin aren't produced here and must be brought across hazardous oceans on crowded ship bottoms.

There is no point now, in looking for, or belaboring, the faults or mistakes that have created the situation we find ourselves in. Bigger stockpiles of tin and rubber would have meant a less severe shortage of tires and packaging materials. Expanded production last year, and year before last, would have meant more aluminum, clothes, furniture, household appliances, canned goods, and so on. But the need today is not for an analysis of the failures of yesterday. History will write that analysis and it may be a bitter chapter. Today, however, the need is for a clear statement of the facts and a determination to meet the challenge they present.

First and foremost is this reality: we face shortages wherever we turn. Modern war is omnivorous. And no single civilian demand fails to touch the needs of war production. Even a packet of tomato seeds uses paper, steel machinery, and space on the railroads and trucks to get into your hands.

Some shortages are, of course, more severe and more significant than others. Cinnamon and curry powder will be as hard to get across the Pacific as rubber. And fine perfumes will be as scarce as olive oil. In other words, when you approach this problem of shortages it is easy to see that it isn't a simple problem of less than enough of any one or a number of things, but is, instead, a complex problem of evaluating need rather than a statistical ex-
cercise to measure demand.

What will the too few ships carry up the Atlantic coast—oil for civilian furnaces or molasses for industrial alcohol? Who ought to get the very limited wool for civilian use—blanket manufacturers, clothing, or rug and carpet makers? How should ship space from South America be divided between cocoa, coffee, wool and copper?

These are the questions that the War Production Board must decide daily. They have a basic yardstick, if you walk up and down the halls of the Office of Price Administration you can see it sloganized on posters which read: “Will it be more Planes?” “Will it make more Tanks?” And this is the second reality: the military demand must get first consideration.

Hitler spent six years getting ready for this onslaught against the democracies. Japan has been an armed camp since the early thirties. Against planes, tanks, and guns; planes, tanks, and guns must be massed. In all evaluations of civilian need we must not lose sight of the fact that the need for freedom is the basic need and that freedom rests now on our ability to produce military power.

For America this second reality is easy to accept but hard to understand. What it means in terms of necessary civilian discipline in the use of material goods has not yet been even dimly realized. When Donald Nelson says that America faces years of sacrifice that can be compared only with the years of Valley Forge, he is putting it as clearly as he can. But we don’t understand. We have been bred on a belief in plenty and have spent the last ten years trying to solve the problems of surplus. Waste has been a privilege and a symbol of social status, not social and economic treason.

The Alarming Facts

Faced as we are with shortages so widespread in terms of past civilian demand and present military needs, we are going to be forced soon to revalue our values. Most civilian consumers are, as yet, unaware of what’s ahead and hence have not yet rigorously questioned their demands for goods. The shortages are known, now, to manufacturers trying to get supplies. The retail market has only had a hint of what’s involved. At the manufacturing level it is now clear. There is not enough steel for planes and automobiles too, nor copper for arms and machines to run vacuum cleaners and washing machines; nor chromium for military supplies and trims on furniture. There’s neither silk, nor much nylon, for hosiery. It’s needed to make parachutes and powder bags. There are no tires for pleasure cars nor rubber for raincoats. It must be used for army trucks and planes. There’s far less rayon than civilians could use. It must line army coats as well as make up for the silk no longer available. There’s not enough fine cotton goods. The army needs it for uniforms and to make parachutes to carry food and supplies. There’s not enough heavy cotton cloth—duck, canvas, osnaburg. It’s needed for tents and army supplies. There isn’t going to be tin for dog food or candy or peanuts or cigarettes. It’s needed for vegetables and meat to feed an expeditionary force. There’s not enough sugar. Cane molasses is needed to make industrial alcohol to manufacture smokeless powder and our Pacific sources of supply are cut off. There’s not enough fat and oil. Coconut oil and palm oil came across the Pacific and little more will come in. Tea will be scarcer. Coffee harder to get.

Cocoa won’t be plentiful. Wool is very, very tight, as they say in Washington. The demand for meat will be greater than the supply. Due to the shortages of tin and aluminum, substitute packing materials will be so much in demand that they, too, will be short. Chemicals are scarce. War production uses great volumes of chemicals, and this means that cleaning fluids, plastics, and some dyes will be short in supply. Fine leather for gloves is scarce.

The army demand may limit civilian supplies of men’s shoes. Some garden seed, a certain type of spinach for example, was imported, and now must be grown here. Paper for packing and wrapping is scarce. Picture frames, lamps, knives, pots and pans, thimbles, needles, curtain rods—all myriads of little household goods that are made from metals—these will be hard to get.

It would be possible to go on describing shortages almost endlessly. Each month, each week, new ones could be added to the list. A shortage in one commodity immediately increases the demand for its substitutes, and hence a dozen shortages arise where one first existed.

The picture is alarming and Americans should be alarmed by it—alarmed and prepared to take measures to alleviate it.

Alleviation Through Rationing

Against the over-all nature of the shortages, attempts at self protection through hoarding and hysterical buying take on their proper proportion, are easily recognized as pebbles before a steam roller. No amount of hoarding can possibly protect the individual family, even when that family is one of the very few having enough income so that a significant part of it can be tied up into stocks of goods. The average family must realize that prices are rising, taxes are mounting, and income frozen into stores of goods may be badly needed in the near future.

War-wise Europe has already traveled the by-path of this problem and European experience has clearly illustrated the nature of the measures that we must undertake. We can no longer depend on the haphazard first-come-first-served of the market place. Although our shortages in some commodities are very serious, the total supply of essential goods available for civilian living will probably be adequate. Provided these goods are distributed with regard for backs and stomachs instead of pocketbooks and privilege. Price control alone won’t bring about the fair distribution necessary to preserve civilian fitness. It will help. High prices can, and do, distort the distribution of goods by making them available only to those with incomes large enough to meet the price increases. Low prices, on the other hand, give everybody a fairer chance to get his share. But when goods are both price controlled and scarce, privileges other than income come into play. Manufacturers sell to favored customers. Retailers do likewise. Everybody scrambles for supplies; price control breaks down when the scramble becomes so intense that buyers are willing to pay an illegal levy for the possession of goods. This we call the black market. And Americans, who lived through the Prohibition era, have a background from which to judge how disastrous the bootlegging of essential commodities would be for both the physical and moral fitness of the nation.

No, the answer lies in sterner measures—in immediate, widespread, practical rationing plans. “Fair shares,” as they say in Great Britain.

Along with rationing, America must learn healthy fru-
gality, must become skilled in the arts and disciplines of planned buying and conservation.

It is altogether possible, indeed most likely, that the public generally is full of misapprehension about rationing. For years we have associated the word with such phrases as "regimented poverty," "standardized starvation levels," "enforced subsistence," and the like. Rationing has been introduced to us as one of the burdens foisted on a nation through fascism. Unfortunately, reports of Germany's rationing programs, as with so many other superficial descriptions of fascism, have all too often been presented to America in a context where techniques have been confused with ends or purposes, and causes and results hopelessly scrambled. It was not rationing that bound the German people into Hitler's straightjacket. That betrayal is another, longer and more complex story. But once the Nazi controls were set and world domination the recognized goal, rationing was as essential to the building of Germany's war machine as were aluminum, chemicals, or modern technology. As a matter of fact, rationing is the one way, the most socially desirable way, for avoiding exactly those evils described in our journalists' horror stories of "regimented starvation."

Rationing is not a plan for the promotion of poverty and starvation. On the contrary, it is the one means whereby scarcities can be socially controlled so that they will not result in starvation or rapidly falling living standards.

Rationing is not the cause of long queues of weary women standing before shops barren of goods. On the contrary, only through rationing can we avoid the haphazard use of limited supplies which will result in unequal distribution and parts on goods by those whose income is sufficiently large so that they can use it as a selfish weapon in the market place.

The purpose of rationing is not to curtail consumption. On the contrary, properly devised rationing plans will spread consumption throughout the population and hence equalize the burdens of scarcity.

Rationing does not foster hysterical shopping for goods. On the contrary, the British experience has shown that rationing revives an intelligent approach to buying. When the clothes rationing program was announced in England, for example, one of its by-products was to reintroduce an element of competition among sellers of goods. Advertising, informative advertising of clothing, increased. Consumers, realizing that they must plan their clothing purchases in order to fully clothe their families with the allowed purchase points, stopped mobbing counters and began to consider carefully before deciding to buy. Retailers no longer stormed supply sources in search of anything in order to have goods on their shelves, because customers were no longer buying without some assurance that their purchases were of a quality and durability to last throughout the year.

How Rationing Promotes Fitness

To be sure, rationing is not a rose without thorns, and some of its thorny difficulties will be particularly hard on us in happy-go-lucky America. Rationing requires a burdensome administrative machinery. It demands the keeping of endless records and the handling of millions of papers and certificates. Little retailers who haven't even kept books on their cuffs in the past, must learn the demanding art of record-keeping and the self control needed to deal constantly with an untrained staff of official, or semi-official authorities. And of course, no rationing plan is ever perfect for everybody's needs. Of necessity, a rationing plan must be subject to frequent adjustment. Thus not only the original scheme must be explained again, and again, and again, but all the adjustments must be made clear.

Some thorns of rationing, however, can be regarded as socially desirable goods. Even the little retailer, for instance, ought to keep books. Much more significant, of course, is the kind of goading that rationing will apply to the whole civilian population's realization of its economic function in a war economy. And two important by-products of that realization—planned buying and conserving—will remain with us as good habits of living learned in hard days of war.

What all of this can mean to our fitness and strength as a people right now has unlimited possibilities. Clothes that will wash and wear, fit and not shrink, look well and not fade, be as warm or as cool as we need, are as essential to physical and mental health as are whole grain cereals and medical attention. When clothes are rationed these qualities will be more apt to be the deciding factors in our decisions to buy or not to buy. Sturdy shoes that we can walk in, polish and resole, are essential to exercise and health. When buying a pair of shoes means giving up rationing stamps, it's the sturdy shoes that we'll be apt to think of buying. And if the sugar, the butter, the meat or the jams and jellies we buy are limited, not by our money power, but by the total supply available, the planning that these rationed purchases will foster will lead to better meal planning all around.

It is to this end that our alarm over shortages must lead us—to a revaluation of our demands for material goods, to an appraisal of our needs in terms of essentials, to a sense of responsibility and planning in our purchase and use of things, and to a realization that we are economic brothers for the duration. This doesn't mean dividing up the whole of our material wealth into 132,000,000 parcels, but it does mean sharing equally those goods that are basic to the maintenance of life and health, whenever and wherever shortages threaten to depress the living standards and fitness of the population as a whole.

For Distinguished Service

to the Axis...

FOR HOARDING

Advertisement published "in the interest of intelligent buying and patriotic behavior" by twelve New York department stores.
Pursuit of Happiness in Wartime

E. C. LINDEMAN

To live in health, to be free in spirit, to pursue happiness through fellowship—these objectives will give us courage: by a social philosopher and teacher; author of "Wealth and Culture"

Over and over I keep asking myself, "Where is the needed courage coming from?" Like the Chinese, I know that we who love peace must win this war, that we cannot afford to let this war be won by those who glorify war. The lovers of peace must win this war. But the peace lovers are unprepared; and if they are to be given time to build their armor, they will be called upon to fight with courage as their main weapon, as indeed they have done in Guam and Wake and Corregidor. President Roosevelt insists that we are to become the arsenal of democracy and I believe he means what he says. But we cannot back a truck into an arsenal and take on a load of courage. We shall need the guns and the bombs and the ships and the planes and the tanks and we know where these are to come from; but we shall need also fortitude which can stand up to defeat, persistence to support us on the long journey, strength to meet the two most highly militarized nations on earth and, besides, a margin of courage which will keep us fighting still when they have at last grown weary. These are qualities not to be found in any arsenal. No belt line will drop these into our laps. No appropriations, even though they match the myriad stars of heaven, will buy for us a single drop of this commodity, this courage, which alone can enable those who love peace to vanquish those who dedicate themselves to war.

Shining through the big black headlines and as undertone to the nervous voices of the radio commentators, I keep hearing and seeing this question: Where shall we find the courage? And slowly the answer is beginning to shape itself. I am not sure that I can say what it is in exact language but I know the feel of it. I still see through a glass darkly but, at last, I see. Even though I cannot describe what I see in precise terms, I feel impelled to make the attempt, because each time I try I discover that my voice becomes a bit firmer, my muscles harder, and without awareness I find myself standing straighter.

The source of courage which I seem to have discovered is, of course, an ideal. For this I make no apologies. Ac-
For a long time we called this a "phony" war. In fact, it did not come out of its surrealist atmosphere for most Americans until that fateful Sunday morning in December when destruction swooped down upon our warships and airplanes in Pearl Harbor. We enlisted on the following morning; everywhere American citizens expressed an eagerness to assume responsibility; we begged to be employed in the defense of our country. But, even now we continue to resist the task of understanding the war itself. Within this week I have read and heard incredible public expressions of the following order:

"First we'll lick Hitler; then we'll finish off the Japs; and by that time we'll know all the tricks and we'll be in shape to put the Russians in their place."

"The war against Nazi Germany is not our war. Our enemy is Japan."

"If Roosevelt takes us into another league of nations when this war is over, our standard of living will sink to the level of that of China."

"I am now convinced that I must support the President's foreign policy, but I shall fight his New Deal just as vigorously as ever."

One of these statements was made by a veteran of the last World War, another by a former isolationist, another by a well-known lawyer in a middlewestern state, and another by an editor of an influential newspaper. If a considerable number of American citizens go through this or-

William James was right. A bad habit can be got rid of only by supplanting it with a better one.

deal with notions like these in their heads, then we may as well admit at the outset that this war, terrible as it is, must be regarded as a mere dress rehearsal for the greater war still to come.

These are strange, weird, almost perverse ideas. They may lose this war for us. Certainly, if they persist, they will cause us to lose the peace. But strangely enough, I am deeply sympathetic with Americans who are confused about this war. The train of events spanning the distance from Munich to Manila does not compose into a consistent pattern. When Chamberlain gave Hitler a free hand to rape Czechoslovakia, when Stalin signed a mutual pact with Nazi Germany, and when France disintegrated from within and earlier still when the democracies allowed Japan to seize Manchuria; Italy to conquer Abyssinia, and fascism to destroy whatever democracy there was in Spain, we were confronted with events which did not flow in a straight line. Gross immoralities were committed in the relations between nations. The will to make decent moral decisions seemed to have disappeared altogether. Those who stood aside, bewildered and confused, should not be too harshly censured. Indeed, if suspicion is called for, I am inclined to the belief that it should be directed toward those who presumed to have a logical formula for each new turn of events.

But I am not interested in blame-fixing. That time is past. Neither am I prepared to use my energies in dec-

bating with those who disagree with my own interpretations. I am possessed with only one steady objective and it may be stated thus: How may we conduct ourselves in this war in such manner as to assure our success? By success I do not mean merely victory in a military sense. If we do nothing more in this war than defeat our enemies, this achievement will leave us desolate in spirit. I mean by success a procedure for fighting the war to a proper conclusion and at the same time continuing to work on what Max Lerner calls the "unfinished agenda of American democracy." These are not two separate objectives.

Can we build a world that is dedicated to human welfare? Will we enter the promised land which science has revealed to us?

If we do not improve our democracy while the war is on, we will most certainly not be in the appropriate mood to do so when the "peace breaks out." Killing our enemies will not make us suitable inheritors of the four freedoms. We shall become fit for life in a free world only if we conduct this war as though it might become an instrument for an ultimate good.

I believe there is falseness and wrong-headedness in the statements I heard. These expressions reveal that some Americans are still exposed to the contagion of the disease against which we are fighting, that there are still many American citizens who hate President Roosevelt more than they love their country, and that there are many Americans who persist in believing that we can enjoy a high standard of living while it is being denied to others. I repeat, these are perverse notions and if they are not tempered by the ordeal of war itself, they will lead us to a long and tragic civil strife, if indeed they do not cause us to lose the war itself.

How, then, are these erroneous ideas about this war to be corrected? The first attack must be, obviously, a con-

The happy warrior is he who has his gaze fixed steadily on peace. If we cannot work for good while we fight this war its chief result will be to brutalize us . . .

stant educational attempt to interpret the war, not in terms of its separate causes but in terms of its probable consequences. This means discussing the war as a series of emerging objectives. For example, it is my conviction that this war is gradually coming to be a tool which may be used for the purpose of breaking those individual and national habits which have hitherto produced have-not nations in the world and have-not individuals within the
nations. This war could be used for producing a new deal, not merely for the disfranchised in a few nations but in all nations. Those of us who hate war may have wished that this change in attitude, this tempering of the proud and the superior and the aristocratic peoples of the world, might have been brought about without a devastating war but, unhappily, civilization has not yet produced good will among men to this required degree.

William James, whose hundredth birthday we have

We must begin now to lay plans for preventing a depression when the war has ended. The safest measure is to expand our social security coverage as quickly as possible.

been celebrating this year, was wise in many ways but in none more so than in his conception of the nature of human habits. It was his contention that a bad habit can be got rid of by only one method, namely by supplanting it with a better one. This means, I presume, that those of us who see this war as a possible instrument for breaking habits which now stand in the way of a better world should not spend too much of our energy striving to persuade others to accept our viewpoint. We shall probably turn out to be better teachers if we give the recalcitrant a chance to work side by side with those who have already accepted the obligation to labor for a better world while the war is being fought. The program of unfinished business is so inclusive that no citizen can withdraw because there seems to be nothing for him to do.

This is what is meant by pursuing happiness in wartime: to find something to do [or to continue what you have been doing] which will increase wealth and welfare in the world. Only thus will we be equipped to enjoy happiness when the war ends. The happy warrior is he who has his gaze fixed steadily on peace. If we cannot work for good ends while we fight this war, its chief result will be to brutalize us, to make us less human than we now are.

Here, then, are a few items on this agenda of unfinished democratic business in our own country: First, we must, before this war is over, do something to improve race relations in our land. My heart sank when recently a once-distinguished American expressed regret over the fact that a race of yellow people, the Chinese, had become our allies. Here is a poisonous attitude which must be opposed. If, at the end of this war, the white peoples of the world are not prepared to treat the colored peoples of the world with more justice and fairness than in the past, then this war may become a preliminary for the most beastly type of conflict imaginable, namely a race war. This need not happen. We can improve matters now. Both in civilian and in military affairs we can now demonstrate that we mean to be fair to the thirteen million Negro citizens of our country. This will not only be "good for our souls" but it will prove to the rest of the world that when we say democracy we mean democracy.

Next on my agenda comes health. It seems unthinkable to me that we should go through this war without making rapid strides in the improvement of both the physical and mental health of our people. War is like a thermometer in this respect: It exposes our state of health, and those who read this special number of Survey Graphic carefully will not be able to escape the conclusion that our record is not good. But they will also learn that our resources for health are enormous and that all that is now required is a resolute determination to bring these resources into functional relation to the needs. One of the aims of a democratic society is to produce a maximum number of persons healthy in body and mind, free and progressive in spirit, and capable of devoting themselves to the realization of human values. The base of this type of personality is health.

The third item on my agenda is security. Just as I believe that one meaning of this war is that no nation can ever again be secure unless all are secure, so also I believe it is within nations. Extreme nationalism can produce a proud isolation, but it cannot furnish security. Extreme individualism can produce strong persons, but it can no longer leave them secure. We have an immediate task in connection which cannot be postponed: we must begin now to lay plans for preventing a depression when the war has ended. The safest measure I can think of is to expand our social security coverage as quickly as possible. The existing spread of unemployment insurance will not suffice when this war ends, when twenty million workers in defense industries will be thrown upon the labor market and when six to ten million young men in the armed forces return to civilian life. The time for planning for this contingency has already arrived.

These are mere samples of the democratic needs in our own country. There is much besides to be done. No one need he left out. For those with competence there still stands before us the shameful picture of American housing. Others will want to devote themselves to the onerous task of reducing the amount of public corruption which bedevils and besmires our political life. Members of

Trade is the ultimate test of character. Facing death the sordid and the courageous citizens fall into their proper places.

trade unions who have for so long been engaged in the harsh struggle to establish the right to organize and bargain collectively will now wish to turn their attention to the job of making trade union procedures more democratic. And still others, knowing how meanly we have behaved after the last war, will turn their attention to the enterprise of preparing American citizens for full participation in a new world order.

To live in health, to be free in spirit, and to pursue happiness through fellowship—these were and remain the ob-
Tragic are the circumstances under which we have been brought to trial. But tragedy is the ultimate test of character. The Greeks, who, perhaps, possessed the clearest conception of the nature of tragedy had evolved a unique conception of its antithesis. To them the opposite of the tragic was not the comic; they considered a person incapable of facing physically able, to have more children.

Sweden has set us an excellent example of what an intelligent coordination of all that planned parenthood means can do for a nation. When Sweden decided to increase the quantity and better the quality of her people, who were then reproducing only 75 percent of themselves, her first step was to remove all bans on birth control information. Recently, Sweden instituted a statewide child welfare program embracing every child in the country. Largely because the bearing of children by choice has been made to raise rather than lower the family standard of living, the Swedish birthrate has increased.

What is more important is that the differential birthrate has altered so that today the birthrate has been lowered among the poorest classes and has been substantially raised among those in the middle and higher economic classes.

Aside from the general obligation to our country, we have a special obligation to our women. We read various predictions that by 1943 there will be from three to six million women in industry. There is even talk of drafting women for war industry. It seems only fair to give the women of this country who will take an important part in winning the war, the right to say when they shall bear their children. Statistics from the United States Children's Bureau show far too high a deathrate for infants born too close together. Surely it is more important to our national welfare for a mother to bear three or four healthy children, intelligently spaced, than to give life to a dozen, many of whom die, and most of whom have little chance for a healthful existence. Intelligent spacing of offspring likewise reduces maternal mortality and further contributes to familial and national fitness.

America has over twenty-five million men in the military age group, more than any other nation except Russia, China or India. Our population concern now must be for quality. Quantity breeding multiplies national problems and tends to diminish national vitality. We should take to heart what Surgeon General Parran of the United States said recently: "The people of this nation must be physically tough, mentally sound, and morally strong. If we are not, we can leave our planes unbuilt and our battleships on paper. We shall not be able to use them."
"The Four Freedoms or The Four Horsemen?"

By Theodore Brenson
"Saving Health Among All Nations"

THOMAS PARRAN, M.D.

The Four Freedoms or the Four Horsemen? A world leader in the fight for well-being views the future through the magnifying lens of war. A historic statement of America's destiny:—by the Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service; author of "Shadow on the Land"

God be merciful unto us, and bless us
and cause his face to shine upon us,
that thy way may be known upon earth,
thy saving health among all nations.—
Psalm lxvii

The great prayer of the psalmist in Isreal interprets the aspiration of the thoughtful American in 1942. It is true we fight for physical survival; but even the animals do that at each step upward in the path of evolution. The civilized man can fight wholeheartedly only when to his need for personal security is added his need for spiritual freedom. We fight today for the freedom to go steadily forward in our personal interpretation of God's way on earth—imperfect as that interpretation has been—and to secure it for any man of any nation to whom such freedom is precious. We fight against those who deny God's mercy and degrade his blessings. Without his "saving health," we shall not win that fight.

In our casual use of the word, we have been accustomed to think of health in the negative sense as the absence of pain or disease or obvious disablement. Yet if we check back to its Anglo-Saxon origin, helth means something positive. It is wholeness. It is the addition to the norm of everything that makes life long and rich and productive.

It may be possible to control some diseases, and to prevent some deaths by fiat. Through totalitarian methods, the enemy has demonstrated that he can raise certain levels in the physical status of his people. But if we aspire toward the concept of positive health, it is clear that the most important factors in the objective are to be attained by impulsion rather than by compulsion. Authority to check the spread of communicable disease must be complemented by the spontaneous desire to use science as fully as possible in order to build one's individual strength. Continental Europe today is continuing proof that the most efficient policing of an all-powerful Gestapo is relatively powerless without the will of the people to support it. The saving health must be earned by the individual and by the nation. It cannot be bestowed as a free gift by the most benevolent dictator. It cannot be thrust upon a population by mandate. The attainment of health, as the attainment of capacity for self-government, requires the democratic method of education, wise leadership, and voluntary cooperation, with arbitrary control of the individual only where the good of his fellow countrymen demands it.

The American Purpose
Today we fight for the four freedoms outlined by the President in his message of January 6, 1941, later confirmed in substance by the Atlantic Charter. They are freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. All are essential to that wholeness of man which is total health. There is much to do, beginning now, toward implementing the third freedom which the President has defined as the security "to every nation of a healthy peace-time life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world."

If we are too slow in getting at the task or too sparing in our efforts, long before the four freedoms are attained we shall be ridden down by the four horsemen of the Apocalypse: war, famine, pestilence and death. They go forth together. Pestilence and famine ride longer and farther than war. Death rides with them long after war is done.

Hunger and sickness during World War I and immediately after it, did more to deplete the vitality of Europe than all the weapons and instruments of battle. In "The Human Costs of War" (Harper, 1920), a book which thoughtful persons should reread, Homer Folks says: "The great inroads upon the world's health will project themselves far into the future. There will still be living in the year 2000 those who were orphaned by the Great War. Perhaps not even they will see a world in which the war's aid to disease has been overcome."

Any natural depression because of the necessity of fighting a rearguard action for health at the end of World War I has been translated into the determination to make a frontal attack at the beginning of our participation in World War II. It was an epochal task which our President outlined to the nation on January 6. It behooves us first to look to the contribution of health to national victory. It is appropriate then to consider the contribution of health to international peace.

It is easy for everybody to see that victory depends upon the valor of our land, sea, and air fighters, upon the competence of their commanders and the shrewdness of strategy. We are beginning to understand that victory depends equally as much upon the capacity of our nation to supply the tremendous total of war instruments required for effective employment of the fighting forces. And for the readers of Survey Graphic, one may be assured that it is not necessary to draw diagrams to prove that neither our fighting forces nor our industrial army can function at the highest level of efficiency without the sustaining power of a civilian population possessed of physical strength and continuing morale.

Physical strength is increased by the prompt application of scientific measures to check the vast wastage caused by preventable disease, disablement and death. Basic morale flows from faith in what we are fighting for, plus the confidence that we are fit to fight, each of us in his own sector. The basic morale of faith, plus fitness, means far
more in the long haul ahead than any emotional appeal from the most expert propaganda bureau. Morale and health are as left and right hands to implement the great American purpose.

On the Home Front

What are the major wartime tasks on the health front in the United States? Today more people are keenly aware of what health means than ever before in our history. The government is helping to develop disease control and to build positive health. Federal-state collaboration has brought basic public health service to more people in a wider area than has been possible at any time previously. As yet, however, we have made only a feeble start in putting our medical and nutritional science to work for all the people. Unless we do a full job through our cherished democratic process, can we have full faith in that process which we are fighting to defend, and for which we are willing to die?

Because we do work through the democratic process, the responsibility for results falls not only upon our elected leaders; not only upon our professional army of healthmen and women, both in government employ and in the private practice of life conservation. The responsibility falls also upon the civilian population, and heavily upon their leaders. Each individual can contribute to the improvement of the problems in his own community, the composite of which will make an incalculable difference in the results of all-out war. In fact, they may make the difference of which Mr. Churchill spoke in his much quoted answer to the question "How long will the war last?" He replied, you remember, that if we managed well it would last only half as long as if we managed badly.

Among the things we must manage well if the war is to be promptly victorious are services to improve the present health of the population. Fairly good is not good enough now, when we are short of manpower and short of time.

We continue to waste both time and manpower. Even in peacetime, industrial disability takes 400,000,000 man-days off the production line. According to the industrial hygiene experts, at least 20 percent is preventable now. If we could save only 10 percent of last year's loss, we should have the extra labor available to build 16,470 combat tanks.

Sixty thousand Americans, most of them young, die each year of tuberculosis. Compared with the loss of life from this cause a century ago, it is a triumph that there are only 60,000. Compared with the number who could be saved by the prompt application of modern knowledge, it shows gross neglect that there are so many. In 1919, Sir George Philip said that during the first World War England had lost a quarter of a century in her battle against tuberculosis. We are in danger of a similar setback if we remain complacent about past successes and do not fight to retain and improve upon them.

We have made great gains against the venereal diseases since the passage of the National Venerable Disease Control Act in 1938. Public clinics for the diagnosis and treatment of these diseases have increased in number by 189 percent. The amount of services given has gone up by 120 percent. On the average, 411,000 patients are treated every month. Nevertheless, eighteen states and sixteen of the largest cities show rates of syphilis infection among selectees from 6 to over 20 times higher than the 6 per thou-

sand record of our most progressive states.

War, always and everywhere, has been accompanied by increased venereal disease rates both in the military forces and in the civilian population. If we are content to let that be true now when we have the means to prevent it, we are wilfully prolonging the war and the cost of its aftermath. Knowing commercialized prostitution to be the greatest single source of venereal disease infection, we should use federal-state-local law enforcement authority to stamp it out. Unless we do, we shall be asking Congress for increasingly larger sums to treat the infected cases, when it would save money and lives to remove the major source of infection. In other words, we shall be bailing out the boat instead of caulk ing up the seams.

We have scarcely begun to face our problems of undernourishment and malnourishment. The national nutrition program set in motion by the conference of May 1941, was our first public acknowledgment of the fact that "optimum diet" for all of the population is not a visionary's dream but a known and reliable element in achieving public health. [See "Food for a Stronger America," special section of Survey Graphic, July 1941.]

Our agricultural capacity makes it possible, if we plan the program wisely and execute it with skill, to build a nation of people more fit, more vigorous, more competent; a nation with morale based on fitness, with more toughness of body and greater fortitude of mind. These are the most essential of the qualities we need for victory. If each of us does his part toward realizing the goal of better nutrition, we shall be striking the first blow for freedom from want.

Food is a strategic material, like rubber, copper, and manganese. War needs require that we share it with the United Nations, as we share planes and bombs and tanks. War gives us the opportunity to equalize the use of essential foods at home. On the international front, food superiority is as vital to victory as is air superiority. International collaboration on the food-for-health front is an urgent next step toward winning the war and building the foundations for a just and lasting peace.

World Health and U. S. Health

War has taught us this lesson: International collaboration on the health front means far more than protecting ourselves from disease originating in one nation or the other; it means sharing with our allies all our resources—public health, medical, and research—that will contribute to human efficiency. What happens to the people's health "inside Europe," "inside Asia," and specifically inside the U.S.A., will be a determining factor in swift victory and will contribute to the permanence of peace.

For generations we Americans thought that the two great oceans on either side of us made military aggression unthinkable. Our health authorities always have known that the open seas were open roads to disease aggression.

The customary way of dealing with threats of epidemics from abroad has been to set up barriers of quarantine and restrictions of trade. But even these repressive measures were not effective until certain of the nations recognized their mutual dependence on the health front and their health officials sat down around the conference table to establish uniform international quarantine measures. This was the first positive step toward the solution of world health problems. The development of a worldwide
epidemic intelligence service was the second.

The objectives of world health go further today. Once the common victory is won, the mutual understanding and objectives of the world's health forces can be directed toward building for peace.

Lewis Mumford has suggested that World War II may not end suddenly, overnight, with a general armistice. Having begun slowly in limited areas, hostilities may end slowly in one sector at a time. The transition period may be long between active war and final peace. This possibility would provide a priceless margin of time to stabilize the international health front. We may need to send health expeditions into war zones when the fighting ceases. These Health Expeditionary Forces would be of two types: one, to control epidemic diseases; the other, to take food to the starving peoples.

The services rendered by these Health Expeditionary Forces would be the most effective preparation for peace. Sick and starving people cannot make wise decisions. They need food first and the strength of a healing hand.

We should begin to plan now if we are to win this post-war fight for health. It is important to keep our fingers on the pulse of world disease, so that needs for help can be anticipated. But information on epidemics in enemy controlled countries is far from accurate. Take typhus, for example. News has seeped through that typhus is causing great loss of life in Poland and in the German Army. We have no firsthand information as to the extent and virulence of the epidemic. Scattered and partial reports from Spain indicate that the epidemic of 1941 is spreading. History and experience tell us that wars start devastating epidemics of typhus with the speed of an incendiary bomb.

To combat typhus—or any other epidemic disease—we must have specific information on the populations affected, the living conditions and the resources of the threatened area. All the skilled personnel and all the medical supplies that the Americas can spare will be needed. These facilities should be currently inventoried so they can be mobilized for prompt action.

There is need for information on food resources, too. We should know what the several nations can produce normally in order to gauge needs and use combined supplies efficiently. Otherwise we might send wheat to Russia when she needs sugar, or vegetable oils to the Philippines where grain is needed.

Control of food supplies is the sharp weapon of the Axis powers. When the Nazis and their cohorts are driven out of territory they now occupy, vast areas will be found stripped of every means to sustain life. Crops will be destroyed, food animals driven off, farm implements stolen or wrecked.

War's devastation of homes and of public buildings essential to normal life cannot be estimated. Major Erskine Hume tells of the complete disruption of hospital facilities in Serbia during the last war. Every water pipe, every heating system, and every autoclave in Serbian hospitals had been removed or damaged beyond repair. Hospital and medical supplies of every description had been carried away or burned on the prem-
ises. Reports from other countries told the same story.

In every community, the demand for doctors and nurses far exceeded the supply. Russia lost nearly 70 percent of her physicians in actual combat or in the typhus epidemic. There remained in Serbia less than 200 physicians to serve a population of some four million.

As simple a thing as soap acquired the medical value of its weight in platinum. Replacement of surgical instruments and anesthetics was almost unknown in hospitals.

All signs point to a hard, long road ahead. We shall need thousands of doctors and nurses. We shall need the materials and skilled hands, the tools and the intelligence to rebuild health services upon the scorched earth.

The free peoples must begin now to organize with firm purpose so that when the war is won, and after the worst wounds of the warring nations have been tended, essential food stuffs and saving health services will flow continually to all as freely as the world's resources permit. Upon this rock a lasting peace can be built.

The dark days ahead of us, the sacrifices we must make, the "blood, sweat, and tears" that we must share with others will not be without benefit to us as a nation. War necessity will sharpen our will to secure a better distribution of the things which give freedom from want, helping to make life good and to make health a reality. We undoubtedly shall see the broad principles of sanitation and preventive medicine greatly extended. Effective ways must be found to make medical service available so that all our people can share equally in the benefits of modern life saving science. People will learn what it means to be free of the "hidden hunger," in Paul deKruif's phrase.

**Storehouse of Peace**

**America's Destiny is Not Only to Be the Arsenal of War, but to Be the Storehouse of Peace as Well.**

Our civilization has been so busy with the transformations of man's environment that we have learned relatively little about man himself. We have felt it impractical to put as much emphasis upon his capacity for life saving as upon his tendency to destroy. We have little conception of what world peace would mean on the health front; a democratic peace which would destroy the four horsemen and give form to the four freedoms. The freeing of all peoples from the want of food and the want of health, from fear of premature death and needless suffering, is a task to make first claim on the world's resources of materials and leadership. Our willingness to make good that claim may decide whether or not the tragedies of war are to be followed by the horrors of famine and pestilence and the disintegration of hope, without which a people perish. If we have the capacity to make the claim good, we may look confidently for the blessings of a peace beyond the world's experience or our present understanding.
War News and People

LEON WHIPPLE

As never before in history, wartime environment invades man's inner being. Our reviewer discusses some recent literature on press and radio—by a professor of journalism, New York University; author of "How to Understand the Current Event"

War creates a kind of new climate in which we struggle to survive. News is one element. How can we endure, and then use the grim tidings that reach us hourly from the ends of the earth? How can we keep informed for sharing and action, yet hold our nerves steady and carry on? To keep fit we must solve this dilemma. No diet will preserve health if the headlines set loose butterflies in the stomach. We may find that there are such things as rumor-shock, propaganda complexes, a news neurosis. I do not know. Nobody knows whether we can consciously control the effects of the modes of social consciousness we have invented. The involutions of consciousness on consciousness may be beyond our regulation. But we can try to think out some philosophy of news provision and seek to establish the personal disciplines that will help our adaptation to this dreadful environment of truth, lies, the fog of war, and fear.

Conflicting attitudes are revealed in average people. Some obey a natural instinct to spare their feelings by turning away from newspaper or radio. "We don't know what to believe, and we can't do anything, anyhow." They select what is offered for entertainment and forgetfulness. Much human wisdom is here, and strength to carry on the job or do specific war work. But ignorance and a narrow horizon of participation are dangers in a democracy at war. The province of word-of-mouth gossip is enlarged. Contrariwise, some people follow the news with feverish devotion. They read every edition, tune in every broadcast, and hear the brunt of constant repetition. We can all understand this drive to understand, to foresee, to discover grounds for hope. But clearly such a search for news can end in jittery nerves and the loss of all sense of values and meaning. To find a middle way, a balanced ration of useful facts and sensible interpretation, of refreshment for the spirit, and energy to act, is the prescription for keeping fit.

The problem has three fronts. We can ask the government, now the source and controller of much of our information, to study far more deeply than ever before the effects of its releases and their form on the public mind and will. The censor and public relations bureaus have a more delicate job than they yet recognize. Next, we can ask the purveyors of news—in print, by radio, in pictures—to lend us their practical experience, to look at their tasks in the light of the end we seek, and to break the trail with bold experiments. They provide the best news service in the world, and there is evidence they are ready for new obligations. Finally, people can do a lot for themselves. To discipline our reading—and talking—habits is part of our duty.

WE HAVE NO STUDY YET OF HOW WAR NEWS SHOULD BE HANDLED. These books* do provide backgrounds and model techniques for such study. "Radio Goes to War" covers the story of "the most important single instrument of political warfare that the world has ever known." Historians will be grateful for this rich and full account of how nations have carried on their offensives in the air. The Nazis created this "fourth front" in 1933, laid down principles of radio strategy, and loosened bombs for the mind on country after country, from Russia to South America. Britain launched a worldwide campaign over the BBC. Now the United States, late but powerful, broadcasts over 700 hours a week to South America, maintains listening posts that catch 750,000 words daily to get information and to guide our stepped-up counter-propaganda to the Axis world. The chapters on our radio efforts are encouraging stuff.

The book is rich in human interest: read the tale of Lord Haw-Haw, of the renegades Berlin enlisted to talk to their native lands, of the secret stations that men risked death to keep in action, guerillas of the air. The discussion of the strategy of war by radio throws light on our inquiry, for what the Germans did reveals the effects they wanted to produce in the minds of people. Against these we must be armored. They practice the strategy of Division to set nations against each other; of Confusion with rumors and false reports; of Camouflage to conceal their military intentions; of Terror to create panic and keep nations from joining against them. They set out to conquer minds and break wills. We are subjected to such assaults in some of the news we get. Here is a kind of manual to help us resist division, confusion, and terror. The book is history, romance—and warning.

The virtue of "The Press in the Contemporary Scene" is that it deals with the place of the press, its present patterns and functions, and certain possible reforms of its practices. It is not the familiar attack by politicians or a defense by publishers, but a social study by men who teach journalism or practice the profession. From the statistical resume by Alfred McClung Lee and the study of trends in content by Frank L. Mott (both historians of the press) to the discussions of the editorial page by Charles Merz or labor reporting by Louis Stark, the pages are informed, balanced, constructive. Here are not outside snipers but students who know what they are talking about through research and experience. Their reports make up the best survey of today's press as a going concern, with its faults and virtues, we have had. It is a relief to have the press treated as a great social institution, and not as a game, a racket, or a melodrama.

For aid in understanding the problem of war news, the articles on Washington news and international news are pertinent. How people really do use the newspaper everyday must be the base line of our inquiry. That is covered in a study of reader habits and interests by Bush and Teitel.


They find that twenty minutes is the average reading time, that the graphic materials are most read by everybody, that war is first among men's interests, but fifth for women. We get a picture of a reader who can get but a skeleton of war news, largely through pictures, and one who, if a woman, puts such news after human interest and amusements. We may well feel a deep concern as to what public opinion can really mean in these circumstances. The government and the editors can profit by reading the testimony of this volume on the tool they use and the audience they serve.

"Radio Research, 1941" HITS CLOSE TO THE CENTER OF OUR TARGET. One of the six research reports prepared under the direction of Dr. Lazarsfeld of Columbia University and Mr. Stanton of CBS covers foreign language programs. On them the news is "very cautiously handled" with a certain effort at non-partisan objectivity. Music is their principal appeal. In music radio is certainly going to fulfil a wartime function of diversion and relief. The studies on the radio symphony program, and the listening audience for serious music are fascinating and encouraging in themselves, for the programs both create listeners and elevate taste. To continue the spiritual services of music must be part of our endeavor.

Where do you people get their news, from the papers or broadcasts? The answer, as revealed by an investigation of 1,200 highschool students as news-consumers, is apparently from both. They have been born into a world of radio, and turn naturally to its offerings on current affairs. But the newspaper is never neglected at any age level, and as children grow older the sources are equal supplements to each other. The broadest information is found in those who use both mediums. Foreign news ranks third in interest, after comics and sports. Even poor students improve their news habits as they mature. Girls are less interested in news than are boys. Such data will guide our efforts to create an informed public. We are challenged already to invent techniques of news presentation that will interest women. The challenge is to our imaginations.

We have the groundwork for a psychologically informed news provision. Clearly we cannot stumble along by rule-of-thumb, or past practice. The editors already sense that people may be numbed, even bored, by the overwhelming flood of war news. They know that effective impact demands variety. The New York Times is wise to include a poetry department in its book section. The consolations of a poet's search for truth and beauty restores the soul. The little box, headed Good News, in another paper, will aid morale, if the news is true, and the bad news told too. The increased use of pictures is a recognition of what readers want. We may find that sports and entertainment should be covered without reference to war. The risk of any cowardly escapism is not great, and the dividend in health worthwhile.

The government's job is to keep information from the enemy, and build morale. We accept the censorship, but recall that censoring is an art that is nowhere taught. It may breed rumor; it demands a supreme act of faith in our leaders whose deeds are no longer open to discussion; it imposes a terrible burden of disinterested honesty and efficiency on those leaders. Happily, Byron Price can be guided by the experiences of Mr. Creel in 1917, and by the masterly handling of news, good and bad, by Mr. Churchill. His reports have been justified by events, and such justification is the final base on which our handling of news must rest. We must explore the complex repercussions of the censorship on the public mind with psychological attunement. Perhaps Archibald Macleish, the poet, can help the journalist or military man here.

Our purveyors of information will have to deal with certain attitudes among people. We have been made acutely propaganda-conscious by years of warnings, the labeling of its devices, the plain record of its achievements. We may be over-suspicious, and the only cure for that suspicion will be keeping. These nervous reactions are senseless even in peacetime, but so irrelevant as to be traitorous in wartime. There is probably more "nervous exhaustion" over small matters than over the major affairs of life. Explosions of irritability, disgust, anger and fear are not the most disorganizing when the situation which has evoked them is of major importance. Just as a man may be continually "broke" financially because he throws away his nickels and dimes in reckless fashion, so fatigue and emotional disorganization may relate to the nickels and dimes of experience. Finickiness has no place at such a time as this. To be finicky in these days is to forget relative values and, furthermore, it is definitely disorganizing to the energy of the individual as well as the energy of those around him, either when they have to conform to his finickiness or to fight against it.

One could make a long list of the acts of minor treason. Such a list would include grumbling over taxes, persistence of a peacetime point of view concerning the relationship of labor and capital, racial prejudices, hoarding and subterfuge to circumvent necessary restrictions such as those which relate to the use of rubber or sugar and the conservation of gasoline. Any fatigue which is engendered not by work but by foolish ways of living is not only a blow to the mental and nervous energies of the individual, but also a dissipation of the resources of the community. Entertainment on anything like the scale previously practiced is wasteful emotionally, financially and, therefore, socially. To build up simple pleasures, since men cannot live by work and effort alone, is at once patriotic and good mental hygiene. There is more solid satisfaction out of things which cost little than out of things which cost much, especially when the expenditure is regretted afterwards. The cost cannot be measured in financial terms alone or in the quantity of the material used, but just as much in the tensions experienced. Here we come to a phase of the present situation which warrants a few words. Our tools of communication are such that we can almost immediately learn what has happened in any part of the world. Whether these means of communication have been worth what they have cost mankind is a matter of debate. Personally, my reaction is definitely this, that man has built up tools which he is ethnically and emotionally incapable of administering properly. But whatever the ultimate situation may be, the man who barters himself continuously or many times a day with every item of news, who reads several papers, who listens to every radio broadcast, is punishing himself unnecessarily. Nothing is gained by this self-inflicted nervous barrage. It would be just as well, so far as knowing what is going on is concerned and being adequately prepared, if one read the morning and the evening newspapers and listened to an occasional broadcast. Many people have developed a radio addiction which can only be compared to a drug habit, because it is an urge which is never satisfied, an emotional state which

MORALE—THE FRONT WITHIN

(Continued from page 132)
is perturbing, with no gain of real information which leads to appropriate action.

It is well to keep in mind, however, both from folklore and from history, that there is room for optimism as to the final outcome. "The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley," said our folk poet, Robert Burns. From another source, from a profound historian, Guizot, comes this statement: "Conquerors never know when to stop, and this is their undoing." One can hold fast to these expressions of universal experience, even though one should not rely on any automatic disruption of the plans of conquerors and must spur on his own energies to the utmost to defeat them.

Above all is the necessity for adequate occupation. Group occupational therapy is at one and the same time an all out effort for victory and a means of conserving mental health. Endurance grows by enduring. There is no other road to it, just as there is no road to knowledge except grim study. It is probable that there are many patients with neuroses in England who in peacetime would cease effort and yield to their feeling of disability, which, in the vast majority of cases, is always more than the actual disability. In wartime they have to work; no one can bother catering to their fatigue and their depressive reactions. So they work and find no harm is done by activity and, in fact, they are better off. One does not get strong by resting. Win or lose, survive or perish, the road to individual mental health is a pooling of individual energies. There must be jobs for everyone. This has been the war experience everywhere.

As to the children. Parents must realize that above all things their mood and manifestation of strength and endurance reflect themselves in the conduct and the mental health of their children. Here a good example speaks tenfold more eloquently than good words. If the elders keep their head and maintain a good front, they need not worry about the vast majority of the children.

A word about post-war mental hygiene. If we lose the war, the mental hygiene of our country will be entirely out of our hands. If we win it, I believe that we will face so altered a world that our present criteria of mental health and our ideas for its maintenance will undergo the same kind of revolution as will the social structure on which mental health is finally based. All adjustment is decreed by the society to which an individual has to adjust. So long as we do not know what the society will be, we can lay down no present formulae for individual adjustment to the future.

**FOOD FOR A VITAL AMERICA**

*Continued from page 129*

appointed for the twelve regional offices of the Federal Security Agency; several of these appointments have already been made. The object of the office and of its regional representatives is "to pull together the separate efforts (for the improvement of nutrition) and to weld them into a national whole."

Also on the national level is the Food and Nutrition Board and its several committees of the National Research Council. The board and its committees were set up at the request of the federal authorities to provide unbiased scientific information on problems of nutrition. Tangible results of the board's work are seen in the table of daily allowances, in the enrichment of white flour and bread, and in the field studies of the nutritional status of defense workers.

The National Research Council has also set up a Committee on Food Habits which is expected to provide information and advice which will make the campaign of education in nutrition more effective. For education in nutrition means teaching good health habits, and methods of teaching will best succeed when they are based on knowledge of human psychology, in particular the folklore of food habits and traditions.

One of the minor miracles of the campaign is that a state nutrition committee has been set up in every state in the Union. In something like half of the counties, nutrition committees have also been organized and many cities and towns are likewise provided.

Here is rapidly taking form the skeleton of a nationwide federal-state-community organization which can be clothed with flesh and put to effective use. The organization and the national campaign in its present form are of too recent origin to have produced easily measurable results. Nevertheless, the very fact that such organization exists for the purpose of a national campaign represents a great advance over all previous accomplishment in the field of applied nutrition.

Education is one of the main items in the program for better national nutrition. Never before in the history of this country has there been such an educational campaign; never before has the message of good nutrition reached into so many homes. The rationing of the armed forces are better than ever before, from the standpoint of modern nutrition. The millions of civilians who serve now or later with the armed forces, will carry back to civil life, when the war is over, knowledge and experience of the benefits of good nutrition. Knowledge of food values is disseminated to millions who read the papers, listen to the radio, or go to the movies.

Thousands who come in contact with the public with opportunities for teaching are being better informed than ever before. In one state, for example, a compilation of recent material on nutrition has been given to all school teachers.

The Red Cross has organized classes to train women who may be called on to organize cafeterias and community kitchens; it is giving less intensive courses to thousands throughout the land.

Women's clubs and other voluntary agencies are recognizing the importance of good nutrition by setting up committees for study and action. Paraphrasing the words of M. L. Wilson, it is evident that there is a tremendous latent force and interest in nutrition which was not apparent before the May conference. The country as a whole is thoroughly aware and deeply active on all fronts of the nutrition program.

**War Workers and Food**

In some respects the nutrition campaign is still handicapped by tradition. We recognize the need of good nutrition for the armed forces, but we do not yet appreciate that good nutrition is equally necessary for defense workers. The fit, well nourished civilian in the prime of life goes into military service, while defense industries must be content in many instances with those who cannot pass the selective service examination. The soldier's rations are as nearly ideal as possible; but little attention is paid to the defense worker's food. Huge new plants, located away from built up communities, with little or no provision for feeding the workers, place almost insuperable obstacles in the way of good nutrition. Government, management, and labor are beginning to be aware of this problem. The National Research Council's Committee on Nutrition in Industry is organizing controlled studies of the nutrition of defense workers to ascertain the effects of improved nutrition on absenteeism, accidents, and production. Ultimately it may be possible to measure the influence of good nutrition on morale.

Great Britain did not await the results of such studies before taking action. When increased production of munitions was her greatest need, the Minister of Labor decreed that there must be a canteen in every industrial plant employing 250 or more workers. The work has been done by women on a voluntary basis, and its success makes it worthy of imitation.

Some successes and some failures mark the program for the
enrichment of white flour and white bread with thiamin, niacin (nicotinic acid), and iron. A few months after the recommendation was made, enriched flour and enriched bread were available throughout the country, thanks to the patriotic cooperation of many of the leading millers and bakers. At present something like 35 percent of the white flour and bread sold in this country is enriched. This is a magnificent result in such a short time after the recommendation was first made. Unfortunately, the cheaper grades of white flour which reach the classes most in need of the extra nutrients are not usually enriched, and some bakers, discouraged by the lack of consumer demand, are giving up enrichment. In these critical times the campaign must be waged with renewed vigor until every pound of white flour and every loaf of white bread contains appropriate amounts of nutrients necessary for its use in the human body.

The Future of Human Nutrition

What of the future of the nutrition program? More production of the protective foods, more and better education, greater attention to the diets and nutrition of defense workers and other classes exposed to special stresses and strains, more of the practical devices for bringing inadequate diets up to adequate levels such as the food stamp plan, the school lunch, and the distribution of cheap milk; more enrichment of white flour and bread, more laboratory research, and more field investigations. A special plea is necessary for the continuation and intensification of research. Those who take the short view believe that in these critical times we can dispense with research and research workers, with the production and sale of costly and complicated laboratory apparatus and medical appliances. Nothing could be more shortsighted. Our ability to fight, to endure, and to produce is a measure of our health and morale, both largely dependent upon the adequacy of our diets and the state of our nutrition. Modern knowledge of nutrition is based entirely upon research. Research in nutrition will help us to win the war and to build up a better postwar world. More not less research will help us to discover new ways of adding to the vitality, the productivity, and the beauty of human life.

No one familiar with any section of the field of nutrition will be content with the program I have outlined. The omissions are due in part to the limitations of space, in part to actual gaps in this new program. An increasing amount of work is being done to seek out and treat those large groups in the community which are actually suffering from mild nutritional deficiencies. No program would be complete without the continuation and wide extension of this work. Every forward looking individual familiar with the results of dietary studies will agree that measures must be taken to place supplies of the protective foods within the reach of those who cannot now afford to purchase them. Such measures cannot be applied by the nutrition authorities alone, for they involve the economics of production, distribution, and all that goes into the price and wage structure.

In December 1941, the question of nutrition came up for debate in the British House of Commons. Mr. Tom Johnston introduced a bill to extend the system of school lunches in the schools of Scotland, made some remarks which merit our attention. "I believe," he said, "that the science of nutrition will do for public health what sanitation did for it in the last half century." The aim of the bill was "to prevent malnutrition instead of trying to remedy it." "It is rather ironic," he went on, "that it has taken not one war, but two wars, to make the people of Scotland wake up to the public scandal of underfeeding." If the government of the "Island-fortress" finds it expedient to give such attention to nutrition in a time of such extreme peril, surely we who are situated so much more fortunately cannot afford to neglect the weaknesses in our national armor constituted by the inadequately fed and the nutritionally deficient.

Firm the Foundation

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★ They have been prominent in civic affairs, have given valiantly of their skill and even life itself on all the battlefields of America's wars, all national emergencies finding them willing and anxious to carry their share of the burden.

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(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)
Fake, Hoax, and Charity

by FRANK W. BROCK

Our unparalleled national unity since we went to war is a heartening demonstration that democracy works. But it has been accompanied by another, more sinister unity: it has rallied to a man all the larcenous "war charity" promoters. Their take while we were neutral had been large. In a nation at war it will be much larger, unless our sympathies are governed by reasonable caution.

The National Information Bureau (330 West 42nd Street, New York City), a clearing house for charity information, reports that some 500 United States organizations received $91,000,000 for foreign war relief in the two years before Pearl Harbor. About 60 percent went to five organizations; the rest was divided among hundreds of smaller groups, "some of which," says the bureau, "were hurriedly formed, without proper safeguards. At least one standard group collected upwards of a million dollars. Gifts intended for war needy have been wasted through inefficiency or"—the italics are mine—"outright dishonesty." A substantial percentage of war relief donations is, in fact, finding its way into the hands of deliberate crooks.

The connection between fake, hoax, and charity is nothing new. But now a war is being fought, the need for making relief dollars count is greater than ever, and crookedom's entire charity department has enlisted in "war relief" activities for the duration. Every crooked charity from now on will have a "war angle."

When you contribute to a crooked charity, you do your country a double disservice. You cheat the people you want to help, and you help support an already too affluent criminal class.

How can you tell the good from the bad? One way is to remember that selling tickets is a favorite device of the gyp. It's always easier to sell a ticket than to get a direct contribution. If all of us adopted the flat rule to refuse to buy any tickets for any cause, it might eliminate half of the gyp charities. But such a course would deprive not a few worthy causes of support and the protection would be only temporary, for racketeers will soon work up new ways to your purse.

There is no indication, however, that the gyp ticket salesman will alter his act at any early date, so it may be rewarding to inquire briefly into his methods. There are ample data: files of Better Business Bureaus, municipal departments of welfare, chambers of commerce, and police departments are crammed with reports straight from the field.

The most flamboyant of the ticket salesmen's creations was the gigantic "God Bless America" promotion which blossomed in Boston last year. The promoters falsely claimed the backing of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and United American Veterans. They proposed to make a patriotic film called "God Bless America." Proceeds were to go to a fictitious National Defense Fund. It was to be an amateur, local-talent production; "parts" were on sale up to $300 each; and, of course, so stupendous a spectacle would call for an enormous cast. The "players" were also given blocks of tickets to unload on their friends. Some 20,000 tickets were sold and $70,000 taken in before the promoters left town, one jump ahead of the police.

It is instructive to note how often well-intentioned bungling can be almost as disastrous as conscious larceny. A Los Angeles theatrical group decided to produce a musical comedy and donate the proceeds to a national charity. Expenses were $65,000, receipts only $24,000. The backers footed a $13,000 deficit and charity got nothing.

Dinners and benefits are particularly suspect when a local group lets an outsider "handle" it for them. In one large city, $2,300 worth of tickets were sold for a dinner to aid Britain. When the promoter's fee of $350, other "incidents," and the commissary bill (including a large helping of gravy for the promoter) had been deducted, Britain got $20.79—four fifths of one percent of what had been taken in!

But we cannot ascribe even good intentions to most of the thousands of ticket salesmen today plying their phony postboards among the populace. The great majority of these racketeers follow a simple pattern: collect a lot for a worthy cause, give the cause a little if necessary, nothing if you can get away with it. The rest is velvet.

The promotion of "Prince Alexis" offers an excellent example of their technique. This one was set to take even sophisticated New York to a fancy tune. The "Prince," strictly a phony, of course, announced a "fashion show and war relief cocktail party" to be held at one of New York's swankiest hotels. Society was aflutter. Cocktails with a prince—what an opportunity to be charitable and at the same time ultra smart! But the Prince was ultra ultra smart. Not satisfied with the gross of the party itself, he conceived the idea of soliciting Fifth Avenue shops for advertising space in a "program" to be handed out at the affair. It happened, however, that the hard-boiled business manager of one of these establishments had heard somewhere that such promotions were not always on the level. He made inquiries, a squad car picked up the "Prince"—and there went the party!

Select any sizable city at random, and law enforcement files can match it with local accounts of from one to a dozen malodorous ticket promotions. The high point of the ticket salesmen's art was reached by the promoter who marketed tickets from Oslo, Norway, to Portland, Ore. This one was fitted out with all the trappings of international intrigue. Americans of Norwegian descent were approached by furtive agents who silently handed them letters from a mysterious "Captain Johnson," then vanished. The letters told of an urgent need of food and supplies for a "mercy ship" which could carry 3,000 refugees. Lack of a few hundred dollars was holding up the voyage. Contributors were asked to rush money to the captain. They were cautioned against mentioning the enterprise else "foreign agents" might get wind of it and sink the ship. Before the swindle was exposed, scores of Norwegian-Americans had contributed. The law never did catch up with the captain. National groups, particularly Greeks and Finns, have been exploited by "Captain Johnsons" in most of our large cities.

But the straight "benefit" is still the moocher's stand-by. Dinners, entertainments, balls, receptions, rallies, and shows have been given all over the land for Britain, France, Greece (including Norway, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and China)—and far too many of them are frankly, rankly crooked, run by professional ticket salesmen of the gyp variety. These crooks are keen practical psychologists. Recently two $5 tickets to an affair of the type we're discussing were sent to a Philadelphia society matron. She returned them without comment. Whereupon the ticket peddler dictated a letter explaining that the $5 tickets had been sent in error. He enclosed two $25 "patron tickets." Would the lady lend her name to the "committee of sponsors?" He got a check for $50 by return mail.

In the matter of names, let that episode serve as a double warning. First, don't set too much store by illustrious names on a letterhead. The owners of the names may not know they're there, or may be ignorant of the true nature of the enterprise. Second, don't allow your own name to be used unless you have time to find out how it will be used.

It should not be imagined, of course, that all war relief gyps employ the ticket sales dodge. That is only their favorite. Many of them ask for straight contributions—no strings, no bonuses, prizes, premiums or awards, and no tickets. Others ring in a raffle, a punchboard, or some article of slight value. The story is the same: actual war relief gets little.

Municipal ordinances sometimes specify that a charity's
overhead should not exceed 20 percent, or perhaps 30 percent, of what they take in. That is a rough yardstick. If an organization plans to spend more than 30 percent of receipts for expenses it is either lax or crooked. The excellently managed Greek War Relief operated on 3 percent of its collections. In benefit dinners and entertainments, the National Bureau of Information feels that 40 percent should cover all expenses. If it doesn't, the affair is not "for charity."

Bear in mind that all the swindles mentioned so far occurred before America entered the war. That our belligerency will cause a great increase in such gys, no informed law enforcement officer has the slightest doubt. It will take a little time before the more intricate frauds get their machinery set up and get into gear, but the advance guard is already in action. Within thirty-six hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, these new operations were under way: A benefit dance, proceeds to go to "recreation facilities for the armed forces.

A direct solicitation "to buy coffee for air raid wardens." A door-to-door sale of so-called "OCF-approved bomb-resistant sandbags" at a dollar a bag. Worthless gas masks, left over from 1918, could be obtained from the same agents at $5 each. A chain-letter scheme, "Send $1 to the top name; when your name is reached you will collect $1,024 in Defense Bonds."

(Such chain letter schemes are gys; the top name gets everything, you get nothing. A chain faithfully carried out to the sixteenth name would include every man, woman and child in Christendom.) A sale of fake "certificates of service" to families of service men: asking price $4.98, cost of manufacture 5 cents. Three phony lotteries and five crooked raffles. A "notary public" who agreed to provide you with a birth certificate for a fee. A "doctor" in uniform who would give you an advance physical examination for military service for a fee. Nine apparently irresponsible drivers for improving conditions around army camps. All this in the name of the U. S. war effort!

"There ought to be a law!" the irate citizen exclaims. Well, there are laws. The ordinances in some of our cities are excellent. But there are two reasons why local laws aren't enough. The promoter usually has made a sizable "take" before the police get on to him. And when the pressure gets too great he climbs aboard a train and sets up his racket in a more receptive city—yours, perhaps.

There is also a national law. It requires all agencies soliciting for foreign war relief to register with the government. Here's how easy it is to get around that one: A "committee for the relief of Czechoslovak refugees" was devoting only 12 percent of its receipts to its avowed cause. It was denounced by the Czechoslovak legation and its license was revoked. Whereupon its promoter bobbed up in Trenton, N. J., as head of a group which proposed to settle refugees in this country. This took him out of the "foreign relief" category and the government's jurisdiction. He went right on collecting.

Many feel that a federal law with teeth in it is in order. Crooks fear getting tangled up with Uncle Sam as they fear nothing on this earth. They know he is relentless, incorruptible, and stern—and that he never forgets.

In the last analysis it is up to each citizen to protect himself. Take time to be curious. Look before you give. If there is no Better Business Bureau in your town, no office of advice and information as to philanthropic appeals in your community, try the Council of Social Agencies, the Community Chest, the Chamber of Commerce, the Department of Welfare, the police or even the district attorney. The National Information Bureau reports are free to contributors through local organizations. Three hundred and fifty community chests, for example, have confidential information on all current appeals for funds.

This is an all-out war. All-out means every sinew against every enemy. Anyone who takes money on the pretense that it will be used for the war effort and diverts it to his own use is a saboteur.
examine prostitutes for the purpose of providing them with medical certificates to be used in soliciting are participating in an illegal activity and are violating the principles of professional conduct of the Medical Society of the State of New York.

Dr. Bertram Brown, California state director of health, presented at Governor Olsen's Conference, November 1, 1941, studies of twelve counties covering the preceding nine months: six had repressed prostitution with an accelerating decrease in acute gonorrhea averaging 18 percent for this period; six had no such policy and showed an increase of 40 percent during this period. Mayor Cain of Tacoma, Wash., said at a conference called by Governor Langlie September 30, 1941:

Tacoma received a communication from the army at the end of July, calling our attention to the passage of the May act and suggesting we avert further action. After less than four discussions we came to complete agreement. We felt that the federal government meant business and the program was worth trying. On August 1 the order went out to close the twenty-four houses of prostitution in Tacoma. With few exceptions they are still closed. It was the simplest procedure ever taken in the city. Business men argued that service men were going to other cities, but our checks on bus service and in other ways showed that this was not so. We have today half the cases of venereal diseases we had under regulation and control. Civic morality is better.

These reports are typical of results observed everywhere when thorough and continuous repression of prostitution is carried out with public support and understanding. The commissioner of police and safety of San Antonio took action last month against flagrant prostitution activities. The press reported that this action was taken after checking on the situation for several months during which the commercialized aspects and transient influx of women for business just before pay day had been established. San Antonio has remained closed without any of the disasters alleged to follow such closures. Newspaper accounts of the closing of "All Vice Houses" in Reno and Washoe County, Nevada, by order of the district attorney acting at the request of military and Federal Security Agency officials, January 12, 1942, are interesting illustrations of increasing cooperation.

In the Armed Services

Much concern has been expressed, and rightly, over army and navy relationships to adjacent communities. But it may be said that the army and navy have set an example to the surrounding communities in the effective application of the whole program of medical, recreational, educational and environmental measures — so far as the conduct of men and their protection within military reservations are concerned. The difficulties arise when the men are on liberty in the nearby communities or on furlough at more distant points. During the past two years the general orders, circulars, and correspondence indicate the efforts of the high commands to develop practical arrangements for cooperation with civilian authorities in maintaining comparable conditions in communities which their men have the privilege of visiting.

Many people have thought that a commanding officer could designate as "out of bounds" any place which he did not wish his men to visit; and that if he did not take such action either conditions were not bad or else he was derelict in his duty. Under conditions during the past two years — and even now that war has been declared — the character of modern training, rapid movement of troops to distant points, and ready automobile transportation available to soldiers and sailors in the community, limit the value of this measure unsupported by civilian action. The rapid expansion of the military forces and the selection of additional new areas for their training have resulted temporarily in confusion and ineffective action at many points and here and there in opportunities for some officers to express their personal views, contrary to the official policy and instructions, under circumstances damaging alike to the program of the military forces and the civilian communities. The assignment of special venereal disease control officers to practically all commands, and the reestablishment of the office of Provost Marshal General in the army in July 1941 and creation of the corps of military police as a new branch of the service has materially improved the situation, which has been further benefited by the establishment of a training course for these officers similar in purpose to the orientation courses for sanitary engineers, health officers and nurses conducted by the U. S. Public Health Service, and the projected course for civilian police concerned with prostitution repression.

Added to these developments of the military branches of the government are two others which are new: The social protection section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services which has for its chief functions assisting the states and their military and industrial defense areas in the repression of prostitution and aiding community and state agencies in the rehabilitation of women and young persons caught in the toils of the prostitution racket: the creation of an interdepartmental venereal disease committee comprising two members each from the army, navy, and Federal Security Agency and one conference representative each from the Department of Justice and the American Social Hygiene Association.

Another facility which has received widespread publicity and about which there is much confusion and misunderstanding is the May act, signed by the President, July 11, 1941. This is in substance a declaration by Congress that prostitution is damaging to the efficiency, health and welfare of the army and navy. The act provides that such practices, and aiding or abetting them in any way, shall be a federal offense punishable as a misdemeanor, within such reasonable distance of any military or naval establishment as the Secretaries of War or of Navy shall determine. The act further provides that within such designated areas, the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Federal Security Administrator are authorized and directed to take such steps as they deem necessary to suppress and prevent prostitution, and to accept the cooperation of the authorities of the states and their counties, districts, and other subdivisions. Finally the act provides that criminal investigations, searches, and seizures, and arrest of civilians charged with violations shall remain the duty of the Department of Justice. Similar federal legislation was in force during the first World War with good effect and was upheld by a unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court.

The Duty of Community Leaders

There is no doubt about the influence which this May act has already exerted in stimulating action in many places, but there have also been many instances of failure of local military or civilian authorities to ask needed federal assistance under the provisions of this act. The Secretaries of War and Navy have both expressed their willingness to consider information supporting requests for action from responsible citizens in any area. It is therefore possible for individuals and groups of citizens to appeal directly to the Secretaries of War and Navy if they cannot secure prompt action by their constituted local police and court authorities or the judges designated in the Injunction and Abatement Acts which nearly all the states have passed. The challenge is now clearly before the people as well as the federal and state governments to utilize their legal and social as well as medical and public health facilities to help stamp out venereal diseases by stamping out commercialized prostitution and its gangsters.

The acceptance of this challenge, however, must not be permitted to detract from interest and support of the more
immediate medical and public health measures outlined at the beginning of this section. All the skills of education, medicine, nursing and social work must be brought to bear to find cases, hold cases, instruct cases; and to take away the mystery, fear, and uncertainty about costs and cure of syphilis and gonorrhea. The people generally need to know the facts about syphilis, and that practically always its progress can be stopped at any stage by effective and continued treatment until the disease is cured or at least permanently arrested. From a public health point of view it is particularly important that every person should know that treatment almost immediately renders the patient non-infectious as long as continued.

The facts about gonorrhea must also be given to the public now, because its treatment and public health control are being revolutionized by the discovery and development of safeguarded methods of using the sulfonamid group of chemical compounds—the so-called “sulfa drugs.” These are taken by mouth in prescribed amounts under instruction of a physician. The experience thus far indicates that promptly the patient becomes non-infectious, pain and other symptoms disappear, and continued treatment leads to laboratory and clinical evidence of cure after some weeks or months. If nationwide use upholds the great promise of these recent methods of simple, inexpensive treatment and early cure, serious damage by gonorrhea will rapidly come under medical control. But this prospect should not lessen efforts to prevent all infections.

The conquest of venereal diseases as an essential wartime measure must include control of these diseases among industrial workers. What to do and how to do it must be understood not only by the doctors and health authorities but by all persons who are exposed. In this connection, the Selective Service System and its local boards are giving notable aid. Also the maximum efforts of physicians in private practice must be supplemented by public assistance for expending facilities for advice, diagnosis and treatment, strategically located and comparable in hours, low costs, saving of patient’s time, and in privacy, to services of the most successful health centers and clinics. Modern “assembly line” methods for administering treatment may be necessary to conserve the physician’s time and insure efficiency with economy, but they must be humanized and personalized so as to attract and hold patients whether in group practice or in public clinics.

The people have endorsed legislation for premarital and prenatal requirement of health examinations, including blood tests for syphilis, and other protective measures which have been properly sponsored, and have authorized the appropriation of money for carrying out such measures. For this war emergency and for future efficiency, health and welfare of our nation, the public will provide for all the parts of this program for social protection and eradication of the venereal diseases, if community leaders request action.

PERILS OF PESTILENCE

(Continued from page 124)

where epidemic disease is prevalent. In addition, at present our armed forces are fighting in parts of the globe where the fires of epidemics smolder. Thus there must be no relaxing in our control measures.

We Must Avoid Invasion—by Disease

IN THE MIDST OF WAR NO COUNTRY CAN CONSIDER ITSELF SAFE from epidemics. On the other hand, present-day knowledge of the causes of many of the pandemic diseases of other days, and effective control methods now available enable us to protect ourselves against such diseases. For smallpox a definite preventive is known. Vaccination of the entire population will protect completely against this disease. However, even in the
United States there are no uniform laws for this procedure. In fact, in some of our states the state constitution prohibits compulsory legislation requiring vaccination. For the protection of all the people, immediate vaccination of everyone who has not yet been vaccinated should be insisted upon.

In the case of cholera, too, the situation is fortunate. This disease can be spread only by individuals excreting the organism, and unlike typhoid fever, chronic carriers are, so far as we know, non-existent. There remains, therefore, only the control of those ill with cholera. Since travel to our shores from India and China where cholera is endemic is always longer than the incubation period of the disease (1-3 days), there will be practically no likelihood of introduction of this disease as long as the ordinary protective maritime practices are continued. Moreover should the situation change, and cholera be introduced, an effective vaccine is available.

It is also very unlikely that bubonic plague will become widespread in the United States. There is a widely disseminated focus of this disease on the West Coast and in the mountain regions, a focus which has been present on this continent for at least a generation. In spite of this focus, cases of the disease in humans are very uncommon; there has been no evidence that it is more of a menace today than when first introduced. The formation of new foci by the introduction of infected rats from other plague areas is quite unlikely. Sanitary inspection of ships from countries where plague is present, and fumigation wherever rat infestation of such vessels is found are sufficient to protect against this disease.

Epidemic typhus is transmitted only by the body louse. Before epidemic typhus can spread there must be intense overcrowding and herding together of large masses of people under insanitary conditions, and consequent universal lousiness. That such overcrowding and infestation of the American people will take place is extremely unlikely. There is, of course, the possibility that epidemic typhus may be introduced and change so in character that it may be spread by other vectors, as is the case with endemic flea-borne typhus in the South, but there is no indication that the disease can change in this way. Typhus vaccines too are available. There is, however, no sound knowledge as yet of their value.

In the case of yellow fever the danger of the introduction of the disease into the United States, especially into our southern states, where the known vector, the Aedes Aegypti mosquito, is present, remains a real one. Throughout South America yellow fever is present, now in the form of jungle fever, the transmission of which may be by means of a vector as yet unknown. It would take only a very few cases of yellow fever to start a major focus in the southern United States. Fortunately, there are two public health measures now well established which serve as effective barriers against the disease.

One is the destruction of all mosquitoes and other insects on aircraft coming from yellow fever regions. The other is medical supervision of travelers from infected areas for the incubation period of the disease. Since the incubation period is only three to five days, such follow-up of travelers is easily carried out, and any cases of the disease which may develop can be promptly dealt with. An effective vaccine against yellow fever is also available should an emergency arise.

There is, then, not much likelihood that the major pandemic diseases will be matters of immediate concern in this country. Regarding some other widespread plagues there is, however, a great deal less assurance. For example, influenza which took such a toll during and after the first World War is always an unpredictable possibility. In spite of the vast amount of research which has been done on the etiology and transmission of the disease, there is little or no real information concerning the factors responsible for the mode of spread and the high mortality of the disease in 1918. There are at least two and probably many more distinct viruses causing the respiratory complex known as influenza. Vaccination with a preparation against type A virus, the best known, has not proved particularly successful. Little is known of the true relationship between pandemic influenzas of 1918 and the mild disease recognized at the present time. However, since the fatalities due to influenza in past epidemics were mostly because of complicating pneumonia, the great strides made recently in reducing deaths from pneumonia by potent sera and the appropriate sulfonamide drugs, will be reflected in any outbreak of influenza which may occur.

Typhoid fever, which from time immemorial has followed every army, and which returning soldiers have ever brought back home, will probably present no major problem in this war. Compulsory immunization has reduced its incidence in all armies to such a low point that unless there is complete and continued breakdown of sewage disposal and of protection of water and milk, no spread throughout the civilian populations can occur.

The situation in regard to dysentery is less favorable. We have no prophylactic against bacillary dysentery, and amebic dysentery with its chronic carrier states may be introduced by soldiers returning from tropical and semi-tropical countries where the disease is extremely prevalent. However, this did not occur to any great extent following the first World War, and probably will not be a major problem.

**Health Defense During Demobilization**

**On the other hand, the return to civilian life from malarial countries of large numbers of soldiers will be a matter of great concern.** Many of these soldiers, recovered from malaria contracted in service, will remain carriers. The Anopheles mosquito is widespread throughout great parts of the United States. Previous experience, for example that in the period following the Civil War, has shown that these two factors, a reservoir and the necessary insect vector, are all that are needed to cause widespread dissemination through a non-immune population. It is difficult to see how this problem can be adequately attacked other than by continued mosquito control and immediate treatment of cases, as they arise.

The common contagious diseases of childhood are ever with us. Should there be an evacuation of large numbers of children, this will make for spread of these diseases in rural districts where immunity is low. Experience in the last World War has shown that recruits from country districts were severely attacked with measles and mumps because they had not been exposed to these diseases in early childhood. Extra precautions must be taken to meet a similar situation if large dislocations of children take place. It is not inopportune at this time to call attention to the protection which adequate immunization against diphtheria affords. Toxoid injections protect against this preventable disease, and should be insisted upon for all children. Experience has shown, however, the
error of the early opinion that one series of inoculations given in infancy would protect throughout childhood. It is now known that supplementary injections, especially upon entrance to school, are necessary.

Epidemic meningococcus meningitis, always a menace when large bodies of troops are brought together, has fortunately not been prevalent in this country, although in the first year of this war, Great Britain saw a marked increase both in the military and civilian population. Proper spacing of soldiers in barracks and care to avoid over-fatigue are important factors in reducing the incidence of this disease. In the sulfonamide drugs we now have potent remedies against meningitis.

What about tuberculosis? Will there be an increase in this disease as a result of the strain of war? Will the large movements of people and the lowering of living standards cause breakdowns later in life? Will the increase in working hours and the influx of young women into industry add to our future problem in tuberculosis? The answer to these questions is undoubtedly yes, unless we take steps now to prevent such an increase among our people by adequate nutrition, insistence upon proper working conditions, and intensification of case finding in industry. Following the first World War in Germany and in France tuberculosis increased markedly.

In England, so far, there has been no substantial amount of epidemic disease in spite of mass evacuation of children, bombing of cities, disruption of sewage systems, pollution of water, shortage of housing facilities, life in poorly provided shelters, privations, and rationing of essential foods. We in the United States, too, may be as fortunate, even when this total war comes as close to us as it has already come to most of the world. But we must continue to be prepared along this entire front and keep our defenses stronger than ever before in the prevention of epidemic disease.

WHAT ABOUT ALCOHOL?
(Continued from page 127)

after, and that the lowest rate for accidents of the entire period was reached in the post-Prohibition year of 1935. The problems are there, they may be highly important, but the facts are wanting.

We have no information at all for the United States as to the long time effects of habitual excessive drinking on frequency and length of illness, production, accidents, and labor turnover among factory employees. Statistics from other countries where attention has been given to these matters indicate that there are problems here. But the conclusions cannot be translated directly to the industries of the United States. And even the foreign statistics do not give information on the number or proportion of the workers impaired by their habits.

The question as to whether wartime working conditions increase excessive drinking among factory workers cannot be answered. In industrial centers where the emergency factory expansion is rapid, there is often a marked rise in the number of arrests for drunkenness. But such arrests are notoriously unreliable as an index of the prevalence of excessive drinking. A change in the number is often less a measure of change in the prevalence of drunkenness than of the influence of emergency conditions on the attitude of the police and the policies of the municipal administrations and the type of new men employed. When many jobs are available and wages high, there is an influx of itinerant workers or even of the usually unemployed. Among them there may be a considerable number of heavy, reckless drinkers and although they...
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The essential nature of organized services for the prevention of disease is implicit in their designation as "public" health services. Although certain state and local governments have long provided, from tax funds, fundamental services and facilities for the protection of public health, the participation of local governmental units in this movement has lagged, particularly in rural areas. The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, making available limited federal grants-in-aid to the states for public health purposes, marked recognition by the state of its responsibility for the provision of certain fundamental health services for all of its citizens. The appraisal of our public health resources therefore must be made with reference to the needs of a total population of nearly 132,000,000.

The nation's public health resources were inadequate to provide fundamental health services prior to the present emergency. A basic requirement for the provision of the essential public health services on a nationwide basis is the organization of official health units under full time medical supervision, on a single-county, district or state supervisory basis, serving each of the 3,000 counties. Such units as of June 30, 1941 served only 1,669 counties. In certain additional counties not under full time official health supervision, the rural population is served by public health nurses affil-
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sonnel and the promotion of training programs to increase the personnel available for service in defense areas. The number of students pursuing professional studies in the various public health specialties is relatively small. In the academic year 1940-1941, 331 physicians, 172 public health engineers and sanitarians, and 248 bacteriologists, statisticians, health educators, and other specialists exclusive of public health nurses were enrolled in graduate courses. In addition, a total of 5,008 public health nurses were enrolled in graduate and undergraduate courses in programs approved by the National Organization of Public Health Nursing.

When federal financial aid for the promotion of the local public health program became available under the Social Security Act, there was a serious shortage of trained public health personnel to staff new and expanded health units. In 1936 the United States Public Health Service sponsored a training program to relieve this situation, the costs being met from federal funds. Present personnel needs indicate that additional federal funds will be required to expand this training program.

TOWARD HEALTH SECURITY
(Continued from page 134)

Temporary disability without ensuring care for the sickness that causes it, is to pay through the nose—pay for more and for more prolonged disabilities. From this the workers will be the real sufferers, in health and in pocketbook. To this danger, organized labor should be alive.

Why begin with hospitalization? Partly because the public demand for economic protection against sickness is most acute as concerns expensive and catastrophic illness. Popular appreciation of the possibilities of prevention is relatively weak. Centering medical benefits around the hospital has advantages.

On the medical side, the rank and file of physicians are supported by curative rather than by preventive work. Officials of organized medicine in 1934, discussing a national program of medical care, advocated only protection against catastrophic illness. Principles adopted by the American Medical Association support health insurance only on the indemnity principle: that is, payments in cash to the beneficiary—the patient—not directly to the physician or the hospital.

Future of the Voluntary Hospitals

Within hospital circles, there are conservatives who would forego immediate financial benefits to the mass of hospitals rather than allow government action to infringe further upon "voluntarism." On the other hand, many hospitals will make no bones about seeking government funds to meet unbalanced budgets. There are leaders in the hospital insurance plans who ask only a delay: "a few years more" to demonstrate their hopes that voluntary plans can cover most of the population of the country except the indigent. The coming months of formulating and discussing concrete legislation will winnow diverse views.

If legislation for "hospitalization payments" were to proceed on the indemnity principle, so that the funds went to patients instead of to hospitals, the officially favored medical pattern would be followed; but no such system would be either satisfactory or stable. Neither adequate nor assured payments to hospitals could be provided without an amount of compulsion upon patients which, even if tolerated, could be effectuated only by a burdensome administration. If payments were made to hospitals directly, upon a basis reasonably related to costs of service, we should have the beginning, though a beginning at the tail end, of a national program of medical care.

(Continued on page 168)
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(MOBILIZE THE CIVIL HEALTH ARMY
(Continued from page 107)

telligent, humane and adequate care, the very antithesis of the catastrophic winter of twenty-four years ago, when haste to arm, dire urgency on the Western Front and over the whole Atlantic, a rarely bitter winter, the pandemic of influenza and the severe epidemics of measles and pneumonia filled the camp burial grounds in the United States of America as battlefields never did in the A.E.F.

There is only one field of medicine where there is a still uncorrected failure to protect the men sufficiently, and that is against the spread of syphilis and gonorrhea by commercially organized prostitution, where it prevails with the consent, if not the actual collaboration, of local civil government in extra-cantonment areas. Of this the army, line, and medical corps have a right to complain and protest until federal authority is applied as now provided for by law, where civil government and civilian public opinion fail to control the situation and suppress the public traffic and exploitation of women.

The men themselves chosen for our present army are different, too, because of the method and techniques of their selection from among their age mass within the population, and by reason of their growing up in the healthier nation of today.

The draft boards and the induction boards, at first with separate but high standards, later and now combined and uniform in specifications, have taken advantage of the wealth of material, of the time at their disposal (thanks to those now United Nations whose people so long have fought our battles and died that we might slowly make up our minds), of the group organization of medical skills, of the X-ray, and of psychiatric and other community social service to exclude the unfit physically or temperamentally.

Our men in the present army are drawn from a great body of young manhood, in which tuberculosis of all forms is only
one fifth as common as was the case in 1917. Specifically, in 1917 not less than 2.42 percent of the draftees were excluded from military service on account of tuberculosis. The experience in 1941 has been 0.5 percent rejected for tuberculosis under the selective service draft. And remember, too, that the diagnostic screening process of today is much more refined and accurate than was practicable twenty-four years ago.

This is of itself an achievement of the first magnitude, the result of a multitude of accumulating factors of prevention, and of the universal availability of that exploring eye which sees what the ear, the finger, the human sight of the physician cannot otherwise disclose or explain.

Some Contrasts with 1917

Contrast the origins of these chosen men of 1941, the circumstances surrounding their birth time, the human environment of their growth and development, the extent of their specific protection against the pestilences of childhood, the facilities their parents and homes gave for their intelligent upbringing, in contrast to the qualifications of those of the former generation assembled in 1917.

The man of twenty-one in 1917 had been born when only one in five of the babies survived their first year. The diarrheal diseases, perhaps the best single index of the cleanliness and decency of personal health habits and general living standards, have been so reduced for the entire population that their death rate has fallen 94 percent since 1917 in the largest urban aggregation in the world, our New York metropolitan area, and similarly elsewhere in the United States.

When he was of school age there was but one disease, smallpox, against which we knew a specific protection; diphtheria commonly killed 40 percent of those it attacked; and there was no such thing as a convalescent serum for measles or selective vitamins to save him from scurvy, rickets or pellagra. He happened into his world before there was a public health nurse anywhere or a public health laboratory in more than one state and one great city in this country.

By and large, the child of 1896 that grew up, did so without benefit of a school doctor or nurse or, in most states and local jurisdictions, without any health department with staff, resources, policies or authority to spare him severe health hazards. He fought his way of necessity through child labor in field and factory and came into adult employment without the protection of any official agency of government at any level, and without compensation laws for his accident or industrial illness. He came into a society lacking a single national official or volunteer health agency to give educational aid to his parents in his protection and development.

When he was sick, both character, distribution, and accessibility of hospital, dispensary, and accessory organized care for the sick were far less in amount and in use than when the men of today's army were born. In the intervening twenty-five years, hospitals have increased from less than one thousand to more than seven thousand. Hospital beds have increased more than 150 percent in number. From less than a million patients cared for in hospitals in a year, the increase has been to about thirteen million. Out-patient dispensaries and clinics increased from not much more than a hundred to well over 8,000, and approved clinical and diagnostic laboratories have increased to about 4,000 in recent years.

In the age group fifteen to twenty-four years, the death rate from all causes has fallen 62 percent since 1917, and among persons from twenty-five to forty-four this general death rate has fallen 98 percent in New York City, an experience similar in nature although of not the same degree in all instances throughout the country, and expressing significantly the reduced prevalence of disease and the great vigor and resistance of the years of early maturity and middle age.

(Continued on page 171)

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Mobilize the Civil Health Army

(continued from page 169)

Those defects of body and mind which the rigor of military service lists as causes requiring rejection are due to still uncontrollable hereditary factors, to diseases of the cause and prevention of which are still unknown to medical science, to conditions subject to no compulsion as to remedy and for this reason, if uncorrected, chargeable to indifference or ignorance on the part of the individual, and in but a minute fraction of the total failure of medical care, when it had been sought, or to lack of health services.

Now, Mobilize the Public Health Army

It would seem that we might forget the latent and natural anxiety we have for the welfare of these men picked to defend us, and turn our minds to the unfinished job we as citizens of towns, counties, and states have done in providing a sound, enduring, and complete coverage of our nation with such health services as science knows how to use and laws have authorized. Our most sincere gesture of collaboration with our army and navy, with the men we have sent them and with their officers, will be to leave no unit of population, no area of our inhabited land without an honest-to-goodness, modern, full time health service directed by a medical officer of health, trained, experienced, appointed upon his merits, and secure in tenure of his office during competent performance of his duties.

Prior to 1918 there were in the entire United States of America no more than 120 holders of graduate degrees in public health. Our first school of public health on a university basis was established in 1919. Now, about 300 graduates leave the schools of public health in the United States each year, and the cumulative total of such specially educated graduates is today approximately 2,800.

The earliest record of full time public health personnel for a county was in Jefferson County, Kentucky, in 1908.

By 1917 there were thirty full time county health organizations in seven states, organized under twenty-two full time health officers. We see in this a one percent job, there being 3,000 counties in the states of the nation.

In 1939 there were reported to be 1,381 counties under full time professional health direction, but this figure is generous to a degree, giving credit to several large states, such as New York, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania, for many county units which can be included only out of courtesy and a very liberal definition of what such a technically competent service really means.

In the present year we cannot properly claim that we have yet provided for the civil population even the organizational minimum essential for good county health service in more than 25 percent of the 3,000 counties of our states.

This is by all odds the most serious indictment against our local and state civil government that exposes great areas of populous as well as sparsely settled states to an obvious neglect of constructive and protective, offensive and defensive health service. No citizen, no board of supervisors or county commissioners or trustees can consider that they have done their least for national preparedness for all-out war involving industry, agriculture, and residential interests, until they have included permanently and adequately within the pattern of their local government that application of human biology and medicine which the full time professionally trained and experienced health officer and associate staff of nurses, sanitarians, and bacteriologists alone can supply.

In 1940 we, the people of the United States of America,
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MOBILIZE THE CIVIL HEALTH ARMY
(Continued from page 171)

spent the equivalent of about a dollar and thirty-five cents apiece for all variety of health services, federal, state and local, and not less than thirty dollars each for care of sickness.

And we have not yet the coverage of competence in public health such as Great Britain had provided since the first World War, with every hamlet, village, town, borough, and county included within the jurisdiction of some medical officer of health, selected by civil service examination from among physicians qualified by one or more years of required graduate training at the university level in the general administrative or some special health field, as of maternity, school health, tuberculosis, or venereal diseases.

Appointment based on special educational qualifications plus proved practical competence, paid in proportion to responsibility carried, and secure in tenure unless proven unfit after hearing by his peers, such are the essentials to secure the full time health officers we need to cover the United States.

Of such persons and local organization, with responsibility for authority and financial support accepted by the local community, must we build the health structure now for national defense and offense, and after the peace for that world we are determined to create for the lives, the wives, the children of our men under arms.

But that is only a foundation. We can see only too clearly today the weakness and in some states the actual rottenness of the local superstructure, intended under our form of government, to intermediate between the needs of the locality and federal grants, consultants, supervision and research.

No other nation has such a body of highly trained medical personnel as we have in our United States Public Health Service.

This cannot be said for state health departments across the continent. Ten years ago there was not one of the forty-eight states with a health commissioner or director of health who had had one year of graduate education and a minimum of five years experience in a position of administrative responsibility before he was appointed to his office, and yet we had a number of competent health officers who by self-training and freedom from politics, and with determined application, served the public well and have continued to do so to this day. Today there are ten states where the health officer has been educated and trained for his position. There is one more state where the health officer has had education but not the desirable five years experience.

There are twenty-one more states where the education of the state health officer has not been beyond that of an M.D., but in some instances his experience has been considerable.

There are sixteen states where the health officer has had neither education nor experience appropriate to his responsibilities. There is one state that in a twenty-five year period has had twenty-two different state health officers, no one of whom was professionally qualified for the position.

It would appear that what has been left to the people in their private capacities and to the medical profession in relation to them, and the two interests in relation to their government, for care of the sick, has been liberally developed with resourcefulness and imagination. The benefit of this accrues now to our men under arms and to the folks at home.

Our structure for public health, while it has protected well against many a pestilence, is still a crude, inadequately supported, and politically bungled undertaking which must be reorganized and built to do the whole job for all the people instead of for the 25 percent it now provides.

Here is something to do at home to have ready to greet our army and navy at demobilization time after the Victory.
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4. The expenditure of funds. This is perhaps the most controversial of the problems here involved. Funds collected in the past by governments have sometimes been paid out by methods based largely upon the fee for service principle and with little or no guarantee that they were wisely used. Funds should be paid out only to organized groups of physicians which have attained satisfactory standards and employ sound methods. Payment of funds to well organized groups will make supervision less difficult. Rarely should payments be made to individual physicians not members of group organizations.

5. A medical supervisory authority controlling the distribution of funds will be essential. At once the government will find itself in the position of a trustee acting for the beneficiaries. Reasonable economy, prudent expenditure, and the enforcement of standards of care should be demanded. This will require the creation of a federal medical board. Such a board must establish and enforce standards of medical care. It must determine by what methods the funds shall be distributed. It should be required to keep in touch with the organizations through which medical care is distributed, to conduct research as to improvement of methods, and to be constantly familiar with the conduct of somewhat similar organizations in other countries.

EXCEPT TO THE INTELLECTUALLY BLIND IT IS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS that what is going on today is not only a world war but a social revolution. If this revolution is to avoid chaos and bloodshed and is to result in improved social conditions under democratic institutions, a profound revolution in our thinking in regard to medical care is inevitable.

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The Gist of It

Virginia Thompson, who appraises the Dutch Empire (page 181), is a member of the research staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the author of numerous books and articles on recent Asiatic history.

Gerald W. Johnson, editorial writer on the Baltimore Evening Sun (page 188), was once a faculty member at Chapel Hill, N. C. He is the author of biographies of Andrew Jackson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and of several volumes interpreting American social trends. He is perhaps best known for his articles and essays which are a frequent feature of Harpers magazine.

William L. White is a well known war correspondent and broadcaster. He covers a sector of the home front (page 192). He got his journalistic training under his father, William Allen White, the editor who made Emporia famous.

A Participant in a Remarkable Conference describes it (page 196). Dr. Abernethy is joint secretary, with Walter W. Van Kirk, of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace instituted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Our Industrial Editor, Beulah Amidon, recently spent some time in Detroit. Her findings there (page 198) supplement the daily press reports from that great center of war production.

Floyd W. Reeves has served as secretary of the American Youth Commission, whose final report "Youth and the Future" he summarizes (page 208).

In the Last Three Years, Hawaiian swimmers have won team and individual championships at our National Outdoor AAU meets. They have hailed from Alexander House Community Association, which has been called "a social settlement in the land of Mark Twain's father's dusty, coconut trees, floating on an island in an enchanted sea." Its neighbors are industrialists, ranchers, cowboys, seamen, and plantation workers. Here's its wartime story (page 212), told by its director for twenty-two years, Clinton S. Childs, who was originally called there to make a social survey by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association. Member of the American Association of Social Workers, he is a graduate of Cornell and of the New York School of Social Work; one time special agent of the U. S. Department of Labor; another time welfare director of the Filene store, Boston; and in New York, active in the People's Institute study of the wider use of public schools and in the founding of the West Side Improvement Association.

April 1942

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Survey Midmonth published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 30c. By subscription—Domestic: year $3; 2 years $5. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c.

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Nurses Wanted From the Highschools

In the article entitled "Nurses Wanted: A Career Boom" (February issue) Edith M. Stern makes the following statement: "It takes more than a grade school education to prepare for nursing ..." and then proceeds to say: "This means that more college graduates must aspire to the nursing profession." For one reason or other, she omits the large number of highschool graduates who, with a devotional ambition, are ideally suited for training in the less highly specialized nursing duties which are required at the bedside of the sick. It is this great reservoir of excellent nursing material which we must tap for this purpose and the sooner we do it the better for the public health of this country.

I might add that this view is shared by so many of my colleagues that it would be a pity to let such public statements as those made in this article, worthy though it is in other respects, stand without further modification. It is not enough to tell college graduates and their parents that nursing is not beneath them. The fact is that college graduates do not, by virtue of their superior formal education, make better bedside nurses than graduates of highschools, though it is true that they may go farther in limited fields of nursing endeavor after promotion from the rank and file.

E. M. Bluestone, M. D.
Director, Montefiore Hospital, New York
EAST AND WEST AT THE CROSSROAD
Road signs, stone images and temple in Bali, Netherlands Indies
The Dutch Empire: An Appraisal

by VIRGINIA THOMPSON

The unique colonial policy of the patient Dutch, whose tropical dependencies are now overrun by Japanese aggressors, has been too little understood by the Western World. The co-author of "Nationalism in Southeast Asia" writes from first-hand study in the Orient.

It is important for Americans to realize the extent to which we have been dependent on the varied products of the Netherlands East Indies; but it is even more important for us to appreciate the distinctive human values which have been bound up in Holland’s experiment in colonization. The Netherlands East Indies, for example, produced more than a third of the world’s rubber, a fifth of its tin, one nineteenth of its petroleum; they had a practical monopoly of quinine and a semi-monopoly of kapok, to say nothing of a large output of sugar, palm oil, tobacco, copra, tea and spices. Until the Japanese are driven out of control the United Nations will have to survive without this rich storehouse of supplies through the development of substitutes and alternate sources of supply. But civilization will be much the poorer for the violent interruption of an experiment in colonization which has been, perhaps, the most remarkable contribution made by a European power to the field of governing distant dependencies.

The relationship between Holland and the Indies was an extremely important factor in the results produced. Thanks to the possession of the second most valuable colony in the world (after British India in respect to area, natural resources, and population) Holland became a world power. But she remained such at the sufferance of stronger nations. This entailed both advantages and disadvantages. On the credit side, the fact that for years the Indies were the hostage of Singapore obviated much of the expense to which a mother country is normally liable for the defense of her colonies. On the debit side, such ultimate dependence influenced Dutch foreign policy in such a way that often political consideration dominated situations which would have been settled more advantageously to the Indies on purely economic grounds. Concessions to capital investment and in the import market have been made to Britain and, more recently, also to the United States in return for protection against the encroachments of Japan.

The good and efficient government which Holland has given to her empire has been partly due to a realization that only by such means could she avoid giving an excuse for intervention by covetous and stronger powers. This must be weighed in the balance against the rising cost of native living which the tie-up with the Western economic system has effected. Further, the concentration of Dutch interests in the Indies has made the survival of their sovereignty there of vital importance to the homeland. It has been estimated that from a fifth to a tenth of the entire population of Holland has been directly or indirectly financially interested in the Indies. When one realizes that Dutch investments in this colony have brought approximately 200 million florins annually in direct gains
and 120 millions in indirect profits to Dutchmen living in Holland, one can better understand the brooding absorption of the Dutch in the retention and development of their stake in the orient.

The government in the Indies has permeated more phases of colonial activity there than has the colonial government of any other imperialist nation elsewhere. The existence of state ownership of public utilities and mines in Holland probably influenced her towards greater official intervention than by England, preoccupied with a vaster empire and concerned primarily with reducing the role of colonial government to the maintenance of order, or than by France, which has had a greater dispersion of imperial interests and a more immediate concern with developments in Europe. Except for a brief period when laissez faire dominated Western thought, in the late nineteenth century, the long arm of the Dutch government has been felt in all aspects of the Indies' development.

Like other Occidental imperialists, Holland has been motivated predominantly by economic considerations and secondarily by altruistic impulses. Like them, too, she has been able to reconcile these two forces from which her colonial policy stemmed. But due to her concentration on one highly valuable possession she came earlier than did her rivals to a realization that an enlightened native policy was also the most profitable one. With the persistent thoroughness characteristic of the Dutch, this policy has been carried out scientifically. By raising the native standard of living, the Dutch aimed to fulfill a civilizing mission and also to make the Indies a more efficient producing unit and a wider market for Dutch goods. That they were largely frustrated in achieving this was due to factors beyond their control; for probably never in colonial history has a nation so wholeheartedly given itself over to such a task. True, they were aided by good fortune. They enjoyed three centuries of almost uninterrupted control; they had no serious minority problem. Java, the most valuable island, is densely populated with a peaceful, intelligent people. If the climate has made them naturally carefree, it has also mitigated the fanaticism of their religion, Islam. The pressure of population on the land is such that the Javanese is a miracle of enterprise and industry beside his compatriot in British Malaya. If, as is often said, the Dutch ideal of a subject people has been that of contented cows, they have been working on naturally bovine material. Yet in recent years Dutch policy was no longer content to stop there; indeed it showed an increasing preoccupation with other than the material side of native welfare, as witness the increasing appropriations for mass education. The fact that the Dutch were able to evolve a colonial policy from what was probably the lowest to the highest rung of the imperialist ladder was the product of deliberate and intelligent concentration, and also evidence of the organic relationship between their solutions and the problems involved.

In the administration of the Indies, ideological and practical considerations were happily united. The method of indirect rule through feudal native regents, which the old East India Company adopted as the most economical method for its sole purpose of monopolizing the local trade, was only temporarily replaced by a more centralized state. Later, when the Crown took over from this corrupt and oppressive company, the lack of suitable officials for the Indies required the local government to leave the native social system largely intact. Late in the nineteenth century, changes in the political structure and viewpoint in Holland, joined to the growing demands of the Dutch bourgeoisie for a greater share in Indies' profits, eventually led to the adoption of a more humanitarian and liberal policy, which came to be known as the ethical system. This involved replacing the old culture system with economic liberalism. Under the old system Java's wealth had been drained into the home treasury through the intensive cultivation of export crops; and local food production and native welfare had been neglected. Simultaneously there was a demand for a more efficient administration and for a return to indirect rule through an increase in native officialdom.

Since native welfare became a
cardinal point in the new colonial policy, a greater penetration of native life occurred in the opening years of the twentieth century. While the framework of indirect rule was retained, officials were urged to provide what the villagers ought to want and by “gentle compulsion” teach them how to use it. So the peoples of the islands, especially Java, were provided not only with schools, banks, and water supplies, but their villages were endowed with democratic institutions. While theoretically these were based on traditional forms, they inaccurately assumed a uniformity of village life, and the result—contrary to intention—was the weakening and not the strengthening of native life.

The government recognized that its intervention had often miscarried and that constant tutelage by officials undermined such native initiative as existed: the pendulum swung too violently from doing nothing at all for the people to doing too much for them. It was said that a villager in Java could no longer scratch his head without an expert showing him how to do it and the district officer giving him a written permit.

Aside from the general criticism that this democratic machinery was only an elaborate sham, there were other repercussions which in the eyes of the disillusioned advocates of native welfare more seriously prejudiced this movement which had been launched with such crusading zeal. While undoubtedly the mass of the people required to be told what was good for them, super-paternalism was creating friction with some of the native intelligentsia and driving them into increasingly violent nationalism. Even the illiterate villager, who found education unnecessary for his children and wanted them to work at home or in the fields, disliked the government for insisting upon their going to school. Further, the increase in bureaucratic officialdom, necessitated by the new policy and the assumption of more responsibility by native officials, reduced the number of contacts between natives and Dutch. It also violated the earlier principle that European officials should remain in the background and only step forward to prevent oppression of the people by their own rulers (who at the same time were tied to the Dutch government by bonds of interest) and reduced the Dutch official to the less agreeable role of a disciplinarian and tax collector.

It was only natural that idealists were disappointed at the immediate returns from their welfare program. But the Dutch have re-

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Good roads. The Netherlands poured back into the Indies some of its riches through extensive public works, such as the network of well-planned roads through Java and the other islands.

Regular air service. In addition to air connection with the Netherlands, air routes were developed within the Archipelago, covering some six thousand miles, and were increasingly used.

Food production. Indies' self-sufficiency in production of the all-important rice and other food staples, and even a modest surplus, had been achieved through research and direction.

Estates as employers. While the native production of agricultural export items was making gains on that of the large plantations, natives earned a livelihood in the foreign enterprise.

Public health. The impressive medical university is a symbol of the government's concern with health. Many hospitals were established; plague was combatted, the mortality rate reduced.

Trade port. From the trim little city of Sourabaya, on Java, one of the three largest ports in the Indies (as well as principal naval base) went out much of the sugar of the island.
To relieve overpopulated Java and Madoura, the government induced good colonist material to move to sparsely populated Sumatra, and built irrigation canals for the settlers.

Resettlement. A women's ward in one of the new hospitals built for colonizers on Sumatra. Churches and mosques were also constructed to induce the deeply rooted Javanese to leave home.

Indonesians are natural craftsmen and took readily to handling machinery. Here they are shown at work in one of the munition factories located at Bandoeng and Sourabaya.

Industrialization. A battery of modern machines for the manufacture of crepe rubber on Sumatra. This island, and British Malaya, produced most of the rubber grown in Southeast Asia.

Housing for workers. In developing the Palembang oil district in Sumatra the BPM, Dutch Shell affiliate, was concerned with housing native workers, and provided a house for each family.

Industrial training. Indonesian employees of the Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij (affiliate of the Royal Dutch Shell) became expert in handling high precision machinery used in oil refining.
mained faithful to their dislike of Westernizing the natives and have repeated the experience of all imperial powers who have found that, as an alternative to the continued stagnation of native life, they must intervene, and do so along Western lines; and once begun, their intervention could not be halted. While the immediate effects are usually destructive of the existing order, intelligent direction, such as the Dutch have given their policy, can minimize the evils of the inevitable transition from feudal Oriental society to active incorporation in a Western-dominated world. Their policy at least gave a useful illusion of native cooperation, and only their naiveté prevented an earlier realization that transplanted Western institutions would necessarily be modified in the process.

The Great Depression Struck

In the economic sphere, both internal and external circumstances beyond Dutch control have offset their painstaking efforts to raise the native standard of living. The major internal factor has been the increase in population. In Java alone it has grown from 28.3 millions in 1900 to about 47 millions in 1939. The successive efforts of Dutch administrations to improve the people’s lot by guaranteeing them possession of their lands, by encouraging peasant cultivation, capitalistic enterprise, and state production; by temporary use of a capitation tax for compulsory service; and finally by a direct building up of their economic position through agricultural credit banks, public works and education—all these attempts have been foiled by the natives’ terrifying fecundity.

According to welfare surveys made before the depression of the 1930’s the people had failed to maintain the progress registered up to 1913. Even during the prosperous 1920’s the local farmers ate less well than before the first World War, obtained less for their surplus produce, and were in fact so badly off that they could not even pay the substitute tax. Despite the increasing expenditures on education, it was calculated that not until the year 2195 would the last illiterate Indonesian child be led to school. In the meantime the growing number of native graduates were frustrated by the European and Chinese grip on trade and industry. It was difficult for these natives to gain employment and lay the foundations of a middle class.

Such was the disheartening position when the world depression struck the Indies with a greater severity and duration than neighboring countries. For years foreign capital had concentrated on the development of crops whose only outlet was a world market. While the largest share of these exports was fostered by Western enterprise, natives played a role which varied in importance with each product. Almost all of the copra, half of the rubber, a fifth of the tea, and a third of the coffee were native-produced, whereas natives were not financially interested at all in tin and petroleum. While it might be thought that the native role in export crops was too small to be greatly affected by the depression, the elimination or reduction of land rents and of wages earned by natives in European enterprise wrought great hardship for the indigenous population in the regions of commercialized agriculture. The majority of sugar states are in Java where the enlightened tenure laws of 1870 have prevented the alienation of native lands. Characteristically, however, these new problems merely spurred the Dutch on to greater efforts, and in the planned economy which they progressively evolved they showed themselves to be both courageous and far-sighted.

Two main factors brought about a modification of the sixty-year-old tradition of free trade in the Indies: the fall in prices for the islands’ exports and the rising tariff barriers emanating from the policy of autarchy developing throughout world markets; and the invasion by Japan of the local import market.

The Transition to Economic Planning

While the measures adopted by the Indies government were, at their inception, thought to be only temporary, the whole problem was studied with an intelligent care and willingness to sacrifice established principles for realities characteristic of Dutch official endeavor in every field. First, in the field of international cooperation, restrictive measures were reluctantly adopted; then import regulations followed; and finally a constructive policy of industrialization was launched. The chronology is interesting as it reflects the progressive realization of a changing economic world to a degree conspicuously absent in neighboring countries. Malaya, Thailand, Burma, and Indo-China, all were compelled by the depression to essay a few analogous schemes, which were, however, relinquished once the severity of the depression lifted. Malaya’s traditions of free trade were too strong to permit of government control beyond the minimum required for survival of the crisis; Thailand’s political problems kept the country’s new leaders preoccupied until late in the 30’s; Burma was absorbed in separating herself from India and in regulating her agrarian situation; while Indo-China became more than ever the economic satellite of France. Nowhere else in Southeast Asia was a government, either national or imperial, able or willing to undertake such long range planning and so comprehensive an economic policy as was that of the Indies.

In 1931, Netherlands India began the regulation of her erstwhile most important export, sugar. The Asiatic markets were being closed, either through the development of a local industry protected by tariff, as in India, or through internal disturbances and growing competition with Japanese sugar, as in China. Although participation in the Chadbourne Plan proved to be of no benefit to Java’s producers, the government recognized that restriction of production through international agreement was the only possible course and was willing to participate in a second modified control scheme. Abandoned sugar lands were also utilized for the growing of food crops for domestic consumption. Other restrictive measures followed in regard to the tin, tea and rubber production. Tin mining, because it was so largely controlled by the government, proved to be more amenable to restriction than rubber, where the growing amount of native production was an almost uncontrollable problem. The continued adherence of the Indies to the international cartels formed to regulate the production and export of these commodities, despite an initial prejudice against them, showed the government’s recognition of this method as the only practical if theoretically undesirable solution. Since the Indies enjoyed a virtual monopoly of quinine and kapor production, the government could control output by local measures without recourse to the mechanism of international cartels.

Import regulations followed, and here political con-
siderations made the problem even more complex than it had been for exports. Falling prices for exports had so reduced the Indies' purchasing power that the colony's traditional open-door policy exposed it to an invasion by cheap Japanese manufacturers, which achieved flood proportions after the devaluation of the yen in the early 1930's. At first this phenomenon was regarded complacently by the Indies authorities. The initial Japanese gains were made principally at the expense of British textiles. Japanese imports were the only answer to the natives' depression demand for cheap products. But when the Japanese began developing their own distribution system, controlling native agricultural production, the situation became disquieting. Not only were Europeans affected but the Chinese middlemen felt the squeeze. The Japanese were attacking the Indies' economic system at one of its most vulnerable points: by associating natives with them both as regards retailing and production they were breaking up the traditional watertight division of interests which had so long preserved harmony in the Indies but which had also kept the natives tied to agricultural production.

The New Competition

In the Indies, as throughout Southeast Asia, Europeans have always been at the top of the ladder in capitalistic enterprises requiring technical knowledge and a world organization, while the Chinese have been the distributing agents encroaching—but not on a seriously competitive scale—on both the native and European ends of the economic gamut. When the Dutch realized how serious this threat to the established order, they set themselves to regulating capital, imports, industry and shipping activities; and to building up a more self-sufficient economy that would make the colony less dependent on export commodities. The constructive program of industrialization that followed was based on no narrowly autarchical principle, but founded on a realization that even the most foolproof international restriction schemes could not prevent a dangerous expansion of production in non-adhering countries, or the development of substitutes by nations starved of strategic raw materials. Moreover, they appreciated that they must steer between the Scylla of the delicately adjusted political relationship between their import and export markets, and the Charybdis of Westernizing the natives by overdeveloping the production of European goods and thereby altering the fundamentally agricultural character of the country's economy.

Dutch policy was successful in keeping out the Japanese through the imposition of import quotas and shipping percentages, even before the Sino-Japanese war added its weight by diverting Japanese industry to martial fields and by provoking a boycott on the part of the all-powerful Chinese merchants in Southeast Asia. The quota system likewise succeeded in reserving an important share of the Indies market to Dutch goods, as well as to those of other Western countries. In a world given increasingly to barter arrangements the Indies were required to buy proportionately from those nations which purchased the major part of her products. So a reorientation of markets ensued through a series of reciprocal trade treaties by which, in the middle 1930's, more and more of the Indies' commerce was diverted from Asiatic countries to Europe and to the United States.

Political consideration played (Continued on page 221)
Graham of Carolina

PORTRAIT OF A CITIZEN-AT-LARGE

by GERALD W. JOHNSON

It is a truism that if you pin enough honorary degrees on a man, some of them will stick; but five institutions of learning at various times have appended various collections of capital letters to the name of Frank Porter Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and Libertarian-in-Chief to the late Confederacy, and none of them has stuck. To this day in the imperial commonwealth of Tarheelia he remains either plain "Frank Graham" spoken with a lilt in the voice, or "that damned Frank Graham," spoken through gritted teeth. That he is the best-loved man in the state admits of no more doubt than that he is the best-hated man there, too; and both emotions he has richly earned. But the suggestion that he is a learned doctor most North Carolinians hear with incredulity and, having considered it, dismiss as irrelevant.

It is a fact, though, that he started life as a historian and labored for years at a magnum opus relating to power, in the sense of mechanical force not derived from the strength of animals, and its effect on Western civilization. I am inclined to believe with the Tarheels, though, that this is a fact that may be dismissed with bare mention. If Frank Graham is a historian, then Kelly is a Chinaman. He makes history for others to write, which means that he is a man equipped with qualities far different from those of a good chronicler.

The man is a bundle of paradoxes. Leaving out of consideration Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, unprecedented and unparalleled, Graham is the most publicized university president in America, yet in his personal relations he is painfully modest. He is reputed to be the friendliest soul in the three and a half millions between Murphy and Manteo; yet he has started more fights than ever were precipitated by Blackbeard, the pirate, who, I suppose, was the unfriendliest of all North Carolinians.

In private life he is a merry companion, an excellent raconteur and—something unusual in a good story-teller—keenly appreciative of a jest told by another; yet when engaged in controversy over what he considers a principle he exhibits just about as much sense of humor as was shown by the late Tomas de Torquemada. He has energized, inspired, and glorified the University of North Carolina—but if the institution were afflicted with two Frank Grahams it would certainly explode.

Citizen-At-Large of the U. S. A.

BEYOND THE CONFINES OF NORTH CAROLINA, GRAHAM IS known chiefly as President Roosevelt's representative, or the public representative, on various boards and councils. Last December, then a member of the National Defense Mediation Board, he startled his friends and confounded his enemies by voting against the closed shop in the captive coal mines. There are those in North Carolina who had asserted loudly that Graham's vote could be counted in advance for anything that labor wanted; yet these same men will admit that he is, and always has been, his own man, taking orders from nobody, not even his own board of trustees. It is quite true that he has frequently cast his vote and his influence in favor of the cause of labor, not in the NDMB only, but in other situations that affected him much more closely; and in these cases it has been conspicuously true that he consulted his own conscience and no other authority whatever. Why anyone should argue from that record that he was likely to accept the dictation of John L. Lewis is not clear; but it is clear enough that the anti-Graham faction in North Carolina was amazed and disconcerted when he voted against Lewis.

Subsequently he was appointed to the new War Labor Board as one of the public representatives on that body. This much the ordinary newspaper reader knows of him, but all this means little. Only those who have been in position to know what went on in the meetings of these various agencies have any appreciation of how important have been his contributions, sometimes to the untangling of knotted relations between labor and capital, sometimes to the framing of important legislation such as the Social Security Act (he was chairman of the President's Advisory Committee at that stage), and always to the support of government by the consent of the governed and only by their consent.

It is of the essence of this sort of work that it shall be unspectacular. The successful arbiter sedulously avoids drawing attention to himself. When Tom Girdler and John Lewis fall out—no, let us avoid personalities, and say that when there is a dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles, it behooves Nestor to walk softly and speak quietly if he hopes to compose the quarrel. Frank Graham has done this so consistently that few people have any idea how often his unaffected friendliness and obvious eagerness to do the right thing have disarmed belligerent contestants and smoothed the way to agreement in cases in which there seemed at first no possibility of pacific settlement. But among the few who know the facts is the President of the United States; and that explains why Graham has been called away from Chapel Hill so often to handle some of the thorniest economic and social problems with which the administration has been confronted. His is the rare quality of being amenable to reason without being pliable. Perhaps only the rulers of the earth have an adequate appreciation of the scarcity of such men and the value of those that are to be found.

Inside Chapel Hill

IN THE NARROWER WORLD OF EDUCATORS HE IS KNOWN AS a man who has been remarkably successful in maintaining a vital connection between his university and the people of the state that support it. He is known, also, as a sturdy defender of the principle of academic freedom. But the thing that has caused other university presidents, more especially presidents of state universities, to regard him with a sort of stupefaction is the fact that he has had the incredible nerve to outrage, not merely the trustees, not merely the legislature, and not merely the industrial barons of his state, but the very alumni themselves, and that with relative impunity. The so-called "Graham plan" that set the southern collegiate world by the ears
a few years ago, was, as a matter of fact, not the invention of Frank Graham, but the recommendation of a committee of educators representing the most reputable southern schools. It was the forthright and uncompromising support given it by the president of the University of North Carolina that caused his name to be affixed to it, and gave most newspaper readers the idea that he had devised it without the assistance of any other human being.

The Graham plan was radical, indeed, in its implications, although simple enough in essence. It was embodied in a formidable document buttressed by academic phraseology, its meaning was that the signatory colleges agreed that on and after its effective date every man representing any of them on a football team should be at least semi-literate. The radicalism of the scheme lay, of course, in its setting education above athletics by assuming that the men on the football squad had come to college to learn something in the classroom.

To no theorist will this seem radical, for in theory all colleges are committed to support of that doctrine. But theorists commonly overlook the progress of the football mania that, originating in the East, swept across the Middle West to the Pacific Coast, and is now swirling back through the South. Forty years ago Harvard and Yale, twenty years ago Michigan and Wisconsin, were as insane over football as Oregon and Southern California, Duke and Alabama are today. The southern institutions that, in adopting the Graham plan, attempted to lay upon athletes the scholastic standards required of other students were taking a fearful chance—indeed, a fatal chance—for the fury of the attack precipitated by the action drove most of them to cover. The Graham plan was soon vitiated in all but a few schools.

The business gave President Graham a tremendous reputation in academic circles, but not exactly the reputation of a great educator in the apostolic succession of Mark Hopkins, Gilman, and Eliot. It is probable that other college presidents, if they would abandon discretion for candor, might confess that they regard him as the spiritual successor, not of Witherspoon and Dwight, but rather of such daredevils as Charles Blondin, who crossed Niagara Falls on a tight-rope, and of Steve Brodie, who dived off Brooklyn Bridge. A university president who dares outrage the alumni is phenomenal, but as a hero, rather than as a pedagogue.

Nevertheless, I have heard a shrewd, hardheaded, Tarheel lawyer, not an alumnus of the University of North Carolina and not connected with it in any way, describe Frank P. Graham as "without doubt the most influential citizen in the state." He did not say "private" citizen.

He included officials from the governor down and the whole delegation in Congress.

The program that has made him a storm center for the last eleven years seems on examination rather innocuous. The educational policy of the University of North Carolina is, of course, not the creation of any one man, but Graham's contributions to it have been distinctly on the conservative side. As far as the public is aware he has never suggested, much less insisted on, any pedagogical experimentation. He is interested in original investigation in the graduate school, and much has been carried on, especially in the social sciences; but research is certainly not to be described as educational experimentation.

His social and his economic ideas are, on their surface at least, equally conventional. In spite of the loud asseverations of his enemies to the contrary, he is no more Marxian than was the late Andrew Mellon. He accepts the theory of free enterprise under the capitalist system without question, and if he cherishes many doubts as to the efficient working of that system, who doesn't?

With this in mind people sometimes take the view that the man's conspicuous position as a liberal is purely a geographical accident; if he lived anywhere except in the South, they say, none would dream of accusing him of radicalism. There is certainly some truth in this. Graham's defense of the right of labor to organize, for example, is no longer convincing proof of radicalism even in the least progressive parts of the South; and the fact that he put up bail for a former student arrested on a picket line would hardly be esteemed in the North an assault upon the foundations of society.

The hatred that he has aroused is based on his championship of unpopular people, rather than upon his advocacy of subversive ideas. Again and again he has fought doggedly to protect the civil rights of labor agitators and sharecroppers and people who believe in things as repulsive to North Carolina as agnosticism, pacifism, and the political, economic, and even social equality of Negroes. "The trouble with Frank Graham," said one of his non-admirers, wonderingly, "is that the damn fool will fight just as hard for the rights of a man he knows is an s.o.b. as he will for those of a decent citizen." Surely, it is not in the South alone that a man who, by insisting that they be given their full legal rights, throws the mantle of respectability over unpopular persons, draws upon himself some of their unpopularity. Surely, it is not a North Carolina industrialist only who, when balked in a scheme to dispose of a too successful union organizer by framing him on a trumped-up charge, turns furiously on the banker and denounces him as a Red. Yet it is upon such
activities that most of the Tarheel hatred of Graham as a radical is based.

But this is not the whole truth. Frank Porter Graham does harbor one idea that is radical in the extreme, so radical that it would make him conspicuous in Moscow, not to mention North Carolina. This is the idea that the Sermon on the Mount is sound social and economic doctrine.

It is hopeless to try to explain the man on the basis of his intellectual, political or economic concepts, because all these are based on and shaped by his ethical concepts. It is a rarity in these days to find a man in a conspicuous position the whole foundation of whose manner of thought and action is so profoundly ethical, as distinguished from pragmatic. The fact that his system of ethics is strongly tinged with the Calvinism of his Highland Scottish forebears is, I think, fortuitous; if Graham had been born into a Catholic, or a Jewish, or a Mohammedan family, his point of view might have been different on matters of faith and doctrine, but his concept of the conduct of life as primarily an ethical problem would have been the same.

This characteristic contributes, of course, both to his strength and to his weakness. He is the administrative head of a tripartite university, with its technical schools at Raleigh, its college of liberal arts and graduate schools at Chapel Hill, and its women's college at Greensboro. The distance from Raleigh to Greensboro is eighty-one miles. The schools include some 10,000 students, several hundred faculty members, and several thousand non-academic employees ranging from scrubwomen to architects. The management of such an institution is a matter of extreme complexity, and even with the aid of brilliant assistants in key positions, the president must get through an enormous amount of routine work to keep the machine running smoothly.

It is characteristic of Graham that he is usually much less exercised over a grave blunder in policy than he is over a wrong that affects only one person and him but slightly. Let him get wind of an injustice being perpetrated upon a student, a faculty member, or the lowest employe of the institution, and he is instantly on the warpath, nor will he rest until the man's rights have been vindicated. Every soul connected with the university in any capacity is confident that he can always get justice from the president; and this makes for a loyalty that has built up an immense solidarity—the solidarity that withstood the battering of the depression years.

On the other hand, it is indubitably true that the most serious discussion of the most perplexing question of policy may be summarily adjourned if, in the midst of it, the president hears that some garrulous fool by talking too much has gotten himself locked up, or beaten up, or otherwise maltreated by the Philistines. That is a wrong, and nothing else is important until steps have been taken toward righting it. So, while every freshman is certain that he can get justice, no department head is certain that he can get attention from the president; and this makes for a measure of pessimism among the higher ranks, who have sometimes been provoked into wondering not if Graham is a good president, but if he is any president at all.

Such doubts, however, are the progeny of momentary exasperation. Disregarding hypothetical situations, the question of whether Graham has been a good president for this particular university at this particular time is answered definitely and completely by the existence of the university. Prosperity began to ebb in North Carolina, not in 1929, but in 1923, when the cotton textile industry got into trouble, and ten years later it reached a nadir far below that touched in many other parts of the country. If the wrong man had been at the head of the university then, there would be no university now. Oh, doubtless there would have been something that bore the name, but it would not have been a university. It would have been another of those woeful spectacles with which the country is all too familiar—an appalling pseudo-college, with a faculty of broken down political hacks, no equipment, no money, and no standing among respectable educational institutions. The United States has had many and still has some "universities" that in collecting their tuition charges are obtaining money under false pretenses, for they afford no education worth having. Had the wrong man been at its head, the depression might well enough have made the University of North Carolina another of that type.

From Graham to Chase to Graham

**Nothing of the sort happened; therein is the great justification of Frank Graham's existence. One is tempted to believe that Carolina must enjoy some special favor in Heaven, for three times in succession Fate has given it a president perfectly adapted by character and temperament for the task that came to his hand. The first was Edward Kidder Graham, a kinsman of the incumbent; he is the man of whom Thomas Wolfe wrote with a pen dipped in nitric acid instead of ink, the messianic college president in "The Web and the Rock." E. K. Graham's emotionalism revolted the satiric—the sophomoric—Wolfe, but it matched, masterfully and directed the terrific burst of emotionalism that shook the state at the time of the first World War, adeptly turning that enormous force to support of the state university. Graham's tragic death in the influenza epidemic perhaps did more than his eloquence to insure the triumph of the cause for which it was commonly believed that he had sacrificed his life. At any rate, the first huge appropriation for a modern plant—some five or six million dollars—was made then.**

His successor, who spent the money, was a man of a diametrically opposite type, H. W. Chase, now chancellor of New York University. A Massachusetts Yankee, austere in appearance, and not in his predecessor's class as an orator, Chase had a keen eye for a scholar and was one of the smoothest administrators ever heard of. He could never have won the money from a reluctant legislature; but having it supplied through the impetus of E. K. Graham's movement, he spent it with a skill that Graham probably never could have matched, and in ten years built up such a university as the South had never seen before.

Just before the grand crash of the '30's he moved on, and Frank Graham succeeded him. Perhaps the second Graham could never have initiated such a movement as the first one did; perhaps he could never have built such an organization as Chase built; but it is a safe assertion that neither the earlier Graham nor Chase could have taken the beating that the depression inflicted upon the university and emerged with as much salvage as this present-day Graham brought out.

What Carolina needed most in 1930 was neither a great
administrator, nor a great educator, but a champion who could plead its cause effectively with a people distracted by a fearful catastrophe. This Frank Graham did with an effectiveness that grows more remarkable in retrospect. He had the temperament that drove him inevitably to exactly the right approach. He told the people, not that it would be unwise, not that it would be imprudent, but that it would be wrong to let the university go down—an insult to the past, an injury to the present, a betrayal of the future. It was the one appeal that could catch their attention in the midst of their myriad troubles; and it was made by the one man whom they could not choose but believe—for all North Carolinians are agreed that if Frank Graham is an authority on anything, it is on questions of right and wrong. His tremendous preoccupation with the ethical may be a handicap in some circumstances, but it was his salvation when he pleaded with the people.

**Graham, the Man**

A stranger, giving him a casual glance, might easily fall into the error of underrating this man as an advocate for he is, physically, the very antithesis of everything Webstarian. He was barely tall enough to get into the Marines during the war of 1917-18, and he is slightly built. His head is fairly large, but by no means leonine, and the hair is getting pretty thin on top. It never was a mane. His voice is clear and carries well, but has no such organ tones as Webster's. His coloring is neutral, his features passably regular, but no movie scout ever looked at him with a speculative eye. In short, the unsuspecting stranger, told to pick the orator out of two people present would almost inevitably choose Frank Graham second. Yet I have seen tears running down the cheeks of some pretty hard-boiled alumni when he had been talking to them for twenty minutes, using almost no gestures and absolutely no flights of rhetoric, speaking hesitantly, almost stumblingly.

What did it? I do not know. Certainly it was not the voice, not the language, not the gestures, for all were simple and plain. But in the crisis, when there was real danger that a harried and bewildered legislature might throttle the university, whenever Graham rose to plead its cause a sort of white flame seemed to light up in him, and he became for the moment not a man at all, but the embodiment of a cause, the conductor through which shot the current of a passion of enormous potential, the filament blazing with a power not of himself but pouring through him and in transfiguring him driving night and its shadows away. If oratory is grandiloquence, music and thunder, Graham at the top of his form is no orator at all; but if it is the power that enables a man to melt a refractory crowd and mould it into whatever frame of mind he pleases, then he is one of the best. He can use rhetoric, but in his most powerful speeches he has depended on something beyond and above it.

The friendliness of Frank Graham is one of the natural wonders of North Carolina, comparable to the height of Mt. Mitchell and the sweep of the hundred-mile beaches on the coast. He is a friendly man, without a doubt, but it is possible that what makes him such a marvel is the fact that his genuine liking for people is backed by a prodigious memory for names and faces. If you are a person of no great importance in the world, if you have met the president of the university only once and have not seen him for a year, or maybe five years, and then if he jumps up when you come into his office, calls you by your first name and asks if your Aunt Sue recovered satisfactorily from that fracture of the hip she had suffered just before he talked to you last, well, you are going to be impressed. You would be more, or less, than human if you weren't impressed. You will probably be somewhat elated, too, and will make comments on the incident that in turn will impress your friends and relations; and so the legend grows.

One point about this hypothetical meeting deserves special emphasis; cannot, indeed, be overemphasized. It is the fact that "duke's son and cook's son" get precisely the same sort of greeting. This is not because Dr. Graham is studiedly and carefully democratic, but because he is quite literally unable to perceive any validity in distinctions as between man and man; all men interest him, and in some respects the bad and the mad are more interesting than the good. Every man offers him an opportunity to broaden his experience; the most ignorant can teach him something. He is genuinely glad to talk to anybody, and he is serenely confident of the Scriptural dictum that no man is contaminated by what he hears, but only by what he utters. That is to say, he is so sure of his own position that he doesn't have to fend off others to protect it. But this attitude is characteristic of very great aristocrats, and for this reason I am sometimes half inclined to believe that Frank Graham is the greatest aristocrat of my acquaintance.

**"This He Calls Democracy"**

However, no manner of doubt that the deepest of his convictions is that every man has a God-given right to order his own life within the boundaries that are marked by the rights of others; and that no man, prince, potentate, or even priest, has any right to proceed the fraction of an inch beyond those bounds, except as authority to do so may be conferred upon him by common consent in the common interest. This he calls democracy. Whether this definition can be justified etymologically, I do not know; but I do know that it is a strong philosophy at this moment. It has fortified this leader in the confidence of his people; and a leader strong with the people is unquestionably an asset to pretty much any institution in these chaotic days, and especially to one dependent upon public support for its very existence.

Nor is there any convincing reason to suppose that such leadership will grow less valuable in the predictable future. Whatever else may come out of the war, it is already clear that one effect will be a searching scrutiny of every institution, educational, political, social, or religious, that lays claim to special consideration. The right of inheritance, for example, is no longer sacred, nor is the time far distant when the abolition of perpetual endowments will be demanded with a louder clamor than ever before in our history.

Whatever is, will be called on to show cause why it should be tolerated; and the only sufficient cause will be a clear demonstration of value, not to a clique or a class, but to society at large. At that time a university that is already strong in the affections of men who never saw the inside of a college will be in a highly advantageous position; and among those universities Frank Porter Graham, more than any other individual, has placed the University of North Carolina.
In 1918 all Negro officers were trained in a special camp at Des Moines, but today Negro officer-candidates are in training in the army schools at Fort Benning, Ga.; Camp Lee, Va.; Fort Sill, Okla.; Camp Davis, N. C.; Aberdeen, Md., and Carlisle Barracks, Pa. These have replaced the officers' training camps of the first World War.

Let's take a look at a typical platoon in one such school. Here are twenty-four boys who hope soon to be officers. Three are Negroes. All sleep in rows of cots in the barracks and eat together at pine tables in the big mess hall. The only trace of segregation is that the Negroes usually sit at an end mess table and, when they have time for a movie, attend a theater reserved for a Negro regiment stationed in the same camp. The twenty-four boys come from all over the country, many from the deep South. Officers in charge say there is no difference between the behavior of the Negroes and that of the whites.

In the ratings, the Negroes stand slightly above the platoon average. The officer in charge of the platoon rates the candidates' fitness as officer material, numbering them from one to twenty-four. In addition, each candidate rates the twenty-three others. They are warned that they mustn't play favorites. One important qualification of an officer is to judge men fairly; hence, if a man's report rates his friends high regardless of real merit, this will be held against him.

Those in charge say there is little difference between the way the officer rates the man and the way the men rate each other. In this platoon of twenty-four the Negroes rate eighth, eleventh and thirteenth. In the unit are two white boys of nationally known families; one of them rates above and the other below the Negroes.

Platoon mates' comments on the Negro who placed thirteenth included the following: "Forceful, alert, shows initiative." "Level headed, enthusiastic." "Intelligent, cooperative, instills confidence in men." The platoon leader judged him: "Courteous, quick-witted, neat, determined, initiates action speedily, performs duties excellently, would make an excellent officer." If we can judge by this platoon, the old army belief that the Negro was unfit to command seems to be going with the wind.

Negro officer-candidates say that they find it "surprisingly fair here at the school"; that when they arrived the major told them he hoped there would be no trouble, but told them not to take anything, and if anything happened, just come to him. This hasn't been necessary; the white boys were perhaps a little slow in warming up, but they treat the colored boys fine now.

Of course not all Negroes—or all whites—get on well. Danny, a cocky little Negro, had a chip on his shoulder and put his mouth into everything. The white boys, the platoon officer, and the colored boys all rated him low, so Danny isn't with them any more.

No doubt these boys are honest with each other because they respect good work in their fellows, because they are working so hard and earnestly for commissions and, hoping for fairness for themselves, they see the value of being fair to others.

The Negro student officer agrees that he's getting exactly the same training and unprejudiced rating the white boys get. Yet he will probably point out that of the 1,200 boys admitted to this particular school, only fifteen—a little over one percent—were Negroes.

Here the intelligent white boys accept the Negro officer-candidate, but how about after he gets those two gold shoulder-bars and walks out in front of a Negro company—will they respect him? When you ask him that, he grins. There couldn't be any trouble, he assures you, because colored boys are proud of Negro officers. Look at the two who were recently graduated and joined the 48th Negro Quartermasters Regiment: the colored soldiers there, tremendously proud, are breaking their necks to help them over. And when he himself left his Negro company at Fort Devens to come to officers school, the boys came down to the train to wave him off. "When you get your bars," they told him, "come on back to your old outfit—we'll all get back of you and work like hell to make you a success for all of us!"

Negroes will tell you, however, that the Negro officer has serious problems. An officer is supposed to uphold the dignity of his uniform by eating only in first-class restaurants, but in the South Negro officers are barred from white restaurants. Every army post has a club for commissioned officers, but the Negro is definitely given the idea that he's not expected there.

A Bit of History

American Negroes will fight; nobody could deny that for their military tradition is older than the Republic. It began with black Peter Salem who distinguished himself at Bunker Hill. The bravery of Negro troops, as the British bullets whistled over them in the battle of New Orleans, won the praise of General Andrew Jackson. Several hundred thousand colored men fought in the Civil War, and Congress authorized four regular army Negro regiments. Such regiments won laurels in Cuba in 1898, and twenty years later in France.

All right, they can fight, but can a Negro lead? Until recently our army would have answered, No. It must be remembered that the peacetime strength of the army's four Negro regiments was largely drawn from sections of the South where opportunities for education were
poor compared with the schools for white children. White officers' praise for their Negro troops was sometimes rather patronizing. Negro enlisted men, their white officers would point out proudly, didn't know fatigue, never counted hours or grumbled as white soldiers do.

Some army men have said that maybe you shouldn't give Negroes anything to do which calls for initiative or analysis; but that if they trust your leadership they will follow it blindly and fearlessly in battle. As holding troops they are unsurpassed. Put them to guarding anything and they'll stick until the last one is killed. They follow orders to the letter. Never instruct a Negro guard to shoot unless you mean it, goes the ancient army advice. Maybe that is why a Negro regiment was given the honor of guarding the White House in 1917.

Of course, the army used to point out, if you command Negro troops you must give orders in words of one syllable; you must be dignified—familiarity would ruin a Negro non-com; you must ignore the intrigues that Negro soldiers love to build up and deal out justice as a father does to his children. Give the Negro soldier his own area and amusements and he will be happy—he wants it that way.

But Negro officers, the army once was deeply convinced, wouldn't do; it held that the Negro soldier had no respect for them. Hence, until recently, you could count on the fingers of one hand the number of commissioned Negro officers in the regular army—most of whom were chaplains, since the Negro was presumed to have the respect of other Negroes only in spiritual matters.

The Negro officer couldn't command respect, the army said, partly because he knew that his Negro troops had no confidence in him; therefore he often lacked confidence in himself. The first World War had proved it, the claim went; the 92nd Division was an all Negro outfit except for officers above the grade of major; some of its colored officers had been regular army sergeants with practical experience, but most were graduates of the Negro Officers School at Des Moines who lacked experience; there was constant friction and the division got itself into some bad messes.

White officers recall with a grin that some Negro personnel of the 92nd bought themselves decorations for bravery at French pawnshops, all of which had to be removed from their tunics when they landed in New York. (Many medals were won by the Negro 369th regiment, however, and some Negro enlisted men and officers in the 92nd and 93rd divisions were decorated for exceptional gallantry.)

There were always exceptions. Last year one division had five Negro National Guard officers on maneuvers. Though four of them showed an attitude of indifference perhaps born of a conviction that since they were Negroes they wouldn't get promotion no matter how hard they worked, the fifth
threw himself into the spirit of the maneuvers—and consequently is slated for promotion.

Another exception, the army conceded, was the late Colonel Charles R. Young, one of West Point's few Negro graduates. He had to pass not only the academic hurdles, but also an ordeal known as the "silence cure" which West Point undergraduates reserved for Negro aspirants. All during the first year, nobody spoke to you or looked at you; if you could take this without leaving the academy with a nervous breakdown, West Point would relent and concede that regardless of color you were fit to be an officer. Colonel Young's former classmates had for him a feeling of friendliness, admiration and respect.

Yet Negroes would argue that even Colonel Young's ability was not enough to overcome his color. When the United States entered the first World War Colonel Young's seniority would have entitled him to become a brigadier general, but he was pronounced physically unfit for active duty in France although he rode horseback from Ohio to Washington in order to disprove the charge. Finally he was ordered to Liberia to train the constabulary, and died there of tropical fever after the war.

Since then the army made three other exceptions to its old unwritten rule that no Negro can be a satisfactory officer in the regular army. Brigadier-General Benjamin O. Davis now occupies the highest post ever accorded a Negro in the American army, and even if his last promotion came in the heat of the 1940 Presidential campaign when the Negro vote was swaying in the balance, no white officer will say that General Davis hadn't earned those stars on merit. Until the present war, the only other Negro officers in the regular army—apart from a few chaplains—were his son, Captain Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., and Lieutenant Colonel John E. Green, now retired, who rose from the ranks to command. The former, after graduating from West Point in 1936, ranking thirty-fifth in a class of 276, served with the Negro 24th Infantry at Fort Benning as its only Negro officer. His commanding officer says that young Davis had the complete respect of his fellow officers and of the Negro soldiers under him.

Tuskegee in Wartime

The peacetime strength of the army included only four Negro regiments—the 24th and 25th Infantry and the 9th and 10th Cavalry, all of whose officers, with the exception of Captain Davis, were white. But in October, 1940, it was announced that Negroes would be inducted into service in proportion to their numbers in the population—about 10 percent. Four additional all-Negro units of the New York National Guard were placed in the 369th, an artillery and anti-aircraft regiment; Chicago Negro guard units became the nucleus of the 184th Field Artillery; the 372nd Infantry was organized with Negro National Guard companies from Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois; and a Negro anti-tank battalion is now being formed. These units are led by Negro officers who received their commissions through the National Guard or from Reserve Officers Training Camps.

At the end of 1941 almost 100,000 Negroes, comprising about twenty regiments, were in uniform and in 1942 the army plans to call up 175,000 more.

The Navy and Marine Corps offer the Negro only cooks' and stewards' jobs. How far can he go in the new army? The air corps opened a new door in July 1941, by establishing, at Tuskegee, Ala., a school for Negro combat pilots.

To get on the waiting list for this school, candidates must have had at least two years of college or pass an equivalent examination, must pass a stiff physical examination, and must present several letters of recommendation.

At Tuskegee, Negro boys are learning to fly—looking down, as they soar, upon their people clucking skinny mules over the red soil of cotton and peanut farms, and upon the stately white columns of old southern mansions which survived the Civil War.

Candidates have the same type of planes, equipment, and barracks as do white trainees at other fields. Their instructors are, if anything, better than the average. If this experiment should fail, nobody can say the Negro didn't have every chance. The students know this, and point out with pride that every one of their officers volunteered for this task; it wasn't a question of culls of the air corps being ordered to instruct in a Jim Crow flying school. The field's officers include a few Negroes, one of whom is modest young Captain Ben Davis.

It is expected that at least 50 percent of the candidates will come through and receive their pilot's wings in March. This is about the average survival among white pilots.

The white officers at Tuskegee field are militantly proud of their charges, and insist that there are no important differences between these Negro boys and white candidates. The Negro boys, feeling that so much depends on this first experimental school, not only for themselves but for the whole Negro race, are somewhat tense. The officers try to relax them and reduce this tension. At first, the trainees are too conscious of their instructors and work too hard at pleasing them instead of concentrating on the plane. So the instructors tell them sternly, "You can't please an airplane—it doesn't care about you." The trainees are quick to catch the idea and concentrate on the task.

Instructors say that they must be gentle in criticizing these Negro boys. A sardonic jibe can crush a colored trainee so completely that he is stunned. A white boy takes it more casually; he wants to be a pilot, of course, yet if he fails the bottom won't fall out of his world. And it should be remembered, say the instructors, that most Negro candidates have never touched an airplane, whereas many white candidates have flown as passengers or have had jobs around airports.

Until lately the school was regarded as an experiment that might be abandoned at any time. Recently, however, the War Department authorized the establishment of a second squadron at Tuskegee. Later, other air corps training fields for Negroes may be set up.

All over this part of the South, every Negro knows about the school, and whenever a plane comes over, they are sure that the pilot is one of "their boys." So when you look down, you can see the Negroes who have stopped work in the cotton fields; their black faces peer up at your plane. One of "their boys" is in it, they are thinking, and they proudly wave up to him to cheer him on.

It sort of gets you, the young white instructors say.
First Aid (ARC Class)
Sketches by Bernadine Custer
No More "Religion As Usual"

by BRADFORD S. ABERNETHY

American Protestantism looked toward the post-war world at its recent National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace. It found that the Church is facing perhaps its last chance to help build a world of order and of justice.

One of the casualties of this, as of any war, has been the slogan "business as usual." Were there any such slogan as "religion as usual," that too would have to be discarded for the duration. To create an awareness of the far-reaching implications of that fact may be said to be one of the crucial tasks now confronting the American churches. My own observations in this regard will be confined to an interpretation of what is going on in one of Protestantism's war-born interests—that of the relation of the Church to the problems of the post-war world. This is only one of many war-born interests and activities in which the Church is now engaged, but it will serve as well as any as a proving ground on which we may test whether the Church is aware that the times call for something more than "religion as usual."

In December, 1940, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America set up a Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. Made up of nearly one hundred representative laymen and clergy, the commission has been functioning under the able chairmanship of John Foster Dulles of New York, Presbyterian layman and noted international lawyer. Back of the Federal Council's action was the realization that the war represented not only a breakdown of international political institutions and a failure to solve problems of international economics, but also a breakdown or overthrow of moral and spiritual values. Back of it, also, was a realization that the Church had a tremendous responsibility to discharge in seeing to it that those values be not lost sight of in the building of the post-war world. Still again, the Federal Council was convinced that there was a present opportunity which the Church could not afford to neglect, to bring our people face to face with some of the problems of that future time, and to create a public opinion that would support a farsighted dealing with those problems.

Two Jobs for Churchmen

Specifically, two tasks were assigned to the commission: first, "to clarify the mind of our churches regarding the moral, political, and economic foundations of an enduring peace"; second, "to prepare the people of our churches and of our nation for assuming their appropriate responsibility for the establishment of such a peace."

It is clear that either of these tasks is difficult. It is not easy to clarify the mind, for that runs counter to the preference of vast numbers of people not to have their minds clarified, especially if such clarification would involve the surrendering of cherished prejudices and notions. Preparing a public opinion that will support full American participation in the solution of post-war problems also presents difficulties, inasmuch as it runs counter to much of established American foreign policy. We have not been accustomed to take our place, along with other nations, in the establishment and maintenance of institutions for world order. But in spite of these difficulties and in spite of the unknown factors in the situation, such as the outcome of the military phase of the struggle, it appeared to the Federal Council to be not only good sense but good religion to prepare for peace in time of war. The educational task in which the commission is now engaged is being undertaken not out of any desire to escape the realities of a very urgent war situation, but rather because of the conviction that, as has been frequently noted by government spokesmen, to win the peace is equally as important as to win the war, and that the winning of the peace cannot be left to the time following the silencing of the guns.

Initial steps in this educational process have been the publication of study materials designed for the use of religious and secular groups. But the major step so far was taken early in March when there was convened at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, a National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace. To this conference came some 400 officially appointed representatives of denominations, councils of churches, and other religious organizations. Those who have been disturbed by the predominantly clerical flavor of most church conferences found encouragement in the presence of so many competent laymen at Delaware. College presidents, industrialists, agriculturalists, specialists in economics and political science, representatives of labor and consumer interests, shared with clergymen in the drafting of the reports. And out of the three-day deliberations emerged a definite indication that "religion as usual" would not suffice for these times.

The Church Examines Itself

These churchmen first took a good look at the Church itself. In some respects the sight was not reassuring. It was obvious that while Christians had been pointing out the need for limitations on national sovereignty in the interests of world order, they had not placed any effective limits on ecclesiastical sovereignty. In short, it was clear that the Church had not made fully real in its own corporate life that unity in the midst of diversity which it held out as a goal for the community of nations. "We call upon our churches, therefore," says one of the reports, "to enter seriously and immediately upon the task of breaking down the barriers that so easily divide us into opposing groups. We would say to them: If you believe in peace for the world, if you are working for cooperation between nations, governments, races and peoples under the Fatherhood of God, you must set the example for such
reconciliation and cooperation. . . We would also call upon our churches to enter upon a new era of interdenominational cooperation in which the claims of cooperative effort should be placed, so far as possible, before denominational prestige, and that conjoint Christian efforts be not weakened or imperilled by our several denominational allegiances." Such sentiments have, of course, been expressed before, but back of their renewed expression at Delaware lay the conviction that if the Church were, with good grace, to urge international cooperation in the post-war world, it must first demonstrate the values of full cooperation in its own corporate life. Ecclesiastical sovereignty has been a characteristic of "religion as usual"—a luxury we can no longer afford.

The Economics of Human Service

Another characteristic of "religion as usual" has been a certain hesitancy to challenge the assumptions and practices of the current economic order, in its national and international aspects. Some may feel it would be ungrateful of the Church to do so! Be that as it may, economics came in for its share of discussion at Delaware. And with good reason: "Any economic program," says the report of the economic section, "which allows the quest for private gain to disregard human welfare, which regiment human beings and denies them freedom of collective bargaining, thus reducing labor to a mere commodity; any program which results in more unemployment or dire poverty in mine or factory or farm; is manifestly wrong. Against such evils the Church should arouse the conscience of mankind in every nation. The Church must demand economic arrangements measured by human welfare as revealed by secure employment, decent homes and living conditions, opportunity for youth, freedom of occupation and of cultural activities, recognition of the rights of labor and security in illness and old age."

Together with this manifesto was adopted a series of recommendations regarding international economic relations in the post-war world: the progressive elimination of restrictions on world trade, such as tariffs and quotas, under the guidance of an international organization; the establishment of a universal monetary system to facilitate trade; the setting up of an international bank to make development capital available in all parts of the world.

Underlying all the discussions of the economic section was the clear conviction that a new ordering of economic life was both imminent and imperative, and that it would come either through voluntary cooperation within the democratic framework or through explosive political revolution. Judged by the standard of what it does to people, the system of free enterprise as we have known it was tried and found wanting. So, too, was any system which has to depend wholly on state control to be operative.

The Christian ideal of human service as paramount to personal gain or governmental coercion was held to be the only motivation which could lead to a just and durable economic peace.

What Kind of Post-War World?

With regard to the political structure of the post-war world, the conference did not place its stamp of approval on any of the current plans or proposals. The need for some form of world organization with full American participation was, however, clearly recognized. While admittedly vague, this is perhaps more realistic than would at first appear. It is precisely because ecclesiastics will doubtless not be called upon directly to write the terms of peace that the only likely channel through which the Church’s influence can be made effective is a public opinion which has been so aroused to the necessity of a peace from which the spirit of revenge will be absent, a peace that will lead to effective international cooperation, that it will make insistent demands toward that end upon the statesmen who will write the peace. Insofar as the doctrine of the separation of Church and State (another mark of "religion as usual") has been interpreted to mean that the Church must keep its fingers out of politics, that doctrine is on the way out.

With regard to the social bases of a just and durable peace, the conference rightly went to the mourner's bench. "We acknowledge with profound contrition the sin of racial discrimination in American life and our own share, though we are Christians, in the common guilt. So long as our attitudes and policies deny people of other races in our own or other lands the essential position of brothers in the common family of mankind, we cannot safely be trusted with the making of a just and durable peace." To achieve a just and durable democracy at home is a task which will not admit of delay. Here again "religion as usual," with its tolerance of racial and cultural discrimination will no longer suffice.

What will become of the findings of the Delaware Conference? They are to be made the basis for serious and continued study and action in churches throughout the country. If the sense of urgency which characterized the proceedings at Delaware permeates the life of the Church as it accepts another chance—perhaps the last—to build a world of order, justice and peace, it will clearly mark the passing of "religion as usual" and the birth of a new Church for a new world.

The tragedy is that it should take a war to do that.
The Battle of Detroit

by BEULAH AMIDON

If news from the assembly lines were written by war correspondents, the Battle of Detroit would be reported in today's headlines. Perhaps if news from the assembly lines were featured as is the news from the battle lines, we should realize more clearly the need for closed ranks and all-out effort on the production front, as well as in the Pacific, in Russia, along the menaced supply lines to east and west. We are threatened by an enemy who chose guns instead of butter while we used steel and aluminum and irreplaceable rubber to attain peak production in shiny new pleasure cars, a defense boom in consumer goods. Now it is on the assembly lines that the first victory must be won — a victory that will redress the inequality between the United Nations and our foes in planes, tanks, munitions, and ships.—The Editors

I. The War Comes to Michigan

Detroit is one of the crucial salients on the production front. Here is an eye-witness report of progress. I shall deal only incidentally with the technicalities of converting the world's greatest mass production industry from civilian to war production. Instead, this report will attempt to cover the changes called for by "conversion" in the number, type, and training of the workers needed, and the new community problems that result. And along with them the casualties of the conversion stage of the battle—the workers thrown out of work, and what is being done to conserve their skill and their morale for the long pull ahead.

It is useless now to lament wasted time and materials. The auto industry was no slower than most of the rest of the nation to face either our peril or our unreadiness to meet it. More than a year too late, the last passenger car "for the duration" has rolled off the lines. A half has been called, too, in the output of other machine-age comforts—refrigerators, radios, musical instruments, typewriters, toys, silk stockings. What is happening in Detroit is perhaps the most dramatic example, but in some degree it is typical of what every industrial community in this country is experiencing today, or will experience tomorrow.

It was more than eighteen months ago that "conversion" became headline news. That was when Walter Reuther, the redheaded young toolmaker who is one of the outstanding leaders of the CIO and its United Auto Workers, declared that by "converting" its unused capacity the automobile industry could turn out 500 planes a day. The proposal never received serious attention either in Washington or within the industry itself. Industry spokesmen were inclined to "pooh pooh" the whole idea. Men from the assembly lines clamored that it could be done, and offered to prove it.

That argument is academic now. Let us look rather at the task for which the government finally has drafted the auto plants.

What is going forward in Detroit is not an effort to superimpose war production on "business as usual," but at top speed to put the entire industry on a war footing. The task of conversion, as this reporter was shown it, is neither so simple as some declare, nor so slow, difficult, and costly as others argued. One motor company, for example, got $25,000,000 to build a new plant for a certain type of defense production, because it was "impossible" to use a subsidiary plant for this contract. Then shortage of materials made it impossible to build the new plant, and behold, as one part of its extension program, the company is converting that subsidiary to serve the same purpose. An engineer told me, "We'd be rolling by now if we'd started a year ago."

The task of conversion proceeds unevenly from plant to plant. Ford is by all odds the farthest ahead. Perhaps because control of that vast enterprise almost has been in the hands of production men rather than promoters, the Ford organization has kept a bold and adventurous spirit in the manufacturing field, a zest for "trying new things." The bomber plant, now in test production, is the latest embodiment of that spirit.

It goes without saying that every plant—that is, every building—used to make automobiles can be used for war production. But, in some instances, "conversion" means that the equipment which made engines, parts, bodies, gadgets for cars must be dismantled and stored, and new machine tools built and installed. "General purpose" equipment—lathes, boring mills, and so on—can in many instances be turned to new uses. But of the "special purpose" machines, designed, perfected, and used for a definite job, few can be turned from making cars to making the weapons of mechanized warfare.

The difference between Detroit's normal production and its war production rests, first, on difference in materials. Tanks, for example, are made of heavy alloy steel, ¼ inch or more thick; a car body is made of 20 gauge stock, 1/32 inch thick. In aircraft production, the difference is still more striking. Men and machines, accustomed to steel, must be "converted" to aluminum.

"Look," said a man who has wrestled with this problem, "all the two materials have in common is that they're both metals. You can just throw steel around. We're used to piling it up and walking on it. You can't handle aluminum like that. The metal used for wings has a .002 inch sheet of a special alloy rolled on in order to slow corrosion if the plane is flown in sea air. That 'skin' mustn't be scratched. You have to treat it like gold leaf! This industry isn't just changing engines—its got to lay new tracks."

Another factor is the greater intricacy of tanks and planes as compared with cars. A car body, for example, is made of about 400 pieces. But 6,400 pieces go into one pair of airplane wings. To make a Ford body, Murray required 300 fixtures (pieces of equipment). To build
an airplane wing they use 1,950 fixtures, and 2,100 dies.

Thus “conversion” is not a matter merely of adapting existing tools and procedures to new purposes, though that is being done, too. It means that acres of equipment must be torn out, dismantled and stored, acres of new equipment must be built, installed, tested, “tuned up,” improved, adequately manned, thousands of workers retrained, before Detroit is ready for all-out production.

The major bottleneck today is in machine tools. Detroit clamors for machine tools—machines to make the machines of war. And yet when I was there in mid-February, the independent machine tool shops were not working at full capacity, because of a shortage of tool and die makers. With MacArthur’s men driven into their fox holes by lack of planes and tanks, many of the shops were dark eight hours out of the twenty-four.

The reason is one of those “bugs” which should have been taken out months ago. The tool and die makers are the aristocrats of labor, the key men whose skill is essential to mass production. In Detroit the shortage of tool and die makers has been aggravated by friction over the wage differential between the “captive shops” of the auto makers and the independent or job shops; and also by long standing union restrictions on apprenticeship, and union resistance to “upgrading,” or “dilution of skill.” Last November, UAW-CIO proposed a joint labor-management conference to work out a solution for the upgrading problem, but only one company agreed to participate and the plan was dropped. Finally, in early February Sidney Hillman, head of the labor division of the War Production Board, came to Detroit to sit down with representatives of employers and the union. After a one-day conference, an agreement on policy was reached, wiping out the wage differential and clearing the way for upgrading—that is, spreading the skill of available toolmakers by bringing learners and helpers into the independent shops. But the conference struck a snag when the UAW sought to extend wage stabilization beyond the tool and die craftsmen to the maintenance men in the shops as well. Management holds that there was an “understanding” that the union would not use the tool and die agreement as an argument for wage increases in other occupations. At this writing, the debate continues, with no progress toward easing Detroit’s machine tool bottleneck.

Even with a shortage of machine tools, the auto industry has been reluctant, except in the case of a few individual plants, to pool equipment. A machine, which could be used by one concern, is torn down and stored by another which cannot “convert” it to use under its own war production contract. The WPB has made up a list of tools that are critical to conversion, and is asking the auto plants how many are available. The industry has announced some plans for voluntary pooling. But representatives of both labor and management hold that this is essentially a government job, pointing out that pooling can be fully effective only on an industry-wide basis.

Even more important is the slowing up of conversion by failure to standardize types and parts of tanks and planes. “If we could only decide on one light tank, one medium tank, one combat plane—and get those rolling!”

The time clock is empty, the assembly line idle in this Detroit auto plant, which is retooling for war production.
a harassed WPB official exclaimed, in telling me about "some of our headaches." And he added, "We are short of machine tools at best—this passion to experiment and refine and try something different and change designs and send nine different light tanks to the front to be tested under battle conditions—we haven't got time for that! Thousands of good tanks soon are more important than tinkering around to try to get a few super-improved tanks, but..."

Standardization, however, is not a matter over which industry has control. Production is the responsibility of management and labor; the blueprints are furnished by the army and navy.

The immediate responsibility for putting the auto industry on a war footing has been delegated by Donald M. Nelson of the WPB to Ernest Kanzler, former Ford executive. The plan is less than the United Automobile Workers (CIO) wanted and tried to get—a voice for organized labor in the direction and control of the industry. This, management made clear, it was not prepared to accept. Certainly the present set-up is more satisfactory both to labor and management than the Ching Committee, an earlier improvisation which, however excellent its personnel, lacked authority, lines of policy, and power to proceed. One union official put it this way: "If this set-up works, it's a good set-up. If it doesn't, it's a bad one. Time will tell—and not much time."

Close in to the day's work, any Detroit news stories have headlined the stoppages in plants working on defense contracts, particularly a recent Ford tie-up which was in effect a jurisdictional squabble over a single AFL machanic in a shop organized by UAW-CIO. Responsible labor leaders are quick to condemn this sort of hasty walk-out. But they see, too, the immature labor relations of the vast industry which was until recently an open shop stronghold. And they realize to the full, as many outsiders seem unable to do, the difficulty of "working things out" in a period of strain, with inexperience and suspicion on both sides, in the shop as well as around the conference table, and with an overhang of old antagonisms and bitterness that only time and new patterns of thought and action can dispel. Meanwhile, the use of established machinery for settling disputes is not yet habitual to either side.

"Blow up first and talk afterwards," is the old formula. Stoppages result, and they are headline news. There is agreement on all sides that the stoppages must stop. But to responsible spokesmen for the unions, harsh anti-labor legislation seems certain to increase rather than lubricate the friction. And the same holds for spokesmen for the industry and for such government agencies as the War Labor Board, the U. S. Conciliation Service, the Labor Division of WPB.

Certainly a major cause of strikes, stoppages, and friction in industrial relations in Detroit as in other war industry centers is the lack of a clear cut government labor policy. No such policy was developed during the defense period, and none has been shaped as a framework for the new War Labor Board. Lacking a government policy on the closed shop, that thorny issue continues to plague production. Both in steel and in autos, the current "closed shop" demand could develop into a controversy as crucial as the "captive coal mines" case. Unless this issue is settled "for the duration" by some agreement as to government policy, it seems clear that Congress will lay down a policy, probably by enacting the Smith bill, or some equally extreme measure.

The pressure for drastic legislation, for lengthening the work day, eliminating overtime compensation, "freezing" wages, has lowered labor's morale, chiefly because there has been no comparable public demand for more effective control of prices and profits. A UAW official put it this way: "Of course we'll give up overtime pay or anything else if we're sure it's for the U.S.A. But we won't do it for the company. We know something about their profits—for instance, the 27 percent on their Diesel contract. We know that four men took nearly seven million dollars out of Gen-

![This mighty press, a special purpose machine, must be stored "for the duration"](image)

[200] SURVEY GRAPHIC
eral Motors in 1940, in salaries and bonuses and dividends. We know their 'take' was bigger in 1941. What is it going to be this year? How much does the company make on its war contracts? If we give up overtime pay, is it going to be to help the country or to give these men another bonus or some more dividends? I think the question of profits on war contracts has more to do with morale here in Detroit than prices or wages or anything else.

When you come to management morale, the thing that grieves is the feeling often expressed that the new unions are "irresponsible," and "impulsive" and that "You never know in the morning who is going to blow up that day, or why." A good many employers hold that the union practice of electing stewards and officials annually contributes to this instability. "It is partly inexperience in working this collective bargaining business, and I mean inexperience on both sides," one production engineer admitted frankly. "But then these union elections kind of keep things in a turmoil. The men think they are more likely to be chosen if they have a record of aggressiveness and 'action' and sometimes they're not too nice about how they build up that record. I think at least 85 percent of the men want to work and do a good job and are capable of doing a good job. The other 15 percent—well, that includes some inefficient workers that we can't fire without a big fuss with the union and so we let them go along, and then a few agitating left-wingers that stir things up just for the hell of it. We can't fire them, either. They make an art of squawking. And, of course, the way the unions keep trying to edge in on management—well, a good many of us look on management as a science. We don't think a first rate mechanic necessarily understands management. We resent the way they keep trying to move in on us. I don't think myself that's effective cooperation. They have their jobs, we have ours. I don't go down to the shop and try to take over Bill Jones' lathe. Well, let him keep his hands off my desk. His feet, too."

Here are prickly and diverse points of view. On our success in reconciling them in some degree, in establishing give-and-take industrial relations, and cooperation between management and labor in eliminating waste and speeding production hangs the outcome of the war.

It is impossible to write about current industrial relations in the Detroit area without some reference to the cleavage within the ranks of labor itself. For the most part, UAW-CIO presents a solid front to the public and to the industry. Behind the scenes, however, there is a tug-of-war between the "Addes crowd," who are the followers of John L. Lewis, and the "Reuther crowd," who are his opponents, and. . . . But that is another story, long and involved, and it is the fact of this split, not its detail, that is significant in the Detroit scene today. So long as it lasts, it diverts labor's energy and attention from the task in hand.

II. Casualties of Conversion

The devastation of the Detroit production battle as measured in layoffs and the resulting hardships to workers and their families is less than it was feared it would be. In early December, statements carried in the press and on the radio and the testimony before the Tolan
Committee warned that between 200,000 and 300,000 auto workers would be tramping the streets of the Michigan auto towns when car production ended, that Detroit faced the sharpest unemployment crisis since the grim winter of 1932-33. Without minimizing the harshness of the actual situation, and the disproportionate burden thrown on displaced auto workers, it can be said now that actual developments have not borne out these predictions.

On February 1, there were 214,435 persons in Michigan registered as job applicants in the active file of the United States Employment Service. This is an over-all figure, which includes domestic, clerical, mercantile, and casual labor, as well as production workers. This total is higher, but not alarmingly higher than for the previous month (152,372); or than for February 1, 1941, when 135,814 Michigan workers were seeking jobs through the USES.

In the week ending February 14, 108,297 unemployment benefit checks were issued in Michigan, as compared with 25,323 in the corresponding week in 1941. The employment service estimated that as of February 14, there were about 120,000 workers unemployed in Wayne County (Detroit and its environs), and that this number would be increased by 20,000 the following week, and by 30,000 in the last week of the month. The “turn of the tide” was looked for early in March, with employment passing the previous all time high, reached in June 1941, sometime between July and September.

Detroit Public Welfare figures tell a similar story. As of February 1, the case load showed “only the expected seasonal increase—nothing beyond that.” On that date, Public Welfare was carrying 10,459 cases, as compared with 10,712 the preceding week, and 14,025 the corresponding week in 1941. Figures for the Wayne County Public Welfare run about one third the Detroit totals. “By no means all our relief applicants come to us because of layoff,” a Public Welfare official told me. “In fact, about 50 percent are unemployed because of sickness; about a third of our total are supplementation cases.” On February 11, there were 11,452 individuals on WPA, as compared with approximately 19,000 in the corresponding week in 1941. WPA has no waiting list in Detroit or in Wayne County—it is able to add to its rolls at once all those certified as eligible by Public Welfare.

Several factors have served, so far, to cut down the magnitude of unemployment caused by the conversion of the auto industry to war production. The expanded truck program, calling for about half a million military trucks and a large number of medium and heavy civilian trucks, is keeping men at work under contracts requiring little or no change in plant equipment or process. Fully as important is the parts program, which calls for the output in a few months of a “normal” two-year production of parts for cars already in use. Third, the number of production workers “kept on” to rip out old machinery and to put in the new assembly lines substantially exceeds the earlier estimates. Finally, the nationwide speed-up in war production has meant a substantial increase in the number and amount of war contracts in the Detroit area.

It must be borne in mind that even by the time this report is in print, Detroit may not have “passed the hump” of unemployment. The question which cannot be answered at this writing is whether conversion will be swift enough to reabsorb workers in the plants without more general layoffs than were foreseen in mid-February; and whether the workers’ own resources, plus unemployment insurance benefits and other community resources, will be exhausted before “the big pick up.” On the hopeful side of this uncertain balance is the fact that the peak at the expanded truck program will coincide with the expected peak of layoffs in March. Further, the auto workers had had the longest stretch of steady employment in the industry’s history and, as a public welfare official put it, “I suppose we can assume a certain amount of personal savings. Whether it is fair or decent to expect workers to impoverish themselves to help bridge this changeover is another question.”

On the other side of the ledger is the meagerness of unemployment compensation benefits, especially when measured against the normal wage levels of the auto industry and the rising cost of living.

In Detroit as in all defense areas, layoffs present critical problems, not only for the worker and the community but also for the war effort. It is essential to the swift achievement of all-out production that when the new machines and assembly lines are ready, the workers be there to man them. But when workers are faced with layoff, dwindling personal resources, meager unemployment compensation benefits, the necessary labor pool is likely to be seriously depleted by the migration of workers to seek jobs in West Coast plane plants or shipyards down South. This is particularly true of young, unattached workers, who are industry’s “best bet” for retraining and quick adaptability to new equipment and procedures. Under the seniority provisions of union-management contracts, such workers are the first laid off, the last called back. A substantial proportion of the workers retained are, of course, older men and while many of them are highly skilled, they frequently prove to be less useful than younger men in getting a new program quickly into high gear. Ironically enough, the same seniority provision serves to throw out of work first, and call back last, the men with the most limited benefit rights, and to shorten or eliminate the layoff of the workers who have had opportunity to accumulate maximum benefit rights. Clearly provision for men laid off must be viewed not only from the welfare standpoint, but in relation to labor needs.

The Michigan Unemployment Compensation Law, one of the most generous in the country, provided minimum benefits of $7, maximum benefits of $16, a maximum duration of eighteen weeks, after a two weeks waiting period. A few weeks ago, Congress considered and turned down an Administration proposal for an appropriation of $300,000,000, to be used to supplement state unemployment insurance benefits. This was to cover the difference for eligible workers between the state maximum and a maximum of $24 a week, and to extend maximum duration to twenty-six weeks. The measure was supported by organized labor, which saw in it a partial solution for the economic problem of displaced workers. It was supported with equal vigor by the Michigan Manufacturers’ Association, the members of which feared that unless the federal measure went through, the state legislature would amend the Michigan law to liberalize benefits, thereby imperiling the merit rating provisions of the act. As John Lovett, general manager of the association, warned in a letter to members on February 3, “The statement was made by the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission [last year] that whenever the Michigan fund dropped below $125,000,000, that merit rating should be
set aside and no tax reduction given to employers."

The refusal of Congress to make the appropriation had some relation to the fact brought out in hearings on the federal proposal that Michigan now has about $135,000,000 in its unemployment reserve, and the estimate that liberalized benefits probably would mean an increased expenditure of about $15,000,000.

The problem was thus thrown back into the special session of the Michigan legislature. A long and acrimonious wrangle followed. The predominantly rural legislature, which looks at "cash income" from a farmer's point of view, felt scant enthusiasm for increasing the established unemployment benefit payments to factory workers. The proposal also was opposed by many industrialists who, with Mr. Lovett, held that "the real plot behind all these maneuvers is taking away from Michigan employers a reduction in taxes because of experience rating and throwing the Michigan employer back on the 3.5 tax rate." As finally passed, unanimously, by the legislature and signed by Governor Van Wagoner amendments to the Michigan unemployment compensation law increase minimum benefits from $7 to $12 a week, maximum benefits from $16 to $20, and cut the waiting period from two weeks to one. The maximum duration is extended from eighteen to twenty weeks, and there is provision for re-determining benefit rights, thus giving workers already laid off the advantage of the amendments.

III. Lessons from an Emergency

Students of social insurance in this country point to the impossibility of continuing to try to deal with unemployment on an "emergency" basis. That is to segregate one type of unemployment ("priorities unemployment," "conversion unemployment") and attempt to handle it as an isolated phenomenon. It is easy enough to say, for example, that the assembly line worker laid off while the plant where he has worked changes from making passenger cars to making anti-aircraft guns is suffering from "conversion unemployment." But how about the waitress laid off because, while the plant is shut down, there are no auto workers to patronize the lunch room where she normally is employed? Or, how about the driver laid off because the wage earners on his milk route now are buying milk at the cash-and-carry? Layoffs are as inevitable in converting industry to a war footing as in changing models. The difference is that they are likely to be more widespread and their duration less predictable. The more violent the change over, the greater the dislocation. England suffered its peak unemployment of the past decade after Dunkirk.

Three alternative courses would seem to face this country:

1. Continue our present federal-state set-up, its supervision by the Social Security Board, its custody of funds in the United States Treasury, its wide latitude by the states for experiment in administration and provisions; and supplement inadequate benefits by federal "doles."

2. Nationalize the system "for the duration" as has been done with the federal-state employment service.

3. Reorganize the 51 state administrations into a federal system, comparable to Federal Old Age Insurance.

Some of the inadequacies of the present schemes were pointed out by Prof. William Haber of the University of Michigan, in a paper read at a joint session of the American Economic Association and the American Association for Labor Legislation in late December:

In spite of an almost embarrassing reserve of nearly $2,500,000,000 at the close of 1941, many state funds face probable bankruptcy. . . . The total balance in the Unemployment Trust Fund has no significance from the viewpoint of the solvency of the system as a whole. It is not a national pool to be used for unemployment in any state. The risk of
unemployment varies considerably among the states and the ample reserves of one state cannot be transferred to meet the demands in other states. The funds vary considerably in size. . . . However, the surplus of the states with the large reserves remains sterile; it cannot be transferred to meet the deficits of the state whose reserves are exhausted.

Professor Haber sees the solution in a national unemployment compensation system which the federalization of the public employment service now makes possible [see "American Speed-Up" in Survey Graphic for February 1942, page 53]. As this authority views it:

The case for a national unemployment compensation law is primarily economic and fiscal, rather than administrative. Such a plan makes it possible to recognize the national character of the problem of unemployment and its varying incidence among the states. It recognizes that the individual states do not represent economic areas and that few have any control over the magnitude of the unemployment problem which occurs within their borders. It makes it possible to spread the risk over the entire country, thereby to equalize costs and to assure greater equality of treatment throughout the country.

Professor Haber adds that these factors are more compelling today than when they were in 1935 when the Social Security Act was in process of formulation. Then the arguments in favor of a national system were put forward in a minority report of the President's Advisory Committee on Economic Security. The majority report recommended the cooperative federal-state scheme finally embodied in the Social Security Act. Professor Haber summarizes his detailed argument thus:

The primary justification for a national plan is to be found in the greater probability that by approaching the problem from the viewpoint of the labor market as a national institution, the "real problems" of coverage, experience rating, benefit structure, interstate workers, and financing would be considered in relation to the requirements of an adequate system of unemployment insurance.

Cogent arguments against the nationalization of unemployment insurance are urged by many critics of the proposal. Thus Elizabeth Brandeis, of the department of economics at the University of Wisconsin, wrote a year ago in the American Labor Legislation Review:

Having set up experiments within the different states it would seem the part of statesmanship to carry them on for a few years instead of junking them now. Even the experts in the Social Security Board can hardly be ready to pronounce final judgment yet. In 1939 they recommended rather substantial changes from their draft bills of 1936 and 1937. Can anyone be sure that he now has the last word? If not, it is too early to choose a uniform pattern for the whole country. . . .

To this writer at least, freedom and responsibility for state legislatures (and even for state administrators) seem well worth preserving and strengthening . . . for future use. Federal standards may seem a short cut to benefit liberalization now. But in the long run increased federal control may level down as well as up . . . in all aspects of our unemployment compensation program.

Turning to another aspect of the question, she stated, . . . there is another fundamental objection to federal reinsurance: It is utterly incompatible with experience rating. In fact it is the logical extension of flat rate financing and would probably force that form on all states. Under federal reinsurance the employers in a state in which there is relatively little unemployment would have to pay a higher tax than would otherwise be necessary in order to help support the unemployed elsewhere. . . . Why should they?

Prof. Edwin E. Witte of the University of Wisconsin writes in the current issue of the same quarterly:

To these arguments, the opponents of federalization have replied that national problems do not, necessarily, have to be dealt with exclusively by officials of the national government. The United States, under its federal system of government, has dealt quite as effectively with national problems as have the unitary governments of Europe. Our national and state governments should not be regarded as hostile and warring governments, but as integral parts of a coordinated federal system of government, such as was contemplated by the founding fathers. . . . While it may be preferable for large employers operating in many states and the national unions with headquarters in Washington to be relieved from the necessity of dealing with the state as well as the national governments, this is more than offset by the remoteness of the national capital to the small employers and individual workmen.

What are the elements in a national unemployment compensation system, as seen by informed advocates of such a move? Based on British and American experience, the following seem to the writer well worth study at this time:

1. A scheme to cover all wage earners, including domestic and agricultural labor.

2. The amount of benefits based either on the wage principle or on the principle of family security with allowances for dependents; with maximum benefits at the rate of about 65 percent of average wages, but with the rates scaled upward perhaps to 75 percent for the lowest wage groups.

3. Duration of benefits of twenty-six weeks as a right, not as a "dole" to piece out expired benefit rights.

4. A one-week waiting period.

5. Costs, which probably would amount to 5 to 6 percent of payrolls, to be divided three ways, with contributions from employer, employee, and the government. In this connection it is worth pointing out that, while under forty-five of the present fifty-one federal-state systems, the employer is the sole contributor to the unemployment reserve, in six states workers also pay an unemployment compensation tax. At the time the Social Security Act was passed there was stiff opposition by organized labor to employer contributions. Today there is reason to believe that many more national labor leaders favor such a scheme. In 1942 even more than in 1935, there are reasons for public contributions.

IV. Manpower

Serious as are the problems of unemployment and the "tide over" of workers in Detroit, that community is even more concerned about the problem of labor supply. For once the retooling program has been squeezed through the machine tool bottleneck, once the assembly lines are "tuned up," Detroit will confront an acute labor shortage—even if, by some means or other, the "pool" of laid-off auto workers is kept intact. By the end of the year, Detroit will have urgent jobs for many more work-
The curves of unemployment compensation show workers made jobless while auto plants retool for new models—or for war.

Carried on by the schools, by the National Youth Administration, and by industry itself. The U. S. Employment Service analyzes industrial needs, and makes recommendations for training to the schools and to NYA through the local Councils of Administrators of Defense Training. No class is established for training workers for placement in war industry without a specific recommendation from the USES based on its surveys of anticipated hiring and layoffs, and upon actual job studies made in local plants.

Detroit public schools lead all others in the number of defense workers given job training. On January 31, there were 831 classes; by February 14, the number of classes had increased to 859. In both January and February, more than 25,000 individuals were enrolled in these training classes. Even more revealing than the numbers enrolled was the shift away from part time "supplementary" training. Up to the end of civilian production, this had accounted for 90 percent of the trainees. Men and a few women, in their leisure time, thus increased their skill or acquired fresh skills, preparatory to upgrading. But with the end of car production, the need was for full time "conversion" training to equip workers for the new program, and this will be the need of most new workers coming into the area.
The Detroit schools had had a good deal of experience in this type of training before January 31. For example, 78 percent of the workers in Hudson Ordnance (a new, not a converted plant, making guns and gun mounts) were trained in public school vocational courses. Most of the trainees were men from the Hudson assembly line.

Much of the training in schools is given in close cooperation with a specific employer. For example, a concern formerly engaged in fiber construction for automobile bodies secured a contract to make parachutes. A management-labor committee from this plant conferred with the director of vocational training. They brought with them a list of all the jobs involved in making parachutes, and these were broken down into processes. The conference sought answers to two questions: "What must the workers know? What must they be taught?" A list of the firm's employees, with their skills, was matched against these lists. Then the group worked out units of training, and the project was launched.

The length of time required for training varies. Fifty hours is enough for some types of "refresher" courses, or to teach a single simple skill, like reading a specific gauge. Three hundred hours in some instances has been found sufficient "to take an absolutely green worker and give him a real skill."

Employers who have exhausted their seniority lists are avid for the trainees. How avid is illustrated by the experience of a school official who went out to an old hangar where eleven shops now give training twenty-four hours a day. At 11:30 at night, he came upon a class with only seven students. "Look here," he said to the instructor, "we can't afford this—this class isn't anything like up to capacity." "No, it isn't," the instructor agreed, "we had a class of thirty-one at ten o'clock tonight. All but these seven have been pulled out and set to work over at the X plant—their seniority list has run out."

In some instances unions have seen in the vocational classes a chance for their members to make the "change over" to war work. For example, a committee from the Photo Engravers Union, in cooperation with school authorities, analyzed the skills of the union members and cooperated in setting up special courses in which highly skilled photo engravers are trained as machine tool inspectors; the less skilled, in light riveting.

So far, the demand of employers has been almost entirely for male workers. Women have been trained by the schools only at the written request of an employer. School authorities look for a sharp increase in the demand for women workers by midsummer.

The National Youth Administration is giving job experience to about three thousand young people working on NYA defense projects in Detroit. NYA here confines itself pretty closely to work with inexperienced youth. "We aren't much interested in ex-auto workers," said one of the officials. There are four NYA shops in the Detroit area, in which about 1,000 young people at a time gain work experience in machine tool occupations, sheet metal work, work on aircraft engines, light and heavy welding, radio, auto mechanics. "It is not the function of NYA, of course, to turn out a finished mechanic," one of the state officials explained. "But we do produce 'shop broke' youngsters by the thousand—boys who know something about tools, materials, safety, responsibility. These are the fundamentals. Industry itself gives them the rest."

The most urgent training problem in the schools and in NYA is equipment. The situation would seem to make imperative the need to use every available NYA and school training station for war workers. Nevertheless, the regular four-year course is still going forward in the day sessions of Detroit vocational schools (and, probably, in the day vocational schools throughout the country). Under the Smith-Hughes and George-Dean acts, federal funds are available on a matching basis for these courses, and most school authorities resent any attempt to interfere with "the regular program." Further, in many small communities vocational training equipment is not fully used because so few young people have stayed at home for job training. But so far, the schools, like industry, resist the idea of "pooling equipment," and the obstacles to moving equipment even from school district to school district are viewed as insuperable.

A Detroit lathe operator told me, "The thing that puts the edge on a man is training on the job." Spokesmen for vocational training, for NYA, for unions and management, confirmed that statement.

Training within industry is a Detroit tradition. The long established training programs of the auto makers, which are models for similar programs in other mass production industries here and abroad, were modified and expanded during the defense program. They are being reshaped and expanded again to meet the demands of the war effort. An urgent need today is for widespread adoption of in-plant training by smaller concerns which have war contracts.

In a national view, the great gap in training, as in the recruiting and allocation of labor, is coordination. The manpower of the U.S.A. is vast, but it is not unlimited. Manpower is needed for the armed forces, for war production, and for civilian goods. We know the production task confronting us. There are certain variables in our equation—for example, military and naval losses; the risks of damage by enemy action and sabotage to war production materials and equipment, and to essential civilian supplies and services, which will have to be made good—but with proper allowances for such factors, we know the size and shape of our problem. We know that it dwarfs in magnitude and in the values at stake anything we hitherto have confronted in our national life.

The times would seem to call for the most effective use of our total skill, experience, and strength. One practical method to this end would be to coordinate the recruiting, training, and allocation of labor, with all three processes cleared through a nationwide agency. To many people, the federalization of the public employment service seemed a first step in this direction. But today the whole problem is complicated by the resistance of certain employers and unions to compulsory hiring through the public employment service, and by the familiar patterns of inter-agency jealousy and friction in Washington.

The tug of war at Washington between the Federal Security Agency, the U. S. Department of Labor, and the labor division of the WPB for authority over the labor market was conspicuous on the "local level" of Detroit in mid-February. It was freely rumored that an Executive Order, defining the task and allocating responsibility, had been prepared. At this writing no such order has been issued, and if it has been drawn, its content is not current, even as "chit-chat." But to any recent
GROWTH: FAMILIES VS. DWELLINGS: 1930-1940

INCREASE IN FAMILIES

55,000

DWELLINGS PROVIDED

FOR SALE

SINGLE

MULTIPLE

FOR RENT

LIGHT HOUSE KEEPING

PUBLIC PROJECT

39,000

DWELLINGS DEMOLISHED

6,000

33,000 33,000

NOTE:
EACH UNIT REPRESENTS 4000

DWELLING SHORTAGE 22,000

Additional workers needed for Detroit’s war production program will come to a city plagued for a decade by a housing shortage.

observer of the crucial Battle of Detroit, the call is for clear and immediate steps to organize and direct the labor supply.

V. Arsenal for Democracy

But war production means not only the conversion of civilian plants and workers. It dislocates community services as well. No words could have made the point so clear to this reporter as a day in one Michigan township, near Detroit, where several defense plants are located.

Drive across the gray-brown “flat lands” on an overcast winter day, and out of the drab countryside you suddenly see military tanks appear, like the figures in a “find-the-dragons” puzzle picture. The monsters are so well camouflaged that suddenly they simply are there, roaring toward the highway. They swing to the right and instantly are silhouetted in clear detail against the light colored cement ramp of a “test” grade. They pound up the slope, hang a moment, then dip over the sharp peak and vanish. Once more they appear, their protective color concealing them long after they are close enough to be seen. They inspire a new emotion—a blend of respect, pride, and horror. One shrinks from the thought of human beings at their mercy. But yet how swift and how invincible... These super-weapons are being made in a tax-free government plant out in that township. The location of the plant in a semi-rural area without apparent thought for housing, transportation, water supply, sewage disposal, schools, recreation, or medical care for its several thousand workers, drives home the high cost of our American irresponsibility, and of our adolescent unwillingness to plan and organize our undertakings in war, as in peace.

It was humiliating to go from that testing ground, with its man-made hills and gullies, its vigilant watch towers, its thundering mechanisms, to a noisome trailer camp housing men who helped create behemoth. The population of the township increased from 8,000 to 22,126 in 1940; by February 1942, it was over 35,000. Inadequate defense funds for new schools have come from Washington. When I was there, the schools were running from 7:30 in the morning until 5:00 in the evening, each teacher holding three sessions a day with classes of 35 to 90 children.

The only defense housing unit in the area will house about 500 families when it is completed. Meanwhile, twenty times that many families of war workers live in tarpaper shacks, in garages (converted and unconverted), in trailer camps, in cheap bungalows run up by speculators and sold “on easy terms, less than rent.” The water lines are few and inadequate. (Continued on page 220)
As director of the American Youth Commission—one of the most outstanding groups of men and women in America, who, under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young, have been studying the problems of youth—Mr. Reeves summarizes the harsh realities and the long range program contained in the commission's final report, brought out in wartime, but looking beyond today to the generations to follow.

In a period of total war as well as in time of peace the objectives of American education should include the effective preparation of young people for life in all its aspects—for work, for health, for use of leisure time, for home membership, and above all, for the obligations of citizenship in a democracy. In the light of these objectives, the American Youth Commission has recommended drastic revisions in the traditional teaching methods and curriculum content of our secondary schools where the great bulk of the youth population of the nation is registered.

But education cannot be the sole responsibility of the schools. There, formal education is the rule; and there, too, education in the formal sense ends for most young people before the span of youth is over. As a matter of fact, responsibility for education in this broader sense has always been shared by other institutions—by the home and, in religious education, by the church. Also, for many years, a great variety of youth-serving agencies have shared responsibility in a major way for what may be called the "informal education" of youth. And finally over the past half a dozen years responsibility for the care, education, and employment of certain sectors of youth has been taken over by several agencies of our federal government—notably the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration.

In a world that has been changing rapidly, this multiplication of activities, this sharing of responsibility with society's older institutions by newly created ones, has been fortunate indeed.

If the sharing had not taken place, youth's interests would have been cared for even less adequately than they have been. And it will be necessary in the period of the emergency through which we are now passing to use to the fullest the resources and the leadership of all of these youth-serving agencies. It is fortunate, I say, that we have them, but it is also confusing.

It presents us with the practical problem of coordination—which a few years ago did not exist in anything like its present form. It presents us with the problem, for example, of cooperation between the schools, controlled locally by communities and counties, and public youth agencies, which are controlled by the federal government. It presents us with many other problems.

The American Youth Commission, in its studies and its final report, has tried to think through those agency and organizational problems. It has often found the best answers in concrete examples of community action where local leadership found youth's needs so pressing that it set out to solve them with any and all organizational resources at hand. It found them in examples where techniques of cooperation, and an efficient division of labor, grew and flourished in the heat of action. But who, it may be asked, can be said to be primarily responsible for discovering the needs of youth, and for deciding who shall meet them? In practice, the American Youth Commission has found that the necessary awareness, and the spark of leadership that leads to action, may come from any one of a dozen sources, from the federation of churches, from a local defense council, from one of the voluntary youth-serving agencies, from a local service club, from a businessmen's organization, or from organized labor, which under its own auspices has been developing important youth activities. Regardless of where the original impulse arises, when the whole community reaches the point of action, an important battle for youth has been won. But local activity must be fitted, of course, into the national pattern, and must utilize programs and resources at other levels.

One of the best ways to start mobilizing the resources of all youth-serving agencies, public and private, is through a community survey. Youth itself, in such a survey, and in the action to follow, can play an active and important role. Young people are interested in studying their own problems. Surveys made at regular intervals should answer such questions as: what is the educational, employment or recreational status of youth in the community? What are their vital and unmet needs? What are the ways and means to meet them? After the facts have been gathered—an enterprise of great educational value in itself, and one that teaches many lessons of cooperative citizenship—the community is in a position to mobilize for action.

The American Youth Commission has found that the community reaches its maximum effectiveness in meeting the needs of young people in school and out, where there is some organization whose business it is to know and to utilize all youth-serving resources, physical and organizational, at the community level. To quote:

Ideally, every community would have a regularly functioning association of its people of all ages pointed toward cooperative conservation, improvement and optimum use of the community's material and human resources. . . . There might well be a community-wide committee or council concerned with the total problem of youth . . . subcommittees concerned respectively with civic education, occupational adjustment, health, recreation, or other related essentials.

Let me illustrate, in the light of the present emergency.
Is there an influx of young workers into the community because of sudden industrial expansion? Has a large factory just been closed because of a priority ruling? Is delinquency on the increase? Is there a problem of social adjustment between military cantonments and a surrounding civilian area? Have the inadequacies of health and recreational facilities become an emergency problem? A community association or council could not, of course, solve such problems alone, but, better than any other agency, it could mobilize the community’s resources to meet and alleviate the problem.

Of the making of new committees, new boards, and new coordinators there is no end in these times. Some of them are necessary to our total war effort, but I should like to say emphatically that cooperative effort among existing organizations, together with periodical conferences, should be the rule wherever possible.

Fitness and Health

In no field of youth service is there more important and urgent work to be done, in the light of the present emergency, than in the related field of physical training, health, and recreation. On January 15, 1941, in a statement entitled “next steps in national policy for youth,” the commission recorded and reiterated its belief: “that there is need for a nationwide health program on a scale never before attempted in this country and that for success such a program must have some financial support from the federal government.” In our final report, we assert our belief that such a program has become even more urgent and compelling. Not only is federal action and support needed, but, especially in the field of health, every agency, public and private, must be enlisted for the duration and after.

One half of the young men called to the colors under the Selective Service Act have been rejected as unfit for military service. The physical deficiencies of our youth population are reflected in statistics of unemployability, even now in the midst of all-out industrial production. Among those employed in our shipyards, our arsenals, and our airplane factories, physical deficiencies are reflected in lowered industrial efficiency which we cannot afford. Today, we are looking to young people to carry the major burden of many phases of the war. There can no longer be any excuse for delay in offering “an adequate program to increase the health and physical fitness of all youth and to do so without waiting for some of them to be rejected in physical examinations for the army.”

One recommendation of the American Youth Commission, for example, could be put into effect immediately. It is expressed in the following statement:

The commission proposes that a thorough physical examination be made available, free of charge, to every young American immediately after his or her eighteenth birthday, that the year between the eighteenth and nineteenth birthday be observed as youth health year, and that special effort be made by all governmental, school, and community agencies to see that young people receive during that year such medical, dental, and other health assistance as they need.

This does not mean that children and youth should not have adequate treatment prior to the age of eighteen. It is merely intended to round out a program of eighteen years of adequate protection of health. If this recommendation were carried out, it would constitute, I believe, an important contribution to the nation’s all-out prosecution of the war. It might well have made a permanent part of our effort to attain maximum health standards for the youth of the nation.

There has been a tendency in certain quarters, while recognizing the health problem of youth as urgent, to belittle the related fields of recreation and creative use of leisure as “non-essentials” in the midst of an all-out war effort. Those of us who deal professionally with education and recreation know that this is a false hypothesis. Our responsible military leaders know it, too. The history of the war in other countries is full of object lessons on this point. One of the most difficult problems facing the British military leaders has been the problem of recreation and morale. How to keep fit and alert and vigilant the large military forces on guard in England; how to provide relaxation for the army of industrial workers under the strain of blockade and bombardment. We know now that war creates new problems in the recreation field as well as leaving many old ones unsolved.

In this country, community leisure time and recreation agencies are today being greatly overtaxed, especially in areas adjacent to military camps and in crowded in-

The NYA now functions on a war basis, training workers for the armament industries
industrial centers. At the same time, many of these agencies are facing reduced budgets—which were never adequate—and are losing personnel to the military services.

Our commission takes the position that recreation, because of its relation to character building, to morale, and to all-round sanity, is not a luxury in wartime. We believe that "community recreation programs are an essential social service and one needed even more at present than in times of less stress and strain. The existing community programs," the commission states, "should be vigorously maintained and where possible expanded." In a series of special studies, particular attention is also called to the recreational needs of rural youth and of Negro youth—groups whose recreational and leisure time needs are least adequately met.

The recreational problem of youth in time of war is of major importance, it is attended by many difficulties and is met in certain quarters by hostility or indifference. What can be done? I believe we need to do three things.

First, we need to secure, understand and disseminate the facts and to relate them to the emergency.

Second, we need to use far more effectively the resources we have. For example, in our schools and colleges, at this time, intramural athletic contests are not enough; we should expand, to the full, physical training programs and intramural athletics because of their value to all who participate, in teaching courage, initiative, and team play, and in developing physical stamina.

Third, we should use ingenuity in discovering new recreational resources in our own communities and in making them available to all. This can be done. Over and over again the commission’s investigators have found average communities with no special advantages, but with an alert and imaginative leadership which found ways to provide creative leisure time activities, not for a privileged few, but for the whole of the youth population.

Youth Must Do Its Part

The American Youth Commission has tried to formulate an action program for and by American youth. There is no part of the youth field that better illustrates the need of stressing programs by as against programs solely for young people than the one we are discussing. The commission’s studies on recreation have resulted in an impressive and disturbing documentation of the enormous shift in the past twenty-five years from active to passive forms of recreation. It is so much easier to watch a baseball game than to play in it; easier to go to the movies than to help organize a Little Theater; easier to listen to the radio than to take part in a community sing. But the continued choice of that which is easier leads to a life of futility—not to one of satisfaction.

That is one reason for stressing participation and leadership by youth in active types of recreational activity. There is also another. You have all heard leaders of youth agencies remark how ungrateful youth is for all that is done for them. Let me say that, in whatever direction the American Youth Commission turned, whether in its studies of private youth camps, or of the CCC, or the NYA, or of private youth-serving agencies, or community projects in which youth participated, enthusiasm by youth itself was in direct proportion to the degree in which it was allowed or persuaded to participate actively, and in some measure to plan and control its own leisure time activities, and it was in reverse proportion to the degree in which services were “handed out.”

What Future for Youth?

In some quarters, today, there is a disposition to believe that all planning for the post-war problem of youth, or of anybody else, is either impossible or in any event a diversion of indispensable energy from the immediate task of prosecuting the war to victory. The commission emphatically repudiates that belief. Planning to meet the
needs of youth in the post-war period is not only important for itself, but, in our opinion, such planning now is a necessary component of the will to victory. What are we fighting for? Definitely, an enduring peace, a better world. We shall not get either of them without victory. We shall also not get either of them without realistic thinking and advance planning for the post-war period which should begin now. Economically, in the post-war period, the stage may be set for a period of deflation and distress. Politically, the tendency may be to let things drift, to attempt again to return to normalcy. At that time “we shall not be allowed to say that young people are to achieve life and liberty only by struggling successfully as individuals from a morass for which we are all economically, politically, and morally responsible. Our responsibility for action is clear. In some field of labor, private or public, at all times, opportunity must be provided for young people to work in a manner consonant with their powers, with a return sufficient to sustain life and the institutions of marriage and the home, and to secure advancement in responsibility and in the esteem of their fellow citizens.”

In accordance with this conviction and principle, the commission over the past year has devoted a considerable measure of its energy, in cooperation with the National Resources Planning Board, to studying the problem of youth’s post-war needs and especially the central problem of full employment. In detailed special studies, and in the final report, it has concerned itself especially with the problem of industrial expansion after the war and with planning public works to absorb demobilized youth... I want to emphasize, however, that the planning process itself should not be confined by any of us to anticipating post-war problems. Planning is, or should be, a normal day to day function, and should be a preoccupation and practice of all youth-serving organizations, for any orderly development of programs of action in time of war or in time of peace. Nor is planning properly—though it is often erroneously—associated solely with the federal government. Indeed the commission makes a plea for intelligent planning activities by all non-governmental agencies and persons concerned with the current problem of education and recreation for youth. Youth should participate in such day-to-day and month-to-month planning. Only if they do so will the programs we evolve and the actions we take be truly programs of action for and by the youth of the nation.

“Meaning for Life”

The final chapter in the final report of the American Youth Commission is entitled “Meaning for Life.” It was first drafted for the consideration of the commission by one of its members who for many years has given thought to the problem, Dorothy Canfield Fisher. It points out that in the last analysis the source of many of our problems have arisen not solely because of economic dislocation. They have arisen in part because we were unable to assign to these phenomena any rational meaning and because life seemed to have dislodged us from our deeper spiritual moorings.

As we a people can recapture a sense of the rational or of the spiritual significance of life. The work of many organizations is essential if the conditions necessary for that recapture are to be laid. Recreation in the deepest sense, a recreative use of one’s own time and a pouring into time free from toil a sense of personal fulfillment, a sense of proportion, and a sense of adventure (which has been denuded from much of the frenzied or monotonous toil of our day), recreation of this type, creative in its nature, is an absolute imperative for discovering the meaning of life. Unless that discovery is the fruit of our efforts, we shall fail—fail even though we succeed in organizing the physical basis for victory and peace. We shall not succeed unless we make the final discovery of spiritual values that alone give meaning to life.
A Settlement in the Fighting Zone

CLINTON S. CHILDS

By the director of Alexander House Community Association, whose neighborhood staff "go out by auto, by airplane, by steamer or sampan, and sometimes on horseback"—from Wailuku, Maui, Territory of Hawaii.

This is February 7, 1942, just two months after the attack on Pearl Harbor. As I sit on my lanai in the early morning, leaning back on the cushions of the ratten chaise lounge, I can look away to the wooded slopes of the West Maui mountains. Two male Kentucky cardinals in the nearby trees are vying with each other in their mating songs. And all about, doves add their love-coos to sound and scene.

The ocean at my front lawn rolls lazily against a cool, tempting sand beach. There is the white foam of surf on a reef, half a mile off, which reminds me of a fresh snow on a New Jersey countryside except that this is framed against blue sea. The sun is beginning to give a touch of warmth as it climbs the eastern sky.

It is all but impossible to realize that only a few weeks ago, my wife and I stood exactly here on our lawn astonished at angry bursts of flame. They came from the mouth of a five-inch rifle on the deck of a Japanese submarine, firing in shore from beyond that surf line. The shells screamed their way into the middle of the town of Kehaulu, a few miles below us. Twenty-five of them fired in two attacks—but fortunately only the pineapple cannery there was damaged, and that slightly. The employees had gone home for the night. There were no casualties except three chickens late in going to roost.

Our surroundings were quick to unfold again with their accustomed sense of perfect peace. I soak it in as I roll on the chaise lounge, concerned with our camp, the site of which I can pick out on the mountainside about eight miles across the bay as the crow flies. Then a rumbling sound breaks in, grows louder, finally reveals its source. Two swift American planes are flying down the beach about a hundred feet above the water, scouting subs or what not.

The peace was gone. The thousand problems war has brought to me as a social worker here on Maui crowded my unwilling mind. Alexander House Community Association operates a countywide program and service, including two other islands, Lanai and Molokai, ten and twenty miles across the sea channels. The total population before the threat of war was approximately 55,000. Today, with military and defense worker personnel, our population is greatly enlarged. How large it is or will be cannot be told because of censorship, for we are on a fighting front where not only shells but bombs have fallen and may fall again.

Moreover, our population is 37 percent Japan-born, or Hawaii-born of Japanese ancestry. Only 6 percent came from the American mainland, from England or Scotland, or are descendants of such. Filipinos constitute 22 percent of our people. These were practically all born in the Philippines and have an intensity of homeland attachment of which the average American knows nothing.

Ours is a rural community of wide spaces, highly organized and mechanized agriculture in sugar and pineapple plantations, and large cattle ranches, cowboys and all. Our headquarters is located in the town which is the county seat and our staff go out by auto, by airplane, by steamer or sampan, and sometimes on horseback. There are comparatively few families on Maui itself that are not touched by Alexander House. We coordinate welfare programs of the plantations, the ranches, the county government, the schools, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the general community.

Isolated as we are on Maui, and the only such organization on the ground, ours has been practically a total responsibility to do something about recreation for members of the armed services on our island. Two years ago, before we began our program, we talked it over and set down three "musts": Keep feelings of separateness and resentment from developing between our civilians and the military. Do everything to break down certain prejudices held on either hand. Provide enough of the right things to do—and stand ready to expand them.

So it was that when the first contingents arrived they found a "going" program of competitive athletics in which we entered military and civilian teams in the same leagues. Three swimming pools were made available and as many gymnasiums and athletic fields as they needed. (We operate in eleven gymnasiums and about one hundred play centers.) So, too, was our recreation and Scout camp which on its 265 acres affords inexhaustible hiking possibilities along with a five-bed hospital, recreation hall, swimming pool, cottages, and tent floors.

What we said in effect was "You are just home town boys after all. You can mix in here and make this your home town for the time being." The Boy Scouts gave over the building we had given them for troop meetings in Wailuku—with its lockers and showers, lounging, reading and studying facilities. This opens through a yard of green grass, shrubs, palms and flowers to a set-up of bowling alleys, pool, and gymnasium. Here civilian youth and military youth have met and played together, struck up real friendships, and shared in a sense of civic pride that overcame old cleavages between town and camp. Historically, there has always been rivalry, too, between army and navy, leading at times to fighting between enlisted men. This we have broken down by establishing a coordinating committee composed of members from each service along with one or two civilians.

Last August, after our program had been going some time, the USO idea reached us and we became its operating agency on Maui, through the Army and Navy YMCA here. We more than raised our quota and now are spreading out through mobile units that get to locations in the "sticks" for miles around, where there is noth-
ing interesting to do and no one near. Meanwhile our widely spread volunteer corps of workers, about 1,500 in number, is now helping us with USO programs as partners for dances often located miles apart and as entertainers, individually and in troops.

Our Scout Executive was at camp with a group digging drainage trenches for our mountain road when Pearl Harbor was struck at 7:55 A.M. When the news came over the radio, I immediately phoned him, and in an hour twelve hundred Scouts and Scouters were on duty all over the county (including Lanai and Molokai) working as messengers, serving in observation posts, and standing by ready to give first aid.

For civilian defense work was something our organization rapidly took on in its stride. Let me illustrate:

My own job was to organize the Division of Public Welfare which includes rescue squads, civilian identification, care for evacuees on Maui and from other islands, etc. It was not many days before we had five hundred people ready to go to work at these tasks.

My assistant’s job was to organize air raid and fire warden wardens and here we soon had fourteen thousand people organized. Every town, village, group of buildings, factory and hut within our 728 square miles is under their supervision; every house and building inspected to see that inflammable trash is cleaned up and that the appropriate number of shovels, buckets of sand and water are standing by in case of incendiary bombs.

The director of our Women’s and Girls’ Department was immediately plunged into organizing First Aid stations under a doctor’s direction and collecting data on drug supplies, available beds, cots, and bedding, bandages, etc.

Our Section on Evacuees was in short order prepared to receive 6,000 of them, transport to collection centers, feed them for three days if necessary, and then place them with Maui hosts who have registered their willingness to receive them.

One of our kindergarten directors organized an educational and recreational program to take care of evacuee children; and the assistant in our Men’s Department opened nine new playgrounds for children, for our schools had closed by military order.

In case our telephone system should be bombed out, Scout bicycle, motorcycle, and foot communications were provided for. In addition, signaling equipment was rigged to operate so that messages could be sent all over the island by Morse code.

We turned one of our buildings over to NYA for training hospital attendants. Others are filled with volunteer workers, typing, doing clerical work or what not. In some rooms classes are being held in the first aid courses of the American Red Cross.

Our front lawn is crisscrossed with emergency air raid trenches, useful in themselves, but they are also for demonstration purposes, built correctly in three different forms so that people may know how to dig their own. Our lawn is at the “four corners” of the town.

Through it all we have kept nearly all our normal program going in spite of these extra burdens. We could not have done this except for our volunteer workers who have moved along with us in community organization for years. Some things had to be dropped; our kindergartens were closed by military order; night basketball and clubs were stopped, as blackouts go into effect at 6 P.M. and all persons are forbidden to be on the street after that.

Ours is an organization governed by a board of trustees drawn from widely varying walks of life and various racial descents, and supported by the community in general for solving as far as possible the problems which arise from having a common living place. We provide the policies and necessary trained workers to bring the community together in common social action. (There are thirty full time and thirty-five part time workers on the staff.)

We have rich and poor, highly educated and less highly educated, white, black, brown and yellow, and mixtures of these, in our program. We have all these various kinds of people as leaders and we have them as participants, getting for themselves the advantages we have to offer, and also giving of themselves to help make life more livable and happier.

To us they are all “our community.”

Many more things could be said about our life and work. Let me single out two that are significant of the new all-out war of today.

In all this program boys and girls, young people and older people of all racial derivations have taken part. Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipino, Korean, Mainland American, and all of other descent, are serving well and truly. Even alien Japanese in some instances have been very helpful. Whether or not this has been partially a result of Alexander House’s years of labor in helping to Americanize our polyglot population perhaps cannot be definitely said. We certainly think so.

And in all our efforts to serve military and defense worker personnel and to weld them and the civilian population to be one in spirit, the army and the navy and the defense contractors have backed us up in every way one hundred percent.

* * *

Let me close as I began, with an incident which will bring home what it means to be “A Settlement in the Fighting Zone”—this time illuminated not with bursts of flame but with flashes of the human spirit.

A recent Sunday dawned drizzly and chilly at 6 A.M., as dawns are apt to be in our Hawaiian winter. My wife and I were awakened by a telephone call from our Scout executive. “What’s going on on your beach?” he asked. That was enough to send us scurrying to the window to look out around the blackout arrangements and see the stubby masts of a small boat swaying with the roll of the ocean.

We got on some clothing and were out in time to help receive thirty shipwrecked sailors, soaked with salt water, half-clothed and shivering in the morning wind, blue and emaciated. Survivors of a ship shelled without warning. One dead man, gray-blue in death, lay partially covered over on the beach. Three more had given up the ghost in the exhausting eleven-day battle to reach shore eight hundred miles from their ship, and were buried at sea.

A little Hawaii-born, Japanese American came from her nearby house with steaming hot coffee which we helped her serve. One man would not take his until he was sure the captain had a cup. He said, “You should have seen him at the helm all those days; he was splendid.”
LETTERS AND LIFE

In Two Worlds
by LEON WHIPPLE


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

Can we be citizens of two realms at once—the world at war and the world after the war? Can we defend what we have and plan for what we dream? The minds of men are confused by the demands of such a dual allegiance. Our confusion is the price we pay for the concept that we must control the future. Even plain men feel that we shall not win the war unless we win the peace. The old order must give way to a new order.

The conflict of counsels is proof of our divided hopes. In one day you can hear all of these axioms: Our only job is to win the war. Defeated, we shall be slaves, not the creators of a new world. Do not blunt the will-to-win by unreal talk of peace terms. But the war must be waged with no sacrifice of democracy. To establish that over the earth is what we are fighting for. Indeed, some say, the very coercions of war-making offer the opportunity to establish certain principles and modes of social justice in the United States. But we can plan nothing, for we shall find ourselves in a new world: this is a revolution of which the outcome is unforeseeable. Think of the portent of Asia and Russia! But, others reply, we must make the bargains now to align the nations we help on the side of democracy. Let us demand a free India. At the end the United States alone will have the resources to enforce a just peace. Let us make a program lest at the peace we come as unprepared as to Paris in 1919. Finally, the people will not make supreme sacrifices unless they know what they are fighting for.

The circle is rounded in full, with the people as ever the center, whether in the war-world or the post-war world. The dilemma can be resolved: we shall win by virtue of both faiths—in the democracy we fulfill, in the vision of an order of peace and justice that will alone attest our victory. We must build a bridge between the dual realms, rock-founded at each end in the elemental values of life. The axioms above cancel each other, nor can we subscribe to any short-term prospects for this or that order that does not recognize in humility what we have been ashamed to call the eternal verities. In both worlds we must find the common virtues of men, the good way of life, the order in which it flowers. These authors carry torches for our search.

In books, too, let us seek essences. W. T. Stace, with a noble faith in reason, undertakes to prove by rational arguments the superiority of democracy over the totalitarian state. In part he succeeds, and the shortcomings of his method we can leave to the logician or student of semantics. The array of reasons he provides, with manifold details, do lend us strength against the pseudo-rationality of our enemy. But the true strength he offers us is his proclamation of the ethical foundations of what Western man has come to hold good, and for which he is ready to die.

This morality rests on the idea of the infinite value of the individual. The flowering of this idea was equality, liberty, and individualism. From the Greeks came the belief in the "primacy of reason." Their ethical humanism, arising within

man, held reason sovereign over the elements of desire and will. "What is specifically human about man is his rationality." Through it he perceives that other men have the infinite value he feels in himself. With liberty the individual can express this value. The foundations of the Declaration of Independence, say, are in humanity, not the cosmos. Individuals make the State. They rule themselves.

From Christianity we won the idea of "the primacy of sympathy." We can feel together and share our feelings. There can be a transfer of emotion and men can attain selflessness. Love, charity, sharing are inwoven into our very being, and so into the services of the State. Christian morals are imposed by God, though Stace, unlike Saint-Exupéry, does not rest sympathy on the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of men. But he ends with the same faith—that the Christian morality (he leaves aside theology), even where imperfectly followed, has led to a happier and more satisfactory way of life than has come under other rules.

The evil, then, of totalitarian states is that it exalts will over reason and sympathy, with Schopenhauer its prophet, and Nietzsche, his interpreter. It is anti-rational, the reason become but a tool of power for the manipulation of the truth. Sympathy is the delusion of weaklings who do not perceive the iron law of evolution. The individual is a cell in the state organism through which ruthless men express the will-to-power. The denial of the value of sympathy brings the terrors we now confront. In the restoration of the primacy of sympathy is our sole hope. The ideas are not new, but Mr. Stace presents them with clarity and courage as beacon lights above chaos.

In "Post-War Worlds," Professor Corbett of McGill University depends on reason to define the supra-national institutions that can be set up by agreement of a dominant group of states, gradually, for the establishment of peace and democracy. Here is a sober book, not the blueprint of Utopia but the definition from experience of the essentials for an experimental organization. You will find it useful in two ways. First, for its historical examination of the plans that thoughtful men have offered since 1919; and second, for its description of the absolutely essential instruments of any world order. He covers the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris, the vision of Pan Europe, the concept of Federal Union advanced by Lionel Curtis and Clarence Streit, the achievements of the Inter-American system, the need for a Pacific association, the chances for a British-American front, even division of the earth according to Axis claims.

In all he finds certain values. We have made progress and learned even from our failures. The elements and principles have become defined and usable—if we are moderate in hope, and accept the need to vary and accommodate our plans to circumstances. The minimum forms of order he proposes are: supra-national police, courts, legislation, and organization for the regulation of world economy and colonies. The difficulties and dangers are faced; no overnight revolution will set up the brotherhood of man. The common sense step-by-step approach, with eyes steadily on the goal, is all we dare consider. But how heartening it is to have a kind of guide-book that defies present chaos with a program for future order. That men can see what has to be done is evidence that the principles of order exist within us.

"Flight to Arras" is a unique and noble creation of the spirit. Consider: Antoine de Saint-Exupéry is pilot of a final forlorn reconnaissance for defeated France in May, 1940, to photograph the front from 33,000 feet, to overlook Arras at 2,000 feet. With two comrades of Group 2-33, he flew
through Hell, as useless to the war as a glass of water tossed on a forest fire. What he brought back was really a photograph on his heart of a nation in dissolution; an army defeated; refugees, beyond fear or reason, in flight from homes by senseless commands from blind leaders. He returned though his compass had been set on Death.

What did this poet-aviator feel as the barrage rattled on his wings and his companions made laconic comment? What vision did he bring back from his vantage point that displayed the panorama of driven people in the ruin of a great State? The story of his skills and dangers, his meditations as philosopher, his sense of supreme tragedy, all woven in words of simple beauty. To try to translate his poetry would be irreverent: the poet speaks for himself. To note his courage and patriotism is pointless: the deed speaks. Read and rejoice in this revelation of the spirit in Man.

There is a message from Arras that I venture to transcribe, the creed of Saint-Exupéry. He has won the right to speak. He exalts sympathy: “I found Man and the love of men and faith in the seed of Life that comes somehow to harvest. Not in intelligence, but in Being, creation resides. Had France been France and stood for the communion of Man, we should have saved the world and ourselves. The individual is a mere path: what matters is Man. A civilization like a religion accuses itself when it complains of the tepid faith of its members. Its duty is to endue them with fervor. If what I wish is to preserve on earth a given type of man, and the particular energy that radiates from him, I must begin by safeguarding the principles that animate that kind of man. It was the contemplation of God that created men who were equal, for it was in God that they were equal. As the inheritor of God, my civilization made men to be brothers in Man, and each responsible for all, and all responsible for each. I understand by this bright light the meaning of liberty. It is the climate permitting the ascension of Man.”

**Australia Through American Eyes**


Australia has become the concern of the whole North American people. That is one of the startling developments of the war in the Pacific; an inescapable result of Japanese aggression which very few Americans had foreseen, let us say, at the time of the Manchurian crisis ten years ago or even when China was invaded five years later. A good, compact, authoritative book on Australia by an American writer was therefore something urgently called for. Here, indubitably, it is. Hartley Grattan was most fortunately placed for the task. He travelled over Australia with a Carnegie fellowship and has made two other long visits to the country. He has seen it under war conditions, after making his main observations. There is no section of his admirable survey which will not repay study, and none which is not thoroughly readable.

The Australian commonwealth is forty years old, and its problems comprise not a little matter of importance for those evangelists who see in federal union the one solution of the world’s dilemma. This island continent is the greatest example in history of a coastal civilization, for the absence of rainfall leaves the vast interior region and the terrifying northern territory without any means of settlement. The total population is still not much above 5,000,000. Wheat and wool, mutton and minerals, determined the position of Australia in relation to primary products until the close of the first World War, by which time the famous Broken Hill Proprietary had created the enormous steel plant of Newcastle, New South Wales, without which the British in the Orient and the South Seas would today be in a far more desperate situation than they are.

There are tremendous contradictions in Australia, political

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HOLT 257 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

(In answering advertisements please mention Survey Graphic)
A Debunker of Easy Formulas

This book by an eminent German econo- mist deals with the "political and economic world we live in," and should be addressed to the strategists of the future peace. All plans of reconstruction necessarily proceed on the basis of certain assumptions and postulates, and upon their validity, to a large extent, will depend the success of the plans. Dr. Stolper's book is an ominous warning against the adoption of some of the widely held beliefs of our time as points of departure by future peacemakers. Probing the adequacy of currently held economic and political ideas he shows that some of these beliefs are fables, because they are either illogical, inconsistent, or unsupported by facts.

Dr. Stolper's thesis is that the age of fable began with the first World War. In this holocaust "most accepted values and standards were lost and have not yet been recovered." The greatest tragedy was the destruction of the three fundamental freedoms upon which the pre-war order was based: freedom of movement for men, goods, and for money. The ensuing chaos in the realm of economic and political life became a fertile soil for the growth of fables. Some ancient verities have become fables because they were inapplicable to new conditions. But most of the fables of our age were originated by "the new theology" which proposes "to reduce the complexities of our time to simple, plausible formulas." The age of fable has been the age of debunking. The "debunkers" introduced the fables. But the rise of the masses into power, too, was responsible. The leaders of the masses had to simplify the issues of our time, and invented catchwords that would cadgele and arouse the masses.

Among the current notions and slogans which Dr. Stolper shows to be fables are the following: "Democracy is decadent, while dictatorship is efficient"; "The Nazi's have performed a financial miracle"; "Britain is degenerate and imperialistic." Fables pertaining to war are: "The causes of war are economic"; "There are Have and Have-not nations." The ideas in the economic field attacked by the author as fables are: "The end of capitalism is imminent." On this point he comments: "It dies every day, to be reborn—where and as long as its fundamental moral philosophy, the freedom and supremacy of the individual, is alive. It will not be reborn on the day that this moral principle dies." Hand in hand with the fable of dying capitalism go such notions as these: that "we are living in an age of plenty," that "the profit motive is pernicious," that "regimentation of material and mechanical forces can improve the life of those who have to work on these forces." Facile ideas about economic planning and the
danger of inflation are also attacked by Dr. Stolper as fables.

The author writes simply and clearly. His critique gains strength from the fact that he does not argue much but instead cites facts. He has made a convincing case worthy of serious consideration. I have no doubt that some people will accuse Dr. Stolper of being a reactionary. Personally, I shall be inclined to class this opinion as another one of the fables of our age.

Columbia University

Theodore Abel

Modern Psychiatry's Antecedents


Dr. Zilboorg's exploration into the past of psychiatry must be, for the most part, accepted on faith as factually correct, for the fifteen or more years that he has devoted to this study give him an authority that cannot easily be challenged. He brings into relief the early rise of intelligent concern for the mentally ill in a liberal cultural setting in which Hippocrates is a symbolic figure. This period unfolds into the Roman engendered stodginess of the Dark Ages in which the mentally ill suffered from the general blanketing from which only a few cries arose. Out of this we see superstition appear and blow up in the relatively recent exacerbation of supernaturalness and then a slow atonement reaction and unsteady turn into modern scientific psychiatry.

Dr. Zilboorg is essentially a clinician and his handling of the symptoms of society savors of that approach. It would have been gratifying if ancient conditions could have been interpreted as expressions of the times as are the later fluctuations, but it is more important that he has stuck to his data. One would like, for example, to know more about some of the terms used in ancient writings. The term "devil" or "demon" implied in the Dark Ages an intangible outside being that had been imposed on the ill person. Actually it is a name for a feeling within the mentally ill or those who describe them.

In discussing present-day progress Dr. Zilboorg is certainly too optimistic when he says: "... today there is hardly a mental hospital of good standing in the United States which does not have its own nurses' training school, official or unofficial, and the number of people without special training who take care of mental patients is now almost negligible."

We can, however, overlook the few inaccuracies that are bound to creep into a work so monumental. Dr. Zilboorg makes it easy to disagree with some of his interpretations because it is fairly evident when he is expressing his own conclusions. Since humanity over the ages is the backdrop of all history, this glimpse of the personality of twenty-five hundred years of our culture should serve to illuminate historical expeditions into every other field of human interest.

George S. Stevenson, M.D.

National Committee for Mental Hygiene

Venereal Disease in Wartime


Syphilis and gonorrhea are the most important communicable diseases still very incompletely controlled in this country. Both of these diseases can be not only controlled but cured: syphilis since 1910, gonorrhea much more recently but apparently within the last year. Moreover, other countries, notably Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain are living examples of the possibility of very complete control.

We do well to recall the notorious association of war and infectious disease. Until modern times they were inseparable partners and only during the last World War did the dissolution of that partnership become a demonstrated fact. But the partnership still holds in regard to venereal disease which was not successfully curbed during the last war and is not being well controlled in this. The causes are not far to seek. Prostitution is still the commonest source of these diseases and the prostitute is still the companion of armies. We have law aplenty, but we are not successful in using it. By the National Venereal Disease Control Act of 1938, federal appropriations to improve our control were authorized. For this act Surgeon General Parran was importantly responsible. The May act of 1941 gives to the War and Navy Departments power to dictate the conditions surrounding military areas and puts at their disposal the machinery of the FBI.

Of the armies fighting in Europe in the first World War the control of venereal disease was most effective in the A.E.F., due to the alertness of Secretary Baker and General Pershing. When these diseases showed a striking increase in November 1917 near the ports of debarkation in France, General Order No. 77 by General Pershing holding commanding officers responsible for the conditions in their areas did the trick.

Admittedly the situation in the military training areas in this country is different from that of an expeditionary force. To put wide areas "Out of Bounds" effectively requires cooperation from the local, political, and police authorities. There is good money for many people in a closed eye in regard to commercial prostitution. It will require not only courage but political sagacity to handle it. These are not now being effectively used. Certain portions of the country show a relatively low incidence of these diseases, notably the Northeast and North Central portions, while conditions in the Southeast, South and Southwest are bad. Improvement in this situation and a reasonable approach to attainable ends will require the conjunction of public opinion, courage in high places in the War and Navy Departments, and peremptory orders from hard-bitten general officers.

These conditions are briefly, skilfully, and somewhat brutally set forth in this book by two outstanding authorities, Surgeon General Parran and Assistant Surgeon General Vonderlehr. It is frank, pungent, and accurate. It should go far to create the informed public opinion without which successful control is not to be expected.

Boston, Mass. Hugh Cabot, M.D.

Our Schools and Our Education


This book should be required reading. Like "The Aims of Modern Education" which it clarifies, it makes information intelligible and reading pleasurable. It is not only the story of the growth of American education, it is a saga of the growth of America itself. It deals with the dream and slow realization of free schools, of free teachers and free children everywhere.

We see our great public school systems slowly emerge, in spic of formidable foes: the domination of the Church, the bonds of feudal tradition. We learn how deeply rooted is the dream of these free schools in three revolutions—the industrial, the French, and our own. Jefferson, Rousseau, and Benjamin Franklin come alive and dominate these early pages.

We follow the more dramatic struggle that freed our teachers from pedagogic dogma and ecclesiastic tradition. We meet the great European liberators Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbert, the American Horace Mann, Francis Parker, and our own John Dewey. Not only their fight for progressive education but their personalities are searchingly portrayed. Throughout we see the slow transformation of teaching, from an unskilled trade to a creative art. In the last chapters we read about Caroline Pratt, Elisabeth Irwin, Marietta Johnson, Carleton Washburne, and others—great teachers all—about experiments in teaching of yesterday and today in and out of our public schools.
The book opens when Jonathan Jones reluctantly attends his colonial log cabin school. Its harsh discipline and dull routine are graphically described. Toward the end of the book we see why Johnny Jones, his descendant, joyously runs to his modern school “where there is so much to do.”

We follow the slow growth of education in the United States from the earliest schools in New England for the privileged few, to the modern schools of today, open to all—from the early Dame School to the progressive Kindergarten, from the theologian’s Harvard of 1636 to Antioch, Bennington or Black Mountain Colleges of 1942.

We cover 300 years, we travel the length and breadth of these United States. We assimilate educational theories and practices current during these years in these areas. Yet we are never confused, nor hurried—so clear is Miss Benedict’s presentation, so relevant and excellent her prose.

We follow with unflagging interest the gradual progress of American education and, in the last chapter, we are made to realize how much still remains to be done. Then comes the challenge of the war. As we reluctantly close this book we feel that while free education flourishes here and while we still strive to improve it, America will continue to grow great, secure and strong.

New York

Margaret S. Lewisohn

Bevin on the Future

THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE FUTURE, by Ernest Bevin. Mac-

A YEAR AGO, MR. BEVIN, MINISTER OF LABOR AND SUPPLY
in the British Cabinet, addressed a Rotary Club dinner in Lon-
don and employed language which must have caused his astonishment audience to wonder to what end their world was
coming. For the war, he said, was not only war but revolu-
tion, and the victory must evoke economic changes so that
no longer would the needs of the many be adjusted to the
economic power of the few. “We have contributed to political
freedom and we must apply the same kind of ability if we are
to make in our generation the greatest contribution the
world has ever known to the solution of the economic ills
that have caused so much disaster and disappointment in the
past.”

This book is composed of speeches and parts of speeches
delivered by Mr. Bevin over the years. The arrangement is
topical, and they tell us a good deal about the war aims as
he and his labor followers see them. There is, of course,
much rhetoric between the covers. But there is also crowing
and concrete evidence of his belief that unemployment must
be no more, that a decent standard of life must be guaranteed
to every man and woman, that medical service and education-
al opportunity must become the equal right of all, that the
chief means of production must be disciplined, that national
sovereignty must be clipped, and international law, free
access to the world’s resources, free movement of goods and
men be realized. The emphasis throughout is on socialism
in economics, democracy in political arrangements, and a wider
community of all men throughout the world.

For months, Mr. Bevin’s task has been the organization of
British labor for an overwhelming productive effort. These
pages give a sense of the bewildering variety of the problems
through which he has fought his way, of the enormous aid
that a strong labor movement was able to provide, and of his
insistence that decisions be reached by consent instead of
coercion. Dedicated to the fullest implications of democracy
shrewdly aware, too, of the domestic and international
obstacles that lie in the road (read his chapter eleven), Mr.
Bevin gives us an imperative assurance that, if Germany is
defeated, the cause of democracy will be strongly represented
in constructing a peace, “not to make giants but to elevate
the human race.”

Williams College

J. Raymond Walsh

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THE BATTLE OF DETROIT
(Continued from page 207)

When a house or a subdivision is located at a prohibitive distance from a main, the water supply is from shallow wells. The stiff clay soil is unsuitable for septic tanks. Sewage empties into open, untiled ditches. These drain into a creek which meanders fifty miles across country to a lake, and the accumulated refuse imperils the water supply of Detroit. Early last November, loan and grant funds were allocated by the Federal Works Agency for a water and sewage system in this area, to be linked with the Detroit system. The sewer project has been delayed by a wrangle as to the rate to be charged the townships by a county sewage disposal plant, and by a clash between the Washington and the regional (Chicago) offices of the FWA as to accounting methods. In mid-February, work had not started.

So far, local doctors have blocked a county health unit. There are two part time public health nurses in the township. With a school population of approximately 10,800, there is one school nurse. The Children's Bureau can help solve child health problems only when the county is organized through a public health unit. The State Health Department can move in, in case of epidemic; meanwhile it can only "advise." "I don't see how we can escape typhoid," said a social worker. "If an epidemic brought about public health organization here, it might save a lot of lives, at that."

The trailer camp I visited is a private enterprise, with parking space for some forty trailers. A small brick building houses camp toilets and a laundry. The camp has the usual open sewage ditch, and even on a cold winter morning, the stench was heavy. The camp charges each trailer $7 a month, which includes the state tax. "We do a good business," the proprietor said. "We're growin' every week."

There are many trailer camps in the area. This one, the social worker told me, is "better than average—the trailers aren't crowded as close together as they usually are."

Recreational resources in the township were meager and highly commercialized. They included one movie, a few bowling alleys, and numerous saloons—one to every 300 residents. Many of the saloons not only serve liquor, but also provide floor shows and hostesses.

The tank plant is being enlarged and there are rumors of an airport and an aircraft plant in the area. These mean more workers, with their families. Meanwhile, no effective beginning had been made at the time of my visit to solve urgent problems of housing, sanitation, and public health.

VI. The Negroes in Detroit

Housing for war workers is not a problem confined to this one township. It is acute in Detroit, which, with a substantial housing shortage long before the "defense boom," has the second largest USHA program in the country. A project providing 1,250 homes will open this spring. But much of the USHA program in Detroit has been bound up with slum clearance in which the number of sub-standard units destroyed pretty well cancels out the number of new units gained, so far as shelter is concerned. There are, of course, immeasurable advances in comfort, convenience, and healthful living standards. Plans are under discussion now for a "model city" of 10,000 homes, with adequate community services, for the workers at the bomber plant. But if the scheme goes through it will be too late to take up the employment slack for thousands of displaced auto workers this spring, as it might have done.

Originally, one thousand defense housing units were allocated to the Detroit area. The township unit accounts for 500 of these; 300 were involved in the unsavory "Currier case" and never got beyond the paper stage; and 200 units are included in the Sojourner Truth project, which is a story in itself. Located in a mixed white and Negro neighborhood, this originally was intended for Negro occupancy. Real estate interests were active in stirring resentment against the project, particularly on the part of Polish neighbors. After twice reversing itself, the FWA ruled that the project should be occupied by Negroes, but left the Detroit Common Council to fix the date of occupancy. Meanwhile, the situation has become so involved in prejudices and emotion that friction, even violence, seems inevitable.

The Sojourner Truth project is only one example of racial discrimination in Detroit. A large body of Negro labor was brought to the area in the last war, but for the most part craft unions still bar Negroes from many skilled occupations in Detroit as in other industrial areas. Some concerns, notably Ford, have employed Negro workers, originally, it seems clear, as part of an anti-union policy. In Detroit, as elsewhere, discrimination against the Negro as an employee frequently has shut him out from apprenticeships, and in turn his lack of such training has helped close the door to advancement to skilled jobs. It is a vicious circle, and it swings its ugly circuit in trade and the professions, as well as in industry. The Detroit situation has been intensified by the influx of large numbers of southern whites, who brought with them their prejudices—and the Ku Klux Klan.

On the other side of the picture, however, is the steady and intelligent effort by the CIO unions to break down race prejudice, and to prevent the use of this divisive force to weaken labor organization. Further, the impending labor shortage seems likely to sweep aside, at least temporarily, many existing barriers to employment and advancement of Negro workers. Some of these gains may be lost later, but some of them will endure.

VII. Wake Up, Detroit!

It is impossible to give a clear picture of so vast and confused a scene as Detroit in the process of changing from the world's automobile center to one of the great arsenals of the United Nations. A few over-all impressions remained with me after a February week in Detroit.

First, comes the sense of the uncanny power and precision of the American "know-how," the technical imagination and resourcefulness of management and workers in handling tools, materials, machines, machine processes. It is a sort of machine age genius and, though less tangible than natural resources and manpower, it is one of our chief assets today. Next, is the handicap that comes of our characteristic unwillingness to apply this "know-how" to human as well as to engineering problems, so that the conversion of the auto plants is slowed and complicated by immature industrial relations, by the squalor and unwholesomeness of trailer camps, inadequate water supply, overcrowded schools, a transportation tangle, race prejudice, the economic insecurity of workers and their families dislocated by the change over.

Third, comes the toughness and implacability of old patterns of self-interest and snobbery. Even in mid-February, Pearl Harbor, Singapore, Rangoon, Java, the Caribbean still were very far away and not wholly real to Detroit. Close in were wages and profits, jealousy as to authority and prestige: "What do I get out of this?" Industry and labor were rising to the technical challenges to their "know-how." But Detroit was not at war. Only now and then I found an individual with the nerve and the imagination to face the nation's task. I remember best the union leader who glanced at the day's headlines, and said: "Do you know what I pray every day? I pray the Lord to let 'em drop some bombs on Detroit. Then we'd get down to it! And what wouldn't we show 'em..."
THE DUTCH EMPIRE: AN APPRAISAL
(Continued from page 187)

their role in achieving this result. In return for the protection fondly thought assured by Singapore and for British purchases of Indies' goods, tariff concessions were granted to British empire exports in the Netherlands' markets. American capital and imports were increasingly welcomed in a colony that turned a deaf ear to Japanese pleas for investment and concession privileges. Japanese nationals, however, came in increasing numbers to the Indies, reversing the practice of Occidentals whose capital investments invariably preceded their immigration. The new industrialization program required outside financing, since indigenous capital was virtually non-existent. More important, this program involved a partial diversion from its established field of large scale agricultural and mining enterprises to such industries as were not overly competitive with foreign imports and which would most extensively utilize local raw materials and indigenous hand labor.

Political factors have inevitably played an important part in Dutch economic policy and have necessarily altered with the shifting international scene. So when it became apparent that the open-door policy, which had been originally adopted largely through fear lest stronger powers, if denied access to the Indies' wealth, would challenge Dutch sovereignty, meant certain economic and possible political domination by the Japanese, it was abandoned for the same reason that had in the early nineteenth century made the Dutch cling to monopoly when they believed that free trade would mean the furthering of British manufacturers and influence at Dutch expense.

The budgetary difficulties which paradoxically have always pursued this rich colony made the government, even before the depression, lean very heavily on outside capital resources. Forty percent of normal revenues have come from Western enterprises, 20 percent from government-owned industries, and 40 percent derived from strictly native economy. When the depression brought a collapse in export prices its repercussions on tax receipts were felt immediately and catastrophically. The administration struggled bravely to meet this by deflationary measures of drastic economies and by increased taxation, but it was hard to reduce the bulky element of fixed expenditures.

The Dutch were to find, as they had in native policy, that there was no such thing as a little government intervention. Once the control machinery got under way it gathered momentum, and the scope of internal control had to be extended. The government was forced into price control, on a limited scale, and into issuing extra import licenses. It also sponsored a somewhat higher wage scale for native labor, but here not much was done lest it antagonize European producers who were already aroused by increased taxation, the growth of bureaucracy, and above all by the expansion of official controls. Businessmen in the Indies, however, on the whole accepted as the part of wisdom the government's policy, which they realized was evolved in their best interests. But they also emphasized what the government knew full well—that the Indies were dependent for the maintenance of exports on remaining the lowest-cost and most efficient producers for world markets which were then overloaded with tin and rubber.

On the Eve of War

IN THE FIELD OF FOOD PRODUCTION FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION, the government was able to score a greater success. Here no international complications entered the picture, and the Dutch had ample scope to exercise their genius for meticulous preparation and scientific study. The depression (Continued on page 222)
drove home the need for a greater diversification of staple native food crops even more than for developing supplementary agricultural exports, not only to effect a better balanced economy but as a partial solution for the Javanese unemployability problem. By January 1941 the government had not only achieved self-sufficiency in regard to rice and soybeans but had even a modest surplus for export. Other crops and minerals were steadily developed with the same scientific preparation and exhaustive study of markets.

This new program covered the whole industrial field and was largely effected through government in all branches. The medium of the cooperative society was the mechanism used, notably in the batik industry. The natureloom, for example, was adapted to an output five times greater than that of the traditional loom. Further, the government restricted the mushroom growth of such industries through a licensing system and a regulation of the most minute details as to labor and the standardization of output.

While the government worked to eliminate useless and competitive industries, scattering them widely and appropriately to regional needs, it was not content with this as the sole answer to the labor and population problems. During the depression, immigration to the Indies was restricted and the employment of alien labor curtailed. But, more important, the government launched a large scale resettlement program designed not only to relieve some of the population pressure in Java and Madura, where there was an average density of over 800 persons to the square mile, but to assist in the development of the Outer Islands, whose economic exploitation had long been delayed by the acute labor shortage there. While this resettlement policy dated back to 1905 it had been only intermittently and not too successfully pursued. The depression gave it renewed impetus. By 1940 the resettlement goal was set at 55,000 families. Sumatra, three times the size of Java, had a mere 8 million inhabitants and Borneo, the Dutch part of which is larger than Sumatra, only 2 millions. The ground required and received very careful preparation, not only as regards the sites selected but in the choice of good colonist material and in the psychological methods employed to induce the deeply-rooted Javanese to leave their natal villages and adjust to life elsewhere. It was perhaps in their appreciation of the importance of organizing demand, as opposed merely to that of the sources of supply, that the Dutch showed themselves adaptable and brilliant colonizers. More than any other imperialists they realized that it was not enough to present Orientals with the means of employment and education; they must also be made to want a higher standard of living by bringing home to them the desirability as well as the possibility of achieving such an ambition.

Whether or not the absorption of Western imports in order to sell Indies produce, or the benefits of industrialization which require legal protection and consequently a higher cost of living, balance each other from the viewpoint of native welfare were questions not answered before Holland was invaded. The war brought a reversal of trade trends, the Asiatic and American markets looming ever larger on the horizon as those of continental Europe faded away. The industrialization program was given a fillip by the greater need for self-sufficiency and for adding defense manufacturing.

The Tide of Nationalism

The native reaction to three centuries of Dutch rule did not take positive form until the beginning of the present century. As with the French in Indo-China the Dutch had no sooner turned to a more enlightened native policy than they had to cope with the new element of nascent nationalism. All over the East the legendary invincibility of the white man received a shattering blow from Japan’s victory over Russia in 1905. Successive repercussions emanating from popular movements in India and China forced the growth of native nationalism, despite a late start in Southeast Asia, at a far swifter pace than it had developed in the West.

When the Dutch came to the Indies they had found, as had the Spaniards in the Philippines, not a single one of their widely scattered islands—at their farthest points over 3,000 miles apart—with any political or economic coherence, and with marked racial and cultural differences. But in these small, isolated, and primitive villages there was a fundamental Indonesian social unity.

In the Indies, Java’s relationship to the other islands gave the nationalism that first developed there a special character. Not only was there two thirds of the total population concentrated within one fiveenth of the total area, but the greater religious, racial and cultural homogeneity of the Javanese had remained largely intact, for it was a cardinal point in Dutch colonial philosophy that the Indonesian must evolve in his own orbit. Also the fact that Java was the seat of a centralized government, and the original center for capitalist investment and residence for almost all the alien elements in the Indies, made for a greater penetration of native life there.

The first impulses behind the nationalist movement were directed "not to make the Javanese imitate Europeans, but that they may be understood by their own people, and that the Indies and the Netherlands may be ever more closely associated." Thus the first nationalist society Boedii Oetomo (Glorious Endeavor) worked for the economic and, above all, the educational advancement of the masses; but it was confined almost wholly to the Javanese aristocracy. Originally without religious, color or political bias it gradually took on a moderately political character but has, nevertheless, consistently supported Dutch rule. Almost at once Boedii Oetomo was eclipsed by a different movement—one that was primarily economic and popular. Srikat Islam had its origin in the depressed condition of the batik industry which was attributed to Chinese exploitation, and this antagonism was aggravated by the increased national consciousness of the Chinese after the revolution of 1912. This society grew rapidly, both in numbers and radicalism, under the double impetus of stiffening Muslim resistance to increasing Christian missionary activity and the restlessness engendered by the European war of 1914-1918.

During this same period trade unions experienced a phenomenal growth, favored by the growing concentration of capitalistic enterprise and by the post-war depression. The early 1920’s saw a wave of strikes in widely separated parts of the Indies. At first the strikes were successful, largely because the “ethical” government, in recognizing that working conditions for native laborers were bad, exercised pressure on the producer interests. But later the administration changed its tone. Also in 1923 Srikat Islam, which had sponsored these strikes, expelled its more radical elements who proceeded to form a communist party that gave violent evidence of its growth during the next five years. About 1914 a third current had entered the nationalist stream—the Indos, or Eurasians, who advocated brotherhood with the Indonesians in an independent Indies.

The entry of the Indos into nationalist politics was followed by that of Europeans, but in a wholly new vein. When a greater degree of freedom of the press and assembly was permitted, it was effected almost wholly in the interests of the European community, but nationalist organizations profited thereby. In 1918 a legislative body was created, the Volkraad, whose limited powers represented a compromise between the
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Ethical” advocates of greater native participation in the government and conservative Dutch elements, both in Holland and the Indies. The concessions which it wrested from the governor-general had a soothing effect as regards parliamentary opposition, if not generally throughout the country. The revolutionary period from 1920-1927 culminated in communist uprisings and their prompt suppression. This marked the high point in the nationalist movement’s domination by its European partners. The communist movement was forced far underground and the dependence of local nationalists upon foreign support was terminated. Sarikat Islam resumed leadership of the nationalist movement, achieved principally under the aegis of native students who had returned from study in Europe. Their students’ society in Holland had established contact with international revolutionary organizations and their propaganda extended to the compatriots in Cairo and Mecca. Repatriated members came to exercise a growing influence over the nationalist movement in the Indies, giving it both a radical and educational orientation.

By 1927 the nationalists began to find that the study clubs and culture schools which they had founded were rather far out in their former political activities, so that in that year the National Indonesian Party was formed, which continued to maintain close relations with student organizations at The Hague. In the Indies, its extremist activities finally led to the arrest of its leaders and a subsequent breaking away of the religious from the secular elements. The latter organized themselves into three parties competing for leadership of the nationalist cause. All of these party subdivisions, reunions and reincarnations not only confused the common nationalist desideratum, a free Indonesia, but they were grist to the mill of those who asserted that Indonesians are too mutually jealous, too disunited as to language, race and religion ever to constitute a cohesive entity. On the other hand, the three main elements of disunity—dixerity of religion, the racial basis, and cooperation with the government—tended to be resolved in favor of an all-Indonesian versus a Javanese-dominated nationalism.

Despite the growth of a more purely native nationalism at the expense of communist and internationally stimulated influences, the Indies have felt repercussions from other world movements, the most positive of which has been Pan-Islam. The Dutch apparently were successful in their relationship to Islam because they were so circumspect, yet certain observers feel that while exaggerating the force of secular nationalism and tolerating—even encouraging—the religious movement of reform as a less dangerous outlet, the Dutch rather blindly ignored the anti-Dutch character of certain Muslim activities in the Indies. Taking a leaf from...
the Congress movement in India, some Indonesian nationalists advocated a policy of non-cooperation, a congress organization, and a limited program of Swadeshi. Their objective has frequently been defined as the Indian-inspired ideal of dominion status within the Dutch empire.

Chinese influence in Indonesian nationalism has been conditioned by the antagonism inspired in the natives by the resident Chinese, who form about 2 percent of the total population. Adverse native reaction naturally did not decline with the improved economic and legal position—not to mention the heightened nationalism—of the local Chinese, and only for a time during the communist period did the parallel development of local Chinese and Indonesian nationalisms intersect. With the suppression of communism, the essentially capitalistic interests of the Chinese, and their desire to remain a group apart, made more apparent the differences between them and the Indonesians.

The trend in the Indonesian nationalist movement in the past few years reflects the strength of the pro-native and liberal attitude of the government. Conservative Dutch residents who at one time advocated repressive governmental action were counterbalanced by liberal and non-official Dutch elements both in Europe and in the Indies. Such repressive measures as were instituted by the Indies government after the outbreaks in the late 1920’s were based on the “ounce of prevention” theory, and in this the Dutch have been aided by the character of Indonesian leaders who showed no propensity to sow the seeds of nationalism in martyrs’ blood.

While responsibilities placed on the natives in the interests of the islands’ defense after 1939 gave the nationalists a bargaining point for wresting new political concessions, observers concurred in feeling that the natives were loyal to the Dutch. If they must have imperial masters, there is no question that the natives prefer the Dutch to the Japanese.

(Continued from page 223)

The Summer Quarter of the New York School of Social Work extends from June 23 to September 4, and is open to the experienced social worker enrolling for this quarter only as well as the student, with or without experience, who is entering the course as a degree candidate. Seminars for graduates and advanced students are offered. Application date for the Summer Quarter is April 20. Admission to the institutes will be based upon successful experience in the field related to the institute selected by the applicant. There is no specific date for application for the institutes, but early application is desirable, as enrollment will be limited.

For details of the Summer Quarter and Summer Institutes, write to the Registrar of the School.

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The Gist of It

STUART CHASE, well known writer on economic subjects, brings a deep affection for country life to his exciting interpretation of the Volunteer Land Corps (page 229). Mr. Chase was one of the first journalists to cover the early stages of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and was a founder of the nation's most comprehensive conservation society, Friends of the Land. His account of the Volunteer Land Corps is rich in implications for the future of young Americans.

LIKE MR. CHASE, DOROTHY THOMPSON is also, in addition to being a nationally known writer and lecturer, genuinely concerned about the future of our basic resources—the land, and the ongoing generation that will remake post-war America. Miss Thompson (page 235) adds a historical footnote to Mr. Chase's story of a great experiment in service to one's country.

A CRACK New York reporter recently took a look at the Astoria workshop of the National Youth Administration, and the result is an article which refute a good deal of the political and newspaper maligning of the most important agency training war workers to the skills upon which our future production depends. (Page 235) Mr. Hirt, who has served on the World Telegram and New York Post, as feature writer and editorial commentator, is a frequent contributor to magazines.

JUST AS Hendrik Willem Van Loon once made the study of history palatable to young people in a New York school by accompanying his instruction with informal drawings on the blackboard, so in Vienna, about 1924, Otto H. Ehrlich, assistant manager of a commercial bank who turned to teaching, began to use drawings, photographs and photomontage to make economics more comprehensible to adults in the evening schools. In time he developed these into a series of slides and motion pictures with which he lectured throughout central Europe. Mr. Ehrlich, who came to this country in 1939, has been an instructor in economics at Brooklyn College, New York, for the past two years. His hobby is still visualizing economics; in his spare time he has been working on a book of drawings, with brief captions, describing the corporation. On seeing this material, the editors of Survey Graphic urged Mr. Ehrlich to essay somewhat glorified cartoon strips which would simplify some of the problems of the day. On page 241 he offers his first series of cartoons.

THE PART women already are playing in the war production drive is sketched (page 44) by Beulah Amidon, associate editor. This article is one in the sequence in which, since the beginning of the defense effort, she has reported and interpreted many aspects of the problem of labor supply.

HEINZ SOFFNER, formerly active in white-collar trade union work in Austria, is a writer on public affairs. Now in this country, he describes the German farm program which, last month, was realistically discussed at a European agricultural conference in London, unfortunately not widely covered by the U. S. press. (Page 249)

THIS BEING Survey Graphic's regular spring book number, it is opportune to mention the annual Writer's Conference of the University of Colorado. In July, Richard Ahlking, Witter Bryner, Katherine Ann Porter, Harry Shaw, and other writers and editors will participate in the annual conference which attracts over a hundred writers to the university campus at Boulder.

"Miss Bailey" at National Conference

ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT YET MADE A formal announcement, our readers may be aware that Gertrude Springin has retired as managing editor of Survey Midmonth—though not as contributing editor. Much as her absence from the office will mean to us and to the field of social work, we are sure that her plan for devoting more time to "raising crocuses on Cape Cod," as she puts it, is a good one.

Mrs. Springer and Paul Kellogg will be at the National Conference of Social Work in New Orleans. They will be at the Survey booth on Friday, May 15, from 1 to 5 p.m. to greet Survey friends.

Won't you stop by for an informal call and farewell to Mrs. Springer?
THE FARM IN WARTIME

Less cotton and wheat—more vegetables, poultry and dairy products
Young Men in Tunbridge

by STUART CHASE

Boys too young for the army, young men not drafted because of physical defects, can make a vital contribution to the war effort by putting on overalls in the Land Army. Mr. Chase describes what a group of dedicated young people have done in one Vermont community. By serving their fellowmen, they have founded a nationwide movement at Camp William James.

Tunbridge lies in the high hills of Vermont, an hour’s drive west of Hanover, the home of Dartmouth College. The road follows up a tumbling river with steep pastures and rugged forested slopes on either side. It comes out on a pleasant valley, with dairy farms, red barns and silos, and the Tunbridge church, townhall and school. Down on the meadow by the river are the fair grounds, and beyond them a millpond and a fragrant sawmill. Steep dirt roads run to more farms on the ridges above. A century ago two thousand people lived in Tunbridge; now there are less than half as many. For those who stayed there is plenty of work to do, shipping milk to Boston, growing potatoes, gardening, haying, lumbering in the winter, boiling down maple sap in the spring, when plumes of sweet smoke rise from every sugarhouse up and down the valley.

Tunbridge is the home of a unique experiment. Many years ago William James called for a land army of young people to serve their country by building up its rural resources. For three years, the pioneers of that army have been working in Tunbridge, helping the farmers with their chores, cleaning up hurricane damage, checking erosion, doing what the community wanted done. Two miles above the village store is Camp William James, the headquarters of the pioneers.

Farmers in Tunbridge, farmers in Vermont, farmers all over the country are going to be in bitter need of help this summer. General Lewis B. Hershey has told Congress that American farms have lost a million hands to the armed services and munitions factories. Pages of advertisements of “Farms for Sale” are beginning to appear in the rural papers. The Department of Agriculture warns that the farm labor problem is more serious than ever before in U. S. history. The “Oregon Plan” is spreading through the Northwest, where school children from seventh grade up are registered for emergency farm work; the “Goodhue Plan” is spreading from Minnesota through the Middlewest, where everybody in rural districts who has any time to spare joins a farm labor pool. In Vermont the farm labor shortage is estimated at 40 percent, and highschools have closed to let students help with the spring sugaring-off.

II

The land army idea, as expounded by William James, was supposed primarily to help young people adjust themselves to the realities of life. In this year 1942, and indeed so long as the war lasts, young women, boys too young for the army, young men not drafted because of physical defects, can make an extraordinarily vital con-
tribution to the war effort by putting on overalls and swinging in behind the farmers of the nation.

It has already been done in Tunbridge on a basis which goes farther than the emergency of war and looks to the peace beyond. It has been a matter of souls as well as of hands. The story of these pioneers is human, dramatic and historically important. What a few score boys and half a dozen girls started here may grow, under the pressure of war, into a mighty movement; and, under the pressure of post-war adjustment, continue as universal service on the land for every boy and girl as part of their education.

The pioneers found something in these Vermont hills that touched them profoundly; something that may touch young men and women all over America. Whatever they found, many of them thought it repaid them for giving up scholarships and opportunities for careers in business, universities, the professions. They turned away from the accredited goddess of success, and tried to find gods that were deeper, older, and more enduring.

III

The story begins with a young man named Frank Davidson, Harvard '39, son of a well-known New Yorker, and headed for a legal and political career. He became deeply interested in the problem of American young people, many of whom were not in school and yet had no jobs. He was disturbed about the deep cleavage in the ranks of American youngsters: well-to-do college boys moved in one direction, poor boys in another. To get them together, he proposed a mass youth movement along the general lines of William James' land army.

Davidson went to see Professor Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy of Dartmouth, who also was a devoted disciple of William James and who had the advantage of practical experience. Professor Huessy had been one of the founders of work camps for young people in Europe, after the last war. He left Germany when Hitler came to power, and is now a United States citizen. The professor pointed out that it was foolish to start a new movement when the CCC camps were already a going concern.

The trouble was, said Huessy, that the President's original objective of a young men's army building up the forests and soils of America had been somewhat sidetracked. For one thing, every member had to declare himself in effect a pauper. That slammed the door in the face of all young men who had both ideals and financial resources. The green CCC uniform had become a badge of dependency, rather than a badge of pride like the uniform of the air corps. Yet was it not as great a service to the community to save its soils and fight its forest fires in peacetime as to learn to bomb its enemies in war?

Frank Davidson got the point. He enlisted incognito in the CCC and was assigned to a camp in Maryland. On the basis of his experience he prepared an elaborate report which was forwarded to headquarters in Washington. Of a number of reforms which he suggested, one was adopted. The "means test" was removed, and any boy who wanted a job was allowed to enter the CCC. Several of Davidson's friends in Harvard promptly enrolled. And several regular CCC boys became interested in his larger idea of a permanent land army.

Meanwhile, inspired by Rosenstock-Huessy, five Dartmouth graduates, class of 1940, plus one sophomore, went to Tunbridge for the summer to work with farmers on the land. Some went as a pure experiment, some to make a survey of what a proposed flood control dam and reservoir might do to the rural community. All were restless and looking for something more real than they had found in college. Lawrence Bowen, master of the Tunbridge Grange, found places for them on his own farm or on the farms of his neighbors.

IV

Now here is a strange thing. I have never heard of anything quite like it in America before. A college boy presents himself at a farmer's door in those high hills of Tunbridge. He says he would like to help with the chores. Heaven knows the farmer needs help.
"Do you know anything about farming?"
"No. I want to learn."
"What wages are you asking?"
"None. Just my board and keep."

"Well, of all crazy notions! But Lawrence Bowen says you're all right in your head anyway. Step in. We'll see what we can find for you to do. It's not an easy life, young man; very different than reading books down there in Hanover. We'll break you or we'll break you in!"

None of the six young men in Tunbridge was broken. In due course they were all broken in. Here is what they did, for their board and keep, and the faith that was in them. They got up in the dark, ran the milking machine, learned to strip the last milk from the udders by hand, pitched, tumbled and called hay, swung a scythe, cultivated corn, took care of horses and harness, sprayed apple trees, dug potatoes, split wood, loaded wagons, drove trucks and tractors, repaired fences, painted buildings, and cleaned out manure cellars. Their hands were clumsy but their heads were clear, and they learned fast. In a few weeks they were worth considerably more than their board and keep. From being suspicious the farmers came to appreciate the very real help so bitterly needed.

Communication was difficult at first, but gradually the young men discovered a ripe philosophy in Vermont farmers which was rarely found in books, while the farmers gained lively information about the outside world from their young helpers. The boys did not work all the time. They cleaned up and went to square dances, picnics, grange meetings, chicken pie church suppers; they sang in the choir, and took part in village theatricals.

I asked a Tunbridge farmer how he liked the boys. His face lit up. "They were nice boys. As hired men they weren't up to par, but they never stopped trying. They had the right spirit. They were good for the town, and I reckon the town was good for them. I'd like to see more of it. But keep some of those long-haired uplifters from the city out of it. They used to clutter up the place, when the camp started, seeing how the experiment was getting on. I don't aim to be anybody's guinea pig."

V

As the boys worked, they looked around to see what the community needed besides direct farm help. Tunbridge needed—like most towns in rural New England—improved country roads, a thorough clean-up of the woods following the great hurricane of 1938, extensive repairs to fences, barns and buildings, control of erosion and floods, a lot of white paint. Why didn't the CCC boys do this? They did a little of it, but they were not allowed to make any real contact with the community in which their camps were located. They were not allowed to do what the farmers wanted done; the farmers were never consulted, and sometimes the camps were feared a little. The young men of Tunbridge did what needed to be done, they did it with all their hearts, and they were not feared.

By the end of the summer they were joined by more young men with similar aspirations, including some of Davidson's Harvard group back from their "learning by doing" in various CCC camps through the country. The two streams merged. Out of their fusion, in the fall of 1940, came the idea of Camp William James. The idea was simple: to combine the CCC organization with the Tunbridge practice; to set up a regular CCC camp which would become a part of the community.

The CCC camp in the nearby town of Sharon, Vt., had closed in the spring of 1940. Yet in every valley, on every farm, there was work crying to be done. The Tunbridge boys proposed that the Sharon camp be reopened, christened William James, and dedicated to the work-service idea. It should undertake projects "needed and suggested by the community," jobs which the community lacked time or money to do, which nobody wanted to do for profit, but failing which the community would continue its long, slow slide towards disintegration. All over rural New England the effects of that slide are tragically visible in abandoned farms, pastures going to brush, old people bent with rheumatism doing the heavy work that strong new generations should do.

A sponsoring committee was organized in eight towns. Dorothy Thompson (see page 233) from nearby Barnard was conscripted to help. A rally held in the Tunbridge Town Hall was attended by 600 people from all over the state. A petition was signed and sent to the President. Vermont, it read, had sent many pioneers to the West. "Now we feel that opportunity for pioneering may be discovered right here." Mr. Roosevelt was reminded of his speech in the early summer of 1940, when he advocated the general idea of universal service by all American young people, rich and poor, share and share alike.

The President was impressed, and referred the peti-
tion to a special committee, which reported favorably.

On January 1, 1941, the camp was opened. Soon about fifty boys were duly sworn in—fifteen college men, some thirty-five non-college, from fourteen states. As the temperature was 20 below and the flimsy buildings were falling apart, the first task was to make the Sharon camp habitable. The boys worked so hard that Glen Amos, the Department of Agriculture supervisor, complained that he could not make them stop, eat their food, and get some rest. A number came down with the flu as a result of injudicious zeal. You see, they desperately wanted the camp to succeed.

The old boys, mostly college men, and the new boys, mostly from poor families in cities and from farms, did not rush at once into each other's arms. Their language, their behavior, their very table manners, were different. An ideal held them together, but it took time to cement the kind of brotherhood which the land corps needs to fulfill its functions. Friendships grew and communication improved as they worked together in the ice and frozen ground.

But then, in February, there was an uproar in Congress over "public money being squandered on rich college boys," and Washington abruptly declared the experiment at an end. The camp must return to the orthodox CCC type.

VI

THE SUDDEN BLOW LEFT THE BOYS IN A TRAGIC SITUATION. Their camp was ready now, yet they could not enter it. It was impossible for them to deny all they had worked so hard for, and carry on in the regular CCC routine. They had given up business offers, scholarships, good jobs, on behalf of their principles. Laugh if you like, you were young once. This is what these boys believed. They believed they were starting a movement to serve their country in peace and war, working in fellowship together, doing tasks that nobody else would do, without money and without price. Yes, laugh if you like, but is there any other spirit which can save America? Will business as usual do it? Will pressure group politics do it? Will dedication to making one's pile, at the cost of whom it may concern, do it?

On February 20, the boys held a meeting and voted to stick to their fellowship and their principles. No help came from Washington. But help came from the farmers of Tunbridge. They, too, had hoped great things from this camp. They offered the boys an old house as temporary headquarters. Twenty-four boys moved in—eleven from college, thirteen from the non-college group. They started a woodcutting job for one farmer, and sent crews to help with the sugaring off on other farms. Philip Whitney of Tunbridge donated his truck and Ed Flint, who runs the creamery, was untiring in his efforts to save the camp.

Faith remained, but direction had been lost. They had no permanent home, no assured projects, almost no money. Page Smith went into the army, and then another and another.

But the battle was not lost. Percy Brown, of the Goodwill Fund in Boston, offered to buy a farm of more than 200 acres which the boys might use as a source of food, fuel, and cash income. A wise lady, Mrs. Henry Copley Greene of Cambridge, with her husband bought the old house which stood on the farm and presented it to the group.

The boys moved again, began laying floors and repairing leaks again with renewed spirits, and transferred the old name to the farm, Camp William James. The first was rotting away again in Sharon. Would this one live?

Early in April the boys began tapping the big grove of maples on their own farm for sugar. Then came plowing for potatoes and vegetables, spreading manure from the cow stables on the fields, seeding, fence repairing. Squads were assigned to each task by the camp manager. Other squads were sent out to cut firewood and to assist neighbors with lumbering operations and stream-bank flood control. Any farmer in the region who needed help in an emergency could apply to the camp, and presently a levy of young men would climb into the truck and go roaring to his assistance.

The word had got abroad through the country and in May, new recruits began to arrive. By the time college closed, nearly fifty young people, dedicated to the William James idea, were working in Tunbridge. Six of them were young women who found places on farms, helping housewives with cooking, dishwashing, gardening, canning, caring for children.

VII

THE SUMMER'S WORK FELL INTO THREE MAIN DIVISIONS: labor on the home farm; squads to help the neighbors; living out as hired men and girls on farms within a radius of twenty-five miles. All members kept in close touch with one another by means of regular meetings at the camp, church suppers, barn dances, and frequent "bull sessions" to appraise the value of the work being done and discuss how it could be improved.

A farmer in the region has summed
up the calendar of tasks. He sees no reason why the land
army could not be kept busy throughout the year. In
March the rookie can pay for himself in syrup production.
In April there are roofs to patch and paint. May brings
plowing, the peeling of fence posts and getting out the
manure. In June comes the vital business of planting, in
July the equally vital business of haying. In the late sum-
mer there are crops of corn, potatoes, vegetables to be
harvested, and after them apples to be picked. Fall plow-
ing may keep him busy through November. During the
snowy winters he could be expected to cut 100 cords of
wood, and possibly a few saw logs.

This farmer says: "Help, even of brief and inex-
erienced sort, would double my production. I have
plenty of farm machinery, but all the manual labor must
be supplied by my own two hands. No matter how
easy it is to prepare the seed bed, I can't set out any more
tomato plants than I can tie up while I'm picking the
beans, raking the hay, hilling the corn, dusting the
potatoes."

The young men of Tunbridge have shown the country
that there is great vitality in the idea of universal service
on the land. They have shown that to be effective this
work must be done with and through the community,
so that both groups are enriched materially and spiritually.

It is impossible to talk with any of these youngsters
without feeling the deep passion which inspires them.
It is something akin to the emotion which swept young
people of another day when they received the call to the
ministry. It affects both boys and girls, and mechanics,
truck drivers, farm boys, as well as college youths. Camp
William James proves that some American young people,
at least,—are ready to renounce the goal of commercial
success, to lose their lives that they may find them, to
embrace wholeheartedly the idea of community service.

The Patriotism of Work

by DOROTHY THOMPSON

The philosophy of the Volunteer Land Corps is derived from William
James; but it reached New England by a long and circuitous route. Miss
Thompson recounts the history of service to the land.

Four years before the last World War, the American
philosopher William James warned that when nations
forsake the life of toil and strenuous living for pleasure
and leisure, certain essential virtues disappear, and society
falls a prey to other harder though perhaps more bar-
baric societies.

While James was no apologist for war, he believed
that wars were useful in reviving a nation's sense of
discipline and sacrifice. But couldn't there be found, in
time of peace, a "moral equivalent for war?" So he recom-
manded that all youth be called upon to do for their
country such dirty and dangerous work as road building,
forestry, mining.

Similar ideas were brewing in Europe. After the war,
Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss, organized idealistic young vol-
unteers to help reconstruct lands devastated by war,
earthquakes or floods.

Contrary to Nazi publicity, "Hitler's" work service
was no Nazi invention but dates back to 1925 and sprang
from students and teachers—the most democratic forces
in German life. If the German Republic had been more
interested in its young people and their attempt to com-
bine work and fellowship, Hitler's Pied Piper tune would
perhaps never have been heard. But the German Re-
public did not begin to organize and help the Voluntary
Work Camps until 1931—in time to hand them over to
Hitler, who forged them into powerful instruments of
Naziism.

The Scandinavian countries organized camps for un-
employed ten years ago. Work, food, and shelter,
they discovered, were not enough; education and training had
to be added.
planted to cabbages by the owners and youth and adults recruited from unessential occupations.

The value of work must now be measured by its necessity to the salvation of the nation. And so there enters into work the spirit of sacrifice, of the free gift.

This element of giving is the essence of Freedom. It is what the artist knows—or the physician, minister, inventor, scholar, engineer, for whom money is only a by-product of effort, not its compelling motive; for whom the deepest satisfaction is realization of the contribution that he makes.

Democracy is a hollow phrase without sharing—the sharing of rights; the sharing of duties; the sharing of one's little self with the great whole.

Sharing through taxation is not enough. What is needed are people willing to invest themselves in the community. This investment of oneself occurs when anyone does more than he is paid to do in any form of work that builds the nation.

II

INSPIRED BY THE PHILOSOPHY OF WILLIAM JAMES, one group of young Americans, who have so far neither sought nor received much publicity, have attempted to make this investment of themselves.

An apprenticeship in the CCC and in the NYA plus some plain living and high thinking as hired men on Vermont farms showed these young people what such of them as are not wanted in our armed forces can do in this war. The answer is simple and clear: "The necessary work that no one else wants to do."

The work that is hardest and pays least. For, they argue, no one can offer to do more than lay down his life, whether as a voluntary gift or as a social obedience. Therefore no youth outside the army can give as much as the one who is in it. Yet the army rejects hundreds of thousands of youth of military age. And the army does not take hardy younger boys, who also wish to serve.

This group of youth have therefore decided, in the midst of war, to adopt William James' moral equivalent, or moral supplement to war, and serve according to need. They are asking others to join them and sign up as members of the Volunteer Land Corps.

For the one place where they are most needed is on the land. All over the nation a drastic shortage of agricultural labor is developing, as farmers' sons are too thoughtlessly, it seems, inducted into the army, or are leaving home to take jobs in munition factories.

The Volunteer Land Corps was formed by a few young men with experience behind them and the philosophy of James in their hearts. It has not rushed to a government office. It has merely ascertained that there is a job to be done, and set about doing it thoroughly in one small area, where investigation showed that they would receive a warm welcome and duplicate no existing efforts. That area is part of the state of Vermont and an adjoining section of New Hampshire, where 25,000 family farms, producing the very foods most desired by the Department of Agriculture—milk, eggs, and vegetables—face a 30 or 40 percent labor shortage in the coming planting and harvest season.

And under the slogan "privilege obliges," these young men are sending out a call, particularly to the unrecruited college and secondary school youth, to begin their service to the American land and the American nation by volunteering as hired men—and hired girls—for the summer.

No easy holiday is held out to recruits. A hired man's work means rising at dawn, working all day under the farmer's direction, sharing the farmer's home, using all one's wits to learn quickly and soundly the farmhand's varied work, and all one's muscles to carry it out.

The Volunteer Land Corps further asserts its solidarity with the army boys by asking no more than a private soldier's wage—$21 a month and board and room. And the farmers are showing themselves willing to pay it, even though they know that these city-bred young people are not a substitute for experienced farm labor.

The Volunteer Land Corps is starting its recruiting in the colleges and secondary schools of the East first, because of the belief that an example should be set by that 25 percent of the youth population which is most fortunate. But its ranks are open to all boys of sixteen and all girls of eighteen and over who can produce a certificate of robust health from any American Medical Association physician and are willing to enlist for the whole season or longer.

And this movement is more than a necessary war measure. These young people accept the idea of a period of universal service to the nation as an integral part of the education of all American youth. From their lips often fall such words as "we must learn by doing. Learn to know the farm problem by working at a farmer's side. Learn to know America by re-immigrating into it—into the center of the productive system. Learn to love America by serving the American estate—the great Home Farm, Home Factory, which is our nation."

III

MY YOUNG FRIENDS ARE A LITTLE IMPATIENT ABOUT EDUCATION for democracy through words only. They know that one loves something in which one has invested a part of one's life. Looking ahead to the time when all Americans will be increasingly secure against sickness, unemployment, and old age, they ask, "What shall we have given in exchange?" And they answer: "A definite period of our life work—to the farmers who struggle to build the soil; to the forests and rivers, roads, parks, and game preserves of our homeland; to those who need help—not as relief, but as the free gift for which, in exchange, we enter into our citizenship. An apprenticeship to America."

"A democracy that works means a working democracy," says Arthur Root, Dartmouth, 1940, valedictorian of his class, now executive officer of the Land Corps.

We need some help from adults; advice so we don't make mistakes; money for our workers and organizers—though not much, because if anybody wants a cushy job with us, we don't want him.

Most of all we want recruits. The kind who want to get to work the minute they leave school, or earlier if they're not in school. Tell them to apply for registration at the Volunteer Land Corps, 8 West 40 Street, New York.

And tell their parents that all the farm agencies of Vermont will make sure they get into decent families. But we don't promise bathrooms.

So the idea of William James, who sought to find the antidote to war, comes home to America in 1942, by a long circuitous route.
War Workers in the Making

by GEORGE BRITT

In New York one NYA center has poured a stream of "shop-broken" workers into the war industries—and, in doing so, itself filled important orders for the navy. A firsthand account of how the National Youth Administration is helping break the bottleneck in labor supply.

A visiting master machinist in the shop halted before a goggled young man in khaki work suit who was shooting off a demoniac jut of sparks from his grinding machine. The shop was in Astoria, Long Island, the largest among nearly 1,000 work-experience centers of the National Youth Administration, training for war trades.* The visitor was the mechanical superintendent of a big war factory—a grizzled opinionated man, proud of his own company and its craftsmen, intolerant of fumblers.

"What's that boy working on?" he asked. It was a part for a warship, being finished off on an external grinder. And then, "How close has he got to hold it?"

"Half a thousandth."

The answer was a challenge to all his skepticism. He stepped nearer.

"How close are you holding this piece?"

"Half a thousandth," the youngster said.

"Set your mike on it and give me the reading."

The micrometer proved it. The young man was working on a close tolerance of 1/2000 of an inch.

"Send him over for a job," said the visitor. "And if you've got any others who can do that, let me see them."

A thrill goes around by shop grapevine every week, several times a week: "Six fellows got in the Navy Yard yesterday"; "Joe landed at Sperry's"; "Mooney and Al are down at Wilmington, working on a ship." Often after their first pay day, boys came back waving their checks.

"Yeah, but most of 'em don't come back," said a foreman, resentfully. "They feel they're good enough, so they quit and find themselves jobs. We don't hear from them and there's no credit on the record for this shop."

* As we go to press the Astoria center is forced to make room for war production in its present leased building, which is owned by a piano concern working on army-contracts. The training units will be relocated in vacant factory space in several sections of the city.
A constant pull naturally draws the foremen to follow their pupils out to the lush payrolls of war industry. Their pay is limited, $155 to $225 a month. The center never has been able to keep enough competent foremen, and instead of one to each ten boys as intended, the rate more often is one to fifteen. At times a complicated machine stands idle for lack of a foreman. Two of the shop standby are white-haired veterans of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, retired on pensions after thirty-five and thirty-six years, one of them a foreman for fourteen years. After Pearl Harbor they hastened back from sunny porches in Florida, eager to get in their licks against the enemy. The NYA is not the way they learned their trade. Nowadays they can't rap an apprentice across the knuckles with a wrench, which seems slipshod to them, but after two or three months they confidently send their boys out to jobs.

"Well, I'll tell you why I stay," said a young foreman. "On the outside I can do only one man's job. But here I turn out 150 boys into the war every three months or so, boys that I taught and they are good at what they can do. So I figure I'm doing a wholesale business against the Japs and Germans. I get my kick out of that."

**Industrial Soldiers at Astoria**

The Astoria Work Center occupies a sprawling old two-story yellow brick piano factory, five acres of floor space, employing 2,000 youths, with a turnover into industry of 30 percent each month. It was opened late in 1939, first as a garment shop which now makes hospital bathrobes and other clothing for the army and navy. War can be seen at closer range in the machine shops and in the drafting, sheet metal and welding, where parts are made that actually go into submarines, tanks and planes. Astoria musters 121 machine tools which cost $168,000, operated by 175 youths at a shift, three shifts every twenty-four hours, although the night shift is not always at full capacity. There is a laundry, and woodworking, cabinet making and upholstery shops which give new life to furniture from municipal offices, and a cafeteria. All give work experience, fitting for commercial employment. The war trade shops account for three workers out of four.

As running mates to the big Astoria center, there's a machine shop, welding, sheet metal, and auto repair center in Brooklyn, an auto repair shop in Flushing, a machine shop at Oyster Bay, and a radio and building center in Manhattan—all under the metropolitan administrator, Helen M. Harris. An experienced executive, but never an industrialist herself, she directs the operation through a flexible staff of experts. The center superintendents were trained as engineers, and there's a former factory owner and operator as chief business manager.

The metal output of the shops goes almost exclusively to the navy. Astoria and Brooklyn turn out thousands of odd parts. They make tons of items individually beneath notice by the commercial shop contractors, a nuisance for the navy yards to make themselves but nonetheless essential. In five months last year the New York shops of NYA finished more than 26,000 separate units for the Brooklyn Navy Yard alone—by current wage and hour rates more than $30,000 worth. Three times that much was done for the Portsmouth Navy Yard. Since Pearl Harbor, navy demands have doubled. Beyond this, the centers are working on a large arsenal order, keep a fleet of automobiles in repair for the Department of Justice, and serve half a dozen city departments.

Even so, this military, nautical, and civic usefulness is merely by-product. The fruit of the enterprise is the hands and eyes of ready workmen, conserved from waste by the NYA's use of human resources.

Unskilled boys and girls, seventeen to twenty-four, go out in three months as tool operators, welders, and sheet metal workers. They go with spirit. As one of the articulate ones expressed it, "The way I look at it, this gives a young fellow a stake in America." The venture's effectiveness stands by the simplest of proof. The youngsters do their jobs. These New York centers alone place 1,000 a month into war industry.

All over the United States the raw material of youth, often handicapped by dreary unrelied unemployment, is being taken in and equipped with skills and semi-skills for production. The big Astoria shops are a type of what is being done and what can be done to meet industry's cry this year for 2,000,000 brand new trained recruits, or more. A shortage of skill already is felt; shortage of manpower is in sight. The National Youth Administration's work centers have been called by Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt the greatest single producers of war workers. The NYA in the country as a whole.
reported placing 35,000 in war industry in January, and the three-shift program at full capacity could supply 600,000 a year. That is the goal for 1942.

There are other training camps besides NYA to supply these industrial soldiers. Some of the very largest companies operate their own schools. The government finances a new system of “training within industry,” whereby uniform training methods are applied in certain individual war factories to develop needed foremen and to upgrade operators. Also, through the federal Office of Education, a system of initial and refresher courses is provided by after-hours use of public vocational school equipment. But NYA as a going concern rooted in past experience still offers that needed quota of 600,000 this year. Months past, these NYA shops primarily were human salvage stations. The NYA offered opportunity and rehabilitation to a depression-struck generation which, by its help, has been preserved to serve the present emergency. For the duration, the old role is changed—these shops now must supply the operators without whom the machines cannot function. Post-war readjustment is another and separate story.

In these NYA shops the basic idea of training is actual production. The shops are counterparts of the local industries, practicing trades in demand. Here are no sham battles, no blank cartridges. There’s a kick to making an armor bolt which school exercises can never approach. An unconscious speed-up runs through the shop when production swings to what may be called combat parts instead of the plumbing fixtures.

From a File to a Machine

FACTORY PRACTICE IS THE RULE. WITH MACHINES STANDING IN ORDERLY RANKS, THE SHOP LOOKS LIKE A FACTORY EXCEPT THAT THE OPERATORS ARE ALL YOUNG, A SPRINKLING OF OVERALL-WEARING GIRLS INCLUDED. THE FOREMEN PRESS FOR MORE AND FASTER PRODUCTION. SINCE JULY OF LAST YEAR THE YOUTH WORKER IN WAR JOBS HAS BEEN ADVANCED FROM 60 HOURS TO 160 HOURS A MONTH, HIS PAY INCREASED FROM $22 TO $25 A MONTH. IF A BOY STEPS OUTSIDE FOR A SMOKE, HE GETS A DAY’S SUSPENSION. ONE BOY WAS NAPPING IN A CORNER AFTER LUNCH. HE WAS FIRED. OVERHEAD IS A SIGN, “DON’T WASTE MATERIALS. REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR,” AND AN AMERICAN FLAG IS SPREAD ON THE WALL.

Here are two boys turning out brass screws according to blueprint. Their turret lathe is tooled up to produce, from its bar of brass, a succession of flat-headed screws with 82 degree head and N.C. 20 thread—one of the most exacting jobs in the shop. A lad swings the turret from one operation to the next, and his mate keeps a cool stream of oil like so much maple syrup pouring over the cutting edge. Two months ago, one remembers with a laugh, this same lathe operator made his start on a shaper and, getting the bit upside down, had to call the foreman because it wouldn’t cut. Out from the fireboxes of a welding booth a boy emerges with lifted helmet to exhibit a sample that he had saved, a steel chunk bisected by a hack saw, its clean surface unblemished by fault or air hole, its evidence of perfection.

One of these lads is from a florist’s shop, no previous mechanical experience. This one, in high school, was absorbed in dramatics; his high spot was the time he played “Charlie’s Aunt.” This girl was “a saleslady.” The drill press operator had three years at New York University, and his team mate was an accountant. Says another: “Sure I had jobs after I left school. I was delivery boy for a lot of groceries, and where would that get me?” They are busy and impatient to move on. A strong patriotic motive stirs them—and they feel very good at high wages in prospect. The second point is a spur to them, and so is the first.

Mostly they are under twenty, still excited by these machines which will take fierce implacable metal and shape it to their own designs. The pattern of the work itself is a fascination—the polished new surface and razor edge of a finished job, the lazy endless curl of a shaving, the little twist of smoke from cutting metal, the vibrating hum and the beat of the power hammer. Rivalry springs up between shifts, and when one night operator learned that his milling machine had turned out 40 finished items during the day, he produced 90. “That Nick, he has a wonderful eye,” another boy said of him. “He can set the machine with just one motion and have it going again.”

“One of the boys was complaining,” said a visitor, “about not getting enough instruction. He just works one machine, he says, and that’s all he gets out of it.”

“If he talks like that,” answered another, “he’s not worth fooling with. He’s still a kid and thinks he’s in school. This is a work-experience center. The machines are here, and he’ll work two or three more before he’s
finished. If he really wants to find out about them, he can dig in. That's up to him."

Without urging, many study at night. From the brass name plate of a machine they copy off the manufacturer's name, and then a letter usually will get them a descriptive catalogue. One little book on how to operate a lathe costs a quarter. A boy going to Manhattan for a copy was commissioned by his mates to get books for them also, until he was loaded up with $4 worth. The foremen recommend and lend their shop manuals, and boys crowd the public libraries on weekends.

"A lot of these guys will come out as machine operators and that's all," said a youth. "When the rush is over, they'll be through. But if you study and take night courses, you may make a real machinist of yourself."

The novice entering NYA is given a file to start with, and nothing more. For hours he stands at a bench, filing bits of scrap metal to measure. In a few days he receives the drawing for a pair of calipers or dividers to be cut precisely to size and assembled, his first accomplishment. Several hours a day in these early weeks he devotes to class—provided by separate aid through vocational teachers from the local school system—related training in blueprint reading, shop mathematics, and mechanical theory. In three or four weeks the youth progresses to operation of a simple drill press or shaper. The need here to be met, of course, is for competent operators. General background training is slight, and depends on the individual.

Getting a chance with NYA has depended greatly on seasons and appropriations. Until last January, selection for mechanical aptitudes was tried by means of an elaborate work-sample system. Shortage of money called that off. Interviews are used now in trying to discover fitness, which often is deceptive in the case of some overly verbal applicant. The practical corrective is a fairly easy willingness of the staff to reclassify after trial in the shops. With "defense training" ardently in demand now, the doors are kept open wide, although there's a high drop-out rate for the first month."

The first angry rush of war applicants held for three months, and in New York until early March one had to wait for six weeks. But now the waiting list can be cleared in a week. Each of the day's three shifts is served by a personnel counsellor—an overworked man trying to touch the high spots of need, still convinced that a little extra effort at readjustment is worth his trouble.

All New York applications require a statement as to family income. This isn't a means test, and there hasn't been one for more than a year. A young Rockefeller or Whitney could be admitted to NYA with full knowledge. The records show, however, that nine youngsters out of ten come from homes close to the subsistence level of income. "I've had a fairly lucrative job," said one at Astoria. "I've been making $30 a week as a watchmaker. But I didn't save because I had my parents needing help, and on my own I'd never have taken a shop course." Another, "I spent $125 on a welding school, but when I got out I couldn't weld. I'd have been sunk without this."

This group in its very internal make-up is a reminder that opportunity, even under the Stars and Stripes on the wall, is not equal. Within this NYA shop the experience requisite to another step forward is dealt out evenly. But as the youngsters reach the door, their handicaps overtake them again. The Negros move at a snail's speed along the road to employment, and a disproportional number of Negro youth are kept on beyond their normal span as they look sadly for jobs. Many a shop outside will have none of them. The Jewish youth meet the same locked doors in lesser number. Until a few months ago, the Connecticut factory towns wanted no workers from New York. Both organized labor and organized public education have in the past opposed the NYA. Political battles over NYA bring periods of discouragement to the young workers, and others who need the help return home without applying.

One small Negro of eighteen last year is still remembered as the wizard of the shop. Without any previous machine training, he walked up to the plant superintendent on his second day and asked to be transferred from filing onto a machine. He could do anything that anybody else could; he was positive of that.

"All right, I'll give you a chance," said the superintendent. With his pencil he drew a square. "You take your sheet of steel and cut a hole in it exactly one inch square. Then put a plug in it so that it just fits. If you can do that, I'll give you a machine."

"And I'm telling you," the superintendent recalls now, "that he did it in a hurry. He fitted it so neatly that you could hold the pieces right up against the window and never see daylight. He got his machine."

Meeting the Political Attacks

The words National Youth Administration these days suggest primarily a political controversy, and no discussion can ignore the attacks. The life of the enterprise is demanded, and no quarter. The NYA was set up to deal with the consequences of unemployment conditions which, in the war boom, have ceased to exist. That fact gives the attack the banner of an obviously needed economy, while in its ranks are many who have been the most eager to denounce whatever the administration favored. Most serious of recent onslaughts, aside from speeches in Congress, was the long detailed and repeated story in the Baltimore Sun charging that the NYA was hoarding needed machine tools and making little or no use of them. NYA officials replied with spirit, and Donald M. Nelson came to their support with his statement that production had to be balanced with training.

With the shortcomings of NYA around the country, whether proved or disproved, the present narrative is not concerned. There was, however, a newspaper echo in New York of the Baltimore Sun attack, although less formidable. Miss Harris reminded her local critics that a quarrel in war industry for precedence between materials, machines and trained men was "like the question of which is the most important leg of a three-legged stool." At the shops in Astoria and Brooklyn, any visitor may see the machines turning and the technique in operation. Looking remarkably like plants at full speed and hitting on all cylinders—unless the visit be made at the midnight lunch hour—they are producing skilled young workmen.

It was in October, 1940, that a blitz-frightened Congress passed a large supplementary appropriation for NYA war training, with an administrative order requiring it to be spent in four months. New York's share of that was $2,000,000, and orders were placed in a flash for much of the equipment now in use. The Brooklyn center was opened for these tools—on hand and on order. Deliveries were made in driblets, under priority conditions.
from week to week by various factories all last summer. Unused tools in crates then stood waiting for power installations or for other tools needed to implement them before they could start. Just as waiting equipment is to be found in any expanding private industry. These tools are now in active use.

The youngsters who have learned on these machines are trooping into war industry. Training here, on the average, is estimated to have cost $150 per youth, delivered at the factory door. That means $50 a month for three months. It doesn't include the cost of machines. The raw materials are furnished by the navy or other sponsors of each particular job. But the $50 does include loss on cafeteria, rent, electric light and power, supervision and administration, and the youth's NYA pays. Against it should be offset the valuable work done on needed products.

Shelter and maintenance doesn't enter into the cost of these city centers, for the youth live at home. There are residence centers, however, more than 400 of them throughout the United States, drawing youth from distant sections in a sort of ordered migration. At Nepaug Village, Conn., near Hartford, a residence center receives scores of New York boys who there rub shoulders with boys from Oklahoma, Kentucky or anywhere. Such a center adjusts to the variations of need and supply between one section and another. Nepaug Village is in the midst of the aviation engine and arms plants around Hartford, and boys having a general knowledge of shop practice are given specialized tasks here, are looked over by the local employers, and are usually cleared into jobs in a week.

Although NYA encountered a prejudice, and still does, among private employers against its trainees, it has broken down this sentiment to a notable extent. The National Advisory Committee of NYA recently published a sheaf of letters from employers throughout the country reporting nearly unanimous satisfaction. Said one: "We can't think of anything you can do that will be more valuable than training young men for jobs in defense industries where the obtaining of labor is now as critical as the obtaining of material."

After a trial of NYA boys, Bendix Aviation wrote: "Within the next few months we will probably require additional trainees in our machine shop. Consequently we shall be glad to consider for employment those boys who have received fundamental instruction and training in machine shop work." From Fairfield, Conn., the Aluminum Company of America wrote its thanks for past help, adding, "If you can supply us with 100 foundry workers within the next month we shall be more than pleased to employ them."

A Stake in America

The problem of the NYA youth has little to do with political attacks and the details of administration. The troubles of the youth usually can be answered by the one word—jobs.

"I've been here nine months," answered one tall young Negro at Astoria. He was a highschool graduate, with no previous manual training. He had seen hundreds of white boys go out to jobs, and he was left behind.

"Sure, it's discouraging," he said. "I've been turned down, and I know why it is. I can't have a job now for another two months, until I'm eighteen. Then I'm pretty sure of the Navy Yard. My application is in. When I get blue, the way I do is to think: Well lots of Negroes have had a harder time than you and they came through all

The American way? For lack of job openings many trained young Negroes remain in the shop.
right. My time isn't wasted. I'm still learning. When I go out, I won't be like boys who only know one machine. I can operate a lathe, a milling machine and a grinder, and I know them. I've got no kick."

The best gas welder at Astoria carries a double handicap. She's a Negro and a girl. Girls are winning barely a toehold as yet in the New York metal shops, and consequently their training is an experiment. Many girls show their velvet touch with the soldering iron. About half the gas welders are girls, about one in fifty in the machine shop. The star welder is a last June graduate of New York University, trained for teaching, and she has waited five months at Astoria to be chosen for a job. But every day she has stuck to her torch, keeping alive her delicate feeling for the flame.

Here is a wiry Yankee of a boy who has solved his problem for himself. His father was set on his becoming a white collar man. He had been an interviewer for an instalment sales house; he grinned—"taking suckers over the jump." At night he studied freshman engineering at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Then when his father was away from home, he quit the job for the shop.

"My father was so mad, I had to leave home," said the youth. "He said to me, 'What do you want to do—carry a greasy tool kit all your life?' And I said, Yes, which wasn't the right answer for him. That just shows the whole wrong philosophy of American education, trying to fit everyone into white collar jobs when there aren't enough for 10 percent of the graduates. Well, my father came around and I'm sleeping home now."

Discouragements along the way give place to enthusiasm after the youth find jobs. Many of them write back to report their success—letters filled with brag and joy.

"Although I am comparatively new here," wrote one, "my foreman and supervisors already are coming to recognize me." Another said proudly, "The test was a cinch."

Another dreamed, "I intend to see the whole country by welding my way. So thanks for the instruction you gave me because I can use it every day." A former barber wrote to his foreman, asking help to get a friend into training, and added, "I will give you a free haircut the next time I see you. . . . I have you to thank for everything I know." A boy returned a loan, "Please give this 35 cents to Rocky," and reported, "I can hardly restrain myself from turning cartwheels."

Here is a prize letter from a young welder:—

I have a job with the Federal Shipyard in Kearny, N. J. I am very thankful for your teaching me how to weld. Tell the boys if they want jobs Federal Shipyard is the best place. . . . I was walking to the ships to work with Cohen. We saw a piece of metal lying on the floor. We rushed to pick it up so we could weld on it, but the foreman picked it up first. He said: "The way you boys act, it looks like you came from the NYA." We told him we did and it's the best place where a fellow can really learn a good trade. He pointed to a big ship and said, "You boys can weld to your heart's content." Well, so long.

Today's war jobs, high wages and bonuses, of course, are not the definition of the work center's accomplishment. They do indicate the shortage and the crying demand for simple skill. These exuberant youths, however, cannot have forgotten a year or two ago when they saw no light ahead whatsoever, and even since the war they could not have responded to the opportunity unless the NYA had equipped them with experience. Many have been personally rehabilitated. But the present operation is impersonal. It is pointed toward efficiently manning the war factories, just as the training camps man the tanks and planes. A democratic door of opportunity has been opened, and these youngsters are safeguarding the stake they have discovered in America.
1. It is hard to stimulate production so that there are enough goods for both military and civilian needs.

2. Production for war can be expanded without decreasing production for consumers as long as there are idle resources—unused plants and equipment, men and material.

3. But when there are no more idle resources, employed resources must be diverted from the production of consumer goods to the production of war goods.

4. Curtailing production for the consumer means cutting down consumption.
5. Shortage of consumer goods is the more acutely felt at a time when expanded production increases incomes and purchasing power.

6. War demands arms, business demands profits, labor demands wage increases, prices are forced up and threaten the consumer.

7. With a shortage unavoidable, the government must protect the consumer against the danger of rising prices.

8. To prevent rising prices means to restore the balance between increased purchasing power and decreased consumer goods.
9. To reduce purchasing power means the imposition of heavier taxes—

10. ... to reduce purchasing power means lending to the government from savings out of current income—

11. ... to reduce purchasing power means rationing the available supply of goods so that every individual gets his fair share

12. Or else—INFLATION

This economic cartoon is available in a 16-page booklet, measuring 4½ x 5½, at the rate of ten cents for one, five cents each for bundles of 10 or more, postpaid.
Arms and the Women

by BEULAH AMIDON

From now on, for the duration, the women of America will be replacing millions of men at jobs in war production and civilian services. Miss Amidon reports what this will mean in terms of the war effort, of women's status, and of the future.

Stand at a factory gate, "somewhere in New England." In the sunny evening of a day on "war time," you will see the second shift stream into the plant, and, a little later, the first shift come pouring out. The number of girls, young wives, middle-aged women among them is surprisingly large. They seem to take for granted their presence in the ranks of "Nelson's soldiers," and to be taken for granted by their fellow workers.

Go into the plant, and you will see men and women side by side on the assembly line, in lunchrooms, checking tools and materials. Nothing, perhaps, so clearly marks the mounting level of the nation's production drive as the sight of women factory workers in their coveralls, their heavy work shoes and tight-fitting mechanics caps. They tend machines, bag powder, fill shells, inspect parts, replace men called into service, answer the demand for more and more workers in the lines behind the lines, to turn out planes, tanks, guns, ammunition, uniforms, warships, for the fighters of the United Nations.

In the final quarter of 1941, after Pearl Harbor wiped out "business as usual" and set new sights for industry, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that there were 5,300,000 workers in war production. For the first quarter of 1942, the BLS estimate stood at 7,500,000. By December 1, that total must be doubled, if the nation is to achieve its production goal.

The problem of a labor supply fifteen million strong has four aspects: the men needed for the armed forces; the workers needed for war production; the workers needed for essential civilian production; the workers needed on the land.

As men are drawn off by the army and the navy, the greatest single pool of labor open to industry and agriculture is the reserve of woman power. This article will not seek to deal with the general question of labor supply, nor will it attempt an account of the volunteer services in the war effort. It is a progress report on the available number and the skills of actual and potential women workers in the population, the use being made of them today, the opportunities for recruitment and training.

According to the 1940 census, there are 50,360,000 women and girls fourteen years of age and over, in our population; 12,850,000, or just under a quarter of them, wage earners. Of 1,256,500 women and girls fourteen years old, or over, who reported themselves "seeking work" in 1940, there were 950,000 experienced workers. In addition to the gainfully employed and the job seekers, there were 28,550,000 who listed themselves as housewives, and approximately 4,450,000 school and college students.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates for the final quarter of 1941, only 480,000 of the 5,300,000 defense workers (fewer than 10 percent) were women. Later figures are not available but there is no doubt that the proportion of women in war industry has increased sharply since the first of the year, and will continue to climb. Thus, in one General Electric plant, the ratio was 60 to 40 in March, in favor of the men. "But by the end of the year," said the general manager, "it will be reversed—60 percent women, to 40 percent men." The Ford Motor Company has pushed up the estimate of women workers it will need in 1942 until now the figure stands at 20,000. The Sperry Gyroscope Company, which soon will open a new plant, will want 6,000 to 8,000 women employees. A machine company where only 20 percent of the working force were women in the fall of 1941 had increased the proportion to 80 percent by February 1942. These are random indications of a nationwide trend.

When the first World War broke out the proportion of women holding jobs in civilian industry was one to four. That proportion finally carried over into war industry. No such ratios have been reached today. The National Industrial Conference Board recently analyzed the figures for the two emergency periods, and found that, as against some 500,000 women now employed in war work, there were 2,250,000 in 1918.

Two factors make necessary a swifter and more general use of women in industry in the months ahead than in 1917-18. First, there is the larger demand for men in the armed forces. Estimates of the total number to be called into the army and navy are not fixed, but they range from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000; certainly the present requirement of 200,000 men a month is likely to be maintained through the current year. Second, with the development of mechanized warfare, the number of workers necessary to maintain each man at the front is substantially higher than it was a generation ago.

The Women Now at Work

The number of women now in war production gives no indication of the tremendous shift in employment that is taking place. The first great demand for women was not from the plants busy retooling and reorganizing for war production, but from the occupations out of which men were pouring into the armed forces and into defense industry. In these civilian occupations the employment of women is likely to increase faster in the months ahead than in war industry itself, and before the summer is over most American communities probably will see mounting numbers of women "taking over" as bus drivers, postal clerks, telegraph messengers, elevator operators, store clerks, newspaper reporters, filling station attendants, busboys and waiters, soda jerks, shipping...
clerks, bank messengers, and in many other posts customarily filled by boys and men.

So far, war industry has made use of women largely in jobs that can be considered "women's work." This means repetitive tasks involving the manipulation of small and light materials, and requiring only a short training period. The heavy, complex tasks of war production in this country are still to a large extent viewed as "men's work." Thus women are to be found stitching parachutes, uniforms, airplane wings; assembling delicate mechanisms; serving as inspectors of parts and finished products; "bagging" powder; performing light, simple machine operations. But the old boundaries between "men's work" and "women's work" are breaking down. Not only is industry experimenting with women as welders, riveters, crane operators, assembly line workers; it is recognizing that with automatic hoists the old concepts of "heavy" work are losing much of their meaning.

In an effort to indicate how many and how varied are the new openings suitable for women, the U. S. Employment Service has been analyzing all jobs occurring in war industries. At present, 623 essential occupations have been studied. Women are employed in only twenty-seven of these. A study of the duties performed by workers in the remaining occupations indicates that 251 are wholly suitable for women, with another group calling only for some rearrangement of equipment and process.

These facts are more striking when forecasts by war contractors are considered. From September 1941 to February 1942, there were 315,000 job openings reported in the list of essential occupations. Of these, fewer than 20,000 openings were in occupations in which women are now employed. But 115,000 were reported in occupations considered suitable for women, 110,000 in occupations partially suitable.

In some war industries, women already make up a substantial percentage of the total number of workers employed. For example, the U. S. Department of Labor, in a survey of munitions plants, found that more than 30 percent of the workers in small arms manufacture are women; in shell and bomb loading plants, the figures run from 33 to 42 percent; in bag loading, from 30 to 48 percent. In aircraft manufacture fewer than 2 percent of the total labor force are women, though in West Coast plants the proportion of women on the assembly lines runs much higher.

American ratios fall far short of British. Since Dunkirk, the number of women at work in British war industry and the variety of their responsibilities have steadily increased. In July, 1939, there were over 4,000,000 women workers in Britain. Since then, even approximate totals have not been given out. During the past winter, the Minister of Labor, acting on the principle that "nothing that a woman can do, or can learn to do should be allowed to absorb a man of military age," has ordered the compulsory registration of all women between the ages of sixteen and forty-one. British women now do riveting, drilling, stamping, pressing, assembling, gauging, machining, light operations and heavy operations, many types of transport and re-
pair work. In some munitions plants, they make up 80 to 90 percent of the total labor force. Some aircraft plants are 40 percent manned by women, with the expectation that the proportion will rise to 80 percent in the months ahead.

The Woman Power Resources Available

Various proposals have been made for the registration of American women, and even for their conscription for war service. Polls of public opinion indicate that a substantial proportion of the women themselves would welcome registration, and an assigned place in the war effort. Government spokesmen, however, hold that the time is not ripe for such a move until all employable unemployed men are at work, and until the task of retooling industry is farther along.

In this country, it is estimated that, if war production goals are to be reached and maintained, there must be an increase in the number of women in war industry from the present half million to three million by the end of 1942; and to six million by the end of 1943. Some of these women will be recruited from among young girls finishing school and college, and housewives not now in the labor market.

Meanwhile, many are being shifted from civilian to war occupations. The change over to war production in the United States has caused the layoff of some 2,000 women silk workers in Scranton, Pa.; 1,000 corset makers in Cortland, N. Y.; about 300 women by a plant making automobile upholstery in Roxboro, N. C.; 270 rubber workers in Ashland, Ohio; 500 aluminum workers in Wisconsin; 360 women making refrigerator parts in Fort Clinton, Ohio; 700 women employed by a fountain pen maker in Wisconsin. The list could go on and on. All these are women with skill and experience in the handling of tools, in safety practices, in the teamwork of production. Relatively little retraining is required to shift them over to war work.

Much larger, however, is the pool of inexperienced girls, and of housewives who have never worked in industry, or whose skills have become rusty or obsolete in the years since they left the labor market.

The demands of war industry require of all workers—men and women—new types of training and experience. The chief sources of training are the defense training program of the public vocational schools and certain technical schools and colleges; the work projects of the National Youth Administration; and, first and last, "training on the job" by industry itself.

By breaking down highly skilled operations into simple, repetitive processes, by taking on "learners" and "helpers" to relieve skilled mechanics of routine tasks, by "upgrading" workers as they acquire skill and experience, industry itself has been the foremost agency in expanding the industrial labor force. Some plants, like those of General Electric, Western Electric, Ford, Sperry Gyroscope, have had long experience with training programs. In such plants, advance planning and systematic recruitment have made it possible to add to the labor force in orderly fashion, with retraining of experienced employees, and on-the-job training of young workers to keep pace with change over and expansion. But many employers have had to start from scratch in developing a training program, frequently doing so only under the prodding of the Training-Within-Industry section of the War Production Board. Other plants, attempting to do nothing themselves except "the final polish," have depended chiefly on NYA and the schools for preliminary training, or for supplementary training of their own workers.

Of almost 2,900,000 persons who, to date, have received job training in public vocational schools under the defense program, a total of 14,202 (one half of one percent) were women. These were largely concentrated in a few industrial states. In sixteen states, up to the beginning of 1942, no girls were enrolled in pre-employment courses, and in nineteen states no women were enrolled in supplementary courses to prepare employed workers for upgrading. By January 31, the proportion of women being trained showed some advance beyond the average for the preceding months. On that date, the total number of trainees was 319,225, of whom 9,907 were girls or women—that is, 3 percent, as compared with 5 percent. In mid-February, with a labor shortage in sight, the Labor Division of the War Production Board formulated a new policy requiring that "the employment of women shall be facilitated to meet the needs of the war program. This necessitates the immediate extension of defense training to
women on a basis of equality with the training of men."

In some communities, this meant the inclusion of women for the first time in vocational training classrooms and shops alongside men. In other places, it has meant only the establishment of a few experimental and carefully segregated classes for women.

The National Youth Administration has given "work experience" to a number smaller than those reached by the schools, but with a more realistic proportion of women. Thus, as of January 30, with some 80,000 young people in the NYA defense program, the projects had 14,000 (about 17 percent) girls. For the most part, NYA has had mixed groups in its shops, reasoning that if girls and boys are to work side by side on the assembly lines, they may as well get used to it during the preemployment period. In some cities the groups have been segregated because the girls worked in the day time, the boys on night shifts. The usual period for acquiring "work experience" in NYA is thirteen weeks, but young people often are snatched by industry before they acquire speed and finish, and given further training "on the job." This has proved particularly true of girls on power sewing projects.

But clearly if the supply of women workers is to be equal to the demand in the months ahead, training must be stepped up. This calls for more training within industry, and for a wider and a better coordinated program in the community. There is a growing demand for more complete utilization of the expensive plant and equipment of all training agencies; and for a development of the training program in the schools along the lines already pioneered by NYA, that is, with vocational shops participating in war production, instead of using time, tools, and materials solely for instruction and practice.

Wages and Hours

Women are applying for training and for jobs in war industry because they want to play a part in the fight for freedom. They would be less than human, however, if they were not attracted by the wages offered war workers today. Traditionally, work that is rewarded in part by "the satisfaction of service" has been held out to women. But as men are called into the armed forces, and as the speed of war production picks up, there are increasing demands for "Women—18 to 35 years of age—beginners' rates, 72 cents an hour—opportunity for rapid advancement ..." It is not alone that such jobs at such wages make it increasingly difficult to recruit women as nurses' auxiliaries, domestic helpers, hospital and fresh air camp employes, and in similar fields of "women's work." There are other lures in war industry: hours are fixed, uniforms in many plants are supplied and laundered, often transportation is provided, the job has "status," and there is the
sense of participation in the war effort.

"That means a lot," a woman in one New England plant pointed out to me. "I used to work in a hospital—ten hours a day for $1.95, buy your own uniforms and keep them laundered, and take everybody's bad temper. My buddy here used to be a waitress. Those two girls over there were in housework. That red-head was in the five-and-ten. Are we getting a kick out of war jobs?"

If you go into the farming communities, you find that labor shortage is even now a present fact. Selective Service and high factory wages are draining the farm country of manpower. The auto plants of Michigan, the plane plants in New England, the arsenals and navy yards are beginning to clamor for girls and women "from the back country," "from upstate," "off the land." At the same time, the war effort demands increased production of grain, meat, milk, vegetables, fruit.

This is back of the cry for a "women's land army." Rural communities talk uneasily about the possibility of "trading work" during haying and harvest. Farm Security and the Employment Service are organizing "mobile camps" of workers to follow fruit and vegetable crops. But it is clear that increasing responsibility for the nation's food supply will rest on girls and women, not at some problematical future time, but this season—now.

In Britain, as Sir Gerald Campbell, British Minister at Washington, recently said: "Whoever does the work, 'the rate for the job' will be paid. Where the women who enter industry are fully qualified to perform men's work they are paid at the men's rate, and the same applies to bonuses. In the case of women not fully qualified, special rules apply until the women reach the men's standard, when full men's rates are paid." This rule, laid down in a comprehensive union-employer agreement covering the employment of women machinists, "is gradually extending to all other occupations by agreement with the men's trade unions."

In general, the principle of equal pay for equal work is recognized in American war industry, though in many plants "men's jobs" are simplified and subdivided before being turned over to women, with a corresponding "adjustment" of wage scales. That men are aware of the threat to wage levels in this procedure is made clear by various union comments on the employment of women in war industry. Thus George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) recently stated:

While the technical instructors will give the prospective women workers their mechanical training, there is another phase of the situation which only the union can take care of. This is to see that the women join the union as soon as they get their jobs... Most of the newly employed workers in the auto plants will come into the shops where the UAW-CIO has already lifted wages to a high level, introduced good working conditions, and eliminated favoritism and discrimination of all sorts. They should be brought to realize that the excellent wages and improved shop conditions... were the result of hard work and many battles by the union... It is really essential for the union to tackle this job of training women workers.

Employers, as well as unions, see special problems in the prospect of large scale employment of women, problems as diverse as prejudices, wash rooms, protective state laws, and the care of young children.

There is undoubtedly long standing prejudice against women workers in many industries and plants. Some employers are in the habit of employing only men, and they cling to that habit. Other employers do not yet face realistically the problem of labor supply created by expanding production and Selective Service. They forget the use made of women in the last war in railroad yards, foundries, steel plants, as road menders, tractor operators, and continue to send into the public employment office orders beginning "Men only...." This same attitude frequently has barred women from vocational schools and from in-plant training looking to their upgrading as skilled workers and supervisors. In many communities this attitude is yielding to the pressure of need. Thus prejudices are going down in the aircraft industry, in the navy yards, in steel, in weather forecasting, in research laboratories, in drafting rooms. As one employment office head put it: "Employers have been choosers for ten years. Now they are beginning to take what they can get. A lot of them begin to realize how little difference there is between men and women on the job, given equal training and experience."

Another factor has been the existence of protective legislation, including not only state laws requiring that all workers have one day's rest in seven, but laws prohibiting night work for women, and laws fixing maximum weekly hours of work for women.

A number of state legislatures have passed emergency measures, permitting state labor officials to grant exemptions. In most instances, such relaxation of labor standards is granted only on the request of the individual employer, for a limited time, and after investigation by the labor department as to need. Thus in New York there have been 500 applications for exemptions since a permissive measure was passed by the legislature last January. Through March 12, permissions had been granted for a seven-day week to firms employing a total of 3,650 women and 106,612 men. Hours and night work standards had been eased for firms employing a total of 41,999 workers. One Brooklyn plant received permission to work women sixty hours a week for six weeks, while training a second shift. The employer reported that the practice was found so inefficient that it was discontinued before the six weeks were up. The New York State Labor Department reports a substantial falling off in the number of requests for modification of labor standards, and a growing belief on the part of employers that long hours and the seven-day week, even as emergency measures, tend to reduce output and to increase accidents.

The Working Woman's Home

With women called to replace men in civilian jobs, and to meet labor shortages in war industry, problems of child care arise. In Britain, various schemes are used to meet this need. In many instances, a cooperative arrangement has proved successful—one woman looks after the children from several households, thereby releasing the other mothers for war work. Day nurseries have been started in connection with some plants. The most satisfactory solution is the nursery school. By March of this year, 25,000 pre-school children of British factory workers were being cared for in 1,500 nursery schools organized for the purpose, and 700 additional schools were being established.

In this country, there are (Continued on page 271)
Food for Freedom vs. Nazi Food Estate

by HEINZ SOFFNER

How has Nazi rule affected the farms and farmers of Europe—and the food supplies of the post-war world? Of special interest to Americans, familiar with the agrarian statesmanship of our own Wallace, Wilson, and Wickard, is this account of the Food Estate system under control of the Argentine-born Nazi, Richard Walther Darre.

Here in America we are increasingly aware of the key role of food in the war. Our farmers are geared to the tremendous task of making our soldiers and civilians stronger through better nutrition. We all know that American food must help sustain our allies. We must also hold out hope of food for those starving today in the Axis grip. Our Food for Victory program has been so well dramatized and interpreted that we have been inclined to overlook the food and farming situation in other parts of the world, and particularly in Germany itself.

Great Britain’s agricultural achievement in two and a half years of war indicates that wartime feeding and farming do not necessarily depend on totalitarian regimentation. England has tackled her food problems primarily with voluntary, democratic cooperation and with a minimum of compulsory regulations. At the outset, Britain was severely handicapped. She had to feed 6,750,000 more people than in the last war, from 4,500,000 fewer acres under the plough; she had to restrict food importations, and call many agricultural workers into the armed forces.

County war agricultural committees with broad powers became the basis of a predominantly voluntary organization. Large areas were ploughed up for the first time in history. Use of tractors in day and night shifts partly made up for shortage of skilled hands. Volunteer land clubs of city people, working every weekend, were another expedient. Some 15,000 extra hands for permanent farm jobs were provided by the Women’s Land Army. Over 500,000 wartime vegetable gardens have been
planted. Household and garden waste is being utilized to feed pigs and poultry. And all this without artificial structures of "military economy" or the like.

But what about the Nazi story? Is lack of food going to spell defeat for Hitler? How does the farmer serve the complex Nazi war machine? What will Nazi agriculture contribute to the course of this war? And what about its long range effects? How will it influence post-war economics and the outlook for American farmers?

The answers are not easy, but they are essential to an understanding of the farmer's vital part in the war and in the peace to come.

The Nazi Objective

First, it must be borne in mind that Germany and the United States met similar problems — the crisis following World War I and the approach to the present war—under diametrically opposite conditions.

Germany produced too little food and depended upon huge importations; this country, after the rapid agricultural expansion of 1914-18, produced enormous surpluses and depended upon exports. There are 112 acres of agricultural area for every 100 inhabitants in Germany, as against 300 acres in this country. The German soil, gradually depleted for centuries, needs immense supplies of fertilizers to forestall a continuing threat of exhaustion. American soil, with millions of acres suddenly put into cultivation only twenty-five years ago, then overtaxed by intensive methods of one-crop tractor farming, was rapidly exhausted over vast areas, its fertility at the mercy of erosion, floods and dust storms. Beyond these physical differences are important differences in background and tradition. There is nothing in the American scene, for example, comparable to the semi-feudal Junker estates.

Second, it must be borne in mind that the Nazi approach to agriculture, as to all other aspects of its economy, is "politically guided." The Nazi interest in the problems of the land was slow to develop. The first Nazi party program (1920) had one vague plank, about "agricultural reforms adjusted to our national requirements."

Only in 1930, when Hitler began to see a chance of obtaining political power, did he become interested in rural support and in organizing the peasants. In March of that year, the Nazi party adopted a special "Agrarian Program," including lebensraum for the German people, limitation of land ownership to Aryan Germans, and "the acquisition of food supply and colonization areas for the growing German people by Germany's foreign policy."

At the same time Hitler appointed as his organizer and adviser in agricultural matters the youthful Argentine-born Richard Walther Darré who had recently jumped on the Nazi bandwagon.

Darré, in the beginning a theorist with some singular notions—"The Pig as Criterion Between Nordic Men and Semites" was the title of his first publication—developed into a most efficient propagandist and organizer. Beginning in June, 1930, to build up the party's Agrarpolitische Apparat (machine for agrarian policies), he quickly planted his cells in all farm groups and organizations and was able to exploit the grievances of the country people to further Hitler's march into power. When Hitler came into power, Darré became Reich Minister for Food Supply and Agriculture, Reich Farmers' Leader, and President of the National Corporation of Agriculture, as well.

Darré has turned hundreds of thousands of farmers into active Nazis, he has translated Hitler's and Alfred Rosenberg's rather vague ideas about "breeding the pure Aryan race" into practical measures; and most important of all, he has integrated German agriculture with the Nazi scheme of total war and world conquest.

Darré's Farm Program

Darré reorganized German agriculture as a public service, regimented and directed by the Nazi patterns of industry and trade, he eliminated the system of free enterprise and private initiative on the soil. Two preparatory acts of legislation vested the control of agriculture in the Reich government and ended the traditional authority of local and state administrations. On these measures were based the two main features of Darré's creation—the establishment of the Erbhof (hereditary farm) as the foundation and the Reichsnaehrstand (National Corporation of Agriculture) as the superstructure of "the new agriculture."

Hereditary farms were established under an act of September 29, 1933. Its preamble begins: "The Reich government wants to conserve the peasantry as the life-spring (Blutsquelle) of the German people, while safeguarding ancient Germanic hereditary customs."

The act defines as a hereditary farm: any farm or forest holding of not less than eighteen acres and not more than 312 acres, which is owned and operated by a German subject, "honest and of pure Aryan race." Tenanted farms are excluded. Only the owner of a hereditary farm may be called Bauer (peasant). Other farmers are merely Landwirt (husbandmen). Beyond the legal privileges of the Erbhof owner, there is a social distinction as well. The Nazis view only the Bauer as a true master of the land; a Landwirt is merely a commercial, capitalist-minded farmer.

The hereditary farm cannot be sold or mortgaged. It

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Darré's farm plan was designed for war and "Aryan" land ownership. He was born in the Argentine, and was an early Nazi

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is inherited undivided by the next heir (Anerbe) without inheritance taxes. The other heirs have claims only against personal possessions of the testator, not the land itself. The provisions of the Hereditary Farms Act are enforced by a hierarchy of special courts—a trial court, an appellate court, and a supreme court. The outstanding prerogative of these courts is the right to appoint trustees in cases of mismanagement and to name another heir—not necessarily a kinsman of the Bauer—if they do not consider the natural heir “qualified.”

The Hereditary Farms Act favors the medium peasant against the submarginal farmer and against the big estate owner as well. The latter has been hit even more severely by the act of July 6, 1938, abolishing all Fideikommisse (feoffments in trust), one of the most important remains of Junker feudalism. On the other hand, Nazi Germany is not interested in keeping alive the non-self-supporting farms; its militarized economic system leaves nobody unemployed or at an unproductive job.

Most of Germany's land properties are medium-sized holdings, according to the census of 1933:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size (acres)</th>
<th>Number of properties</th>
<th>Total of agriculturally used area (acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.25 - 5</td>
<td>849,218</td>
<td>2,202,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 12.5</td>
<td>796,790</td>
<td>6,005,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5 - 50</td>
<td>1,073,610</td>
<td>23,145,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 250</td>
<td>321,882</td>
<td>22,127,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 250</td>
<td>33,949</td>
<td>13,282,500</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,075,449</td>
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<tr>
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<td>66,762,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At that time, 9,650,000 persons worked in agriculture and forestry—2,200,000 of them were independent farmers, 4,520,000 were members of family groups working these independent farms; 2,810,000 were farm laborers; and 120,000 were salaried farm employees. Only 6.3 percent of all German farms were operated by tenants.

In 1938, 845,000 farm properties were classed as hereditary farms, making up about 45 percent of Germany's cultivated land. Some 3,100,000 persons—53 percent of the agricultural population—were covered by provisions of the act. The rest of Germany's agricultural land and population was not less subject to Darré's regimentation.

No German farmer can move more than a few steps in any direction without encountering the omnipresent power of the Reichsnachhrstand (National Corporation of Agriculture). Only through that agency can he sell his wheat and cattle, eggs or milk, or buy seeds or machines. Whether he is able to obtain credit or a loan depends upon the Reichsnachhrstand. Moreover, he meets its spokesmen in all peasants' gatherings, in the courts that determine his rights of inheritance and ownership, in the schools that educate his children.

The Reichsnachhrstand

What is this monstrous machine? The Reichsnachhrstand, established by an act of September 15, 1933, is the compulsory, monopolistic organization of all persons concerned with agriculture, forestry, horticulture, fishery and hunting, including the farmers' cooperatives, rural merchants, and the food processing industries. It is authorized to regulate production marketing, prices and profits; to combine its members—and outside enterprises as well—in associations pursuing those purposes, or to order them to join existing associations. The Reich Minister for Food Supply and Agriculture can enforce his regulations and
orders by prison sentences and by fines up to $40,000.

The Reichsnahrstand is also a political instrument of first importance. With the Reich Ministry for Food Supply and Agriculture, and the Office for Agrarian Policies at Nazi party headquarters (Darré heads all three agencies), the Reichsnahrstand participates in the general tasks of Nazi propaganda and indoctrination. But its particular responsibility is the application of racial policies, directed toward both immediate and long range goals.

A country lad can easily get a wedding loan; but to get the assistance and the blessing of the Reichsnahrstand, he and his bride-to-be must undergo elaborate racial-biological examinations, and prove their fitness for marriage according to “Aryan” standards. All leisure time in the villages is also filled by that many-sided organization, and carefully selected young men and girls learn at its National Academy for Rural Athletics at Castle Neuhaus how to conduct athletic classes and contests, and how to organize games and folk dances.

The Reichsnahrstand also spreads its gospel by lectures and widely distributed printed matter, particularly extolling the ancient history and morality of the Germanic tribes, the Wodan cult, and old Germanic paganism.

The control over the individual farmer reaches down to minute details. At the offices of the Reichsnahrstand, “farm cards” are kept for each individual holding throughout the Reich. On these cards, the significant facts and figures of the past, present, and future are painstakingly registered.

A widely ramified bureaucracy, which in 1938 had 20,800 employees, has been developed to carry out these intricate tasks. Its headquarters at Berlin are directed by a Stabsamt (adjutant’s office), doing—according to its own report—“general staff-like work” and preparing long range plans of totalitarian agricultural policy. This office has five subdivisions, one of which significantly enough is called “Main Office for Blood Questions” (that is, racial policy). The vast headquarters routine is divided among three “National Main Departments.”

The first has absorbed the former peasants’ associations. It is called “The Man” and is responsible for cultural promotion, public education, general economic and social conditions, and for the relations among its members, particularly labor relations and tenant problems.

The second has taken over the former Chambers of Agriculture. It is called “The Farm” and is concerned with increasing the crops (“Battle for Nutrition”), with farm machinery, animal breeding, and technical training.

The third, which absorbed more than 40,000 farmers’ cooperatives, is called “The Market.” It regulates production, marketing, processing and price-fixing. It controls ten “main associations”: grain and fodder, cattle, milk and fats, eggs, potatoes, sugar, horticulture, grape growing, brewing, and fishery.

Subordinated to the intricate central body are, according to 1939 figures, 24 state federations, 620 county associations, and 57,750 local posts. This whole mechanism governs the entire life of the farmer under the leadership principle. No officer, from the “village peasants leader” upward, is elected; all are appointed from above. Nazi organization gives the members no opportunity for discussion or voting, no rights of the membership—only duties.

Darré’s goal from the outset has been war. Nazi Germany learned perfectly the lesson of World War I, during which 750,000 Germans are alleged to have died directly or indirectly from starvation. This time preparations began six years before the shooting war started.

“It is not necessary to apply special measures of military economy to the sector of food supply since the economic and organizational structure of the Reichsnahrstand is perfectly fitted for that purpose,” Florian Lorz, one of Darré’s aides, proudly stated in his book on “War Nutrition Economy.”

Darré’s war preparations included: intensified production, manipulated importation, enforced shifting of food habits, reduced consumption, and large scale storage in peacetime.

That steering of German importation, by the way, meant in every instance discrimination against this country. Only 4.1 percent of all U.S. exports in 1936, 3.7 percent in 1937, and 3.5 percent in 1938 went to Germany. Moreover, of the $818,000,000 in agricultural products imported by Germany in 1937 (the last year for which complete German figures are available), only $5,000,000 came from this country, while $81,600,000 were spent for agricultural products from the Argentine, $27,200,000 from Brazil, and so on.

Germany’s Battle for Nutrition

The “Battle for Nutrition” provided also for the wide use of Labor Service units for land improvement. A $400,000,000 program included: draining 10,000,000 acres of arable land and 8,750,000 acres of grazing grounds; irrigating another 8,750,000 acres; and protecting 2,500,000 acres against floods. High pressure methods of chemical fertilizing have been applied to increase the crop yield. The average acre of German tilled soil receives annually 19 pounds of nitrogen (Great Britain: 4 pounds), 20 pounds of phosphoric acid (Great Britain: 10 pounds) and 35 pounds of potash (Great Britain: 4 pounds).

Every effort has been made to utilize waste products. For example, pectin is made from apple peels and cores, for use in canneries, dairies, and bakeries, in making cosmetics and by the medical profession.

A shift in food habits has been brought about by persuasion and pressure. Thus, the average German adult who in 1929 consumed 22.9 pounds of fish, in 1936 ate 30.1 pounds of fish and correspondingly less meat. The Nazis missed no chance to increase their self-sufficiency. They built, for instance, a whaling fleet of their own, with a register of 92,000 tons in 1938, which provided 7.5 percent of all domestic fats in whale oil. Beginning eight months before the war, coffee consumption was curtailed 75 percent to store reserves, while the public was told that the “international Jewry withheld supplies.” Bread grain consumption was gradually reduced from 398 pounds per person in 1929 to 341 pounds in 1939.

While the sum total of Germany’s agricultural production increased 20 percent between 1929 and 1939, the “battle for nutrition” suffered several marked setbacks. An undesirable consequence of the food restrictions, according to the German official publication Wirtschaft und Statistik of June, 1939, was a rapid increase in alcoholic consumption, which amounted to 33 percent for beer and 98 percent for liquor over 1932 totals. Increased production of bread grains restricted fodder crops, and after two years of the “battle for nutrition” Germany admittedly had fewer cattle than before. Shortage of farm
labor curtailed fruit and vegetable crops until, in 1938, they were 32 percent lower than in 1936.

Most serious of all, extensive appropriations of land for military purposes, for highways, airdromes, barracks, training grounds and fortifications, decreased the tillable area and it became necessary to open a special "National Office for Resettlement," the only task of which before the war was to procure acreage for farmers dispossessed for "special purposes of national policy."

Thanks to Darre's efficient preparations, Germany entered the war with a carry-over of 4,200,000 tons of wheat and rye, with an annual wheat production increased from the 1925-1929 average of 3,270,000 tons to 5,578,000 tons a year; with an increase in meat production of about 30 percent. In general, Germany was able to satisfy 83 percent of her total food needs at home, as compared with 60 percent in 1927. The weak spots were a forcibly reduced consumption, a "bottleneck" in fats, and a shortage of about 800,000 farmhands before the general mobilization.

Various scientific devices have been used to improve the nutritional values of substitute foods. Thus, since January 1941, Vitamin A has been added to all German margarin, allegedly making it the equivalent of fresh butter. Reports, both from German and from Allied sources, suggest that the ability of German tank drivers, bomber pilots, parachutists and submarine crews to stand the strain of the blitzkrieg has been considerably increased by synthetic vitamin pills and other drugs.

All those meticulous preparations, however, would not have enabled German agriculture to feed Hitler's war machine through two and a half war years, except for the enormous supplies of agricultural products and of farm labor gained in the conquest of fourteen countries. Goering's Nationalzeitung of July 12, 1941, shows the seriousness of the rural labor situation. That publication promised a government loan of $6,100 to every farm worker who wants to build a house of his own, with $1,800 an outright gift, and the rest to be repaid over fifty-two years.

More than a million prisoners of war and alien workers are employed in Germany's agriculture today. Hitler's armies of occupation are fed "off the country" and hundreds of thousands of German women and children from the bombed areas in northern and western Germany have been evacuated into conquered territories.

For propaganda reasons, the Nazis occasionally send food, taken from one country, to another of their vassals. Finland, for instance, fighting Germany's war against Russia and providing Germany with lumber and other raw materials, recently received wheat and butter. The wheat was from Rumania, where bread is rationed and made of a mixture of whole meal flour, potatoes, and rye. Denmark, once famous for butter, had to reduce butter rations by a further 10 percent in order to fill Hitler's order for Finland.

According to The New York Times of February 5, 1942, Germany's present food rations are more than twice as large as rations in some of the occupied countries and almost double the Italian ration. Germany takes more foodstuffs from the conquered territories than the armies and civilian populations actually need, for the Nazi use immense amounts of foodstuffs in industry. Thus they convert beans into plastics, soy beans into synthetic wool, potatoes and sugar beets into acetone for explosives, cotton seed and copra (used in margarin) into glycerine, soy bean oil into printing ink, and use palm oil and olive oil in processing textiles.

Non-German farmers from the territories directly annexed to the Reich, including western Poland, Czechoslovakia, Alsace and Lorraine, are expelled by the hundreds of thousands, mostly at a few days' notice. They are not even allowed to take their personal belongings with them. The average compensation in the Czech province of Moravia ranged from one tenth to one fifth of the actual value, but the dispossessed families are not permitted to buy farms elsewhere.

These expropriated farms with all their tools and implements are in some cases "held in trust" for German soldiers, but as a rule they are given to German farmers, either repatriated from the Baltic States, Bessarabia, or South Tyrol, or transferred from overpopulated regions of the Altreich (Germany within the boundaries of January, 1938). In occupied Poland alone, in the first fifteen months of the occupation, 1,500,000, Poles were evicted and 422,000 German colonists settled in their places, usually after a few months' stay in a Nazi "reeducation" camp. Of these colonists, 12,000 came from Estonia, 51,000 from Latvia, 165,000 from Eastern (then Russian-occupied) Poland, 180,000 from Rumania, 14,000 from Bulgaria, 43,000 from Lithuania.

Those fertile, "Germanized" regions produce huge food surpluses. The Kolnische Zeitung of September 15, 1941, reports that the Gau Wartheland alone (part of western Poland) exported in 1940 into the Altreich: 30,000 tons of bread grain, 100,000 tons of potatoes, 702,000 tons of sugar (one sixth of Germany's entire production), 7,200 tons of livestock to slaughter, 20,000 tons of vegetables, 8,500,000 eggs, and 250,000 geese.

What Nazi Rule Means to Country Dwellers

In occupied countries which are not earmarked for complete "Germanization," agricultural production by the "natives" is promoted for three reasons: to satisfy Germany's needs; to fit the autarchic plans of the New European Order; to reduce those countries to agricultural patterns of life and thus to disperse potential centers of national resistance.

What Nazi rule means to the non-German farmer is only too obvious. His stake in this war is clearly defined. German victory means for him looting, total regimentation, expulsion, deportation, serfdom—as fits the plans of the "New Order."

But what does Nazi rule mean to the German farmer, to the agriculture of the "master race"? The trouble is that Nazi action—in agriculture as in other spheres—grew out of a real emergency: something had to be done about the crisis in Germany and Hitler did it.

Moreover, some of Darre's measures, if considered alone, have much to commend them. For example, some months of farm work for every boy and girl is a wholesome program. Scientific use of the waste products of the soil is sound economy, whatever the jokes on German ersatz.

But the system as a whole, designed to serve the worldwide purposes of the Nazi state, perverts even the most reasonable single measure. The remedy is far worse than the disease. The boys' Labor Service, for instance, while it provides cheap labor and lowers farm labor standards, is in fact merely another form of pre-military training; the girls' Labor Service, furthers (Continued on page 269)
Weavers of America

by LEON WHIPPLE


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

We the People . . . look for a moment not at our unity, but our multiplicity. What a creation is the pattern of America, each knot a unique individual, yet each interwoven by the shuttle of matting and birth with other threads that run back through the generations as the tapestry unfolds out of Time. History traces the over-all design as best it can. But to biography we must look for the deciphering of those brilliantly colored motifs of leadership whence came the defense of a cause, the founding of an institution, the evangelism for an ideal. The testimony of these three lives encourages good hope that the pattern of America today is strong and flexible and inwoven with stout spirits for our wisdom and courage and guidance.

Biography is fit reading for the times. We must discover leaders, at the very present moment, and judge them, use them. The destiny of the people will be molded by the hands of living men; there is no time to breed new strains. We cannot borrow from the future. We are what we are. We people must fight, each alone, but for all and pray that the pattern has been woven well, still with the knots of unique men, for a great need. It is time to look at what forces incarnate in human souls have made our greatness; to study with humble faith the miracle of the interweaving of family and region and tradition and creed that flowers in the man. What of ambition, intelligence, will, or spiritual force prepared him to serve us? We have faith that like miracles will happen again.

Franklin Roosevelt is such a miraculous center-knot of a world pattern, the leader. We welcome therefore with a deep interest the story of the seven generations (1613-1942) that carried out a mysterious appointment with Destiny, from the shadowy Dutchman Claes Van Rosenvelt, immigrant, to today’s living seed. Nicholas, first native-born son, about 1690, fathered Johannes, in the line of President Theodore, and Jacobus, in the line of President Franklin. The simple chart of both lines is the framework on which is told the story of the births and marriages, the family life, the works, of the heads and collaterals of this amazing family. The solid dull Roosevelt, male and female, the occasional distinguished ones, the rare weaklings, cousins and aunts, march down the years, registered with loving family Bible detail and often in brilliant portraits. The scholarly research of the author and his plain honesty rouse our admiration and gratitude. Never, I think, has an American Family been so fruitfully explored, not even the Adams and Lee lines.

Social and historic backgrounds are set in with swift, enlightening touches. Here is regional history, studied through a family, for the Roosevelts claimed a natural habitat—the Hudson Valley (New York to Albany), and Long Island, with important excursions to Harvard, Washington, and Europe. They were Dutch-New England by estate and marriage, with no western mixture, but a bit of the South in Theodore’s line. And they were in the social or financial registers, less often in the political record, though certain aldermen appear, generally for business reasons.

From farms in Ulster and Dutchess, into warehouses and banks and New York markets, they came, folks of strong physique and plentiful families, stubborn industrious merchants, able to rise and pass on enough wealth for independence to the children, with “little creative genius” (though one built a steamer before Fulton, and another invented the electric organ), but with social ideals that established Roosevelt Hospital, and inspired an archbishop of the Catholic Church. They were often upper gentry, county landowners with Dutch love of the sea, English love of the land that inspired the conservation plans of both Presidents, and “Uncle Bob” to write about birds and nature while he fought Tammany for civic reform. There was always money enough and a seat near the head of the table. It is not difficult to trace some of the great qualities of Franklin Roosevelt to such family roots.

Fresh and instructive is the story of restless, driving Isaac Allerton, the unpuritan Puritan, signer of the famous Mayflower Compact, and founder here of Franklin’s maternal line; and of Isaac Roosevelt, the Patriot, distinguished Whig in Tory New York of the Revolution who helped frame New York’s first Constitution, and touched greatness. On President Theodore the familiar facts are well told, with perhaps the implication that he missed the greatness of his opportunity. Of Eleanor, in whom the Johannes stem flowered and who reunited the two branches by marriage, we have a moving study—of her difficult girlhood, the motherhood years, the service to her stricken husband, and of her devotion to social ideals, democracy, youth. Now she is symbol and leader in her own right. President Franklin is presented with reverent admiration as a great human force—but who now can measure his life or his endeavors in behalf of this nation and the world?

This record is not a study in genetics or a set of psychographs. It is a robust American book on the American way of life as it was woven by the generations of an American family. The mystery of life is here, and its everlasting promise.

Institutions create families. Surely the Johns Hopkins Medical School did from its great founders, Osler, Welch, Halsted, Kelly, and their confreres. They were kinsmen of service to medical progress. Thus Dr. Lewellys Barker, a great member of the clan, tells his life story largely through the life story of “The School” and the family of which he became a peer. He even modestly attributes his honors and wide opportunities for public service to this kinship. One value of his autobiography is the reader’s

Other Reviews by

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SURVEY GRAPHIC
enhanced knowledge of the labor, genius, sacrifices, teamplay demanded of men to translate science and research into the practice of medicine. The school set new standards, advanced teaching practice, produced a literature, and fertilized the profession with its graduates. They wove a design for the amelioration of suffering and helped cut the deathrate.

Dr. Barker, son of Canadian Quakers in whose seminaries his farmer-father came to teach, drug clerk, graduate of Toronto Medical School by self-support, came under Osler at Hopkins in 1891, studied in Germany (part of that day's pattern), saw poverty and plague on a commission to the Philippines and India (that thread is again in the weaving) and in 1900 went to the chair of anatomy at the University of Chicago. The story is rich in friendships, wide horizons, service, a panorama of medicine at the turn of the century. Then Osler's successor is professor of medicine until 1914, wrote practitioner, author, counselor to manifold enterprises, one being the Committee on Costs of Medical Care. He signed the majority report on social medicine.

To a layman his knots in the pattern seem three. As writer—of articles, of texts, of addresses—he refreshed and guided the profession. He served in words, if not by constant research. Next, he stood firm for solid foundation training in the preclinical sciences, anatomy, physiology, pathology, and so on, and for the fruitful use of the laboratory. In the 90's that was not elemental as it is today. Finally, he asserted the need for full time clinical university professors instead of teachers from private practice. But when such a chair was established at Hopkins, he could not accept its offer, for financial obligations intervened. Conditions have changed in the field. But here, as in many places, he planted seed, rich contributions to the art of healing in our times.

Of Walter Rauschenbusch's life, recreated by D ores Sharpe out of his own reverence for "a great good man" and the tributes of other good men, but mostly from the words of this evangel of social Christianity himself, we can only try to capture the essence. Son of seven generations of Lutheran pastors of Westphalia he became in 1886 minister of a church in Hell's Kitchen, New York City, and for eleven years faced the suffering, poverty, terrors of the chaos of a blind industrial age among poor people. Thus he learned and proclaimed the need for the Kingdom of God, and he challenged the church and the economic system. He demanded the re-generation of the individual Christian and social reform as the duty of the church. Then, and later as professor of church history at Rochester, he preached this gospel, to congregations, to students, in church and lay papers, and most of all in such great books as "Christianity and the Social Crisis," "The Social Principles of Jesus," and a "Theology for the Social Gospel." He was a force, and one principal inspiration of the Federation of Churches, and the social creeds of many denominations. From this evangeli of a real Brotherhood on Earth stem many of the reforms we have achieved.

The patterns endure. We, today, need to seek the Kingdom of God, for all men on earth in brotherhood. This social gospel, the physician's concern for public health, the President's championship of forgotten men—are they not of one fabric? We the People inherit their weaving: their books, their labors, their lives, and their visions.

"Honorable Enemy"


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Our war with Japan has made books on the Orient an essential commodity, with a high priority rating on the list of most publishers. The remarkable thing about the spring crop of Japan books is that even among the obvious "quickies" much can be found that is good and worthwhile. America's two topnotch correspondents in pre-war Tokyo, Wilfred Fleisher of the New York Herald Tribune and Hugh Byas of the New York Times, give us short books which present an intriguing mixture of historical analysis and personal experience. In "Our Enemy Japan," Fleisher rounds out the picture he gave us in "Vulcanic Isle" by a crystal-clear review of the reasons behind Japan's return to medieval militarism, a candid close-up of the Tokyo-Berlin axis, an excellent portrait of Premier-General Tojo, and a day-by-day account of our negotiations with the Japanese "peace" envoys before Pearl Harbor. The latter part of the book is of particular value. Mr. fleisher, who followed these negotiations from his vantage point inside the State Department, gives us what amounts to a White Book of the U.S.-Japanese crisis. By telling us exactly what Mr. Hull, Mr. Nomura, and Mr. Karusu said and did during those fateful days, he presents convincing proof of American patience and Japanese treachery.

Mr. Byas, in "The Japanese Enemy," gives us some discouraging information about Japan's stockpiles of strategic raw materials which are much larger than our experts had thought; but he ends on a hopeful note, predicting victory over the unimaginative, industrially second-rate Japs. There are bits of shrewd and often brilliant analysis in this book, such as the passages on the power of the Japanese army and the position of the Emperor. Mr. Byas answers such questions as "Who runs Japan?", "How strong is Japan?", and "How we can defeat Japan," and he blasts the myth that Japan is merely Hitler's cat's-paw in the Orient. He writes in a crisp, peculiarly vigorous style which makes for stimulating reading.

Anyone interested in the rapid rise of Japanese imperialism will enjoy re-reading Lafcadio Hearn's "Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation" (Macmillan, 1904, new edition 1935; $2.50). Hearn's classic assumes new significance in the light of developments since Pearl Harbor, and his searching remarks on "the rule of the dead" and a society which has always idolized the soldier seems more to the point—and more up-to-date—today than ever. From his observations it seems but a brief step to the Tanka Memorial of 1927 which is now published under the appropriate title, "Japan's Dream of World Empire," cleverly annotated by Carl Crow, author of "400 Million Customers." This is the complete text of Japan's Mein Kampf as it was smuggled out of Japan and first made public in China. The sentence "If we want to control China, we must first crush the United States," is merely one of the highlights of this amazing document which coolly maps the conquest of the world.

Syngman Rhee is a national of the country which fell as the first victim of Japanese aggression, more than thirty
years ago—Korea. According to the publisher's announcement, Dr. Rhee himself spent seven years in prison and fled his country with a $100,000 price on his head. Considering these circumstances, "Japan Inside Out" is remarkably moderate in its almost academically detached indictment of Japan's policy. The book is well written and presents the cogent argument that Japan could never have been appeased, but must be defeated. There is some strong detail, such as the case of newspaper man Cox whom the Japanese tortured to death, and a good inside picture of the various "incidents" that finally led to this long anticipated war.

In "The Setting Sun of Japan," Carl Randau and his wife, Leane Zugsmith, tell us what they saw and heard when they toured the Orient on the eve of World War Two as correspondents for the New York newspaper PM. This book is full of human stuff. It reports on the people—the anonymous people inside Japan and in the territories conquered up to December 7, 1941—and the Randaus' visits to Japanese farms and the dormitories of Japanese factory girls give a good account of the fate of Japan's silent millions. Their trip to Australia is of particular interest in the light of present developments "down under." The chatty, thoroughly entertaining style makes this good reading matter, and a pleasant vacation from "facts and figures."

We return to economics, however, with Kate L. Mitchell's "Japan's Industrial Strength," which presents a well-documented picture of the industrial developments in Japan from the conquest of Manchuria to the present day, with its growing emphasis on armaments. There is some excellent material on the intervention of the government in industrial matters and its effect on production, on the conflict between private enterprise and the all-powerful army, and on the economic exploitation of conquered areas, especially Manchukuo. This book, which was prepared under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is an altogether impressive thumbnail sketch of Japan's industrial front and, by implication, of her ability to last through long war. Those eager to obtain a fuller, if less up-to-date picture of the enemy's assembly line, might study E. I. Schumpeter et al's. "The Industrialization of Japan an Manchukuo, 1930-1940" (Macmillan, 1940, 944 pp.; $7.50) which assumes new significance in the light of Japan's recent conquest; it shows how the raw materials gained in Japan's drive to the south were needed to feed Japan's top-heavy industrial machine which he describes.

An intelligent appraisal of America's position in the Pacific is the basis for George E. Taylor's "America in the New Pacific," prepared under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This is a thoughtful study of our Pacific policy and our program for Asia as opposed to Japan program of slavery under the Rising Sun. Of particular value are Mr. Taylor's observations on the key position of China: "the United States . . . can use her influence to assist in the growth of a victorious, a free, and a strong China," and such assistance is the essential prerequisite for a lasting Pacific peace. America, to Mr. Taylor, has mission which is far more than the defeat of the enemy. She has to lead in the Pacific "because that is what it is war is about." This book, remarkably free of prophecy, is well written and carries a convincing argument.

The crisis in the Philippines is the subject of two books which are complementary rather than competitive. Carl erne Porter knows the Filipino people and, as is evident from his sympathetic account of their problems, likes them. He angrily dismisses their much publicized "laziness" as a myth, and, in tracing their development and their quest for freedom, expresses confidence in their future as a free and democratic nation.

Joseph Ralston Hayden, in a volume of nearly 1,000 pages presents among other things the facts about Japan's "peaceful" penetration of the Philippines, which makes grim reading now. The author was correcting the final proof of this monumental book when the Japanese attacked. This does not mean, however, that Dr. Hayden's work has lost its value; it is by no means a mere post-mortem. On the contrary, his brilliant account of the growing-up process of a young nation will be of great value when we re-conquer for the Filipinos the independence which we had promised them. What the author (once acting governor-general of the islands, and currently chairman of the department of political science in the University of Michigan) has to say about the fruitful cooperation between Americans and Filipinos over a period of forty years, and the results of this cooperation, shows that Philippine independence is worth fighting for. His book stands a good chance of coming the classic on the free republic of the Philippine

ROBERT FROST From an etching by Theodore Brenson
A recent portrait of the much loved poet, whose seventh volume of poetry, "A Witness Tree," is being published in late April by Henry Holt. Price $2

THESE ARE THE LATEST VOLUMES IN THE SERIES ENTITLED "American Government in Action," edited by Phillips Bracey, who introduces each with a brief foreword in which he emphasizes the objective of presenting the contemporary functioning of government. The volumes by Pennock and Benson realize this objective, although the title to the Benson study emphasizes only one aspect of the larger topic—the relations of the national, state, and local government which he discusses. He presents a useful survey of the relations, and in fact shows that much talk of "centralization" is superficial and uninformed, and reflects a failure to evaluate developments and the conditions which have shape...
them. While there is centralization of some governmental activities at Washington, there is also centralization at the state capitals and various kinds of decentralization. He concludes with the late Elihu Root (whose advice to the New York State legislature is still sound) that the best basis for decentralization is the improvement along well explored and long recommended procedures of state and local government. Pennock's study is a remarkably well-balanced and comprehensive introduction to a complex problem which is often, but not here, approached through emotion rather than common sense. He bases his analysis of the more structural and procedural aspects of the problem on an excellent examination of why the present issues in administrative law have arisen. Pennock and Benson write in an even temper and with a remarkable management of the very extensive and complicated materials on these topics, and express their own conclusions on controversial questions without undermining the confidence of the reader in their intellectual integrity. Both volumes should find a useful place in courses in political science, and are especially well fitted for use in adult education. Both offer excellent guidance to the most important writings in their respective fields.

The Bead volume seems less appropriate to the present series. It is in part a re-publication of occasional essays that do not fit altogether nicely; in fact, there seems to be a real shift in fundamental approach between the first essay and the last. Unlike the other volumes of the series, there is no sharp focussing on a single problem, and no development of the book around the explanation of its evolution and setting and the lines of attack looking toward its solution. It is a collection which the disciples of the author will be glad to have, and certain of the essays—for example that entitled "American Interpretations of Liberty as Economic Laissez Faire"—are essential to the student of American government if he would understand our cultural history, while "Administration, A Test of Ideal and Power" should be required reading in the training of public servants. The chart of judicial review in Pennock is most ingenious.

University of Wisconsin

John M. Gaus

No More Hiding Behind Pseudo-Science


There is no longer an excuse for a single dull hour in the highschool social science class. Largely through the influence of the Progressive Education Association, we now have a growing body of teaching materials that help even the teacher who is not especially resourceful to get his class enthusiastic about the pursuit of learning.

In the present instance, the subject is fascinating in itself. The individual pearls of information and wisdom, torn from the dull matrix of scientific jargon, are lustrous with inner meaning. They tell us what happens when cultures meet. Extracts from the writings of almost eighty contributors, many of them in the front ranks of contemporary ethnologists and sociologists, are combined under five major headings: culture contacts and the growth of civilization; varieties of culture contact; the way of dominant peoples—devices of power; the ways of submerged peoples—tactics of survival and counter-assertion; the contemporary scene in intercultural relations.

Symposia and collections of excerpts do not usually present scientific data in the most effective ways. In the present case, the usual objections are, on the whole, successfully overcome—though not all the items included are of equal value. They have apparently been selected with some regard to inherent interest as well as scientific importance; and they really supplement each other. Dr. Locke's scholarly comments—not merely brief introductions—connect each of the fifteen chapters into a rounded unit.

No secondary school teacher has the time to read much of the source material here brought into use; yet in that specialized literature are the answers he needs when a student asks an incisive question about the differences in the reaction of China and Japan to Western penetration, the sources of anti-Semitism, the human consequences of colonization, the reasons for social antagonism between "old" and "new" immigrants, or the like. He can no longer get by with the dogmatic statement of some principle or with a high-sounding reference to American ideals. Here, for the first time, such a teacher will find vivid illustrative and interpretive material, interesting in itself, and an undogmatic discussion of questions that are liable to turn up today.

But if the authors—and behind them the P.E.A.—deserve credit for breaking fresh ground, they must also accept some reproach for helping to make life more uncomfortable for the average run of Americans. Social science, well taught, does not leave us much of that screen of rationalistic behind which we have been wont to hide our prejudices. What becomes of "innate" differences between peoples, of the inevitable lack of understanding between East and West,
of the inherent superiority of our own way of life, and so forth? And what of the little dash of pride with which we have explained our inability quite to live up to the theoretical implications of democracy as a result of our sensitive nature?

If our children are exposed to a teaching of social principles with which we do not agree, we know what to do. But if they are merely exposed to a variety of concrete social situations and provided with methods to compare and analyze these situations—then, where are we? Will not these children rush right through our pet prejudices and pity us for being ignorant of the meanings of our emotions?

And here comes Professor Herskovits with a new book to abet this onslaught of educated youths on us of the older generation who have always relied on our feelings. His "Myth of the Negro Past" is the first of a series of monographs written at the request of the distinguished—the adjective is no mere soft soap—Swedish anthropologist, Karl G. Myrdal, who has been engaged by a committee of the Carnegie Corporation to tell us, as an innocent bystander, what is wrong with the present position of the Negro in this country. Dr. Myrdal is still busy collecting his facts. In the meantime, some of the data papers prepared for the project by specialists will be published seriatim.

This book, though not primarily addressed to teachers, also deals in essence with problems of culture contact. It shows how the attitudes created by the meeting of two very different social groups—in this case white Americans and colored Africans—may be projected backward, to the glory of the dominant and the defamation of the subject group. Very respectable Americans, including social scientists of high standing, have with others been caught by the illusion that the American Negro has no culture traits other than those acquired on American soil. It is Dr. Herskovits' purpose—and he succeeds in it—to deflate that notion. The Negro's African heritage is buried—not in southern plantations but in his living group culture: his language, his folklore, his religion, his art.

Of course, you will not find this heritage if you don't know what to look for; and Americans have never been especially interested in the study of African cultures. But Dr. Herskovits has; and with the treasures of insight gathered in his expeditions, not only to Africa but also to the West Indies and, most recently, to Brazil, he has gained a general picture of Negro life into which many of the American Negro's traits—precisely those most fully appreciated by whites—by no means miraculously fit.

But if the Negro, like the Swede, the Welshman, the Italian, and the Pole, has made cultural contributions to our common life, which are truly his own, then many ideas about the race, widespread among us, must be shed. And so, dear reader, we return to America's foremost social problem—as this reviewer sees it: where shall we who have had no modern scientific education hide our nakedness?

New York
Bruno Lasker

A Capitalist in Communist Russia

IT HAS NOW BECOME A COMMONPLACE TO MARVEL AT THE RUSSIAN "revelations." We say how strange it seems that a nation which was thought to be the most backward and least efficient in Europe has found the strength, the morale, the materials, and the leadership to check the mighty coalition of fascist power. But Ambassador Davies had it on record, even before Munich, in dispatches and letters to President Roosevelt, that Russia would emerge as a strong, united, and well-equipped nation on the side of democracy. He understood the meaning of Russia's immense and concentrated policy of economic and social construction, and the real significance of the purges and treason trials. He also judged correctly the elements that separated the Soviet nation, not from the democracies, but from the Best People, in England and France especially, the classes who preferred to believe that fascism was a bulwark against bolshevism and a protection of the status quo.

In judging the foreign diplomats in Moscow, who consciously or in their blindness misinterpreted contemporary events, Mr. Davies did not hesitate to denounce the strategy of appeasement as a symbol of decay in men and as a form of moral abdication. He saw and described the Russian social order as a thing of faith and action—therefore, as spiritual weapon, not unlike the original meaning of democracy, unless democracy is to be understood as a way of owning property and as a way of trade and business. As a westerner, with the blood of pioneers in his spiritual make-up, Ambassador Davies understood the clean energy of Russia's scope and pace of their enterprises, their love of war achievement; he was also entranced, though not convinced by their social motivations—the building of a country to generations yet unborn. It is Mr. Davies' quality of thought and attitude of humility that made possible the writing of these dispatches and letters, so urbane, homely, serenely clean, so singularly shrewd and wise, without fear or malice or bias.

True enough, Mr. Davies is a capitalist, lawyer, and business man, accustomed to face facts and judge facts without prejudice, but it is hard to believe these qualities were sufficient to give him the insight into Russian life and aspirations. He judged accurately because he is himself of the essence of American democracy. If he reported without presumption, it was because he saw democracy as a fighting cause, not as a thing taken for granted and exploited for profit and business. He saw the Soviet Union as a world of men and women possessing a faith in the capacity of the common people to create a world, human, just, and decent. Reading between the lines of the book, one feels that Russia would cooperate with the democracies in the reconstruction of the world after the war, for no country can go through the testing experience of a great war without some modification of its own character, without attaining greater mastery of itself, without bringing to life deeper, creative, latent power.

Eugene M. Kayder

War Economy

THE ECONOMIC GOAL OF A STATE IN TOTAL WAR IS TO OBTAIN with the utmost amplitude and the utmost speed all the material necessities of war—planes and ships and tanks and gun and munition and uniforms and whatever else. Victory or defeat will be decided not only by the fortitude of the men in arms but just as well by the amplitude and the spirit of their being provided with the arms. Therefore, all the economic forces and resources of the country must be mobilized for this one all-predominant task. The people and the soil and the factories and the materials must be geared to that achievement. The tangible goods needed for the war are the things that count. And all the planning and organizing and controlling and interfering, all the rationing and licensing and price-fixing, just as the whole financial mechanism of taxes and loans have to serve this one purpose only: to provide the state in war with all the needs to procure them by the conversion of plants and material and skill, while at the same time restricting civilian consumption of scarce labor, factories and materials, only securing the just distribution of the scarcity among the non-combatants in a besieged fortress.

This is the topic of Mr. Spiegel's book. He knows that wealth in resources and manpower alone does not suffice. "Wealth must be properly utilized and placed in the service of total defense. Wealth per se is no weapon, as the rick

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AGAIN, one of a series of eight war paintings

By Thomas Hart Benton

Benton, who says, "If this war is lost, what we know as America is lost," has completed this series of grim and vigorous paintings to arouse the American people in "this year of peril." Contributed to the national war effort by the Abbott Laboratories of North Chicago, they are to be given wide distribution through reproduction, and the originals will be presented to the Library of Congress.

The World After the War


Most writers who attempt to draw a picture of our future reflect visibly their own likes or fears. Lorwin tries to escape that danger by assuming that the future is a continuation of trends which had their roots and their beginnings in the past. This scientific and dispassionate approach makes the book surely one of the best on the subject. With great diligence and in spite of obvious difficulties, a wealth of material has been gathered and evaluated about the prewar German economy and the policies followed in the conquered countries. On this basis the most probable effects of a German victory on us and the world at large are being deduced. The same procedure is used for the analysis of the basic principles and the prevailing trends in the democracies, and the probable effects of their ultimate victory.

Common to both types of social systems is the tendency to widen the functions and powers of the government and to replace economic "automatism" and laissez faire with conscious long range planning. These tendencies can be expected to be strengthened by the war and to continue afterwards. The difference between Nazism and Democracy lies in the basic purposes and methods of central planning and the ways of choosing the authorities.

Lorwin’s positions, formerly as economic advisor in the International Labor Office in Geneva, and now as consultant to the National Resources Planning Board, explain his ability to see realistically the character of these trends in the world at large and in the democratic countries in particular. But they also seem responsible for certain predilections in his estimate of the post-war development: namely that the pattern for economic organization in the democratic countries, and perhaps also for international economic planning, is represented by the New Deal. It consists in the attempt to provide social security, machinery to facilitate a democratic compromise between large organized social groups, domestic and international public works to provide investment outlets during depressions, and equal access to raw materials as provided in the Atlantic Charter. In analogy to the non-political committees of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office the author expects certain specific functions to be turned over to special international organizations, and only as a later step the development of a coordinated international government.

While the prospects in the case of a democratic victory...
As drawn by Lorwin are definitely within the range of the possible, to this reviewer it seems that the extension of past trends into the future is not a necessarily valid method. Historical development involves a succession of attempts to solve problems arising out of changed circumstances. The problem which has to be adjusted is not only economic insecurity but also the loss of the individual’s belief in himself, i.e. his opportunity and his own power to mold his future better than the minimum provided for him by the government.

Queens College

WALThER LedeRER

In and Out of the Red With Hansen


In this book Mr. Hansen definitely takes the technical leadership of the field of engineering economics. For although he gives credit for the origins of modern economic theory to a long line of students stretching back even to Adam Smith, this amounts to little more than the credit that a modern metallurgist might give to the early discoverers of iron. For the difference between a wholly impractical notion of economic policy, which could and did throw the world into terrifying convulsions, and a workable policy that may lead to recovery, is all the difference between failure and success. The older economists had many good and true ideas, but they failed to add up. The contribution of modern engineering economics is that as a whole, not merely in spots, it makes sense.

Mr. Hansen’s more than four hundred pages could be boiled down, were it not for the fact that his first job is the patient removal of the wreckage of old theories, and an attempt to salvage the minds of many of his colleagues as possible. The book is a must item for anyone who is not afraid of hard thinking and who seriously needs to understand economic problems of national policy. Anyone who is able to induce a policy-making public official, especially a legislator, to study Hansen, will deserve well of the Republic.

This book will be an essential part of any college economics course that aims to avoid stultifying the minds of its students. With the proviso, however, that new editions must be bought as fast as they are issued, for the book, as a practical engineering treatise, necessarily deals with the present rapidly changing situation and must therefore be revised in detail at frequent intervals.

One thing can be dogmatically stated: anyone whose duties require an understanding of national economic policy had better keep track of Alvin Hansen or else retire and raise chickens.

Washington, D. C.

DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE

The Future of the Jews


This book seeks to further understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Sixteen experts—sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, economists, historians, philosophers—contribute to the results of their research. All aim at dispassionate objectivity in dealing with a most controversial subject.

Professor Carl J. Friedrich, in his introductory essay on “Anti-Semitism: Challenge to Christian Culture,” distinguishes modern racial anti-Semitism from the medieval religious variety and points out that the escape of baptism is no longer open to the Jews. After analyzing the causes for the present virulence of anti-Semitism, he notes that the haters of Jews are also anti-Christian, since Christian culture has grown up as much around the Old Testament as around the New. Anti-Semites are anti-democratic, since constitutional democracy is the institutional instrumentation of Judaeo-Christian ethics.
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This book is not only recommended for ordinary Americans that they may know one of our most brilliant military allies, but it is also recommended as compulsory reading for our Vichy- appeasers in the State Department that they may know what type of man leads the so-called Free French. "Until the day when it shall become possible for the whole of France to express herself, it is our duty to do it in her name." (de Gaulle in London, March 1, 1941)

Had de Gaulle been a better politician, had he had a better intelligence service, or had the British been less hampered by the tradition of cricket, Dakar would have fallen and there would be far less timeliness about Emil Lengyl's book on this African port.

Any city in the world which is likely to be the jumping off place for an invasion of this hemisphere and ultimately this country is important and interesting to every American. This book has the dullness of a geography, but that very dullness is a measure of its unusual thoroughness for a popular book.

Dakar is no tropical paradise or playground. It is a dry, fiendishly hot spot infested with malaria and other tropical diseases. For centuries it was a graveyard for the white man who tarried too long, and its treacherous shoals broke the ribs of many a ship whose master tried to cut the corner of Africa too sharply. With these natural defenses and the military and naval strength the French have amassed there, it will be a hard and bloody nut to crack. But if, as has been predicted, this war will be won or lost in Africa, it will probably become America's job sooner or later to take Dakar.

At the end of this book, the author has devoted considerable space to the Atlantic Islands, Azores, Madeira, Canary, and Cape Verde with the obvious inference that if one of these is necessary to our defense, then all of them are. The great naval strength thus needed in the Atlantic to assure the neutrality of these islands must account to some extent for our apparent inferiority in the Pacific. Had Mr. Lengy written his book after instead of before war broke out in the Far East, his inference might have gone one step further: by occupying all of these places, Dakar as well as the islands, we might perhaps have great strength in naval forces released to send to the Pacific.

Peter Steven
"The Soviet Power" Reread


THE GERMAN INVASION OF RUSSIA AND THE FORMAL ENTERANCE of the United States into the war have so greatly increased the current importance of the Dean of Canterbury's appraisal of Soviet power, published in January 1941 and reviewed in these columns in June 1941, as to justify a rereading of the book and a supplementary comment oriented to the current world situation.

Reread in an upper middle class English home, with roots deep in the traditions of fundamentalist Protestantism, Dean Johnson has filled his sixty-eight years with experiences constantly enriched by an indefatigable curiosity as a truth seeker, a courageous self-discipline in facing and understanding facts, a deep respect for science, and a persistent adherence to the doctrine of human brotherhood as taught by Jesus Christ. His interest in science and his studies in history and the teachings of Darwin caused him, when still a young man, to cast off fundamentalist moorings and to evolve for himself less ritualistic but more humanitarian religious convictions based upon the Christian conceptions of the New Testament.

As a workman in his father's mills, young Johnson learned the problems of those who labor with their hands. As an economist, a scientist and a sociologist, he has learned from

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HENRIETTA SZOLD
Life and Letters
by Marvin Lowenthal

books but even more from men and from personal experience.

He became convinced that the capitalism of the twentieth century, with its competition, exalting the profit motive, was both anti-science and anti-Christian, inimical to the greatest good for the greatest number and economically unsound.

As a seeker of truth he became an apostle of the economy of abundance as against the economy of scarcity which he considered had become inherent in the modern capitalistic economy. He saw civilization stifled rather than stimulated by the resultant restriction of production and curtailment of science. He saw progress in terms of increased production and better standards of living for all. Personal observations and experience convinced him that such progress was retarded rather than accelerated by profits, as the controlling motive power.

The Russian experiment attracted Dean Johnson’s interest because of its emphasis on production rather than on profits. He traveled in Russia and studied its economy from the standpoint of a scientist and an engineer rather than as a sociologist or a priest. He saw things for himself and regarded Russia’s power in terms of progress in increasing production. He appraised the standards of living and production in the U.S.S.R. comparatively with those in old Russia rather than with those in Britain or other nations.

He viewed with suspicion the writings of irresponsible or emotional journalists such as Eugene Lyons from whose “Assignment in Utopia” he quotes several paragraphs to indicate its unreliability. His interest is in economics rather than politics. The lesson which he gleaned from Russia was a lesson in production from a nation which, at a time when production in the capitalist world was decreasing, was itself advancing its production from an estimated 3 percent of the world’s production in 1929 to 33 percent in 1939.

Whether or not you agree with Dean Johnson, the expression of his views is unusually forthright, refreshingly free of intolerance, and deals with a highly controversial subject with an all too rare objectiveness. There is much in this book that is fearsome to the capitalist upon whose fortune the author’s guns make many a direct and devastating hit, although his shells are always directed at the basins of the capitalistic escarpment rather than at its individual defenders. The book will greatly increase the comprehension of those who are interested in understanding why and how the people of the U.S.S.R. have been able successfully to defend their country against the Nazi invasion. That the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral could write this book and retain his deanship is compelling evidence that freedom of speech is firmly entrenched in England. Many an American who reads the book is likely to query himself as to the chances of survival for a Dean of an American Cathedral if he were an author of this book.

Cornwall, N. Y.

Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.

A Scientist at Worship


This book, handsomely printed on fine paper, is evidently considered by the publishers as a distinguished item on their current list. The reason for this lies in the double fact that the book deals with a great theme, and that its author is a man who has attained high eminence in his own field of work.

Mr. Sikorsky is one of the foremost airplane designers of the world. It is therefore a matter of special interest that he who is not in the ranks of professional theologians and ecclesiastical leaders, but is a technical scientist, should write this book on the Lord’s Prayer. One wants to know what a layman of such ability and earnestness feels about

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this central expression of Christian worship and devotion.

At the same time it must be admitted that there is a limitation here. Mr. Sikorsky, a great expert in his own field, is very obviously an amateur in the field of theology and biblical interpretation. He says with reference to the Lord's Prayer: "I am a fundamentalist ready to accept every word and sentence in their full, direct, and complete meaning. He does not seem to be aware that there are in the Gospel two forms of the Lord's Prayer, wholly parallel, if true, in their meaning and essential form, but verbal not alike. Neither is he aware that the last words of the prayer in the form which he uses, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," are not in the Gospel at all, and were not part—as he explicitly assumes—of the prayer as first given by Christ to the disciples, but as an ascription of praise later added in the worship of the Christian church. Such lapses in exact knowledge as are illustrated in these two facts make it necessary to read M. Sikorsky's chapters with qualifications.

But beyond all this there remains the more important matter. Many theological scholars could write a more exact exposition of the Lord's Prayer than this, but who we have here is the earnest and genuine expression of our own faith by a distinguished layman. As such it will be stimulating and helpful. In the chapter on "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done," Mr. Sikorsky gives his own conception of this universe which God has created, and gives it in a way which will widen the bounds of ordinary thinking. And best of all are passages like these which help to remember the supreme fact that the Lord's Prayer is not something to be argued about but something to wake and inspire a man's faith and trust in God, and to create a higher purpose for his life:

"In general, it appears logical to summarize our idea about the purpose of our earthly life as an immense gift and an opportunity given to a human being to develop a character and an individual personality which is willing, worth and capable of survival in the higher order of existence."

"There is no doubt that the entire first part of the Lord's Prayer deals mainly with this final event that will mark the termination of the present era of compromise, suffering and of death, and will open the new one of light, complete harmony, good will, happiness and everlasting life."

The strangest and most encouraging aspects of the prayer that it assumes the person that pronounces it as already being under way into this happy, eternal existence. Of course, by our crime or foolishness, we may spoil our immense inheritance as we can ruin an earthly one, but the prayer indicates plainly that the infinite opportunity offered; it is ours already, together with the incredible gift to address the Creator, King and Owner of the Universe by any of these true titles but by the simple word "Our Father."

Union Theological Seminary

W. Russell Bow

When Workers Are Weary


This report of the committee on industry of the National Research Council is opportune. It deals with essential human factors—physiological, psychological and sociological—underlying industrial production, as brought out in various projects of research, chief among them the well-known Western Electric studies at Hawthorne, Ill.

Most valuable perhaps are the conclusions as toprovisions in plants. Important evidence was given by representatives of both management and labor describing improved human relations with increases in output in plants where the wage-earners felt themselves to have a stake

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production and participated in such matters as rate setting and even in policies. The problem resolves itself into the need of securing more adequate channels of communication upward and downward; between the technical organization and the workers, whether they are associated in labor unions or in informal groups.

The report, in its detailed discussion, thus genuinely clarifies some crucial issues of industry. It is the more to be deplored that its conclusions on what, according to its title, is its main theme, are misleading and may be highly damaging. Indeed, the title of this book is a misnomer. This is no study of fatigue. Its generalizations on the subject are not based on representative industrial practice. They are based, for the most part, on special studies of selected workers, where fatigue obviously did not develop or was compensated by breaks in work due to various causes. What basis is this for the committee's general conclusion that fatigue in industry cannot be identified as a separate factor "except the general feeling at the end of the day that one is ready to go to bed"?

In certain of the committee's own hearings the essential difference between highly skilled workers and men working on power-driven conveyors, who are inevitably under severe pressure, was pointed out. Yet its findings on fatigue may serve as a blanket endorsement of industrial practices (including protracted extension of working hours) that are detrimental both to the men and women workers and to production. Any subsequent edition of this valuable report should clarify and limit its unsubstantiated generalizations on fatigue.

Hartsdale, N. Y.

JOSEPHINE GOLDBLACK

Shoving Off or Showing Up?


First-rate journalism based on interviews with first-rate scientists, mostly in their own laboratories. A fragmentary but quick and exciting account of what scientists are doing to increase our understanding and mastery of the materials and processes that surround and pervade mankind and that affect our lives—health and harvests, electrons and enzymes, genius and galaxies, synthesis and surgery. The book is therefore recommended (a) to every layman, who should know something about what science is doing to transform our world; and (b) to every scientist, who should know something of what his colleagues are doing beyond his own narrow province.

So far, then, expert show-window and sales techniques to bring goodwill and appreciation for "science," and a little might. The most important parts of the book, however, and its unity, concern all of us in the first person plural: (a) as potential beneficiaries of "science"; (b) as victims of economic, political, and social dislocations resulting from the impacts of "science"; and (c) as ultimate individuals responsible for doing something about it,—or else. This is the most important part and is urged upon—.

The scientists, since they have been the competent if uninviting instruments of abuses and perversions from which we all suffer; and since, as a group, they have accepted (like the other specialists) a traditional order that makes a virtue of conflicts we share with the subhuman world, while as intelligent individuals they resent the outrageous human wastes and injuries they are obliged to promote. The most compliant of the anonymous scientists interviewed by Mr. duiven reveals this inner conflict in their comments— as when one tries to meet the charge that "science causes unemployment" by arguing—with statistics—that this marvelous labor-saver actually makes us work more for the essentials of life.

I. The non-scientists who really care why it is that the

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plausible promise of science comes so far short of fulfillment, for we are more numerous and do in fact influence the intellectual climate and the scheme of values in which the scientists operate.

Mr. Bliven seems to be hopeful that scientists, as a body, might take the lead in helping all of us approach public problems in a scientific spirit. A beginning must, he rightly insists, sometimes be made in applying science to the affairs of the world; and since scientists "are already the men who make the future ... they are in a position to extend their powers to rescue civilization if they only will." This is the conclusion, and it is challenging. But, really, it is only a good starting point. For beyond their skills and techniques, and the weighty knowledge of which they are custodians, scientists have little in common except a relatively high level of intelligence and, possibly, humane sentiments. Their methods are already being used outside the laboratories. Every large business, every government bureau, every advertising agency, every campaign manager, has a "research" department. Scientific work is going on in organizations deliberately designed to exploit and destroy the rest of us, to make profits without regard to human consequences.

Science in the hands of individual experts, exposed like the rest of us to the hiring market, will not save us. The only way to unify scientists for a human goal is the way that would unify all of us for humane purposes. That way can not be a scheme, however ancient, wherein more science is merely a device to enable each one of us to prosper more and more at the expense of others.

New York

BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG

Hail, Columbus


IT SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN COLUMBUS 450 YEARS TO DISCOVER a definitive biographer. There is no nonsense about Professor Morison's book. It junks most of the legends that have grown up around the life of the great discoverer, and all of the artificial mystery that has been built up around him. It dismisses decisively all those fanciful speculations about the family and youth of Columbus that have engrossed so many biographers—like the theory of Jewish ancestry recently propounded by the Spaniard Madariaga.

It is one of the ironies of history—which Professor Morison clearly brings out—that Columbus discovered America not because he knew better than anybody else the true shape of the earth, but because he was mistaken about its size. Had Columbus accepted the fairly accurate estimates of contemporary geographers as to the number of miles that lay between Cadiz and Cathay, he probably would never have ventured on his enterprise.

"Admiral of the Ocean Sea" is a work to be taken with all seriousness, but the idea occurs that it might reasonably be called a book for "skippers." Skippers of their own or other people's boats on seas high or low will appreciate the authoritative reporting of Columbus's mastery of practica seamanship and his limitations as a navigator. They will revel in all those meticulous details about how the Spanish caravels of 1492 were constructed and equipped, manned and maneuvered. But it must be added that this is a book for "skippers" in another sense. For most readers will surmise, skip lightly past all the formidable paragraphs devoted to navigational and geographical minutiae. And landlubbers though they may be, they will enjoy the well chosen selections from the journal of Columbus; word pictures of the beauties of tropic seas and lands and skies; flashes of humor and irony; keen appraisals of the motives of monarch monks, and men-at-arms. We feel that we are sailing with Columbus as we read the chapter in which Dr. Morison reconstructs "A Day at Sea" aboard the Santa Maria. W
understand exactly how Ferdinand and Isabella felt about the importunities of Columbus when they were straining all the resources of Castile and Aragon to smash the Moors of Granada.

"Columbus had a deep conviction of the imminence, the sovereignty, and the infinite wisdom of God, which transcended all his sufferings and enhanced all his triumphs."

New York

B. P. Adams

Nine Americans Review the American Way


Nine members of the faculty of Colgate University are the authors of this book, one of the most admirable of the recent crop of writing that has come to this reviewer's attention.

Its style is not really popular; neither is it heavy. The reader, earnestly seeking a quick but clear view of what has taken place and is happening in American life, will peruse it to the end with pleasure and enlightenment. Any reader afflicted with the disease of orthodoxy will not agree with this or any other endorsement of it, but he should remember that America is one of the few places where there is no official orthodoxy.

For a hurried overview the chapter titles had best be listed: (1) The Historical Background of American Political Democracy; (2) American Democracy and American Government; (3) Democracy in the American Economy; (4) The Spirit of American Science; (5) The Spirit of American Art; (6) The Spirit of Modern American Literature; (7) Education in American Democracy; (8) The Spirit of American Religion; and (9) The Spirit of American Philosophy. Of course there is an introduction which in this instance is a review of the character of the book. There is a disappointing short postscript by Mr. Adams titled, "On Some Enemies of Democracy." And there is selected bibliography for each chapter.

The book is a general descriptive account of the total America, in point of time, that we all know more or less.

It is not a critical analysis and it is not a forecast. Hence it is not a book for the thoroughly well-informed nor will it satisfy the curiosity of an intellectual prober of currents and trends of causes and effects. But the authors make no pretensions that it is a profoundly critical study.

New York University

Ned H. Dearborn

Our War


Wars are won in the future, then the mind that can bestly forecast the future is the mind by which we desire to be led. Marquis Childs tries to lead us in "This Your War," a swiftly moving, clarified, over-all view of the face of things to come. He is a nimble writer with determination not to see the trees for the woods. In no hundred large-print pages, he discusses our raw materials, our war production program with its consequent civilian entailments, our households, our transportation, food, clothing, national health, money, even our children in time of war. There is no pretension to thoroughness. His frank admission of the limitations of his undertaking disarms our skepticism, for such a book is hard to write and too easily ad. Perhaps it should be prescribed reading for those of bogged down in detail, since Marquis Childs writes with a white-hot urgency.

His book radiates a strong faith in individuals. "Through our own initiative and resourcefulness," he says, "we must unstate this (the Victory Program) into reality.

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND DEFENSE

is the subject discussed by 40 contributors to the November number of Survey Graphic. Send 50 cents for one copy, a dollar for three copies.

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government can supply guidance and aid, the job itself cannot be done by government. If we wait passively for instruction before we act, if we move only on orders from Washington, then it is very probable that we shall never again be free of the domination of authority in every phase of our lives. The task is so colossal that if it is left entirely to government authority our lives will become as regimented as those in any dictatorship."

Another attempt to explain our new world to us is incorporated into a handbook on the scope of civilian defense, written by Colonel Dupuy and Lieutenant Carter. In the foreword to the book, the authors make the modest statement that they attempt "neither a technical manual for the civilian defender nor a criticism of the civilian defense effort to date." At times they are close to the manual, but they do achieve their major aim: "to survey the demands which war makes upon the civilian and to define the extent of his participation."

All the answers in civilian defense are simpler than their application. In a democracy such as ours it seems an odd thing that only the "sore warden" and the newspapers discuss the vital problems that inevitably arise when a civilian populace attempts to make itself into a semi-disciplined emergency fighting force. We need to know how to adjust our daily duties to these new duties. We need to know how to control problems of timing, of delegation of powers, of allotment of personnel within the "Zone," the "Sector," the "Post." There is a good deal of hush-hush about it and even more good natured joshing. No book that I have encountered really tackles our problems, but if you can afford to own only one book as daily guide and mentor, buy "Civilian Defense of the United States" by Dupuy and Carter. You will consult it many times. It has a brisk, orderly, military tone that does the heart good.

Barnard College

Elizabeth Renard

NAZI FOOD ESTATE (Continued from page 253)

the Nazi "population policy" in the most reckless manner. As many as forty out of every one hundred girls are pregnant when they return from the camps.

The "liberation of the peasant from interest slavery" by the Hereditary Farms Act means that, since he can no longer get bank or commercial credits, he is entirely dependent upon the state and its machine. The Nazi state, however, has proved to be a far more exacting creditor than the greediest capitalist. On the other side, the Hereditary Farms Act has accelerated the flight from the land and the degradation of peasants' children into landless laborers.

It is too early to judge the long range effects of Darré's work. But even before the war the policy of "guns instead of butter" tended to deteriorate the physical and mental health standards of the "master race," as is clear from such Nazi sources as health statistics, recruiting examinations, and complaints about the decreasing efficiency of labor.

It seems safe to assume that the forced increase of agricultural production at any price must hasten the total exhaustion of the German soil. Further, Darré's attempts to "breed the pure Aryan race," grotesquely distorting the teaching of eugenics, can result only in laying heavy liabilities on the generations to come. That perverted "racial policy" encourages child bearing by immature girls. It perpetuates such qualities as the brutality and the narrow egoism of storm troopers and other Nazis. "Aryans," while it prevents politically or racially "unreliable" people, however intelligent and healthy they may be, from begetting any children at all. However questionable—and even disastrous—the Nazi... (Continued on page 270)

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**NAZI FOOD ESTATE**

(Continued from page 269)

agricultural system is for peaceful living, it is well suited to the needs of total war. It is folly to expect a collapse of the Nazi food supply, and war policies, including blockade, economic warfare, and propaganda, must be adjusted to take account of that fact.

The results of Nazi policy on agriculture and on the European economy in general, pose major problems for the day after Hitler’s defeat. Today, farmers all over Nazi-dominated Europe are linked to the market only by the Reichsnahrstand and its subsidiaries in the occupied countries. How can their produce be distributed after the destruction of the Nazi machine?

Post-War Considerations for the United Nations

It is necessary to realize that Europe’s food supply in the future cannot be procured from overseas. No doubt the United States will extend relief to wartorn Europe after Hitler is defeated. But for years to come Europe will not be in a position to pay for large scale importations of food or other commodities, and this country can scarcely afford to grant unlimited credit.

It is even questionable whether such credits would serve to help rebuild Europe. European countries must become self-supporting—that is the only possible basis for lasting peace. While external assistance may serve to alleviate that difficult process, the main effort must rest on Europe’s own resources.

Of all sectors of Europe’s economy, agriculture seems likely to suffer the least by this war. Farming requires little capital conversion from wartime to peacetime production. Bombs do less damage to a wheat field than to an electrical power plant and they are seldom directed at the farm targets. If France, for example, cannot feed her people today, it is not because of injury to the land, but because the Nazis confiscated the oil to run agricultural machines, the livestock and the crops and because they are holding hundreds of thousands of French farmers as prisoners of war. Once the Nazi occupation ends, rural France ought to return comparatively quickly to its former productivity—and so ought many other agricultural areas of Europe.

Only as this self-recovery advances can we think about including Europe in a worldwide plan for a new and more intelligent distribution of economic functions. Only then it will be possible to decide whether to continue expensive grain and meat production on the worn soils of Europe’s industrial countries, or to concentrate large scale wheat and cattle raising on the fertile plains of the Americas and Russia, and to convert all of Europe’s farmers to intensive, high grade dairy, poultry, and vegetable garden production, as Switzerland, Denmark, and Holland already have done.

And only to that—somewhat distant and restricted—extent can American agriculture reasonably expect to regain European markets. That restriction may finally turn out to be a blessing for this country, serving to check further commercial exhaustion of America’s soil and to force a new balance between industry and agriculture, between city and country life within the Western Hemisphere.

Before we even approach these far-reaching decisions, however, we have to win this war and so end forever Hitler’s threat to the cities and the fields of the world.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)
already disturbing evidences of increased juvenile delinquency in war industry areas, particularly where schools are overcrowded and trailer camps and other makeshift housing the rule. With both parents at work, meals often are haphazard, out-of-school hours completely unsupervised, and many children are locked out of house or trailer until the mother or father “comes off the shift.”

The problem of care for pre-school children is even more acute. At the mid-March meeting in Washington of the U. S. Children’s Bureau Commission on Children in War-time, there were reports of the need for day care from many communities. For example, an Alabama school found in its neighborhood 156 working mothers of 167 pre-school children with no day care available for the youngsters; in an Illinois city, a survey of only a few blocks disclosed 178 children from three to six years of age in need of care because their mothers had taken war industry jobs.

Some federal funds are available under the Community Facilities Act to provide needed care for the children of working mothers. The U. S. Children’s Bureau has been designated as the agency to certify need for day care centers and related services outside the public school program. In twenty-five states, the state welfare departments are studying the problem of neglected pre-school children, and in a number of these states, programs are being developed.

The U. S. Office of Education will certify applications made by local school authorities for extension of school facilities in war industry areas to provide for the care of children before and after school hours, including meals and health services where they are required, and to establish or expand nursery schools, in connection with public schools. The state departments of education will supervise these facilities.

In Britain, thousands of women are serving with the armed forces, taking over housekeeping, clerical, transportation, and many technical duties, and freeing men for active service. In this country, so far, women’s direct participation in the war effort has been limited largely to jobs in war industry. A bill now before Congress would create a women’s auxiliary army corps, with women enlisting and serving under military discipline, at army rates of pay. The bill has the support of many women’s organizations, and at this writing has passed the House. So far, few moves have been made to revive the Yeomen (Female) Reserve—the “Yeomenettes”—which at its peak in December 1918 had an enrollment of 11,275 women. To date, only the women actually serving in the armed forces of the U. S. A. in this war are members of the Army and the Navy Nurse Corps.

In industry and in agriculture there are urgent jobs for women to do. Households and communities are facing complex readjustments as the nation mobilizes for a long, grim war. We are beginning to realize what it means today, what it will mean next week, next month, next winter, to equip the new army and navy, and to man behind the fighting forces the new industries in agriculture and industry. To play their full part, women must have opportunity for training, placement, and advancement based on ability, and equal pay for equal work.

I like to think of a girl I met on a Connecticut bus a fortnight ago—a young woman in blue denim, the top of her slacks buckled snugly around her work shoes, heavy gloves at her belt, a dinner pail beside her. She said she used to type and file in the office of a private school for girls. Now she helps wire fighting planes—eight hours a day, six days a week, on rotating shifts that mean work two months out of three. She spoke with pride of “our plant,” “our ships.” “It’s a job,” she said, “a real job—for the duration.”
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SERVICE TO THE NATION IN PEACE AND WAR
The Gist of It

On page 277 LOULA D. LASKER, associate editor, examines the position of more than a million people in this country who have come under the surveillance and restrictions imposed by a country at war on aliens of enemy nationality.

No one knows better than RAYMOND B. Fosdick how revolutionary has been the development during the past twenty-five years of leisure time facilities provided by army and navy for the men in service. Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities in the last war, Dr. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, now is serving as a member of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation. He has recently returned from a tour of camps and naval stations. Page 280.

It is generally believed that guerrilla fighting did not end in the Philippines with the surrender of General Wainwright at Corregidor; that the order that it cease did not come from the general but was an obvious piece of Japanese propaganda. So Americans still are counting on those regiments of Filipino-American forces which fled into the mountains. And they count on the Moros of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, recalling their pledge to Mac Arthur and the President, "to fight the Japanese and enemies of the United States." Mrs. Lorillard Spencer, whom the Moros call their "American friend," has reason to know what a Moro's pledge signifies. On page 286 Fonrose Wainwright Conduct sets down Mrs. Spencer's moving story.

Otto H. Ehrlich, instructor in economics at Brooklyn College, New York, offers another economic cartoon on page 289. "Or Else—Inflation," the first of this novel series visualizing the American economic scene of the moment, has aroused much interest since it appeared in the May issue.

"We can't have the American way of life as usual, but we go on having dirty politics as usual," wrote Irving Dilliard, in sending us the article on the all-important congressional elections in November (page 292). Mr. Dilliard, for several years an editorial writer for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and a Nieman Fellow at Harvard two years ago, recently edited a collection of "Press Opinion and Public Appraisals" of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis (Modern View Press).

Michael Straight comes from a family long associated with liberal movements. Returning to his own country from England several years ago he has served The New Republic first as Washington correspondent and now as an editor. An eloquent plea to non-combatants. Page 295.

Benton's Paintings Spread Hate

To the Editor: I note that in your May issue you print one of Benton's pictures, of the set of eight. As an emphatic language as I can command may I register my shocked and sorrowful protest. I have seen also the one reproduced in Time and read MacLeish's disgraceful reaction in wanting the pictures spread abroad. If the spirit behind those works represents Americans we do not deserve to win this war until we change. That sort of horror and brutality to spread abroad hate is born of the same general ethos that permeates Nazism. I note you are all out for this war and that is all right since you are sincere and have an enlightened opinion and keep an honorable spirit. Those of us who differ respect you none the less.

I have been a supporter of the Survey since the days when its name was being debated as before that, and I've always had the highest opinion of your contribution. I beg of you to keep a constructive and critical spirit and to give a hearing in your pages to those who see all points of view and express them with calmness, tolerance, and good will.

Eva G. Price

This Year's ISS Work Camps

A chance for students to contribute to the war effort during summer vacation is offered by the International Students Service, which is organizing seven summer work camps for young people eighteen to twenty-four years of age. Unlike the Volunteer Land Corps (see Survey Graphic for May) the young people in the ISS camps live and work together as a group, and take part in a study program. This year there will be six camps, located in the Midwest and New England; one in Tennessee, with 20 to 40 campers in each. In some of the camps, the young people will do farm work at the going community wage. Other camps will do construction and recreation work in needy communities and in war industry boom towns. Further information from ISS, 8 West 40 Street, New York.
One of the heart-warming occasions of the war is the current retrospective exhibition at the Downtown Gallery, New York, of a Japanese-born artist’s paintings for the benefit of United China Relief. Yasuo Kuniyoshi, who came to this country at thirteen, is one of our best-known artists; his biographical sketch in “Who’s Who in America” reads like a typical success story—long years of training followed by a list of important honors and awards. His work has been purchased by more than twenty American museums. Kuniyoshi has long been active in the China Aid Council, and since our entrance in the war has been writing broadcasts for the Office of the Coordinator of Information.
Friends or Enemies?

by LOULA D. LASKER

Though we must take full precautions to safeguard the nation, can we not also conserve as assets for democracy the friendly aliens of enemy nationality in our midst—rebels against Nazism, refugees from intolerance and conquest, old neighbors and parents of our fighting men? A plea for a program which reckons realistically with the facts.

OUR SIX MONTHS EXPERIENCE SINCE PEARL HARBOR CHIMES in with England’s experience of two years ago and warrants consideration of some plan to clarify the status of no less than a million unnaturalized residents of the United States. As things stand, they are all lumped together as “alien enemies”—a thoroughly misunderstood term that stems from a law written back in 1798.

Rebels against Nazism and fascism, refugees from intolerance and conquest, and parents of our fighting men are caught in the paradox of this stigma.

Take the recent publicity centering on, of all people, the native-born chairman of the Board of Immigration Appeals. His mother failed to arrive in Washington for a visit on his Saint’s day. The explanation? She could not leave her hometown without first securing a special permit. True, she had left Italy nearly forty years ago and is the mother of eight American-born children, to whom by dint of hard work she had given the advantages of higher education.

Or take the story of a German-born mother on the West Coast. One of her two sons was killed at Pearl Harbor. The other has enlisted. It wasn’t strange that she was bewildered when told she must apply for an identification card. She refused to believe she was an enemy of the United States.

The Numbers Involved

These are not isolated cases among aliens of enemy nationality who, regardless of their personal attitudes, are subject to laws and restrictions promulgated to control the activities of nationals who may be hostile to the best interests of this country. Approximately one out of every five unnaturalized residents in the United States is classed officially as an “alien enemy.” They include 314,715 Germans, 695,363 Italians, 91,858 Japanese. Of the latter group 54,659 are in continental United States, the remainder in Hawaii.

Now our best source of information, the Alien Registration of 1940, showed that 10 percent were sixty-five or over; 50 percent between forty-five and sixty; 80 percent were sixty-five or over; 50 percent between forty-five and sixty; 80 percent had family ties—parents, children, and spouses in this country. And 40 percent had taken steps toward becoming citizens. [See “Aliens in America,” by Beulah Amidon, Survey Graphic, February, 1941.] These proportions applied to aliens of all nationalities taken together. The Japanese are in a class by themselves, what with total restrictions on Orientals when it comes to immigration and naturalization privileges. But the proportions are not far wrong when applied to Italians and are even more widely applicable to Germans who were among the early immigrants to this country.
What are the restrictions to which all these aliens of enemy nationality must adhere? Once we had declared war on the Axis powers, the President issued two identical proclamations—that “All natives, citizens, denizens or subjects” (first of Japan, and then of Germany and Italy) “being of the age of fourteen years and upward who shall be in the United States and not naturalized” should be liable to be “apprehended, restrained, secured and removed as alien enemies.” They are further required to observe certain conduct as to residence, freedom of movement, travel, possession of specific articles, and so forth.

The Secretary of War was charged with carrying out these provisions in the Canal Zone, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Alaska; the Attorney General in the United States and Puerto Rico. Thereafter, at the request of the War Department, the Attorney General designated certain restricted or prohibited areas on the West Coast and announced a plan to exclude or remove all aliens of enemy nationality from them. Curfew regulations applicable to this group were immediately set up.

Wartime Identification of Aliens

Next, in mid-January, came a countrywide move. All “alien enemies” were ordered to apply for certificates of identification, which they must carry at all times. The Department of Justice was charged with carrying out the program, and Attorney General Francis Biddle turned once more to Earl G. Harrison, special assistant on alien problems, who had directed the 1940 registration with rare insight and efficiency. Again local post offices were resorted to and much additional data were required of applicants.* They were encouraged also to volunteer information, such as how their foreign citizenship had been acquired, whether canceled, why they had left their country of origin, and the names of people living in the United States who had known them in their home countries and who could vouch for their loyalty here.

The Attorney General had made clear that these certificates of identification would be as much for the protection of the alien as of the United States, and Mr. Harrison promptly designated the step as a wartime necessity, not to be interpreted as a reflection on the loyalty and good will of the great majority of Germans, Italians, and Japanese living here. By February 8 the program was completed according to schedule in eight western states, and by the end of the month throughout the rest of the country. Significantly enough, the description “alien of enemy nationality” and not “alien enemy” was employed in the identification cards.

Meanwhile, the Department of Justice had laid down specific rules of conduct required of them, and enumerated proscribed articles—firearms, cameras, short wave radios, and so on. More important, the Attorney General, besides naming specifically what groups were to be included and subject to all regulations and rules, specified certain ones within the general category of “alien enemies” that were to be exempted from complying with the prescribed regulations. Obviously the terms “natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects” as used in the hurriedly drafted proclamation signed by the President, needed clarification and definition.

In addition to German, Italian, and Japanese “aliens of enemy nationality,” all “stateless” aliens are included. That is, immigrants who had been citizens of the countries indicated when they became stateless.

On the other hand, German, Italian, and Japanese citizens are exempted who, before December 7-8, 1941, had become citizens of any country other than those with which we are at war—provided they had not by special license or otherwise retained their status as German, Italian or Japanese citizens or subjects.

So, too, are Austrians, Austro-Hungarians, and Koreans who had registered as such in the pre-war registration of all aliens in 1940—if they had not at any time voluntarily become German, Italian, or Japanese citizens or subjects.

On similar grounds, Turkish and Greek immigrants from the Dodecanese and other Aegean Islands are freed from the restrictions provided that, prior to the date Turkey ceded those islands to Italy in 1924, such persons had not voluntarily become Italian subjects.

More recently German, Italian, and Japanese nationals serving in the armed forces of the United States have been added to the exempted list.

It should be clearly understood, however, that all aliens identified by the original Presidential proclamation as “alien enemies”—including the groups subsequently freed from compliance with the special restrictions—are still subject to summary apprehension, detention or internment, without the privilege of habeas corpus. Nor must it be overlooked that under the Espionage Act, all aliens of whatever nationality, as well as American citizens, are subject to court action initiated by the Department of Justice.

Migration from Military Areas

The third step came toward the end of February, with sweeping powers granted the War Department to designate prohibited military areas in the United States and to exclude any and all persons therefrom, citizens and aliens alike. The situation at once took a new turn. As a first step the department forthwith declared as military zones certain areas in the West, including some earlier defined as “prohibited and restricted” by the Attorney General. While the move was designed primarily to deal with the Japanese in California and nearby states, it should be pointed out that the Secretary of War and military commanders have the power to take similar action in any part of the country. In the latter part of April it was announced that the East Coast was shortly to be declared a military area.

To date, the only group that has been removed en masse from the West Coast area by order of the War Department are the Japanese—aliens as well as American citizens of Japanese parentage. More than one hundred thousand—more than half of them American citizens—were first moved to inland assembly centers. [See “Evacuation, American Style,” by George D. Nickel, Survey Midmonthly, April, 1942.] This was carried out under the supervision of the new Wartime Civil Control Administration of the Department of War, with the spirit and often sensitive collaboration of federal, state and voluntary agencies. Permanent reception centers are now being prepared by the recently established War Relocation...
"Staten Island, Germany," is the reply of this young man, born in the U.S., to the question on citizenship. Such a certificate of identification must be produced at the demand of an accredited official functioning in eighty-six judicial districts, all on a dollar a year basis. Their total membership approximates 350—all men and women of standing in their communities who give their services.

The United States District Attorney presents the case for the government. Representatives of the FBI and Immigration Service tell what they have found out about the alien brought before the hearing, who is questioned independently by the board, submits his own affidavits, and is permitted to have others testify for him. However, legal rules of evidence are waived in the discussion that follows. The stated purpose is to deal fairly with the alien, with due respect to the welfare of the United States—which properly enough means that doubts are resolved in favor of the government.

A hearing board may make one of three recommendations—unconditional release, internment, or parole. A paroled alien must report at specified times to an officially approved individual sponsor as well as to the Immigration Service.

Public and press alike are excluded from the hearings—a course defended by the Department of Justice as in the interest of aliens who may be found innocent of wrong-doing and of safeguarding information of importance to the public safety.

The recommendations of the hearing boards are not without review. Final decisions are made by the Alien Enemy Control Unit under Edward J. Ennis, formerly general counsel of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This was set up by the Department of Justice soon after the outbreak of the war to coordinate activities both within and without (Continued on page 300)
The Leisure Time of a Democratic Army

by RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

The army has taken over the recreation as well as the training of our soldiers today. Dr. Fosdick tells how the program is organized, the provisions for games, and good times, and some of the problems of leisure hours and morale in the camps.

"A year ago this was all swamp and marsh," said the commanding officer. We were standing in the middle of Camp Blanding, Florida. On all sides, covering thousands of acres, stretched a complete new city—paved streets, barracks, chapels, theaters, clubs, hospitals, and public facilities of every kind. It was the home of thousands of men who a few months earlier had never thought of soldiering as a possibility.

Anyone who has recently visited the army and navy camps in any section of the country must come away with two impressions: first, the almost magic manner in which these vast areas have suddenly been transformed into populous cities; and second, the completeness of the military plans, embracing all the facilities necessary not only for training but for leisure time, not only for making a man a soldier but for keeping him a human being.

I have spoken of chapels and theaters and clubs. But this is only part of the picture. A list of the recreational and educational facilities which the army and navy have installed in various ones of these city-camps would include bowling alleys, athletic fields, golf courses, libraries, restaurants, schools, auditoriums, tennis courts, volleyball and badminton courts, roller skating rinks, regimental recreation rooms, company day rooms, official hostesses, guest houses for visitors, swimming pools, gymnasiums, pool rooms, beach clubs, rowboats and fishing tackle. In one camp I saw an outdoor pavilion where as many as 600 couples could be entertained on the dance floor; tables with attractively colored umbrellas were provided for outdoor refreshment.

I do not want to imply that all these facilities are to be found in every camp. They are unevenly distributed, and some camps are much better than others. In one camp I noticed that there were twenty-three chapels and no baseball diamond. Often the terrain or the location of the camp in relation to a body of water—for example, Fort Lewis in the state of Washington—makes possible a type of development and recreation denied to other locations. Occasionally there are inexplicable delays in providing equipment for a particular camp. Or again, one is conscious of more initiative and imagination in one camp as contrasted with another. But in most of the camps that I have seen, the extent and variety of the leisure time facilities provided by the army and navy are strikingly impressive.

I doubt if many people are aware of the revolution that has occurred over the last twenty-five years in the development of this type of activity for the armed forces. A quarter of a century ago Newton D. Baker, one of our greatest secretaries of war, speaking of the American Expeditionary Force, was able to say truly: "I think it safe to assert that no army ever before assembled in the history of the world has ever had so much thought given to its social organization." But the tools by which that job was done twenty-five years ago—and it was a good job—were furnished largely by private agencies: The American Library Association, the YMCA, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, and other faithful and devoted groups. The army and navy assumed only an oblique responsibility for the task. The precedent was the Sanitary Commission of Civil War days, and while great advances were made in the volume and variety of social work for the armed forces, there was always the feeling, both in Congress and in the General Staff, that the provision of baseball equipment and boxing gloves for troops in training was not a legitimate function of government. I still remember with some pain my appearances before the Committee on Appropriations of the House when I was serving as chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities of the War and Navy Departments—pleading for funds with which to enlarge the recreational facilities of the camps.

In my final report as chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities which I submitted to Secretary Baker in 1919, I made the following observation:

I believe that we have reached a point in the development of much of this social work with the armed forces when it can safely be intrusted to the government to operate... I am strongly of the opinion that the leisure time program of the army of the future can best be carried on by the army itself, whether it be in posts or cantonments... There is no logical reason why all this work which the societies have been conducting and which is intimately related to the spirit and morale of the troops should be left to the discretion and ability of private agencies, collecting their funds from private sources. Morale is as important as ammunition and is just as legitimate as charge against the public treasury.

Secretary Baker agreed enthusiastically with this idea, and the newly created Morale Branch of the army, headed by an able soldier, General Munson, laid the basis for the present development. A similar transformation occurs in the navy, and today, with the exception of the Re Cross, which carries on its statutory functions in relation to camp hospitals, no private agencies are working with the camps. The responsibility for the provision of leisure time facilities in training areas is handled directly and exclusively by the armed forces.

The Leisure-Time Staff

THE MACHINERY BY WHICH THIS VAST PROGRAM IS TODAY SUPERVISED AND DIRECTED HEADS UP IN THE ARMY IN THE CHIEF OF SPECIAL SERVICE OF THE GENERAL STAFF, FORMERLY CALLED THE MORALE DIVISION. THE SPECIAL SERVICE CHIEF IS GENER...
Frederick Osborn, a civilian to whom Secretary Stimson gave the rank of brigadier general when he placed him in charge. No wiser or happier choice for this post could have been made. General Osborn has brought to his task wide knowledge of social problems and a keen understanding of the part that education and recreation play in increasing the military effectiveness of men in war.

The personnel by which the program is implemented in the field is selected by commanding officers from the commissioned officers and enlisted men in their commands. Each army, each army corps and each division has a Special Service officer. The divisional Special Service officer is assisted by a recreation officer and an athletic officer. There is also a recreation officer in each regiment. In addition, there is a Special Service officer in each camp who is a member of the commanding officer’s staff. This officer usually has one or more assistants. As rapidly as possible all this personnel is being trained at a Special Service School at Fort Meade, Maryland, where a month’s course is being given. To staff the camp service clubs, of which mention will be made later, 350 hostesses have been carefully selected from more than 22,000 applicants. In the camp libraries there are 183 trained librarians chosen with the cooperation of the American Library Association.

In the navy these new responsibilities for leisure time are centered in the Welfare and Recreation Sections of the Bureau of Navigation under the leadership of Captain Forrest U. Lake; and while there are some differences between the programs of the army and navy, due largely to the diverse circumstances under which the two services carry on their work, in essence there is an identity of aim and approach.

Finally as a coordinating and advisory body, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, at the request of the President, have appointed a group of civilians and service personnel, called the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation. This committee acts as a liaison between the work of the army, the navy, and the Federal Security Agency in matters relating to the morale of the armed forces in the camps and adjoining communities; it serves as a link with civilian ideas and activities; it makes available to the army and navy such advice and aid as are requested in the development of programs in education, athletics, amateur dramatics, music and related fields; and finally it brings to the army and navy a layman’s point of view on problems that are often novel and difficult. In spite of its ponderous and somewhat unfortunate name, this Joint Committee occupies a sig-
significant place in the morale program of the armed forces. It is headed by Fowler V. Harper, an energetic and imaginative man on leave from the faculty of Indiana University Law School, who is also a member of the National War Labor Board and deputy chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

Off Duty Hours in Camp

So much for the machinery through which the work is carried on. What about the work itself? The community life of the army camp centers around the Service Club, of which there may be as many as four or five in a single camp. These commodious clubs, attractively designed and extensively patronized, particularly in the late afternoons and evenings when the men are off duty, each contain a large recreation hall suitable for dances and formal entertainment, a cafeteria and soda grill, a library, reception rooms for guests, and often a music room. Each club has a senior hostess, a junior hostess in charge of the social program, and a cafeteria hostess.

In the navy these clubs are called "The Ship's Service," and are often larger and even more elaborate than the Service Clubs of the army, containing not only an ample auditorium and dance floor, but often a gymnasium, a post-exchange, barber shop, pool room, bowling alleys, and other facilities for recreation.

The dances at the Service Clubs, held once or twice a week for the benefit of particular units, mark a new conception in military training. To these dances come the girls of the neighboring towns as guests of the army, often one or two hundred at a time, selected by some community organization, transported by the army—often in army trucks—and chaperoned by the army. I cannot remember that in the last war we had anything like this. But this is what Secretary Baker meant when he said: "Cut off from home, family, friends, clubs, churches, the hundreds of thousands of men who poured into the country's camps required something besides the routine of military training if they were to be kept healthy mentally and spiritually."

The libraries in the clubs, generally occupying an extensive balcony, are enormously popular and in the evenings are crowded. At Fort Benning—to use an average illustration—21 percent of the entire enrollment of the camp are listed by the librarian as registered borrowers. This figure does not include the many browsing readers who drop in for an hour to snatch a few pages from books that interest them. The average library stack contains about 5,000 volumes, divided rather evenly between fiction and non-fiction, and adequate supplies of newspapers and magazines are available in each reading room. In addition, smaller libraries have been placed in camp hospitals, in company day rooms, with anti-aircraft batteries, and on board transports. Library service for men in combat zones is also being provided.

Normally a guest house is located near the Service Club, where, particularly in urgent cases of sickness, the anxious wife or mother of a soldier can be accommodated. These guest houses are simply but attractively furnished, and in a number of the camps have been set off with shrubbery and flower beds.

The movies, of course, constitute a major factor in the free time of the soldiers, and in each camp the government has erected a number of movie theaters which seat from 500 to 1,500 men. The service now constitutes the largest motion picture chain in the United States. There are today 446 such theaters in 264 army camps and stations, with a total seating capacity of over 500,000. The average weekly number of showings is now 2,920, each showing consisting of a feature picture, with either two "shorts" or one "short" and a newsreel. By the end of 1942, 679 camp theaters will be in operation, with a seating capacity of nearly 500,000, which means that more than a million soldiers may go to the movies daily.
dier-owned and self-supporting, the Army Motion Picture Service charges extremely moderate prices—a book of ten admissions for $1.40.

For those who like an occasional admixture of "legitimate" theater there are the entertainments—mostly vaudeville and musical comedy—put on in the camps by Camp Shows, Inc., a non-profit agency financed by the USO. Twenty-four companies are on the circuit, which includes 225 army and navy camps. Using the large auditoriums, which frequently seat as many as 3,000 men, these entertainments, given without charge, have proved extraordinarily popular.

The Serious Side of Camp Recreation

I have already spoken of the chapels. The army has provided each regiment with a simple, dignified chapel building, equipped with an electric organ and designed for use by any denomination. The Easter services in these military chapels, with their choirs of army and navy personnel, were deeply impressive. For every million men present for duty in this man's army we can expect there will be approximately 1,000 chaplains looking after their welfare.

The chaplains whom I have seen thus far in this war seem to be a vigorous, virile group. Of all the commissioned officers, they come closest to the personal lives and problems of the men, and the intimate cooperation between the chaplains and the Special Service officers has served to make the work of both branches more effective. The same situation obtains in the navy.

The educational work of the armed forces covers a vast range of activities. More than a million men are in specialist schools conducted by the army and navy, studying such subjects as motor maintenance, radio, communication, baking and cooking, stenography, meteorology, chemistry, sanitation—everything from the most elemental skill to advanced scientific research. But this, of course, is part of the training program; this is an essential phase in the development of a modern fighting force. Over and above this regular work, several hundred thousand men of the armed forces are taking courses by correspondence, arranged through a newly created Army Institute, in conjunction with the University of Wisconsin. For the first time in our army, and perhaps in any armed force, enlisted men are given an opportunity to continue their education at any level and to advance their training through correspondence instruction.

In addition, lecture courses are available on a great variety of topics. During the first three months of training, lectures are given on the origins of the war and the international relationships of the United States. These courses are supplemented by educational films, discussion groups, exhibits, workshops, and directive reading.

In many camps one finds special courses or study groups growing out of local interest. Thus at Fort Bliss, El Paso, weekly classes in Spanish and Art are conducted for those who wish to attend. At other places there are hobby groups and even essay and public speaking contests. In this vast force which we are assembling, every kind of human interest is represented, and the army and navy have wisely tried to foster these interests as a measure of protection to the normal life of our new soldiers and sailors.

Yet a Soldier Wants to Go to Town

"I wish that the leisure time facilities of this camp could be so developed that the men would never want to go to town." This was the remark of a progressively-minded commanding officer of a western camp, and I imagine that it would find an echo in the heart of many officers similarly placed. But it is wishful thinking. However attractive the camp may be, however complete its facilities, when free days come the average soldier or sailor wants to get away from his surroundings; he wants "to go to town." And the town must be ready to receive him with the kind of recreation and diversion that will send him back to his job in a happier and healthier mood.

As far as the federal government is concerned, the responsibility for the organization of the communities in the neighborhood of military establishments rests with the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services of the Federal Security Agency. Local defense recreation committees working in coordination with the excellent Recreation Division of this Office, are in existence in practically all communities visited by service men. It is the function of these committees, under the leadership of the federal field representative, to mobilize the recreational resources of the community for the use of the soldiers and sailors. In addition, 250 large and excellently equipped recreation centers have been erected by the FSA, and 32 additional centers have been authorized. Of the community
houses now in existence, 200 are operated by the USO.

The USO plays an important part in the organization of hospitality in the communities adjacent to the camps. Supported by private subscription and representing six well known national societies, it has set up a great variety of entertainment for the service men. Dancing, bowling, basketball, pool, ping-pong, swimming—there is hardly a form of relaxation and amusement that is not covered. Its clubhouses—both those which it is running for the FSA and those which it has leased on its own account—tend to re-create the atmosphere of the home, and the social consequences of this substitution are immeasurably important.

The Camps Are Better Planned Than in 1917-18

Twenty-five years ago, in my position as chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, I spent a great deal of time inspecting army and navy camps. Today I find myself performing the same duty. Certain contrasts are immediately obvious between the two periods. For one thing the training camps of 1942 are better laid out and constructed. There are paved roads and even sidewalks where too often in 1917 and 1918 there was little except mud. Today the barracks are better built, the hospitals are more commodious, and the clubhouses are far larger and more effectively planned. Moreover, one gets an impression that ideas of architectural unity and design have had some consideration, whereas twenty-five years ago our camps were too often dreary collections of haphazard buildings. I cannot recall any camp in the last war that could begin to compare with the Jacksonville Naval Aviation Base of today, where thousands of men are being trained, or with any one of half a dozen other camps that could be mentioned. In these places great care has been given to the appearance of grounds and buildings. The landscaping effects and even the planting of flower beds proclaim the belief that a military camp does not have to be an ugly and sordid environment.

Both from the standpoint of external appearances and internal appointments our camps today give the impression of having been planned for in advance. Twenty-five years ago so many arrangements had to be improvised in regard to the whole problem of carrying on the war. The day after we declared war in 1917 Secretary Baker sent me to Canada to see whether there were any ideas in the training camps up there that would bear on our problem of morale, and later I made a similar study in England and France. We had to extemporize our technique and our methods of operation as we went along. There was no recent experience to guide us. It was all new and untried, with the Civil War, fifty-five years before, the last great war which we had fought.

Today one gets the impression that our operations are built on the experience of 1917-1918, and that the interval between the two great wars has been employed in careful, detailed planning. I have, of course, no competence to speak on the technical side of any military question, but on the subject of the housing and care of soldiers and sailors I am convinced that there is today a sureness of approach where in the first World War uncertainty and improvisation were all too prevalent.

I would not want to give the impression that the situation in relation to the morale of the troops is without flaw. In any gigantic operation such as we are engaged upon, weaknesses are bound to occur, and no visitor can remain unaware of them as he inspects the camps. For example, the perennial and harassing problem of prostitution has not been solved. The army, the navy, and the FSA are earnestly engaged in an attempt to reduce it and their efforts are bearing fruit. There is, no doubt, still much to be done.

Again, the race problem, particularly as it relates to colored members of the armed forces, presents thorny difficulties which have not been completely eliminated in army or navy camps or in adjacent communities. These difficulties are rooted deep in civilian prejudice and custom, and they run counter to our conceptions of a democratic army. More thought and study are being given to the problem than was true twenty-five years ago, but no one can claim that adequate solutions have been found.

Problems of this kind take time to resolve. There are other situations which could perhaps be more easily
handled. For example, the transportation systems between some of the camps and the adjoining communities appear to have broken down, with resulting delay and vexation to the troops who want to go to town and return. The army and navy may have to take these systems over. Again, too little attention is being paid to the morale of small and isolated detachments of troops on guard duty who are bivouacked under canvas or other temporary shelter many miles from any community. They need athletic supplies, books, magazines, and other facilities for keeping life balanced. Similarly, too many moving picture theaters in the camps are equipped only with benches which are altogether unsatisfactory. Too many company day rooms remain unfurnished. Too often there are unconscionable delays in the distribution of adequate athletic material.

But these things, while important, are relatively minor. The encouraging fact is that the army and navy are aware of the difficulties and the failures, and that today not only is there the machinery for correcting them, but intelligence and imagination are present, too, to make the lives of our fighting men as normal an experience as the circumstances of war permit.

The Mood of Today's Army Is Sober

In point of morale, how does this army of ours compare with the army of 1917-1918? This question is frequently asked and I am not at all certain that a reliable answer can be given. My generation is the generation of the first A.E.F., and who of our age group can accurately gauge the motivations and standards of these magnificent youngsters who form the army of 1942? I can only judge by certain external appearances which may not at all reflect the true inwardsness of the situation.

I start from what we know: the level of education in today's army is substantially higher than that of the men in the last war. In World War I, four fifths of our soldiers had never been beyond grade school. In the present army, two thirds of the men have had at least some highschool education. The advancing front of education in our American democracy finds eloquent support in the statistics of the new army.

Moreover, although generalizations are dangerous, I get the impression from my contacts in the camps that the average man in today's army has a greater awareness of what the war is about, and what he is fighting for, than did his father in 1917. How much this is due to the higher educational level in this army, or what proportion of it can be ascribed to the radio which one finds in use in every corner of every camp, I do not pretend to guess. But the soldiers that one meets and talks with, on leave or in the camps, seem to be intelligent about what is happening, in a way that was not common or usual twenty-five years ago.

Moreover, I think I detect a difference in mood between the two armies. In 1917 the spirit of adventure was in the air. It was exciting business. All eyes were turned on the battlefield in France, and everybody wanted to be in on it. The only fear the men had was that they wouldn't be there for the finish—for the march on Berlin or wherever that victory was to be consummated.

The mood of today's army is much more sober. It isn't so much an adventure as it is a job to be done. There is no lack of determination, and certainly no lack of courage, but there is a grimness, a sobriety, about the mood which I think was not as evident in the earlier war. War has been robbed of its heroics. It is not a glorious adventure. It is not merely a trip to France and a chance to "smash the Huns." It is a somber necessity, something that we didn't want, but now that it is here we are going through with it to the end. Any idea that we can be defeated is dismissed. We can't be defeated, but it is bitter business, and the sooner we get on with it and finish it the better. That means the sooner we shall get home.

It is interesting to contrast this mood with that which prevailed before Pearl Harbor. Before December 7 the morale problem was a difficult one in army and navy camps. The constant question, expressed and unexpressed, was: "Why are we here?" To many of the troops it seemed as if they had been uprooted from a useful life to serve no real purpose. A man who was drafted was generally considered out of luck. A man who could contrive to be sent home was fortunate. The thing to do was to serve your time and get away. There was no deep feeling of urgency, of crisis. There was nothing immediately at stake.

All this has changed. The army knows why it is in camp; the navy understands the vital necessity of training. Nobody has to argue with the men of the armed forces about the reality of the peril which has taken them from civilian life. No longer are they asking: "Why are we here?" Their question today among themselves is: "Where is our outfit to be sent?"

As to how they will acquit themselves let no one have any misgivings. Their morale is high, even if it expresses itself in a different form from that which characterized the army of 1917. They are made of the stuff of their fathers. I saw those fathers at Chateau Thierry and the Argonne. Their sons will not let them down.
The Pledge
THE STORY OF A MORO CHIEF

“We have prepared our bladed weapons because we lack fire-arms, and with sharp kris, barong, campilan, tabaf and spear we will attack or defend as ordered ... We have sworn upon the Koran to hold our lives forfeit in the fulfillment of this purpose to fight the Japanese and the enemies of the United States.”

In March when these words made the front page of one of our great dailies, under the heading “Ten Thousand Moros Pledge to Fight to the Finish,” I read them with a catch in the breath. Ten thousand native warriors of a people under American protection, pledging themselves on their Sacred Book to attack or defend as ordered; to meet, if need be, tanks and bombs, machine-gun bullets and artillery fire with bare weapons, brown bodies, and fierce courage.

Perhaps I would not have been as moved by this Moro pledge if I had not heard the story of Sakalian. It is worth the telling now when our hearts are full of pride and gratitude for the magnificent defense of Bataan and Corregidor, and the fight put up by the people of the outlying islands. That the Moros of the Sulu Archipelago have been among them has given us new reason to remember that a pledge is the guarantee for the performance of an act.

“Blue Wings Over Sulu”

The story of Mrs. Lorillard Spencer was told by the same author in an article bearing this title in Survey Graphic for August 1939. It is the story of an American whose interest in the Moros came as a result of a chance meeting with Charles Brent, Bishop of the Philippines, when a voyage in the Far East brought her to Manila. Long years of adventure and close association followed when she lived among them as a friend. What her gentleness and faith accomplished in the lives of a warlike people, where force had failed, would seem like fascinating and fantastic fiction—unless one knows Mrs. Spencer ... Interestingly enough the writer of this article is a cousin of Lieutenant General Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, the commander of Corregidor’s gallant forces.
thoughts had been in the South Seas where her treasure of long years of friendship and accomplishment lie. So I was not surprised when she said:

"With all this horror and anxiety there is one thing for which I am thankful—that I sent a message to Sakalian last summer absolving him. . . ."

"Who is Sakalian?" I interrupted.

By way of answer, she opened a book she was carrying and took out two snapshots. "I brought these to show you," she said. "This one was taken nearly fifteen years ago. The other has just reached me. It came in a letter from Jolo, mailed sometime before December 7."

The first picture showed fifty or more dark-skinned men, standing in what appeared to be a leafy clearing in a dense jungle. On looking more closely one could see several women and a child or two among them. The outstanding figure was a white woman wearing a light colored dress and a large shade hat, who stood near the center with a tall spear.

Mrs. Spencer laughed. "It looks exactly as though I were holding that spear. But if you look again you will see it is in the hand of the tall Moro at my left. That is Sakalian, Chief of this band of outlaws. He and his followers had hidden in the jungle for nearly four years and kept the countryside for miles around in fear and ferment.

"Although I had never seen Sakalian until the day this picture was taken I had worried about him for a long time. So often the distinction between the outlawed and the law-abiding is nothing more than the misunderstanding of a code of justice different from one's own. I sensed this was true of Sakalian and his followers. Their clash with authority had begun in a dispute over the ownership of land. If someone could talk to the Chief as a friend, I felt convinced they might be made to see reason. But when I thought of the trouble and terror he and his outlaws had caused, I was less hopeful that those in authority would be able to see his point of view. Nevertheless, it seemed well worth the attempt."

II

As no one else was hopeful enough to undertake the mission, Mrs. Spencer decided to try herself. Before this could be done, however, it was necessary to gain the cooperation of the governor of Jolo; and next to find a messenger who could be depended on to get word through to the Chief. This last proved the more difficult of the two, but finally a kinsman of one of the outlaws was found, who promised to tell Sakalian that Mrs. Spencer would like to talk things over with him. If he would set the time and place she would bring two or three companions, and she gave her word that they would come with out the knowledge of the military, and in friendship. The answer came back that Chief Sakalian would meet her. He named the day and hour and a certain large banyan tree that stood near the edge of the jungle, where, he said, his brother-in-law, Estino by name, would be waiting to conduct her to the outlaw hideout.

Unfortunately, the day before they were to meet, the constabulary had come upon a party of Sakalian's outlaws and in the skirmish that followed one of their number was shot and killed. This was bad news for Mrs. Spencer, for she feared it would put an end to the possibility of reaching an understanding. And even if the appointment were kept, she knew the outlaws might be filled with the spirit of revenge, so there would be greater danger in the encounter.

"It was not without anxiety," said Mrs. Spencer, "that we set out at the appointed time, four of us in an ancient and tremulous Ford. My companions were James Fugate, governor of the island, Leslie Thompson, a former American soldier and trusted friend, and Arolus, a Moro whose intelligence we all respected. Evasion of the constabulary proved easy, as no one thought for a moment that we would be foolish enough to go near an outlaw stronghold the day after one of them had been killed.

III

"When we reached the spot named, we found three riders waiting in the shade of the big banyan. One, a man wearing a bowl-shaped straw hat, was evidently Sakalian's kinsman, Estino; the other two were women, sent, or so I believe, out of compliment to me. All three of my companions spoke the Moro language. Greetings had scarcely been exchanged when Estino wheeled his pony and set off at a brisk trot as though anxious to lose no time in getting under cover. The women galloped alongside the Ford, waving their hands and shouting as we crossed hot stretches of bare fields which lay between us and the entrance to the jungle. There they closed in behind the Ford which bumped along for four or five kilometers over an all but impassable trail.\n\nThe first snapshot taken nearly fifteen years ago. Mrs. Spencer is in the middle of the group of Moro Outlaws. Beside her, holding a spear, stands Chief Sakalian. At this jungle meeting the Moro promised the American woman he would no longer bear weapons
"At length Estino pulled up his pony and pointed. Through an opening in the trees we saw patches of brilliant, moving color. In a clearing stood a band of fifty or sixty Moro fighting-men, their hands on their barongs, ready to draw. Beyond the clearing, branches moved and rustled and we knew that many other Moros were hidden by the leaves.

My friend Leslie Thompson told me later that as the Ford came to a standstill, he felt Arolus stealthily grasp his revolver; he himself had done the same. Entirely unaware of this, I got out of the car and went forward to meet the Chief; but it was a relief to see, as I drew near, that there were one or two women and several children among the warriors.

"A tall, slim Moro pushed his way to the front and came toward me. He wore the usual dress of the mountain people. Above skin-tight black trousers with gold buttons, his barong was thrust through the brilliant colored sash that bound his waist. His face bore marks of weariness and responsibility. As never before, I realized that the life of an outlaw chief might be neither pleasant nor easy.

"As Sakalian extended his right hand to greet me, Moro fashion, he suddenly wheeled about and gave a cry of command, loud and peremptory. A murmur passed through the crowd. Turning, I saw the Chief's eye was fixed on one of his followers who had found a foothold that put him head and shoulders above the others. This Moro held a spear ready to strike and I could see it was aimed straight at me. At the cry from Sakalian, he lowered it and dropped out of sight. Later I learned the man was a brother of the outlaw killed by the constabulary the day before."

Mrs. Spencer moved among the warriors, handing them cigarettes to be smoked in lieu of a pipe of peace, saying as she did so "Aku bagay hatao Sug," meaning "I want to be a friend to the Moros." A more friendly spirit seemed to come over the group as brown fingers closed about cigarettes instead of the handles of barongs.

When the time came to broach the purpose of the visit, Sakalian and his kinsman stood apart from the others and listened intently. "Never have I desired anything more," said Mrs. Spencer, "than to make Sakalian know that we had come as friends, come to help him and his followers obtain justice—and to help make it possible for them to return to a normal life without the continual fear of capture. Through Arolus I explained that the only chance of bringing this about was for him to agree to put his case before a judge and let his claim be decided by law. To all this Sakalian listened gravely but his face gave no indication of what he was thinking. At last he spoke and Arolus translated:

"'Chief Sakalian agrees to do as the American friend suggests.'

"We could scarcely believe our ears. Our fear had been that hours of explanation and persuasion might end in failure. Whether it was that his spirit was weary of hiding and pursuit, I will never know; or whether it was that he sensed our sincerity and felt that someone really cared what happened to his people. All I know is that reason and friendship prevailed where force had failed. Sakalian had agreed to abide by the decision of law."

But that was not the end of the story, nor the reason Mrs. Spencer told it in such detail. What followed made it important to her at the time and gives it pertinence today. She went on:

"I looked at Sakalian and was filled with doubt and fear for the future, for I knew his reputation for quick and violent temper. Even as he spoke those words which gave us hope, his face was drawn and his hand tightly gripped the handle of his barong. How did I know he would not draw it again should the court decision go against him? Even if he let this claim be settled by law, what guarantee had I that he would not resort in future disputes to the practice of his forebears? Over the centuries their pride and honor had rested in their bladed weapons.

"'I have a request to make of Chief Sakalian,' I said, 'an urgent request made as a friend who has his interest at heart. . . .'

"Many times since I have wondered how it was possible how I dared. But I went on 'Tell Chief Sakalian that I want him to pledge me his word that as long as I live he will never carry barong or kris!'

"Arolus seemed startled and when he translated, a low roar came from those who stood near. Sakalian looked at his fighting men, and then at a boy, his son, who had come close while we talked; then he looked at me. It was very still while we waited in the jungle.

"At last he spoke in quiet guttural words. Arolus translated his reply:

"'Tell the friend of the Moros that, unless she absolves him from his promise, as long as she lives Chief Sakalian will not bear the weapons with which his Fathers and their Fathers have defended their home, their honor, and their land.'"

The meeting had come to an end.

Several years went by and then it was Sakalian who

(Continued on page 302)
We can't have price control without *More Taxes*

**ECONOMIC CARTOON**

by OTTO H. EHRLICH

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1. 1942 national income (around) $117 billion
   - Personal taxes and savings 31 billion
   - Balance left for spending $86 billion
   - Supply of civilian goods 69 billion
   - Excess purchasing power $17 billion

2. War production reduces the supply of civilian goods, but increases earnings; with increased earnings, buyers would bid up prices unless checked by a price ceiling.

3. But this excess purchasing power can raise the price ceiling by forcing prices up illegally (through black markets).

4. Excess purchasing power must be drained off to balance purchasing power with the supply of civilian goods and to divert real resources from civilian to war production.
One way of draining off excess purchasing power is Taxation*

5. The most equitable form of taxation is the income tax, burdening incomes progressively and allowing exemptions for dependents.

6. But the full reduction in purchasing power through the income tax will not be achieved if the tax on 1942 incomes is not collected until 1943, leaving the taxpayer the use of all his purchasing power for a year.

7. One proposal for reducing excess purchasing power promptly is for the government to collect income taxes in monthly instalments during the year in which the income is received.

8. Another tax which drains off excess purchasing power is the excess profits tax, which in addition checks the growth of war millionaires.

*Other methods (savings, rationing) will be presented in succeeding cartoon sequences.
9. Inheritance and estate taxes also curtail excess purchasing power. They are equitable taxes because, like income taxes, they are graduated.

10. Excise taxes are equitable when they draw heavily on luxuries and semi-luxuries and lightly on necessities.

11. A general sales tax on all goods is inequitable because it bears more heavily on small incomes than on large.

12. But in addition to paying taxes, each of us must cut down his own standard of living voluntarily to help divert resources from civilian to war production.
Who'll Elect the Next Congress?

by IRVING DILLIARD

How present election laws curtail the right of millions of Americans to vote in the crucial congressional elections this year is described by an informed journalist.

The gravity of the work ahead of the Seventy-eighth Congress, which will be-chosen this year, does not need to be argued. The 435 Representatives who are elected in November will serve from January 1943 to January 1945, a two-year span in which the fate of the world may be determined. The 32 Senators who are selected for six-year terms, will take seats which will continue them in office until 1949—and that, every American hopes, will be beyond the end of the war and the making of the peace and well into the world reconstruction, which must inevitably follow the conflict now raging around the globe.

How are these Senators and Representatives going to be elected? Who is going to elect them?

These may sound like rhetorical questions but they most decidedly are not. For the country is choosing the members of the Seventy-eighth Congress not only under the unusual conditions of war; it is choosing them under electoral conditions which may profoundly influence the results which are obtained at the polls.

The present tense is used advisedly. The choosing has begun. As this is written, a half dozen states already have conducted their nominating elections. Illinois, the first state to hold a congressional primary, has seen some six of its sitting Representatives either defeated for renomination or refused the party support on which a race for renomination could be based. In South Dakota, a two-term Senator, William J. Bulow, anti-New Deal Democrat, has been defeated. In Indiana and several other states, congressional personnel changes have been made in advance of the November election. More will have been effected by the time this issue of Survey Graphic reaches its readers.

The first notable fact about the voting thus far is that participation has been unusually light. Notwithstanding the great importance of the elections this year, both for the choices themselves and as a demonstration of the democratic process at work, the primary totals are much below those of recent years.

The returns from Illinois will be of interest throughout the country, since Illinois is the third most populous state in the Union and is broadly representative with its industrial and agricultural areas, native and foreign-born populations, metropolitan section and "downstate." The official canvass shows that the Illinois 1942 primary vote was the smallest in twelve years—since 1930 when the Hoover administration lost the House of Representatives at its midterm.

If they are not reassuring, the detailed figures from Illinois are at least informative and forewarning. The total number of primary votes was 1,963,298. This was less than half the number of eligible voters, which stands well above 4,000,000. Cook County, where machine rule was made an issue in the Democratic senatorial race turned out better than downstate, whose farmers took advantage of one of the first good field days of the spring. But even in the metropolitan county, which include Chicago, only 50.29 percent of the registered voters went to their polling places.

Both parties suffered heavy losses from their primary totals of two years ago. The Democratic vote was 477,06 below that party's primary vote in 1940, while the Republican total was 207,107 voters under the Republican primary total of that year. Thus the two parties in Illinois together lost more than two thirds of a million votes to preoccupation with the war, midterm indifference, and other causes.

Some of these other causes need checking over at this time since they apply more or less uniformly across the country in some instances and in others relate to considerable areas. Major factors which are affecting the exercise of voting rights in the primaries and will affect it as much, if not more, in the November election are:

1. Legal limitations on voting by persons in the armed forces.
2. State residence requirements.
3. The Hatch act.
4. The poll tax and other suffrage restrictions throughout most of the South.

Disfranchised Soldiers and Sailors

With thousands of persons leaving civilian life every week, the expectation now is that some 3,000,000 men will be under arms either in the field, at sea, or in training camps by the time the election proper is held. This circumstance will result in the virtual disfranchisement of an unpredictable number of voters.

To start out, three states have no provision whatever for absentee voting either by civilians or members of the armed forces. These, according to an up-to-the-minute survey by the alert Council of State Governments, are Kentucky, whose legislature met this spring but took no notice of the question of voting by soldiers; New Mexico which cannot take legislative action until next year; and Louisiana, whose legislature is due to assemble in June. To these must be added, for all practical purposes, New Hampshire whose absentee voting law effectively disfranchises that state's soldiers this year since it permit absentee voting only for Presidential electors, and they of course, do not enter into the midterm congressional balloting.

While Kentucky's legislators ignored the service men voting problem, about a dozen states have moved in some way this year either to grant absentee voting privilege or to improve such provisions already on their lawbooks: Connecticut, Maine, North Carolina, Ohio, and Iowa gave authority to commissioned offices to attest to
davits of service men who apply for absentee ballots. Several states, including New York and Ohio, amended their statutes so as to provide for legal registration of service men in training camps. Just before adjournment, the recent session of the New York legislature passed a bill to advance by five weeks all pre-election machinery, including state nominating conventions. These party assemblies, at which nominees are finally chosen, have been moved up from late September to the middle of August to complete the nominating process with a larger number of service-bound citizens still in civilian life.

Maryland election officials have now been charged with responsibility for supplying Maryland men in the services with absentee ballots even though the men do not apply for them. In Mississippi a new statute removes payment of the poll tax as a condition to voting by absentee soldiers. An extension of voting privileges in South Carolina opens the ballot to all legal voters who are now employed by the federal government in war production activities. As the result of a recent court decision, Texas citizens now have been advised that absentee voting rights belong to Texans in the armed forces as well as to those in civilian life.

Twenty other states do not distinguish legally between soldiers and civilians in absentee voting, but extend equal privileges to both. These states are: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginai, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Fourteen states have specific provisions for voting by mail by their citizens who are in the armed forces. They are: Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina. Seven states—Arkansas, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Nevada, and South Dakota—have laws which all for the collection of ballots at the training camps and other points where their citizens in the services may be stationed. The new law in Maryland has precedents in the statutes of Massachusetts and North Dakota, which direct that absentee ballots shall be mailed to all persons outside the state on military or naval duty.

This description of absentee voting provisions by states does not, however, tell the whole story. The legal machinery in all too many instances is virtually unworkable. Take the case of Missouri. The Missouri Constitution does not permit absentee voting by civilians outside the state on election day, but it provides expressly that "qualified electors absent from the state on military or naval service shall . . . be enabled by law to vote at general or special elections." But the legislative enactment which presumably carries out the command of the Constitution can be said instead almost to cancel it. Thus, the statute requires that the Missourian in uniform who wishes to vote must apply by mail for a ballot at more than fifteen days nor less than five days prior to the election. If the Missouri soldier or sailor can get his application back to his voting district in that narrow 3-day period and is sent an official ballot, he must have the ballot sworn to and the authority of the notarizing officer also established in a separate affidavit. Should this be completed, he must return the ballot to his regular polling place not later than sixty-six hours before the election.

Since the ballots in Missouri frequently are not printed until a few days before the election, this involved procedure often would be precluded even though citizens of the state in the army and navy were intent on following every step in order to fulfill their duty as qualified electors. Missouri is not alone in setting up strictures which render absentee voting laws practically self-defeating; a surprising number of states apparently have thought that the object was to make the exercise of this right as difficult as possible.

Still other factors operate against the successful working of absentee voting laws for persons in the armed forces. Four years ago, 2,500 citizens of Chicago asked for absentee ballots, and of these ballots 90 percent were marked and returned for counting in the primary of that year. Contrast that with the experience this year. More than 6,000 citizens of Chicago, some 90 percent of them soldiers, asked for absentee voting privileges. Though these ballots were sent to the applicants, only 20 percent of them were returned to the voting districts. This in the main reflected the rapid movement of men from one training camp to another. By November a substantially large proportion of our uniformed forces probably will be scattered over both hemispheres and that naturally will make absentee voting still more difficult.

In short, some states make no provision for absentee voting by soldiers, others provide for it but so faultily as to discourage its use, and even at best practical considerations of time and distance and frequent changes of address render it almost inoperative. Hundreds of thousands of American citizens will, in effect, be deprived of their voting privileges this year because they are serving their country in the army or navy.

The Plight of Civilian War Workers

But there will be many citizens besides those who put on the uniform who will lose the right to vote, because they are playing their part in the war effort. On every hand there are civilians who have lost the privilege of the ballot because war industry employment has caused them to change their place of residence. Between now and November uncounted numbers more will move from one state to another for war work and thus deprive themselves of franchise rights.

The Missouri law, which is typical, requires that a new voter must have lived in the state for a year prior to the election in which the person wishes to vote. Thus, the men and women who have moved to Missouri since November 1941 to work in the state's new munitions factories will not be able to qualify as voters in this year's congressional election. Those who have come in since August 1941 will not be able to qualify for the primary which will be more important in some respects than the election proper. In addition to the residence requirements there are the registration rules which must be met. A new citizen may live in the state long enough to qualify and still lose out by not knowing where or when to register.

There is no way to estimate how many civilians are to lose their voting rights this year because of migration, but there is no doubt that the number will be large.

Those who move across state lines without allowing time to establish legal residence before election day are not the only civilians who will lose their votes. There are also the thousands who are crowding into Washin-
ton and, failing to retain a voting address in their home states, lose their votes as disfranchised residents of the District of Columbia. This number will grow by leaps and bounds all summer and fall.

**The Invidious Poll Tax**

The poll tax and other devices such as reading and understanding tests of state and national constitutions, property qualifications, and racial discriminations in registration, still restrict severely the right to suffrage in ten southern states. As is pointed out in "Southern Workers Outside the Legislative Pale," an excellent pamphlet edited by H. C. Nixon of Vanderbilt University, these requirements do not on their face appear to be racially discriminatory and, as matter of fact, they also serve to disfranchise large numbers of white voters. In general, however, their intent and effect is to prevent widespread Negro voting. How they operate to restrict the ballot to relatively few voters is shown by the percentage of adult citizens who voted in the poll tax states in 1936:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Percent of Adults Who Voted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same year, West Virginia, which has no poll tax, sent 92.1 percent of its adults to the polls. Perhaps the most striking contrast is provided by the figures on Tennessee and Kentucky, which are about equal in population. Kentucky, which has no poll tax, cast 911,000 votes in 1936, while the poll tax state of Tennessee cast only 473,000. Virginius Dabney, editor of the anti-poll tax Richmond Times-Dispatch, states in his new book, "Below the Potomac," that the poll tax state vote in 1931 was only 24 percent of the adult citizens of the area whereas in the thirty-nine other states, 72 percent voted. And the situation is not improving. Four years ago, according to Mr. Dabney's statistics, the South made "an even more deplorable showing" for the percentage of its adults who exercised their sovereign right dropped to 21 in the states with poll taxes.

To correct this limited functioning of the democracy process and to remove its attendant evils—one result is to encourage corruption at the hands of political organizations which pay the $1 or $2 tax for indigent citizen who cannot afford to pay their taxes—Senator Pepp and the late Representative Geyer introduced a federal anti-poll tax bill. This bill attracted wide attention in Congress in the early part of the year but has not yet been passed. Progressive southerners favor it while old line politicians are opposed to it.

Still another influence on 1942's crucial congressional election is the Hatch act. This federal law, sometimes called "the clean politics act," prohibits federal employees from participating in political campaigns. Since the federal service is growing at a great rate and probably will grow at an even faster rate in the months ahead, an increasing number of citizens are being taken out of political activity by the fact of their federal employment.

The Hatch act makes no distinction. The ward heel who obtains a federal appointment must give up his party precinct committee post and so must the ab abor citizen who has helped improve the quality of party leadership give up all his political activity when he is called to a federal post in the war effort. A New Yor New York township which has lost the influence of many of its best civic workers to federal activity is fairly typical of an unanticipated result of the Hatch act.

These influences on the 1942 congressional elections are by no means to be measured as yet, but there can be no doubt that they will be factors in shaping the results at the polls. It is not the intention of the present writer to say what all these results will be, although one in particular: the increase in the relative power of political organizations seems obvious enough.

What can be done by statutory enactment about the unfortunate effects of these influences?

Not much this year. The Pepper-Geyer bill could pass in Congress and in any case the poll tax should be eliminated as many outstanding southerners now demand. But few states will have the chance real to provide simple, effective, and convenient absentee voting laws for soldiers in the time which remains between now and the election, although this is a clear test for the 1943 sessions. The residence requirements which ban voting by migrants appear to be a natural enough condition to citizenship in the individual states. As the Hatch act, its sterilization and the ability of a citizen who go into the federal service seemingly must be accepted with its efforts at purifying national politics.

Who'll elect the next Congress? Well, it won't be the men in the armed services, the migrant war workers, the new federal employees or the disfranchised "po' white" and Negroes of the South. And it won't be the qualified voters who, through traditional midterm lassitude, stay away from the polls and thus default on their responsibility as citizens in a democracy.
The Fight for the Future

THE CIVILIAN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PEACE

by MICHAEL STRAIGHT

American soldiers are moving out to the fronts of democracy, "several hundred thousand" of them, leaving Flatbush, Fayette, Fresno, loading on the crowded transports; from Boston, Hoboken, New Orleans, San Francisco, waving goodbye, goodbye. Three thousand miles through hunted seas to Liverpool; thirty-five hundred miles through dangerous seas to Reykjavik. Eleven thousand miles past the Nazis in the South Atlantic to Basra, twelve thousand miles through the Red Sea to Alexandria, twelve thousand miles around Australia to meet the Japanese at Darwin.

American soldiers. Kids in soldiers' uniform, most of them leaving Flatbush, Fayette, Fresno, home, for the first time. Most of them leaving for places they never even heard of—if they know where they're bound for. None of them knowing whether they will return.

Kids, going into danger. What are they taking with them? Rifles, helmets—but what weapons within themselves, to hold onto when their bodies shiver as danger comes near?

Memories—of the America they grew up in. But is that enough? It wasn't an altogether happy America, was it? And if it was, would that still be enough? These young soldiers can't fight for the past, because the past is over. They can't fight for the present, because no American was ever satisfied with the present, ever fought for the present. They are fighting for their future. Their courage in facing death depends upon their belief in the kind of America in which they might live, if, through their courage, America is saved.

They don't want much. They want to return to a few simple things, a home, a family, a job, their rights, peace. But these are no longer simple conditions. Never truly realized for the homecoming, today these mean a new world.

Are we working for the world that our young soldiers are fighting for? Are we? As the soldiers board their ships they see a lot of fighting at home, but fighting principally by the men who reject even the present, who believe that the soldiers should fight for the world in which they once lived, and failed to win jobs or peace or full human experience.

As the soldiers leave they read some of the greatest papers in America, telling them that their commander-in-chief is an ambitious dictator who wishes to achieve, through them, his world dominion. They read that their sacrifice will aid communism to seize power in their homes. They see their own discipline as soldiers being used as an argument to break free labor unions. They see their wage status as soldiers being used to drive down the wages of their fathers, their brothers. About one third of the soldiers grew to manhood with the aid of their government; NYA helped them through school and college; CCC lifted them from the streets; FSA helped their families to become homeowners; WPA gave them respect, which at heart is all that they are fighting for.

Now, as they leave, they see efforts made to destroy these programs in their names, in the name of the war which they are fighting. Does this make them fight harder, endure longer, for their future America?

Do we ask them to overlook this ugliness, to believe still in the future? So far we have been so paralyzed by the catastrophe of 1919 that we have refused to promise a future to our soldiers, for fear that, when the promise is broken they may, in their anger, turn upon us. But can we ask our soldiers to die for a future in which we don't believe?

We face a future so wonderful that a glimpse of it will bring tears to the eyes of our young men, and rejoicing that they may suffer for it. We are bearing this future in the body of our wartime world; only we aren't aware of it; we have not yet felt it stir.

Yet it is within us! What is it that we look for in a good society? This war can bring it about. Do we want economic equality? Under the pressure of war we are moving rapidly towards it. Do we want a fully functioning society? We are about to achieve it, for the first time in twenty years. Do we want minimum standards? A scientific rationing system will force them upon us. Do we want industrial cooperation? Never have we had such a spirit as now exists in our factories. Do we want an end to discrimination? We have so much work to do that it no longer matters whether the hands that do the work are black hands or white, a woman's or a man's hands.

Do we want international cooperation? Never has it been as swift and beautiful in its growth as in the past year; never has it been so real as it is today.

Only understand it, recognize it, value it. All of this we had in 1918, but it was never valued, never understood. We had an ordered society but everyone feared it. We had working democratic controls, but we insisted that they were only wartime controls. We had close international collaboration. But we overlooked it, we looked beyond to the creation of altogether new mechanisms, and so we allowed the forces of the past first to destroy the machinery which we had, then to make stillborn the new structure which we tried to create.

We cannot afford to make that mistake again. We have reached full employment. Then let us now commit America never to suffer unemployment again. We are putting an end to discrimination in our arms factories; we must demand now of our factory owners that never again will they discriminate. We have found for government the role in initiating enterprise that has been America's crying need; why should we allow anyone to dream of crippling our government's functions at the war's end, when the need will remain. The President has suggested that no one shall live on more than $25,000 a year in wartime. Why should we ever permit again the vast inequality of wealth that has cursed our democracy? We are developing a rationing system which must finally be based on a scientific study of need. But if we find that a child needs a pint and a half of milk a day as Britain has discovered, then why not say, now, that never again in America will a child have less. Why not establish now, permanent, minimum standards?

We have sworn to fight a United Nations war. Then swear, now, to live a United Nations peace. Understand the strength of our present forms of cooperation and the hope that they hold out to us; today make them lasting.

Why are we for this war? We hated war because the suffering of the last war was so terrible. This war is no less terrible. We hated war because we said that the last war destroyed the moral purposes for which we fought. We were wrong. It was not the war, but our blindness and inaction during it which destroyed those purposes. The same purposes will be destroyed in this war unless we understand and act.

If we move toward the future, it will move toward us. Three thousand miles away in Europe, twelve thousand miles away in Alexandria, twelve thousand miles away in Darwin, our soldiers will take heart, will fight harder, will endure pain with added strength. They will say: This is the kind of world I can die for: for it is the only kind of a world in which I could live.
LETTERS AND LIFE

Artist Interpreters

by LEON WHITTLE


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

To the artists of the world our times present this plea—help the peoples of the earth understand one another. Our hope of lasting peace rests in establishing among men the sense of common humanity, the knowledge of our interwoven destiny that transcends nation or race. On this alone can we base an over-all code of reconciliation. To whom can we look for the creation of this new world of human folk but to the artist? In the artist resides the imagination, the tolerance, the sympathy that can blot out the word alien with human. In art we may find the universals that can save us from the ruin of blind rivalry.

The services of the doctors of statecraft, of economics, even of science, all necessary and beneficent, run up against walls of ignorance between peoples. Can we have “Union” until the peoples feel their unity? The vast parades of worldwide propaganda often do not establish, but destroy faith between peoples. The noblest appeal may seem to the other fellow but a lie, and he tests it by his way of life, not ours. The journalists provide superb reports and personal diaries; have riches of information. But have all the diaries taught the American people what in the German folk must be changed if they are to become peace-minded? Their souls must be bared.

The artists then can do what others cannot do. They can, by books and plays and pictures, by popular but honest use of the cinema and radio, by music, undertake an act of creation such as has never been offered any age of genius. They can create brotherhood: mankind made, not a word, but a reality. Such art will be religious, and take on the old glory of religious art. It will be international. It will demand artist-translators to break the barrier of tongues.

The artist will make for himself a new vision; and issue a declaration of independence. Too long has he followed minor causes: the servant of propagandas, the expositor of ideologies, the camp-follower of both armies in class wars, the dilettante of cults, the analyst of Ego. There have been manifold fruits, of course, but he took the world that was handed him, and forgot, that he can be the sovereign creator of a new world through his revelation of truth and beauty. We pray that he will again become the poet, the maker.

The need for interpreters was revealed by recent events in India. The blinding lesson was the reciprocal ignorance of the peoples about each other. What did a plain farmer in Nebraska who read of our soldiers and arms in India, know of India, its history or way of life? What did he think of the job of translating democracy for an Indian village where none of ten people cannot read? Yet he had a new stake in this unknown land. What that village feels toward the United States was perhaps revealed by the leaders’ resentment of our good intentions, and our ignorance. The need for a great artist who knows India and has the great gifts to interpret India, in novel, play or primer, is clear. I fear that for many of us India still is the creation of Rudyard Kipling, or of the romance and pageantry of technicolor films on the mysterious Orient.

Note that we learned these notions from art forms, true or false. The artist is the people’s historian. Happily, we are learning this, and have made beginnings on our task. On China we have learned from Pearl Buck’s novels, the essays of Chinese authors, perhaps from Carl Crow’s humorous commentaries. Our endeavors to tell Latin America what their good neighbors are like have used artists as well as diplomats. Our very blunders in the Hollywood films for our neighbors teach the need for wiser artists. Finally, to the United States have come great spirits from all the world who will become interpreters of their homelands.

What forms the art of interpreting peoples to one another may take is hinted in these three books. Elliott Paul is a man of warm heart, curious about life, who loves plain folks, and by living among them learns their everyday existence—their work, play, intrigues, amours, politics, and humanity. For eighteen years, he shared the destiny of the short Rive de la Huchette, in the shadow of Notre Dame, and now presents this street as a microcosm of France. Some seventy-five Parisians make the cast, from priest to austere madame of the bawdy-house, from yarn-seller and horse butcher to the petty officials of the civil service. The tale of Milka and Pierre, communists, is told, and the delicate history of Hyacinthe Goujon whom at six Paul had escorted to the Punch and Judy show, who wins fame on the screen and kills herself rather than endure German rule. With humor and tenderness Paul sketches good and bad people, the noble and perverse, the odd and the foolish, all marching to the fall of their nation.

That march is the bitter theme of the book—from the day of the Ruhr invasion, the international dream, the folly of politicians, the betrayal of Spain, Blum, Munich, lethargy in the face of war, and war conquering the City. Elliott Paul knows that the biographies of the world’s little streets help their citizens to understand each other, but all the little streets rise and fall with the tide of world events. You recall how in his “Life and Death of a Spanish Town,” he made us love the warmth and color and simple gayety of a lovely region, and then suffer the tragedy of its ruin by forces beyond the understanding or control of its people. The interpreter must first make us understand the everyday way of life of a people, in Main Street or Indian village, and then comprehend how these ways are linked together in our destiny by powers beyond their bounds. Mr. Paul has set the pattern we need, the pattern of an artist who both love and understand the people and is wise in world affairs.

Granville Hicks uses this pattern so admirably in his novel, “Only One Storm,” that it deserves study, although the book aims only to interpret for Americans how the currents of world storms swirl through Pendleton, a rural village in the Berkshires. Canby Kittredge comes back from New York, escaping from senseless commercial writing, sets up a print-shop, and is step by step drawn into the service of the community, finally becoming selectman. The town and its people, the swing of the country cycle, the landscape, are presented with the same loving pains M. Paul displays. We get to know the place, its character, the petty politicians, births, deaths, celebrations. The democrat of the town meeting is registered brilliantly; likewise the funeral of Old Henry, the patriarch-lead who is a symbol of sound tradition. It is a pretty decent place.

But through Kittredge’s friends, communists, radicals, unversity dons, comes the impact of world events and movements. They help with a strike, defend the alleged subversive textbooks in the schools, display a novel tolerance toward some of the manifestations of rural goathiness. They struggle.
with the problem of joining the Communist party—and do not. The conclusion Mr. Hicks seems to imply is that democracy's won at home, and that leaders who are aware of world currents can by good will and common sense help the villages adapt to them. This wise book is not designed to instruct other peoples about America, but its pattern is universal enough to do so, if they will read.

In "Salsette," Jules Romains, the great novelist of "Men of Good Will," offers interpretation in reverse—what a Frenchman thinks of America as an offering to America. Frenchmen may not read it—though they would learn much if they did. It deals, through the eyes of a newly-arrived French professor in exile, with surface and not unfamiliar aspects of New York. Salsette draws his own map of the subways, but comes out in Brooklyn nevertheless. Our native wines and foods are discovered with appreciation. The lovely contours of our women, he reasons, rest on foundations that democracy provides for every purse. Our fridges and ready-made clothes are miracles. I wonder if some of our conveniences would have changed Elliot Paul's street?

Light, gay, Gallic, these observations are more than compliments. There is irony in the picture of Salsette's introduction to his colleagues at an upstate New York college. There is depth in his appreciation of the triumph of modern man in the glorious parkways, beautiful as they are efficient; here the power, sense, creativeness of America are revealed. We can be glad that an artist finds us happy, strong, and hopeful, and that we contribute to his faith. We are aware of the darker side, and the risk we run of losing our good ways of life. M. Romains is a symbol of our theme—international president of the P.E.N. club. Let the artists of the world unite. They can help break our chains.

He Brings the War Home


**WHEN YOU SAY "THE FOUR FREEDOMS" THAT MEANS A LOT.**
But it means a whole lot more when you say that "Farmer Jones and his family must be able to worship where they please, say what they want, and enjoy a decent standard of living." In his book Alden Stevens has reduced down to the lives of all of us the effects and implications of the country's all-out effort to win the war. "Americans," he rightly believes, "are not going to regard the war merely as something that clusters up the front page and raises the price of butter."

Many tomes, tracts, and treatises already have been written about our participation in the present world conflict. Material has flowed out of Washington in a great Niagara of releases, pamphlets, and speeches. The trouble with the bulk of this data is that it has been suspended between Heaven and earth like Mohammed's coffin. Its application to the habits, routine, and future of the average person has not been made clear. Too much of it is vague and indefinite. After all, "three squares a day" packs much more wallop and meaning than nebulous talk about "security."

Alden Stevens has written a book which carries the war into the city and the small town and onto the farm. Anyone reading it can recognize himself or herself in countless specific situations. What became of your old coffee pot? Are the soldiers stationed in your community happy and satisfied? Where did the shipyard workers down on the waterfront come from? Should you take that civil service job in Washington? How have priority rulings affected your garage mechanic, your grocer, and your plumber? Can you buy that new bathtub?

I wish every farm paper would reprint Mr. Stevens' chapter on "The Granary of Democracy." I am sure the result would be a better agricultural system after the war; few farmers

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—The New Republic

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(In answering advertisements please mention Survey Graphic)
who read Mr. Stevens and understand him (the writing is clear and straightforward) will want to return to a world of Hawley-Smoot tariffs and ruinous trade barriers. And farmers will recognize that Mr. Stevens is a man who knows America.

Good as this book is, Mr. Stevens overlooked a few bets. In his discussion of aluminum he could have told how the New Deal power program in the TVA and the Columbia River Basin has completely saved the light-metal situation. He also could have gone into the peril confronting our forests because of the accelerated demand for lumber. I would have liked to see a chapter telling even more specifically how the war will affect certain groups, such as livestock farmers, loggers, school teachers. And surely the publisher owed a book as valuable as this an index.

But these faults are minor. Mr. Stevens' book and "This is Your War" by Marquis Childs do what countless other books and reams of government propaganda have failed to accomplish. They bring the war into the American home and onto the American farm. Any citizen who reads the chapter "I See an America" will realize that the abundance now making possible destroyers and rifles can some day be turned to washing machines and kitchen chairs. "We need hospitals and health centers," writes Mr. Stevens. "We need more trees planted on the Great Plains. We could use more national parks, more playgrounds, more dams." Can Americans doubt that the effort which today produces tanks can tomorrow make possible Mr. Stevens' hopes?

In addition to all the other merits of "Arms and the People" some of its best chapters appeared in Survey Graphic. When one of our own circle performs a job like this, we are always triply proud.

Portland, Ore.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Geopolitics for America


GRIMLY, remorselessly, Mr. Spykman attacks foggy and wishful thinking in America, this same pattern of political thought that has made one nation after the other easy prey for the totalitarian planners of total war. His book on the vital problem of the balance of power and the role which the United States plays and will play in this deadly game is perhaps the most disturbing and undoubtedly one of the most brilliant studies of international relations published in our time.

The mentor of American geographers, Isaiah Bowman, stated that, on grounds of merit and public value, Mr. Spykman's study should be read in a million American homes. And he added that every government official responsible for policy should read it once a year for the next twenty years. It is regrettable that our government officials were unable to start this reading assignment in 1939.

Mr. Spykman came to this country in 1920 from Holland. Since 1928 he has been professor of international relations at Yale where he was, also, until recently director of the Institute for International Studies. His book is a geopolitical approach to the problems of grand strategy for both war and peace, which means that his analysis proceeds in terms of geography and power politics instead of in vague ideologies and legalistic aspects. This approach has never been too pleasant reading and it is partly for this reason that the American public has become accustomed to see in geopolitics a mysterious secret weapon forged by the "1,000 scientists behind Hitler." Mr. Spykman proves that geopolitical thinking is not a monopoly of totalitarian brain-power. However, it should be added that his way of political thinking is based on the findings of the great pathfinders of the geopolitical school: Sir Halford Mackinder in England; and Ratzel and Haushofer in Germany who, in this study, do not get the credit they deserve.

The first part of the book contains an analysis of the United States and the balance of power; the second part deals in a more than skeptical mood, with the struggle for South America. The United States, he concludes, could not disperse her military strength over the whole hemisphere; ideological warfare by the propaganda machine of the Axis would prove a better weapon than our cultural propaganda; against an Asia ruled by Japan and a Europe ruled by Hitler, South America would be unable to defend herself.

Mr. Spykman's conclusions contain more food for thought than dozens of best-sellers; one regrets that they are not discussed at greater length. His conception of how to win the peace is one of a world of power politics under conditions very similar to those that prevailed before the outbreak of the war. His new world is one of regional federations, with power potentials balanced, including even a militarily strong Germany and Japan. Projects of world federation or of a world order based on American-British hegemony are to him mere wishful thinking. But I cannot conclude this brief review without pointing out that in this present world revaluation something is involved that is beyond mere power politics: the fight of free men against tyranny.

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

HANS W. WEGER

First Lady of Palestine


This book is required reading for all those who enjoy tracing the impact of a great woman on the lives of those about her and her time. The personality and work of Henrietta Szold show through so clearly that at the end the reader feels that he has shared her extraordinarily varied stirring and ennobling experience.

Henrietta Szold was fortunate in her parents. On the modest income of a rabbi, her mother managed admirably a constantly enlarging household which finally included ten daughters. She seconded effectively the intellectual and spiritual leadership which the girls received from their father.

Rabbi Szold, a native of a village in Hungary near Pressburg, a region inhabited largely by Slovaks, immigrated to this country from Vienna and settled in Baltimore one year before his eldest daughter, Henrietta, was born in 1860. The picture she gives of him in her letters reveals a singularly attractive and spiritual figure. He was a thorough scholar and through him Henrietta became proficient in German and well-read in Judaism. He gave her, too, his deeply religious attitude; religion for both him and his daughter was something inseparable from life itself.

Henrietta was the scholar of the family. When still in her teens and early twenties, she had gone so far in her studies and was so activated by her keen desire to be of help to the less fortunate co-religionists—the more recent Jewish-Russian immigrants who had settled in Baltimore—that she devoted herself energetically to teaching them English and to helping them fit themselves into their new environment.

It was during those early teaching days that Henrietta began to manifest that intolerance of snobbery and condescension which has characterized her long life. Especially in her letters of that period she protests passionately against the indolence of German Jews in Baltimore who refuse to admit any responsibility towards the newcomers from Russia. Undismayed, however, she pressed her project until it had awakened the community.

But she was sixty years old before in 1926 she found her life work in Zionism and more especially in the particular concrete phases of upbuilding the Holy Land which will for all times be associated with the names of Hadassah and the Youth Aliyah.
Hadassah, in the opinion of this reviewer excelled in its organization by no other popular Zionist bodies, is Henrietta Szold's creation. In its doctrines, in its program, and in its personnel and present leadership, it reflects her personality and her ideals. From the beginning, it has devoted itself to affirmative, concrete ends. Through her guidance, it has been enabled to develop in Palestine admirable and vitally needed health services and medical facilities. Only because she everlastingly kept at it, despite the discouraging attitudes of some of the larger organizations and even the British officials in Palestine, have the minimum necessities of the people been met.

As she grew older neither her energy nor her imagination flagged. More than seventy when she met at first hand the horrors of the Nazi persecution of Jewish and other minorities, she flung herself with the energy of a younger into the battle to save as many of the young Jewish children as possible from the hell which Hitler has made for them in Germany. The result was the Youth Aliyah, under whose guidance nearly eight thousand boys and girls have been enabled to begin a new life in Palestine. It was under her inspiration that men and women were led to do the impossible in this cause.

To read the story of this unfinished life—Miss Szold is now in her eighty-second year, and has slowed down to a schedule of about twelve hours a day—is to gain new faith in a man. Jew and Christian, Zionist and non-Zionist. Catholic and Protestant will find in her character and career proof that men can, if they will, live the doctrines of their greatest teachers.

**JAMES G. McDONALD**

*When Self-Analysis Can Be Done*


In her new book she devotes a good deal of space to show how this has been done with the help of the analyst and then goes on to tell how patients, between periods of analysis, and individuals who have not been under much treatment, may at times do self-analysis.

She states, however, that "there is no doubt in my mind but severe neuroses belong in the hands of experts." She feels that milder cases, cases between periods of work with the analyst, or persons with occasional difficulties, may often profit by periods of self-analysis. She mentions that Freud analyzed some of his own dreams and gives a good deal of case material showing how patients have worked in this way by themselves and been benefited. Dr. Horney points out that all these patients had some analytic experience and says "whether, and to what extent, self-analysis is possible without such previous experience must be left an open question."

"She feels that there is little danger in an attempt at self-analysis as "observations in every analysis show that patients are well able to protect themselves from insights they are not able to receive," and "one may safely assume that these protective forces would operate also in self-analysis."

Among the rules suggested are the following: "One should try to express what he really feels and not what he is supposed to feel, according to tradition or his own standards..." "Instead of wanting to produce a scientific masterpiece, he person who is working along should learn his interpretation be directed by his interest..." "Never accept more than you really believe."

Dr. Horney's book contains a good deal of interesting new material, although of necessity it covers some of the ground of her former books.

**A. LOUISE BRUSH, M.D.**

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)
the department, and particularly to bring about a uniformity of procedure among hearing boards and to provide a similar basis of judgment in decisions. The procedure of review by Washington is one which in the early days dragged out the final disposition of cases. Now the average time is said to be less than a month. The Department of Justice maintains that in practically all cases final decisions are made within a week after the case reaches Washington; but I am told of instances where decisions still hang fire for several months. Meanwhile a detained alien remains in the custody of the Immigration Service.

Up to May 6, 8,480 aliens of enemy nationality—4,550 Japanese, 2,655 Germans, and 1,275 Italians—had been apprehended. Of the 2,548 cases which had been heard by local hearing boards up to April 25, the Attorney General had ordered 1,302 interned for the duration, 875 paroled, and 371 released. Of those interned, there are 633 Japanese, 556 Germans, and 113 Italians.

Interned aliens are turned over for the duration to the War Department, which is holding them at temporary camps under guard until their transfer to its permanent detention camps. Early in the winter the Department announced that three of these were under construction somewhere in the Southwest. For whatever reason, no more definite information has been given out; and I was told that permission to visit the camps was not to be had.

International standards were set for all prisoners-of-war camps by the Geneva Convention of 1929. Japan had not ratified its representative's signature before December 9 last, but subsequently, at the request of the International Red Cross and the United States, that country agreed to be bound by the Convention. My information is that its standards for care and other humane provisions will be applied also to civilian internment. Thus, the War Department's civilian detention camps should be subject to inspection by the International Red Cross, under the direction of the resident delegate—usually a Swiss, a man of practically diplomatic standing officially accepted by the country to which he is accredited. The present delegate to the United States, the Hon. Marc Peter—formerly Swiss Minister to this country—has indicated that the I.R.C. considers this responsibility one of its most important functions.

**Distinction with a Difference**

**So much, in turn, (a) for wartime restriction imposed on aliens of enemy nationality; and (b) for the machinery set up to control activities by alien enemies. The implication that the two are synonymous has been the cause of misunderstanding and resentment. The wholesale tagging of a large section of our unnaturalized residents tended to have just the opposite effect from what was intended. Why not make a new start six months later and ground a modern policy in a fresh and realistic act of Congress undergirding the President's powers? One which will reckon with the facts that stand out in the last six months as to the conduct and attitudes of a million human beings in our midst. Conduct that, officials report, for the majority has been beyond reproach. They agree that sabotage, since the declaration of war in December, has been negligible compared with the first six months of the first World War.**

**Director Ennis of the Alien Enemy Control Unit has attempted to cut the knot by administrative interpretation. He holds that “alien enemy” simply means an alien who happens to have enemy nationality; that it does not mean an enemy who happens to be an alien. But the problem runs deeper than official rationalization or than individual resent-

ment. As George L. Warren, director of the Immigration Service, has put it: “We know from experience that the great majority [of aliens] are loyal and just as interested in winning the war as anyone. The problem is to keep them loyal. They have a contribution to make to the war and we must find a way to take advantage of it.”

Here we have a clue to cleansing administrative action without waiting for Congress to pass twentieth century legislation to take the place of an enabling act of the eighteenth century. Existing civilian hearing boards are examining the personal histories and appraising the loyalty of the comparatively few aliens of enemy nationality against whom charges have been brought. Why not expand them or complement them with additional hearing boards so that the vast majority can clarify their status? There is growing advocacy of such a course on the part of Americans of wide first-hand experience with the foreign-born.

**Witnesses Worth Hearing**

**James G. McDonald, for one, today chairman of the President’s Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, an earlier League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany, said: “There are approximately 1,100,000 aliens of enemy nationalities. In their interests and in the interest of national safety some method must be devised which will remove from us those who are loyal any stigma that accrues to them by virtue of their technical citizenship status. The civilian hearing boards which have been examining those already apprehended by the Federal Bureau of Investigation have done an excellent piece of work. . . . There remain over a million subject to the regulations to be examined. Obviously this poses a problem of numbers alone. However, there is no reason why it should not be undertaken. It would be possible to reduce the total to be examined substantially by granting temporary exemption to such classes as might be determined in advance. . . . Cases in which the boards might experience difficulty in reaching decisions might be referred to the Department of Justice for further examination.”**

**“. . . If, as the President, our federal agencies, and those who have intimate knowledge of our alien population, believe, and as the experience of the last war demonstrated, we shall eventually be convinced that the great majority of our alien population is loyal, it is but good judgment and statesmanship to reach this decision at the earliest possible moment.”—New York Times, April 6.**

A kindred procedure has been advocated by the congressional Committee on National Defense Migration. Refer to especially the West Coast Germans and Italians who may still be evacuated en masse by the War Department, the Tolan Committee recommends that a system of hearing boards be constituted.

Such a procedure has been followed in Great Britain. A few months earlier, the outbreak of the war the Home Secretary announced “there will be a general desire to avoid treating as enemy those who are friendly to the country which has offered the asylum.” When invasion seemed imminent, however, large numbers of refugees were interned, but they have long since been released. Of the 73,353 who had appeared before tribunals up to March 1940, it was found necessary to intern on 569. When in 1941, all aliens—including enemy aliens—had register for employment for national service, it was found that over 85 percent were already usefully employed. According to a British Library of Information release, many high skilled professional qualifications or were skilled workers others received industrial training under the same conditions as British citizens. All alien doctors are allowed to practice during the emergency. Many alien refugees are still recruits in the armed forces, and some are granted commissions.

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**FRIENDS OR ENEMIES**

*(Continued from page 279)*
While the problem of special hearings in England may appear comparatively small, our facilities are correspondingly larger. Only half a dozen states have as many as 50,000 residents of enemy nationality. The concentrations are in New York (376,710); California (110,000); New Jersey (96,194); Pennsylvania (87,710) and Illinois (63,531). Of the almost 110,000 in California, over 70,000 are German and Italian nationals, the rest Japanese.

Here is the plea of a stateless German professor, Kurt Dewitt, today a teaching assistant at Reed College, Oregon:

"... I was among the first students to be expelled from the University of Berlin in 1933 for undesirable political activities. I am at present a panel speaker of the Fight for Freedom Committee... about to apply for my final exams, expected to be called into the army shortly.

"By the President's proclamation of December 8, 1941, I became an 'alien enemy' despite the fact that the German government had expatriated me on November 25. Consequently, I am now facing complete exclusion from the West Coast at a date to be set by the army, and until then I can move about only within a radius of five miles and between the hours of 6 a.m. and 8 p.m.

"These restrictions... can be justified in terms of national security. But is it merely a minor inconvenience when 6,000 anti-Axis refugees [on the West Coast] are uprooted from their newly built homes, or their lives are so restricted that they cannot hold on to their hard-won jobs? Is it really in the best interest of national security to deal harshly with the first victims of Hitler, who have every reason to fight and hate him...?" (New Republic, May 27.)

Broadening the Exemption

Another device in our effort to maintain morale among Americans in the making would be to broaden the groups included from compliance with such regulations. Men such as Earl Harrison and Joseph P. Chamberlain, chairman of the National Refugee Service, advocate this procedure. Appropriate for such considerations are:

1. Near relatives—wife, parent, or child of men in our armed forces.
2. Petitioners for final citizenship papers—who are being naturalized because the naturalization courts are often as much as a year and a half or more behind.
3. Refugees—either because of racial discrimination, or because of activity against political systems abhorrent to Americans.

While it is impossible to sum up these groups with any accuracy, there are probably about 25,000 so-called 'alien enemies' in our armed forces. Guesses as to petitioners for final citizenship papers reach as high as 50,000. And there is to be approximately 200,000 refugees from countries with which we are at war, the majority of whom have typically been declared stateless and enemies of the German Reich by that country.

Add to this total of 275,000 the almost 300,000 Italians and Germans over sixty years of age who have resided here since 1942—a fourth group which similarly has been suggested for special consideration—and there are almost 600,000 out of the alien-odd aliens of enemy nationality who might adversely be freed from complying with the special restrictions. If it were decided to exempt one or more of these groups only temporarily, pending the setting up of hearing boards, at least administrative problems could be minimized by postponing their examinations until all others were reclassified.

Whether public opinion on the West Coast has led federal action by the noise in the 'special treatment' accorded the Japanese—or whether the reverse is true—it is difficult to say. Be that as it may, it is to be hoped that when and, as far as federal boards are set up, all comers will be treated alike.

There are indications that the War Department is not...
unsympathetic to the general idea of exempting aliens of enemy nationality whom it is reasonable to believe are wholeheartedly on the side of the Allies. Witness the recent appointment of Alfred Jaretzki, New York lawyer, as technical consultant to Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy. Mr. Jaretzki, who has long been interested in organizations dealing with the problems of aliens, will advise on matters relating to the possible exemption of Germans and Italians who have convincingly cast their lot with this country.

The army has itself proposed exempting those over seventy, along with the ill, deaf, dumb, and blind. More, if Germans and Italians should be evacuated from Military Area No. 1 on the West Coast it has been announced officially that parents, wives, and children of men in our armed forces and of those who have been killed in action, will be exempted.

IT ALL ADDS UP TO THIS. THE NOTION THAT AN ALIEN FROM our angle is ipse factum sympathetic with the official aims of his country of origin is as antiquated as the hoop skirt. Daily we are coming to realize that the present war is not so much a conflict of nations as of ideologies.

As Alvin Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research and founder of the University in Exile, points out: "In Germany itself there are suppressed millions who hope that the war will end with the elimination of Hitler and the whole Nazi party. . . . Believers in Nazism are everywhere, but only in Germany are they grouped compactly. What this means is that the Western world is afflicted not with a conventional national war, but with an international civil war. . . . but the law does not recognize this new kind of war. . . . Our national policy must be a discriminating one in its interests both of fair play and national unity. Any other approach is bound to serve the enemy, Marshall E. Dimes, until recently associate commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, presented the case thus: 'Hitler counting on our fumbling the ball in dealing with the problem of our foreign-born population during the emotional tense days of this world conflict. We intend to show the Axis that their expectations are wrong.'

A foreign birth certificate is not necessarily the diploma of a foreign ideology. Detention camps may be the answer for hostile alien enemies, but high statesmanship and community cooperation are called for if we are to conserve a great reservoir of friendly aliens as an asset for democracy.

THE PLEDGE: THE STORY OF A MORO CHIEF

(Continued from page 288)

sought out Mrs. Spencer. She was living, at the time, at her home in the center of the island. This she had built on the crater of an extinct volcano and it is called by the Moros, "The House on the Magic Mountain." From her garden you can pick out a dozen places where Amoks have been killed and robberies carried out by armed bands. In the distance loom the giant shapes of Bud Dajo and Bud Bagsak, mountains whose sides, tradition has it, once literally dripped with the blood of fighting men.

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"One early evening," Mrs. Spencer began again, "I was cutting roses and thinking as I did so that no spot on earth was as peaceful as my garden at sundown. Then the sound of excited voices came from the direction of the house and I saw Sadji, my faithful caretaker, followed by a gaunt Moro who seemed to be in a state of great agitation. The newcomer was breathing hard and even in the dim light I could see that his hands shook. With a sense of relief, I noticed that he carried no weapon. Then I recognized Sakalian.

"Sadji's face wore an anxious look but when he spoke it was in his usual gentle, courteous manner. 'Ma'am,' he said, 'Chief Sakalian has come from far. He has walked many miles very fast. He is in great trouble.'

"What is his trouble? I asked.

"This very day, the young son of Chief Sakalian has been attacked and injured by an enemy who was armed with a barong. Chief Sakalian went to his son's rescue but because of his promise to you he carried no weapon. Therefore the fighting was very hard for him. At the last he was forced to take his son and escape. Chief Sakalian is very much embarrassed. Such a thing has never happened to one of his family before.

"Chief Sakalian says that he is a Moro warrior, and therefore a man of honor. He says that for five long years he has kept the pledge that he made you one day in the jungle. Now, he asks, he begs, he demands, that you at once, immediately, release him from that pledge so that he can avenge the honor of his fathers and of his son!"

"Sakalian's piercing eyes looked expectantly into mine. He seemed to have stopped breathing, so still was he while he waited for my answer. 'If Chief Sakalian had been armed,' I said, 'he would have slain his son's assailant at once. Sadji repeated this and Sakalian nodded gravely. 'His enemy would be lying cold and dead this minute,' I continued. Light came into the warrior's eyes. There was no doubt in the mind of any one of us that this would have been the case.

"I looked at the Chief. 'Tell him,' I said, 'that if he has carried a barong he would now, once again, be an outlaw. He would be hiding with his family in the jungle, pursued by the constabulary; or else he would be in jail awaiting trial for murder. His son, too, would be an outlaw. Now is a free man, and his son is free! Let him keep his honor, his word rather than by his weapon. For his own good, refuse to give him back his promise.'

"Sakalian seemed to need no translation. A groan of despair escaped him. He turned and walked away when Sadji and I stood watching until he had disappeared from our sight. It never occurred to me and apparently never occurred to Sakalian that he might not continue to keep his pledge.

VI

That happened ten years ago and Mrs. Spencer had not seen Sakalian since. A more intimate claim upon her heart called her back from the islands. But she had thought him many times; and whenever, after the outbreak of war, she considered the possibility of a Japanese invasion of the Philippines, the look of reproach in the old Chief's eye haunted her. One day last summer, as things grew more tense between Tokyo and Washington, she could bear responsibility no longer. She wrote to a friend in Jolo asking him to get word to Sakalian that he was released from his promise he had kept for nearly fifteen years.

"This other picture came in my friend's letter of reply said Mrs. Spencer as she held it out to me. 'It tells the rest.

The picture showed a tall, gaunt Moro standing beside an automobile with a license-plate marked "Sulu, 1941." The license was to place it in time. He was without dress or mark to show his rank. But thrust through the sack which bound his waist was the barong of his ancestors.

"That," said Mrs. Spencer, "is Chief Sakalian, a Moro warrior and a man of honor! Yes, in the midst of my horror and anxiety, during this cruel invasion, it is a comfort to know Sakalian carries his barong.'

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF GERMAN FREEDOM, 424 Madison Avenue, New York City, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman, an association of Americans which supports the struggle for democracy of anti-Nazi German groups and distributes information about German conditions to the American people. Publications: Inside Germany Reports, based on confidential information, in GERMAN: A Critical Bibliography.

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The Gist of It

FOR HIGH MORALE AS WELL AS BRILLIANCE we recommend the three articles by Vera Michele Dean published in Survey Graphic since July 1940. On page 309 of this issue the research director of the Foreign Policy Association again looks at the world locked in gigantic conflict, with her inimitable mixture of realism and idealism. The article was developed from Mrs. Dean's speech before the National Conference of Social Work in New Orleans in May.

We are indebted to David Weisman of New York for the privilege of drawing on his collection of wartime posters. Page 312. Mr. Weisman, an art director and a member of the American Advertising Guild, keeps fresh items from his expanding poster collection on exhibit at Guild headquarters so that fellow members may acquaint themselves with the best work being done elsewhere.

The editors turned to nine people who they felt had something of special value to contribute to the question raised in the touching letter on page 314—what are the issues in this war; for what do we fight?

Say it with simple sketches and a few sentences is Otto H. Ehrlich's idea of the way to bring the reader through the labyrinth of current economics with serenity. On page 318 this instructor of economics in Brooklyn College, New York, essays a brief explanation of a subject widely discussed at this time—forced saving.

As we go to press the news comes via the Berlin radio broadcast that the first contingent of workmen from unoccupied France is on its way to Germany. On page 321 Heinz Soffner writes about Charles Durand, and other French trade unionists who are now forced to serve Hitler, out of his intimate acquaintance with the labor movement in France where he lived for several years. Before that, he was executive secretary of the white collar section of the Austrian Federation of Labor. This is the fourth telling article on the Nazi regime in Germany and the conquered countries written by Mr. Soffner for Survey Graphic.

Therle Hughes, a British 'Bevin Belle' who writes about her new kind of job on page 324, was formerly a newspaper woman in the provinces and in London. Her article came about as a result of an engaging letter to a friend in this country describing "her day."

Since Ben Henderson wrote his article on page 328 about his Japanese neighbors in Kauai, "garden isle" of the Hawaiian group, everyone on the island has been fingerprinted. Mr. Henderson is manufacturing superintendent of one of the three largest sugar plantations in Hawaii. His factory has been running its regular twenty-four-hour-day schedule since the Pearl Harbor attack, with only enough time out to apply black paint and paper for complete blackout. If they intern all Japanese the factory would be forced to shut down, he writes. Mr. Henderson is also liquor commissioner for his island under martial law.

For a Peace Aims Commission Now

To the Editor: One of the bright spots in 1917 was the courageous protest, repeatedly expressed at that time in The Survey, against the hatreds engendered by propaganda bureaus, and finally against the betrayal of the war's allegedly high aims.

Now though Michael Straight, in your June issue, clearly desires to be on the side of the angels in his wish for a decent peace, he seemed to me to say nothing really to the point and how these difficult aims can be secured. As a major aid to this, may I put in a plea for the immediate formation of a Congressional Peace Aims Commission?

This is no merely personal idea. Taken up by forward-looking groups all over the country, it was originated by the Campaign for World Government (66 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago), a group that is liberal rather than radical. They advocate an unofficial Provisional World Parliament, composed of intelligent, generous-minded men and women representing all possible nationalities, to consider how best to build the new world.

A Congressional Commission such as they envisage, advised by experts, and broadcasting its findings to the United Nations, neutrals and Axis, could be a salutary check on the ominously growing hate-mongers, and all those with hostile nationalist ambitions.

Best of all, it could measurably shorten this atrocious conflict by driving a wedge between Hitler and the German people whom he has so ruthlessly betrayed, granting the peace terms were strategically decent and generous.

[Address: Croton Falls, N. Y. Tracy D. Mygatt]
"The lines have fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."

Psalm XVI: 6
Power and the Peacemakers

by VERA MICHIELES DEAN

To those who fear that post-war reconstruction will inevitably have its basis in power politics, Mrs. Dean points out the new philosophy now in the making in London and Chungking, in Washington and Moscow. In a brilliant article she suggests a program for winning the peace that has its roots in this belated recognition of the interdependence of men and nations.

Many an American still believes that sooner or later a bell will ring; then war will be over and peace will have begun. This is the burden of talks I have had from New York to Atlanta, from New Orleans to St. Paul.

But no such bell will ring, nor will there be a clear dividing line between war and peace. One of the most tragic mistakes that the Allies made in 1918 was to think that, because an armistice had been signed, war was at an end. True, military operations did end with the armistice. But the war continued right on after 1918—on the economic front, the social front, the psychological front—all shaping up a new Armageddon.

Now, in the perspective of a quarter of a century, we realize that the victorious Allies lost the peace because they refused to take responsibility for post-war reconstruction. If we are to avoid repeating the experience of 1918, we must realize that this war is not worth fighting, that the sacrifices we are all being called upon to make are not worth making, unless we pledge ourselves to see to it that our war efforts do not remain sterile, but serve as the prelude for responsible peacemaking.

At a time when war rages on all the continents and in all the oceans of the world, it may seem premature to talk of peace. Yet already the future peace is being forged on the anvil of war. All over the globe, wherever people fight or silently resist foreign domination, they think and talk about the new order of things that may emerge out of the struggle. The strategy of post-war reconstruction is inextricably linked with the strategy of winning the war. That is why we must shape plans for the post-war world in the midst of the conflict. Otherwise, we may be as mentally unprepared for peace as we were mentally unprepared for war.

The Failures of the Peace

But while we understand some of the mistakes committed by the peacemakers of 1919, we do not yet have complete answers to the questions raised at Versailles. We are still seeking to discover how we can provide free access to the raw materials and markets of the world for all countries on terms of equality. We are still studying the possibility of improving the old relationship between advanced and backward countries—a relationship we call imperialism—in such a way as to help the backward countries advance, and raise their standard of living. We still wonder how, once the Nazis are defeated, we can integrate Germany into the European community of nations, so that Europe—and the whole world—might benefit by the talents of the German people without having to fear that country's militaristic ambitions. In the same way, we wonder how we can enlist the peaceful cooperation of the Japanese in the fruitful development of Asia. We are still
at a loss to know how to prevent the recurrence of wars. Nonetheless we have learned many of the lessons of the peace we lost, and are becoming increasingly determined not to lose the peace after this war through slothfulness and irresponsibility.

Many people, in recent years, have ridiculed the slogan under which the United States fought the first World War—"making the world safe for democracy." Yet this slogan was noble in its implications. What we must deplore is not the slogan itself, but the fact that, once the war was won, the Western democracies failed to translate their slogan into living reality. Now we know, from bitter experience, that a world which did not provide a majority of its inhabitants with a minimum standard of existence could not long be safe for political democracy. It should not be our aim to impose the political institutions familiar to the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations on the rest of the world; other countries may be unprepared for them by historic, economic or social conditions. Our purpose should be to perfect the political institutions of democracy, which have fostered the fine flowering of man's spirit in many countries and in many continents, and adapt them to the social and economic conditions of a mass production era all over the world. We should share with other peoples the privileges won for us by our political and industrial achievements.

New Forces Are in the Making

In looking forward to post-war reconstruction, we shall have to take into account the seismic changes wrought in the international landscape by war and revolution. So far as Asia is concerned, a victory of the United Nations in that region would redound to the benefit not of the Western powers, but of those Asiatic peoples who are either already fighting Japan, or may fight it in the future—notably China and India. This is legitimate and proper. It will be impossible, after the war, for Britain, Holland, the United States, and France to claim special privileges and influence in the Far East while denying them to Japan. Today we are witnessing the passing of nineteenth century imperialism in the Orient. What we must do is to fight for the liberation of the Asiatic peoples themselves from the domination not only of the Japanese, but also of the Western powers.

For we must remember that in the Far East we have by no means yet won the undivided and loyal support of native populations. China has proved a steadfast ally of the United Nations. But to millions of people in the Far East, Japanese rule—although it would probably prove far less humane than that of Britain and the United States—is merely a choice between two forms of foreign domination. To win the support of the Asiatic peoples, the Western powers will have to do more than invite them to fight for restoration of the status quo. Only on a basis of equal rights can Europe and the United States achieve peaceful and fruitful collaboration with Asia after the war.

In Europe, too, new forces are in the making. If Russia defeats Germany on the crucial "eastern front" it will unquestionably wield great influence over the peace settlement. This will be due not to the power of communist propaganda, which has been relatively ineffective in industrialized Western countries, but to the fact that Russia will have demonstrated courage, stamina, and strength in resisting German invasion. What we shall have to do is to work out, with the cooperation of Russia and the other United Nations, a program of post-war reconstruction formulated in democratic terms. A statesmanlike step in that direction has been taken by Britain and the United States in their negotiations for a three-power understanding with Moscow. It may well be that, by the time the war is over, Russia's administrative pattern—which combines a high degree of political and economic centralization with wide cultural autonomy for various national and racial groups—may be found more helpful in the reconstruction of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, with their intermingled populations varying widely in language, customs, and religions, than would be any pattern based on Anglo-Saxon experience completely unfamiliar to most Europeans.

Stability in Europe

There are also many people who worry about the future of Germany. Some, especially those in Europe who have suffered from the effects of Nazi conquest, demand that Germany be severely punished, that the German state be dismembered, and that the German people be rendered harmless for generations to come. Yet if there is one lesson we must learn from the lost peace, it is that the world cannot isolate Germany—any more than it succeeded in excluding Russia. To dismember Germany would be merely to recreate a state of things in which the Germans would be constantly striving to unite under some new Hitler. It would also perpetuate Germany's medievalsms which, to the grief of the whole world, it has not yet politically outgrown—even though it has most effectively utilized the industrial and military techniques of the twentieth century. Nor is it practicable, even if it seems desirable, to exterminate the German people. What we must try to do is to establish international control of Germany, and of Europe as a whole, during the transition period that is bound to follow the war.

Such international control, administered by all the United Nations and not merely by the great powers, would serve three main purposes. First, it would protect the Germans against the revenge of the conquered peoples—and we must remember that fear of revenge has been used by Nazi propagandists to goad the Germans into continuing the war effort. Second, it would permit reorganization of the countries conquered and disorganized by the Germans, without permitting them to sink into a state of anarchy and revolution which might otherwise reduce Europe to chaos. Third, it would make it possible for the United Nations to undertake orderly rehabilitation of the entire continent, including Germany. For inevitably one of our first tasks, once the "Cease fire!" has sounded, will be to feed, clothe, and provide medical aid for millions of men, women, and children—including the Germans—who for many years have been suffering great hardships and privations of mind and body.

Only when this transition period has brought some degree of order and stability to Europe as a whole, will it be advisable to hold a peace conference, at which long term territorial and economic problems could be discussed in an atmosphere free from war fever and hatred. For we must have no illusions about the degree of hatred aroused in Europe by Nazi methods of conquest—especially in countries which had remained neutral during the last war, such as Holland and Norway, and have now experienced German domination for the first time.
What Millions in the Silent Front Will Want

THROUGHOUT EUROPE, from NORWAY TO GREECE, from FRANCE to CZECHOSLOVAKIA, a vast silent front is astir, along which millions of men, women, and even children are resisting consolidation of Hitler's rule. In these countries a great revolution is brewing which bears in it the seeds of reconstruction not only of Europe, but of the world. What is this revolution? In 1939, on the eve of war, the peoples of Europe, like ourselves, feared war above all else because they were afraid that war would entail loss of life and loss of property; and, like ourselves, they were ready to make many compromises—especially at the expense of other people—rather than become involved in a conflict with Germany. Yet the moment the peoples of Europe were conquered, they stopped being afraid of war. Instead, they became afraid of peace. For the peoples of Europe could have peace at any time now—peace on Hitler's terms. The one thing Hitler wants is to pacify Europe, so that he can consolidate his "new order" and make the continent impregnable to assault by the United Nations. But the conquered peoples have learned that life is not worth living if it has to be lived in slavery; and that property is not worth holding if it has to be held at the toleration of a foreign conqueror.

Today, in Europe, the struggle given up by armed soldiers has been resumed by unarmed civilians—the unknown heroes of the silent front. Why do these people continue to resist Hitler, enduring sufferings that our imagination cannot even encompass? They are carrying on this unequal struggle because they understand that Hitler's so-called "new order" is a dead-end for Europe, and a dead-end for the world.

Even if Hitler should win a complete military victory, he will be unable to reconstruct Europe because his "new order" is based on two concepts which are unacceptable to any civilized human being. It is based, first, on the concept of the "master race," under which all non-German peoples would be condemned for eternity to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water for their German overlords. The second concept on which the "new order" is based is that all men are either corrupt or corruptible—that they can be bribed, or coerced, or frightened into submitting to any indignity that the Nazis, and the puppet rulers installed by the Nazis, may prescribe. By their resistance, the conquered people have magnificently demonstrated that most men and women are neither corrupt nor corruptible—that most human beings, in the hour of mortal danger, discover in themselves untapped reserves of courage, integrity, and loyalty.

But, while the peoples of conquered countries reject Hitler's "new order," while they recognize it as the most ancient and crude kind of imperialism streamlined by German industrial efficiency to look like something new, they have no desire to go back to the old disorder of 1939 that proved pregnant with wars and revolutions. They have no desire to restore a parliamentary system disrupted and undermined by personal ambitions and local conflicts. They have no desire to restore an economic system which had failed to provide a minimum standard of existence for millions of human beings, especially in still undeveloped areas like the Balkans, Asia, and Latin America. They have no desire to recapture the spirit of synthesis and fatigue which had come to be associated with the "lost generation." They want to move forward, not backward. And they are looking to the United States for leadership and initiative in this march toward the future.

We may well be staggered by the immensity and complexity of the task of reconstruction that will confront us after this war. Some people are dismayed about the future because, in looking back at history, they see all human relations in terms of an endless struggle for power; and they fear that we shall be unable to reconstruct the world on any basis except that of power politics. It is, of course, true that a struggle for power is constantly going on among human beings. This is an entirely natural thing, and we should not create the illusion for a moment that the end of military hostilities will usher in a golden era in which the use of power would be excluded. But neither should we jump to the conclusion that power is in itself evil. What is evil, or can be evil, is the use we make of power. Power intelligently and responsibly used can be a good and valuable thing. We would all welcome the use of power to improve human welfare. The great tragedy is that, in the past, we have often been irresponsible about the use of the power placed, by a combination of fortunate circumstances, in the hands of the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations. What we must hope for is that, after the war, we can use the power now devoted to the destructive purposes of war for the constructive purpose of rebuilding a new world.

A Philosophy Is Needed—Not a Blueprint

IN FACING THE TASKS OF RECONSTRUCTION, HOWEVER, WE should be very frank with ourselves as to the limits of practical action. It is good to dream dreams and see visions of a better world. But we should not arouse expectations that cannot be realized—otherwise we shall be merely courting the kind of frustration and disillusionment that followed the peace of Versailles. We must not expect miracles from the peacemakers. International relations are, in essence, relations between human beings. We can no more hope to reach final solutions of international problems than we can reach final solutions of problems within the family, or the local community, or the national state. No sooner do we settle one set of problems than another set arises. There can be no such thing as permanent peace, or complete order—except in prisons or cemeteries.

As long as there is freedom and life, there will be conflicts and frictions between men and between nations. That is why it may be misleading to talk about "a just and durable peace." No arrangement can be regarded as wholly just by all nations; nor will it endure for any length of time in the exact form in which it may have been reached at a given moment. The most we can hope for are periodic compromises between the conflicting interests of many nations. It should not dismay us in the least to live in a changing world. Our task is not to prevent change, but to see to it that conflicts—which are bound to occur—are settled by peaceful means, not by resort to war.

There are also some people who believe that all they have to do in order to assure post-war reconstruction is to draw up a detailed constitution of world government, in twenty-five articles and ten addenda—and then rest on their laurels. It is, of course, impossible to predict in advance what kind of international machinery may seem most effective at the end of the war. What we must remember is that any piece of (Continued on page 335)
This man is your FRIEND
Chinese
He fights for FREEDOM

This man is your FRIEND
Dutch Sailor
He fights for FREEDOM

This man is your FRIEND
Ethiopian
He fights for FREEDOM

Introducing new friends to the people of the United States

THEY FIGHT THE AXIS
War posters from the collection of David Weisman

La France a perdu une bataille! Mais la France n'a pas perdu la guerre!

Aux armes Citoyens... Formez vos bataillons!

To arms, citizens. France lost a battle, not the war, exclaim the Free French

Farmers, workers, merchants, and students unite to defend China
A Canadian appeal to soldiers and civilians

This Russian poster says it without words

Part of a series issued by the Office of Facts and Figures
A Letter to the Editors: 'My son has been drafted and will leave for camp in the near future. He asks me to tell him just what the issues in this war are. His cousin, two years older than he, was killed at Pearl Harbor, and my son has uppermost in his mind avenging this death. I want him to have a more positive reason than that, or any that I have been able to give him. Can you help me?"

A Foreign Correspondent: "another revolution . . ."

Let us forget Pearl Harbor. Recalling December 7 serves only to confuse the issues of the struggle. The present war began on November 11, 1918. Spiritually exhausted by four years of attrition on the Western Front, Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, and their spiritual allies were too tired to make the sacrifices necessary to live up to Wilson's principles, which, in essence, were but a modernized version of the principles of the Bastille and Independence Square, themselves but modernizations of the Magna Carta.

We are at war with Germany and Japan. (Their allies are unimportant.) Superficially, we are at war because neither of these two atavistic nations possessed the cultural strength to compete with other nations on modern planes of thought. That Germany and Japan have had almost a monopoly on barbarism and spiritual degeneracy can only be explained by the fact that they were never properly inducted into modern civilized society. Spiritual lepers, they are waging a crusade to destroy the Western World. And they have almost succeeded.

Obviously, our defense can only be offensive; militarily because we must regain the territories we have lost, and spiritually for the same reason. But the spiritual aspects of this war are more important than any other. It will be relatively simple for us to win it by force of arms; our main problem will lie in recapturing the imagination of conquered foes and liberated friends alike.

America is the arsenal of democracy in a political as well as a material sense. No other country possesses such an abundance of spiritual and physical resources. All we have lacked so far is the unanimous resolve to release our forces to lead the revolution the whole world has been waiting for and not yet found. Why should the word revolution scare any honest American? A revolution is what gave us what we have. And only by means of another revolution can we give what we have to the rest of the world and thereby establish a genuine new order and a lasting peace.

Vice-president Wallace, in his speech on May 8, became the first American leader to hint at what we must do and what we must become before we can win the peace that will follow our inevitable military victory. He referred to the struggle that we are leading as a "people's revolution" which "aims at peace" and marches toward "even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the world have hitherto enjoyed."

Specifically, that imposes the following duties on Americans: We must establish full racial equality, for by our treatment of Negroes, Indians, and Orientals we will be judged by the colored peoples (the majority) of the world. We must eliminate every vestige of poverty, for by the exceptions to our rule of high living standards we will be judged by the impoverished nations (the majority) and compared with our military ally and political rival, Russia.

And finally we must assume the responsibility of transplanting, by direct intervention if necessary (or there are tyrants among our military allies), the innumerable freedoms guaran-
Another Soldier: "to live the good life . . ."

It seems to me that the issues of this war are quite clear, and that vengeance for anything less than the outraged feelings of all mankind must of necessity be crowded down to a very insignificant place at the bottom of the list. At the outset of this war, it was compared by many people with earlier wars for power and conquest in Europe. Fought between Christian nations with much the same basic culture and traditions, the outcome of these recurring wars affected the way of life of the majority of people but little. More and more we have all come to realize that the character of this war is far different from any other in recent history because of the conflicting basic philosophy of the two contending sides. The Axis powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan—completely subordinate the individual to the state, which is controlled by a super-race of men, born to be masters of the rest of us. Thus every man, woman, and child becomes the creature of the state, which orders his every action, be he a German, an Italian, a Japanese, or a member of a conquered nation.

The philosophy of the United Nations is exactly the reverse. The state is composed of free and equal men and women and the rights of the individual are restricted only where they conflict with the rights of others. The state is organized to protect the rights of the individual and to perform for him certain services and enforce certain standards of conduct for the good of all. In such a civilization we are free to live the good life as we choose, and none shall order us to work for another at no profit to ourselves. True, the United Nations, including the United States, are none of them Utopia on earth, but with our politico-economic structure and our philosophy of the people, by the people, and for the people, we can set high objectives for life on this earth and march steadfastly toward them and toward a better world.

Our first primary objectives fall into two stages: the first before the victory and the second after the victory. Now we must smash the militarism of the Nazis, the fascists in all countries, and the fanatical Japanese. We must liberate the peoples all over the world who have been enslaved by these barbarian powers. This will complete the first stage.

Then we come to the more difficult part of our task; the task of establishing and securing the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear for all of the people in all of the world. Hard though the first stage may be of accomplishment, it will be as nothing compared with the second. This is the challenge with which we are faced, one difficult of accomplishment and with high ideals, but one worthy of any sacrifice to attain. The only alternative is slavery. Who could hesitate?

Company A
Pvt. Richard Patrick Kellogg
4th Medical Training Battalion, Camp Lee, Va.

An Educator: “our right to live . . .”

If I were sitting down with the son of the writer of this letter, discussing with him the issues of the war, I should describe them as follows:

1. The Right to Live: In its starkest terms this war is a struggle for life. The basic issue is the right of the United States of America and of all the members of the United Nations group and their citizens to live in safety and well-being. We are not fighting the totalitarian states on any theoretical grounds. Rather we are fighting them because they are seeking to dominate the world, to turn their enemies into vassal states, and to enslave their peoples. Hitler wants our oil and all our other natural resources, and should we lose this war we would soon be invaded and enslaved. The first issue of the war therefore seems to me quite clearly to be our right to live.

2. The Protection of Our Institutions: President Roosevelt has recently emphasized the four freedoms on which our institutions and our life as a people are built. We are fighting to protect these freedoms. Should we lose, make no mistake about it, they would disappear.

3. The Defeat of a Group of Nations Which Seek to Dominate the World: We are fighting to rid the world of fear and famine, of pestilence and poverty, of dictatorship and domination—all of these created by small groups of men in three nations who deny the validity of the concepts of human living which we value. We are seeking to cut out a cancer which is threatening the life of all the nations and peoples of the world.

4. The Setting Up of a New World Order: Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese have admittedly been “have-not” nations. We, the “have” nations, ever since the end of the last war have stupidly ignored the need of setting up a new world order—economically, politically, socially, and spiritually sound. We must employ all our knowledge, wisdom, and good will to reorganize the world so soundly that destructive wars cannot ever again be possible. We cannot set up a new world order, however, until victory has come to us.

A Navy Man: “a genuine peace . . .”

I think all the issues of this war ultimately resolve themselves into one: the resolve to make secure a kind of life we all want. We, all of us, know the kind of world we want to live in—a world genuine, sane, and humane. A world in which even the smallest of us can live in dignity and peace. That is the world we are striving to maintain here and recreate wherever it is lost.

We look to a world after the war in which a genuine peace will be the right of every nation. We look to a peace in which the total and infinite sacrifice of many will not be forfeited by a few around some conference table.

We want to secure, as best we can, the gains we hope to make, not alone for our own country but as a gift to the world from a land which has always held peace as its most cherished possession.

We think that all people whose minds have not been corrupted and whose hearts have not been embittered know the home they want. We in America know well what we want. We are a people educated for peace and now involved in war. We believe that war is unnatural—a thing imposed upon a people by force and deception against the conviction of their hearts. A substantial and just peace is our aim with our hand behind it to challenge any aggressor, however demonic he might be.

We have abandoned the idea of liberating masses of people from the unwelcome tyranny of governments bent on world mastery—their devotion to them has been too blindingly revealed. Rather, we wish to bring forcibly to their attention that the individual and the small nation have rights and dignity and a claim on humanity which the world will not allow them to be despoiled of. That conquest and its train of blood and hunger and indignity will never spread across the world again is our resolve.

This is a people's war to crush the towering creature of military arrogance, we hope, forever.

Does this all seem too vague and general to have meaning? The issues are broad and plans for their treatment must be broad as well.

We want a victory substantial enough to be the foundation for an era of sanity and peace beyond the grasp of dic-
tatorial paranoia. We hope to make secure a world atmosphere in which governments can live that give opportunity to each of us to make a life for himself. We are resolved that intellectual freedom is to be made secure. Political sanity will establish itself if given a chance, we believe. National security must be achieved through intelligent use of resources and population rather than by conquest.

We believe in these things. They constitute our hope for the end of the war and the time to follow.

**Receiving Ship, P S N Y**

**JIMMY HENNESSEY**

**Bremerton, Wash.**

**A Philosopher: “basic equality for all men ...”**

**WHATEVER YOU DO, DON’T FIGHT FOR REVENGE. DON’T CATCH the disease against which you are fighting. Fascism is our enemy. Hate is our enemy. These two are inseparable. The first cannot exist without the second.**

But, don’t fight a merely defensive war either. If there is any way of stoning for warfare, it must be through the process of transmigrating war into an ideal purpose. If this war does not leave us desolate barbarians in Europe it will be because we have learned how to use it as the starting-point for bringing a new hope to the masses of the world. When, and if, this war becomes a people’s war, its aims will also become clear. Then we shall see that what we are fighting for is not merely the selfish aim of living our way of life, but rather of assisting in a program which will bring a decent standard of living to all people everywhere. Then we shall also see that this cannot be brought about save through world organization, that is, in a world which is becoming economically and spiritually interdependent. And then we shall also know that in such a world there must be basic equality for all men.

These purposes cannot be realized, obviously, so long as the threat of the anti-democratic revolution hangs over us. Unhappily, there are people in this world, very powerful people, who do not like liberty and equality and fraternity, and if they should come to rule our world, none of the ideals we dream about can be realized. So, again we face a tragic moment in our history. But, there is no escape. The person who is incapable of facing tragedy is a sadist person.

So, I say to you, young man, as you go forth to battle, be a good soldier. What I mean by a good soldier, is embraced in Oliver Cromwell’s famous definition: “A good soldier is one who know what he’s fighting for and loves what he knows.” And when you come back, bring with you some of the courage you have learned; and make it catching so that all of us together can set our hands and our hearts and our minds to the task of creating a world of peace and plenty, of justice and freedom, and of intelligence and affection.

**New York School of Social Work**

**EDWARD C. LINDEMAN**

**A Negro Leader: “a real, living democracy ...”**

**COLORED AMERICANS are not interested in “avenging Pearl Harbor” even though some of our race lost their lives in that disaster. We have no desire to defend American prestige in the Far East, for this “prestige” has been based on the theory of white supremacy that has debased American democracy at home and abroad and nullified the Negro’s citizenship in many sections of this country. We feel no burning urge to go “all out” for a victory that will simply perpetuate the American way of life as it has been maintained in our lifetime. To us, the war’s real aims should include none of these objectives, but rather should call for their elimination.**

The single most important issue for us to consider is this: Shall we have an opportunity as free men and women to work out our destiny, resolve misunderstandings and hatreds, and help to build a society based upon the ideal of human comradeship? The answer to this question constitutes an imperative challenge for Negroes to give their every effort to make such a future possible. It means helping to defeat the Axis powers as represented in their armies abroad and their agents here in this country. It means the service of Negroes in all phases of war, even under conditions difficult for self-respecting citizens to bear. The challenge justifies our working with a curious combination of reactionaries, imperialists, communists—in fact any one who wants to see Nazism destroyed. It makes it possible for us to enlist even in a Jinn-Crow army or navy; it buoys us up under the treacherous attacks of Negro-hating congressmen, lynch mobs in Sikeston, Alexandria or Detroit, and anti-Negro employers.

Hitler clearly defined in Mein Kampf the official Nazi plans for the Negro in this country as well as in Africa. And between yellow Japanese and dark-skinned Americans there is no kinship of color that does not disappear immediately under the impact of differing political and philosophical ideals.

The Negro American wants, above all things, a real living democracy. The Japanese war-lord is determined to wipe that word from common usage and the principle from the thinking of Pacific peoples. If there is an affinity of purpose between dark-skinned citizens of this country and yellow people of Asia, it is between Negro Americans and defenders of the Chinese Republic. The Chinese are fighting to clear their homeland of the invader so that they may resume progress toward their goal of a free, democratic China. We must also dispose of Nazism’s threat if we are to have a chance at building in America the democracy that is our goal.

**National Urban League**

**LESTER B. GRANGER**

**A Lawyer: “for a world of increasing freedom ...”**

**THE PRIMARY ISSUES of this war are the survival of the culture, freedom and justice of a progressive civilization; the advancement of human liberty and human decency; the preservation of self-government by those who have already attained it, and the extension of the right of self-government to the other peoples of the world. The fundamental reasons which impelled the United States to enter the first World War are essentially the same as those which have forced us to join the side of the United Nations in the present conflict. Woodrow Wilson’s phrase, “To make the world safe for democracy,” epitomized our purpose then. That same purpose is much more dramatically apparent today than it was in 1917.**

Our opponents have proclaimed their goal, by both word and action, with greater and more unmistakable clarity than was dared twenty-five years ago. They have revealed, in vivid contrast, the conflict between two completely antagonistic concepts of the destiny of mankind. “Two worlds,” Hitler has said, “stand opposed to one another; one of them must break asunder.” The Axis has embarked upon a crusade to impose on all the peoples of the world the totalitarian concept that the sole function of individual human beings is to serve as cogs in a military and economic machine. We cannot comprehend the issues of the struggle unless we make ourselves understand that self-government everywhere depends, for generations to come, upon the dissolution of totalitarian aggression.

The broad issues of this war have been outlined by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt in the eight-point program which has come to be known as the Atlantic Charter. These issues will not be determined finally by a conclusive military victory alone. To have any real assurance of permanent peace there must be an understanding of why Hitler’s program was accepted by the German people, and the specter of unemployment must be courageously met and routed among the peoples of both the victorious and the vanquished nations.

We must recognize what are not the issues as well as what
they are. If vengeance, imperialism, racism, nationalism, or artificial trade barriers are allowed to be or to become part or parcel of the direct or indirect aims of the United Nations, any reasonable hope of a permanent world peace will be frustrated. The essential purposes must not be obscured by territorial demands or reparations. Freedom of individuals and peoples, rather than national sovereignty and empires, must be made the paramount consideration. More and more it is apparent that both sides in this war are fighting for a “New World Order,” the Axis to establish an order of tyranny and fear, the United Nations for a world of increasing freedom in which the international aggressor will be an outlaw subject to control by an effectively enforceable international law. As to the citizens of the United States specifically, the issue of the war is freedom or slavery.

New York

Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.

A Psychiatrist: “to hold on to liberty...”

Bill, I wish I were a better talker. I know what I want to say, but I don’t know that I can put it right. Words are tricky.

I understand how you feel about your cousin. You want to kill someone who killed him cunningly and ruthlessly. If you had been killed, I would want revenge. I would want to fight and kill. But, when you asked me to tell you what you would be fighting for, I began thinking it over. I guess it is bigger than your cousin’s life or my life or even your own life. It is democracy.

When you were a little fellow you always fought hard for anything you felt honestly belonged to you. This democracy you are going to fight for now belongs to you.

Don’t ask me to define democracy. I might begin talking about its imperfections and that would take a long time. I know I am right in telling you that democracy is a good thing. It is the best thing we have. Inevitably it will be a better thing in the future. It can be a fine and almost perfect thing. As it stands today, it is the only form of government giving men, women and children a decent chance in life—a chance to become better and happier human beings.

What are the issues you are going to shoot out with the enemy? As I see them, here they are:

Dictatorship vs. Democracy.

Brute Strength “goose-stepping” the people down into enslaved barbarism vs. the independent development of democratic civilization and cultures.

Children trained and shaped for cannon fodder vs. children growing up and working out their lives in peace and security.

I don’t want the kids you are going to have someday to be “goose-steppers” even in the front ranks. It seems to me that democracy is as old as mankind. It is a part of us—like our skins.

I found this “piece” the other day. It expresses what I mean: Long ago, a slave, sweating along the hordes building the pyramids, or chained to a galley of ancient Spain, brooding over the injustices to himself and to his fellow-slaves, now and then succeeded in breaking loose, killing the work master, and giving his anonymous life on the altar of freedom. Thus was the mit of liberty. During the centuries its light often has been dimmed, but never has it been extinguished. It never will be.

Bill, I guess you get the privilege of helping to keep that torch burning.

After France had been sold down the river, an old Frenchman said, among other things: “We always spoke of our lives, seldom of our duties. . . . We are about to become slaves.”

One thing he said I think I will never forget: “Tell all this to the Americans and warn them at the same time of the perils that may befall democracy everywhere, when it organizes that free men have duties as well as rights.”

So, Bill, when your time comes to shoot, I believe you will shoot quicker and straighter if you shoot not to avenge your cousin’s murder, but to hold on to liberty for yourself and for the children I hope you are going to have after you come back from the war.

Philadelphia

Edward A. Strecker, M.D.

A Clergyman: “not military triumph alone...”

This war is now being waged on all the continents and seas around the world, and involves more nations and human beings than any conflict in history. The temptation is strong to give up attempting to understand its magnitude and complexity, and to oversimplify the situation by concentrating on individual motivations that will justify and energize our personal relation to it.

Vengeance for the death of a relative or friend whose life has already been taken is a powerful and personal motive. One difficulty with it is that the war may last long after such a motive has been sated, or end before the individual under orders has had any chance to satisfy it. Moreover, under the strains of wartime we shall all need more broadly and deeply based supports than any vendetta of private vengeance can provide.

This very motive of personal vengeance, however, if we look into it more deeply, may open up a way to something far beyond itself. Hundreds and thousands of Poles and Norwegians, Dutch and Belgians, Chinese, Greeks, and Russians, soldiers and civilians alike, have lost their lives under attacks as sudden and unjustified as the assault on Pearl Harbor. One central issue in this war is obviously, therefore, freedom for all peoples from the threat of attack by neighbors who have armed themselves to get what they want by aggressive violence.

But this threat can only be removed if nations small and large unite into some kind of community of peoples that will maintain the security and rights of each, as good local government maintains these for individuals within the state. The second issue of this war is therefore the establishment of such an ordered and orderly international community, in a world now so interdependent that only so can peace and prosperity be secured for anybody.

Such international cooperation, if it is to endure and succeed, must provide for the progressive fulfillment in ever larger measure of the desire of all developing human beings for “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Nazi and Japanese doctrines of racial superiority and the right of domination over other peoples, conflict so directly with these universal human drives that it is hard to see any road toward peace or human welfare except through the overthrow of these pretensions. The only adequate compensation for a war so widespread and costly as this one, would be an open road into a better future for all those peoples of the whole earth whose soldiers and civilians are dying to make it possible for their successors.

These issues are all three of a kind that search and judge and must revise our own ways of living, both national and personal. Pearl Buck reminds us that the most effective argument Japan is using against us in the Far East is the dominating attitude of white men toward the colored races, as exemplified not only by the British in India, but conspicuously by Americans in their own country. Here at home this same argument is dangerously effective among those who have never been given their full and rightful share in our developing democracy. Victory must therefore be won, not only over the enemies of democracy abroad, but over “the barbarian in our hearts” and in our common life. That victory can never be won by personal vengeance on some human being in an enemy uniform, nor yet by military triumph alone; it has to be won at home no less than abroad, and in the present for the sake of a better future.

Charles W. Gilkey, D.D.

Dean of the Chapel, University of Chicago

ULY 1942

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Saving – Voluntary and Forced

1. Taxation, by draining off excess purchasing power, would both finance the war and prevent inflation. But since a pay-as-you-go policy for financing the war is impractical, other methods must be found to achieve both purposes. One is SAVING.

2. Now it is left to the citizen to decide whether to use his excess purchasing power himself, or loan it to the government by buying bonds.

3. The government is using every means to encourage voluntary saving, and many patriotic Americans are cutting down consumption in order to buy bonds.

4. Priorities and price control have curtailed consumer goods, thereby encouraging investment in war bonds.
5. But excess purchasing power this year will total about $17 billion, far more than can be drained off by voluntary saving. Only compulsory measures will avoid inflation—heavier taxes* or forced saving.

6. What is forced saving? It is a levy on individual incomes; but it is in part a loan, not a tax, to be repaid by the government after the war.

7. Forced saving would tend to reduce voluntary saving.

8. Politically, forced saving is attractive, especially in a campaign year. The promise of a post-war refund sweetens the bitter medicine of taxation.

* in the discussion on Taxation see June Survey Graphic, "We can't have price control without More Taxes."
9. In theory, the refund would enable the worker to weather post-war depression, and his ability to spend would stimulate production of consumer goods.

10. But the heavy capital levy required to make good the pledge to repay forced saving would blight business recovery.

11. Most of the forced saving of higher income groups would be held permanently as a tax; most of the forced saving of lower income groups would be returned after the war as deferred pay. The lowest income group would be exempt, in order to safeguard an adequate minimum standard of living.

12. This adjustment of burden to means would result in a partial redistribution of national wealth.
Labor's Ordeal in France

by HEINZ SOFFNER

In Lyons, Le Creusot, and other French industrial towns, workers are serving the Nazi war machine. Great numbers of French civilians are working in Germany. Vichy sets up new compulsory organizations under the control of government appointees. What has happened to the powerful labor movement which formerly included half the wage earners in France?

Charles Durand, until three months ago a turret lathe operator in the Renault works just outside Paris, will never recover completely from injuries received when the R.A.F. bombed that plant, which had become one of Germany's great war arsenals. From his flat in Suresnes, high above the bank of the Seine, he can look down on the blackened ruins where once he worked, or see the huge Swastika banner which casts its ominous shadow over Paris from the top of the Eiffel Tower.

In 1914-18 Durand fought against the Germans and was wounded several times. In this war, one of his sons was killed fighting for France, one is in a prison camp, the third is with De Gaulle. Durand has always loved France and hated war, cherished freedom and denounced fascism; an active unionist, a municipal councilor elected on the social list ticket—no one can imagine that he has pro-Nazi sympathies or submits willingly to the New Order.

Why, then, did he help turn out tanks for the Nazis? Mobilized "on his job" like most war workers and under military discipline, he was unable to leave Paris before the Nazis moved in. After that the only choice was to stay at the Renault plant or be deported to Germany; in either case, he would not escape serving Hitler. So, concerned for his wife and little daughter, he returned to his lathe.

Nevertheless Durand and most of his fellow-workers stuck to the forty-hour week, slowed up, and refused overtime or night work. The Nazis substituted piecework rates, offered premiums for increased output and higher pay for overtime. But nothing could tempt the French workers until the Nazis began paying premiums and overtime in canned food, which was not otherwise to be had in starving Paris. Like others, Durand, no longer able to endure the hungry eyes and wasting body of eight-year-old Fernande, reluctantly succumbed. He was on the night shift when the British bombers came.

The story of Charles Durand is only one instance of the plight in which French workers find themselves. Nor is this contrast between their convictions and the work they are compelled to do for the invader restricted to the zone of actual enemy occupation.

Consider the silk weavers of Lyons. Once they were the pioneers in French labor's struggle for emancipation. Back in 1831, 40,000 silk weavers, incensed by their employers' refusal to accept arbitration, forced the garrison to leave Lyons; it took an entire army corps to restore "law and order." Ever since, industrial Lyons has been a stronghold of organized labor. Today, its mayor, Edouard Herriot, last speaker of the French Chamber and outstanding defender of the Third Republic, has been deposed by Vichy—and Lyons silk weavers make parachutes for Hitler's air-borne shock troops.

Whatever production is still going on in the unoccupied zone is directed by "economic commissions," appointed by Vichy and controlled by Nazi emissaries. Only factories working on German orders can hope to get raw materials, fuel, electric power. The Berliet works in Lyons produce army trucks and repair railroad cars for Germany; the shipyards near Toulon build auxiliary vessels for the Italian navy; Le Creusot, the French Pittsburgh—important enough for the Nazis to keep an army general there in charge of production—turns out armor plate for Nazi tanks, locomotives and freight cars for the Reich.

The prefects (district governors) use their food rationing powers to curb local labor. Enterprises with no Nazi work operate only twenty-four to thirty hours a week. In the first year after the armistice, the cost of living (not including the fancy prices of the black market, of course) rose at least 80 percent, while wages even in the most favorable cases did not increase more than 20 percent. Thus, the buying power of the average French worker, according to official statistics, had fallen 50 percent by last August and since then has been dropping even more rapidly.

Nazis and Vichy

Today, the workers in France confront three foes. The Nazis want to exploit French labor for their war effort—both in France and in Germany—and also mean to reduce France eventually to a mere producer of food, raw materials, and handicrafts, with no large industries. The Vichy regime, whose surrender to Hitler was in no small degree determined by hatred and fear of labor's progress, now tries to subdue the French workers according to the August example of its overlords. The third foe is tragic confusion in labor's own ranks.

In May, General Otto von Stuelpnagel, military commander of occupied France, increased working hours and ordered employers to report immediately the number and categories of workmen made available for new tasks (that is, primarily, for transfer to Germany) as a result of longer hours.

Most French prisoners of war are employed by the Nazis, not only in agriculture, road building, and so on, but—in clear violation of international law—on direct war production as well. The Messerschmitt factory in Augsburg, for instance, another recent target of the R.A.F., employs a considerable number of French war prisoners. As long ago as last July, the Berlin War Ministry was
able to state that only 135,000 war prisoners remained "idle" in the camps, while 1,300,000 had been put to work.

More than 100,000 civilian French workers have been shipped to Germany. Their reports of the conditions under which they had to live had such an effect upon their families in France that last March even Vichy was moved to set up in Berlin a "Department of French Labor in Germany," in order to deal with complaints on the spot.

Besides the transfer of French labor by Nazi government agencies, certain private German concerns are authorized to recruit directly. Krupp, for instance, has established recruiting centers, significantly enough in cheap Paris cafés—like the waterfront taverns where seamen were shanghaied. Krupp's agents cannot help admitting that in Germany the workers will be housed in camps, but they generously promise that their victims will find them "convenable."

Factories in France which produce Nazi tanks or planes are closely supervised to prevent sabotage: German sentries watch the gates, German engineers occupy special control offices, stool pigeons are planted among the workers, heavy punishment is meted out whenever sabotage is detected. Not satisfied with the results of these safeguards, the Nazis recently have begun to use French pilots for the test flights—counting on the unwillingness of French workers to endanger the lives of their fellow-countrymen.

Laval's elevation to power in April meant a new turn of the screw in Vichy's labor policy. Certainly his predecessors had endeavored to please their Nazi masters: in his speeches Petain had repeatedly stressed the point that the French people must return to the countryside and become once more a nation of peasants and artisans; his Labor Minister, René Belin, former assistant secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.—French Federation of Labor) and ardent pacifist, had obediently dissolved the organization from whose ranks he had risen and had confiscated union funds.

In November 1941, Vichy adopted a public works program, almost wholly forestry and rural building, to hasten the disintegration of industrial centers. A decree of December 17 empowered the Minister of Production to shut down factories in order "to concentrate production according to national interest." On January 24 of this year, it was decreed that urban unemployed and even the entire force of some factories, "kept intact as far as possible, with their foremen and their managers," should be transferred to the land.

All these efforts, however, neither satisfied the Nazis nor broke the stubborn resistance of French workers. Laval substituted for Belin one of Vichy's outstanding intellectual collaborationists, Professor Hubert Lagardelle, long ago a radical trade unionist, left-winger and disciple of Sorel, but more recently Mussolini's advisor on labor relations and co-inventor of the corporative system in fascist Italy.

Even before his appointment as Laval's Labor Minister, Lagardelle had been busy behind the scenes drafting Vichy's "Labor Charter" which, according to the expert testimony of the official Nazi sheet Partiër Zeitung, is "a synthesis of the fascist system of corporations and the German organization of the Labor Front."

This Labor Charter, decreed by Petain on October 4, 1941 and purporting, according to its preamble, "to break definitely with the old system of class struggle" came into force on January 1. In letter and spirit, it is diametrically opposed to French traditions of individual and collective freedom. It provides for compulsory organizations for employers and workers, with many involved territorial, industrial, and professional subdivisions. The whole system is based upon "social committees" in each factory and is controlled from the top, in true totalitarian manner, by government commissioners. The government is to fix the basic minimum wage for each locality, which will be increased by "professional supplements" and family allowances. In the indefinite period during which this involved machinery is supposed to get started, all leading positions are to be filled by government appointees. Its financial base will be the confiscated union funds.

Confusion in the Ranks

Even a strong, united, and determined labor movement would find it hard to hold its ground against both the ruthless oppression of a foreign invader and the hostility of an increasingly fascist government. And the French workers, although they recovered with admirable speed from the shock of the military defeat and began to offer resistance a few weeks after the armistice, are still far from unity.

They have lost most of their leaders. Leon Jouhaux, the well known head of the French trade unions, is confined to the little town of Vals. Leon Blum, socialistic leader and former head of the Popular Front government, is a prisoner of the Riom court. Marx Dormoy, who had fought actively against home-grown fascists as Minister of the Interior under Blum, was assassinated last July. Lagrange, outstanding among Blum's younger lieutenants, was killed on the battlefield. The communist leaders, Gabriel Péri and Lucien Sampaix, were shot as hostages by the Nazis.

Thousands of other seasoned trade unionists, militant socialists, and communists have been killed, imprisoned, or deported to construct the Trans-Sahara Railroad in the African desert.

Several former labor leaders have bowed to the invader. Dumoulin, another assistant secretary of the C.G.T., and Vigne, chief of the Mine Workers Federation, have turned to Vichy. Paul Faure, former secretary general of the Socialist Party, now sits in Petain's "National Council." Marcel Déat, former Neo-Socialist and extreme pacifist, is all-out for collaboration: he is now editor of the Paris daily L'Oeuvre and leader of the "Social Labor Front," a Nazi-sponsored organization in the occupied zone, allegedly embracing 350,000 members. Important among its activities is circulating collaborationist propaganda among French war prisoners.

Jacques Doriot, once the most promising among the younger French communist leaders, had turned fascist before the war. He is at present leader of the French "Volunteers against Bolshevism" on the Russian front. The propaganda of his "Social Party" denounces Vichy to the workers as "reactionary" with the same demagogy that the Nazis used against the German Republic. Doriot expects to become France's No. 1 quisling as soon as the Nazis have no further use for Petain, Laval or any other reactionary of the Third Republic and need an out-and-out fascist as Gauleiter.

Many renegade labor newspapers also try to confuse French workers. Belin's friends publish Au Travail, while the pro-Vichy socialists have L'Effort in the unoccupied zone and La France Socialiste in Paris, both edited by Charles Spinasse, once Blum's Minister of Commerce. The
group around Déat also owns L'Atelier for the collaborationists in the occupied zone.

Confusion is further increased by the fact (familiar to students of authoritarian regimes in other countries, for instance Austria between 1934 and 1938) that the underground movement frequently camouflages its publications as official matters, while the Vichy regime occasionally tries to disguise its propaganda stuff as underground literature. It takes considerable skill to interpret this misleading material properly.

“Brothers in Distress”

Workers who were neither prisoners nor renegades—undoubtedly the majority—found it extremely difficult after the armistice to overcome both the external obstacles of military occupation and police persecution, and the internal barriers of suspicion, resignation, and dissension. Nevertheless, representatives of the Free (socialist) and the Christian (Catholic) trade unions joined against Nazis and domestic fascists, issuing their first common manifesto on November 15, 1940. About the same time, the first major acts of factory sabotage were reported from the Devoitaine Aircraft plant in Toulouse. Underground activities of French socialists started in the “forbidden zone” along the English Channel in the mining district of northern France.

Twelve well-known union leaders—nine from the Free and three from the Christian unions—met somewhere in the occupied zone to draw up a significant document for circulation among the French workers of both zones as a basis for further efforts. It defines the aims of French union labor as follows:

The French union movement must be guided by six essential principles:
1. It must be anticapitalistic and generally opposed to all forms of workers’ oppression.
2. It must be willing to subordinate the interest of the individual to the common interest.
3. It must not try to absorb the state, but neither must it be absorbed by the state.
4. It must uphold the respect of individual rights, without any racial, religious or political discrimination.
5. It must be free, both in its collective activities and in the individual liberties of its members.
6. It must seek international cooperation of the workers and nations.

Since then, labor’s resistance has made considerable progress. All nationwide federations having been destroyed since the armistice, it centers around the local unions, which still exist legally, however limited in their actions (though soon they are supposed to be supplanted by the organizations of the Labor Charter). Underground groups, at first isolated and weak, have established contacts, gained experience (dearly paid for), and now are distributing numerous underground newspapers and leaflets in both zones. The communists, defeatists until Hitler’s attack on Russia, have become passionate fighters against the Nazis—although union and socialist circles still are suspicious of them as reliable allies.

French workers, who escaped to England to enter the war industries, have set up a French Trade Union Center there including both Free and Christian unionists. In close contact with the British trade unions and with the International Federation of Trade Unions, also exiled in London, the French Trade Union Center in Britain endorses the workers in France by broadcasts and other means. In the United States, too, a French Labor Committee has been formed, which publishes a weekly periodical, France Speaks.

The spirit of French labor’s resistance was stirringly expressed in the recent May Day message sent by French trade unionists to Free French Headquarters in London. Addressed to the free workers all over the world, it said in part:

Brothers, we do not ask you to pity us . . . but we do ask you to continue to have faith in us. We are not accomplices in the betrayal of France. Those of us who work in Germany are compelled to do so by brute force, by the threat of starvation. Efforts are being made to deceive you into believing that we are on the side of the invaders and their lackeys. On the contrary, brothers, our faith lies in you who are working to free us, in you who are producing planes, tanks, ships—all the instruments of victory. We are ready to do anything in our power to help you, in sabotaging enemy production, in enduring the justified bombardment of plants working for Germany, in following directives you will send us . . . keep us in your thoughts and remember that, like miners clearing away the debris of a caved-in shaft, you are working for brothers in distress.

Partners in the Fight for Freedom

Ever since the storm clouds of Hitler’s war threat gathered on the horizon of Europe many people have expected labor’s role in such an emergency to become decisive: that either it would be able to prevent war or would turn Hitler’s aggression into an anti-fascist revolution.

Except for Germany (where labor’s failure to resist Hitler presents problems outside the scope of this article), no country could have offered more favorable conditions for labor’s successful intervention in a war against Nazi-fascist aggression than France. In the years of Hitler’s war preparations, French labor had attained unprecedented strength. The French trade unions reunited by the convention of Toulouse in March 1936, had organized five million members, which is more than half of all French wage earners; among these were 70 to 80 percent of the workers in the essential war industries.

The Socialist Party represented the largest group in the Chamber of Deputies. The Popular Front government, under Leon Blum, had succeeded in uniting all labor groups, unions and political parties, liberals and socialists, communists and syndicalists, behind its program of social reforms. The French Communist Party (in contrast to England and the United States, a mass party with strong parliamentary representation), after Russia’s entry into the League of Nations, gave hearty support to French rearmament and even got behind the movement for a “united national front.” The generous admission into the country under the Popular Front government of thousands of anti-Hitler refugees from Germany gave French labor firsthand information about the Nazi system and its oppression of labor in Germany and details of Hitler’s preparations for war.

And yet labor was unable to prevent France’s collapse. How was labor responsible for the collapse? In how far must the blame rest on management; socialists, communists, pacifists, fascists; military command, the civil bureaucracy? Without entering upon this controversy, it is still possible to draw certain conclusions from labor’s ordeal in France; conclusions of immediate value for the United Nations’ struggle. (Continued on page 335)
"Bevin Belles": Wartime Specialists

by THERLE HUGHE

New industrial welfare workers followed British women into war factories. How they deal with such complexities as the production drive, child care, queueing, part-time work, canteen feeding, is told by a former newspaper woman, now herself a "Belle."

Our foremen wear white coats. Our workers wear dark blue bib-and-brace overalls or boiler suits. I wear whatever clothes I choose, but they have no significance except what I may gradually create for them. And that goes for my whole position, the position of the many welfare and employment officers in British factories today. Of course there are some superbly uniformed officers doing our sort of job in factories where personnel methods are built on years of sound industrial relationships and everything runs smoothly. But I want to show how the ordinary medium-sized provincial factory employing some 1,700 or 1,800 men, women, and juveniles has turned over to full scale, ever-increasing war production, and has suddenly been confronted with the need for what we call Welfare, with a capital "W." These are the factories that make up the bulk of our working communities; and here the present great social change can be seen in all its phases.

We have wartime legislation demanding a certain minimum of welfare work, based on the principle "no welfare provided, no workers supplied." But the real reason behind the movement's recent progress is the fact that labor is so scarce. The threat of unemployment no longer hangs over the workers. Employers must pile wages higher and higher, or else they must make their workers like the work.

Many firms still have my job combined with an clerical, a secretary, a first aid officer, and a welfare officer. Others at the other extreme employ graduates in economics and social science. But I myself am a real war worker, intended to meet the sudden new war demand. "Bevin Belles," we are called, we who attended the Ministry of Labour and National Service three-month course for welfare officers.

Not that three months is considered enough to create a welfare officer, but the idea is to select people with a useful background and give them the basis of factor law, new personnel methods, and so on, which can more easily be acquired by lectures and visits to different types of factories. Sandwiched between two months of this we had a month each inside a well-run factory, probably the most profitable training of all.

By "useful background" I mean a general interest in this field of work. Among fellow students were social workers, a policewoman, a postmistress, an actress, a schoolteacher, a psychologist, and a number of girls from factor offices. My own background, before going to London, has included some years on provincial daily newspaper handling news of police and juvenile courts and even...
kind of social and welfare activity; not to mention having several factory inspectors in the family.

New Types of Workers; New Problems

In a town such as ours, and it's typical, women workers rank as either mobile or immobile. If they are mobile [two lines deleted by the censor] local factories get the remainder, people they would never consider employing in peace-time—wives and mothers with children or invalids at home demanding much of their time and energy. These women and girls work six, eight, ten, some twelve hours a day; six—or a few, five—days a week. On Sundays they clean house and do the washing. Most of their time at home during the week is spent in buying, cooking, packing, serving food for themselves and their families.

The employer is up against entirely new problems. Welfare and employment officers are told, "Do something about it all"; but our powers are still limited. Not until the officer's authority is defined and immeasurably increased can we do a fraction of what we see crying out to be done. The problem is largely with management. Absenteeism, slacking, unwillingness to learn new jobs or experiment with new working hours—all these, I am more and more convinced, are products of bad management. Inconsiderate managers, inexperienced or the wrong "old type" foremen can kill every incentive a welfare-employment officer can devise. Today we must face up to our problems individually, with little help in the way of nationwide investigation, advice, or propaganda.

That basis accepted, what can we do? The selection and placement of new workers, their advancement and transfer, the formalities of leaving or dismissal, discipline, investigation of complaints, welfare activities inside the factory, cooperation with the corresponding machinery outside the factory—these are our responsibilities. Perhaps a look at my own working'day will make the picture clearer.

A Routine Day

Our factory is divided into two sections more than a mile apart. I spend my mornings in one section, afternoons in the other. Apart from experts in charge of the first aid canteens, I work alone, concerned primarily with our thousand-old women and juveniles, but acting also as liaison officer for the men between workers, foremen, management, and outside officials.

9:30 A.M. This is breakfast time for the shift working 6 A.M. to 2 P.M., or 8 A.M. to 2 P.M. (part-time workers)

6 A.M. to 6 P.M. Sometimes I look in at the canteen to see that breakfast is served promptly, but generally I keep my room, for it is the most popular time for the morning's crop of complaints.

9:30-11 A.M. Mostly contacts. With whichever nurse on duty; with all the foremen, to check up on com- bines, and on such matters as the way new starters are being and the day's absences; with the workers themselves. If possible I also have a word with the cloakroom attendants, storekeeper (about safety gloves, and so on) and the timekeeper, to cross-check on lateness and absences.

11-12 Noon. By now, would-be workers have been to the Employment Exchange and procured their introduc- tion cards. We are not allowed to employ them without this proof that they have been given permission to work for us. I may find a dozen in my waiting room. While learning about their background, health, experience, home responsibilities, I must decide how to place them where nervousness, talkativeness, clumsy vigor, defective hearing or other obvious drawback is minimized. I must think with them about shopping and child care problems, transport, too, and the husband's working hours. Then the applicant has a few minutes with Nurse, who checks up on the all-important ability to stand and lift and carry (doubtful cases see the doctor before starting work), followed by a few final words from me as to what to expect, and what will be expected of her when she starts working next morning.

Noon-12:30. I tidy up an accumulation of desk work. I must keep records of applications to leave, supply our comments on the forms these applicants fill in, submit the forms to the town's local national service officer at the Employment Exchange, who decides, under the Essential Work Order, whether each application is to be granted or not. I also supply our statistician with weekly percentages of absenteeism for each shop. It is one of my jobs to probe into these absences with a view to minimizing them. We don't get many conspicuously culpable, but a lot of the one-day absences which play havoc with interlocked processes like ours.

12:30-1:45 P.M. (my dinner break). Shopping at such few shops as stay open. Or a hurried bicycle trip home to prepare and eat dinner with my husband, or to do a bit of house cleaning. (I don't feel a household of two justifies any domestic help.) Then off to the other section of the works.

1:45-2:30 P.M. Usually another full waiting room, another variation on the themes, "I want a transfer"; "I want lighter work"; "I want my cards" (unemployment and health insurance cards which are held by the firm for weekly stamping, and without which almost no job is now obtainable).

At present I am busy starting a lot of new fourteenyear-olds fresh from school. I long for the continued education some firms manage. Here, it is still a case of plunging straight into forty-four hours a week of factory work. If I can, I stir a spark of interest in evening classes and clubs, but cinemas provide entertainment with less effort. I begin most of these children, girls and boys, on bench work under a particularly fatherly foreman. He and I weigh them up frequently, and I place them in other departments accordingly. For girls, the prospects are good, as they quickly move on to more skilled work; but for boys there is now scant hope of apprenticeship. The trade unions insist on a set proportion of boys to men, and as men are taken for the armed forces and replaced by women, the number of boys must decrease, too. As a result, ever increasing numbers of boys are passing through their most formative years as unskilled laborers. The sense of injustice and frustration leads them to grumble, not at the lack of training but at the rates of pay.

2:30-3:30 P.M. General rush of work applicants. Our offers of part time employment demand particularly careful "weeding," as women with too many home ties or too poor health for full time work may easily prove more trouble than they're worth, however plucky. I have
a tremendous respect for those who cannot bear to stay at home while there is war work in the factories crying out to be done, but none at all for the minority who think they have found a good way to dodge the full time service they should be giving.

3:30-5 P.M. Contacts all around the works.

5-5:30 P.M., or frequently later. Office work as in the morning, discussions with the works manager, and so on.

Exhausting but Worth the Trouble

So much for a routine day. Sometimes I have to represent the firm at an appeal board where a committee of three impartial judges hears a worker's appeal from the national service officer's decision regarding release from our factory. Occasionally there is a meeting organized by the local district welfare officer, an official responsible for such matters as billeting, leisure hour activities, transport in the area. But these are exceptions, so let's turn to the day's chief headlines.

New workers first. We are short, desperately short, of workers. Legislation now extends conscription to unmarried women, unless they have children under fourteen in their care. And married women also are called upon to register in age groups. Home problems are discussed in interviews at the Employment Exchange, and as many women as possible are directed into industry.

Then our problems begin. Women must be trained to take over men's work. Training and dilution are disliked intensely by both the men and their employers, and as yet the special training and instruction centers have turned out a mixed lot. Generally we prefer to train our own women machine operatives.

On the whole we find that the women over thirty-five are more useful on general unskilled work, replacing youths, and our problem is so to arrange the work that it is not too heavy for them. A factory like ours always has a lot of more or less "childish" jobs that would irk a lively youngster in five minutes, but which we find ideal for the grannies. We have four deaf and dumb women extremely happy on particularly noisy jobs, and we make a point of employing our share of the physically handicapped.

Much of our work is fairly heavy and dirty. I never minimize these points at the preliminary interview. Selection now means taking almost everyone we can get, but I find my workers, bless them, are amazingly ready to accept hard conditions. What they resent is any unexpected demand upon them.

Once past the simple medical tests, new workers must be placed according to a rough gauge of their capabilities. Few firms have time for aptitude tests now. The only alternative is close watching and the foreman's cooperation during the first few weeks. Many firms put all new employees to school for at least a few days, to learn the factory rules, elementary safety precautions, and something of how their jobs fit into the general scheme. A few firms take this much further, especially with juveniles. The rest of us have to fit all that into the preliminary interview and subsequent personal attention to the newcomer—exhausting, sometimes, but worth every last ounce of trouble.

Transfers and advancements, especially of juveniles, receive the same individual treatment. Leaving, as I have indicated, is more complicated in all factories which come under the Essential Work Order. But these formalities help combat the restlessness based on rumors of what other firms may be paying. In my own opinion, if a worker has such a desire to leave that he or she demands that the case go before the appeal board, then that worker had probably better go.

The national service officer can also be appealed to when a worker is conspicuously late or absent, with the matter of penalties still in the experimental stage.

Avoiding a "Bonus to the Enemy"

But these are the negative sides of our welfare work. On the positive side, the canteen comes first. Good meals to fit the workers' rest breaks are provided at both sections of our works. One canteen is run by a committee set up by the workers to deal directly with the manageress, herself chosen by them. The other is run by an outside catering firm, with no profits for the workers, of course, but with a wider range of food supplies as the same contractors cater at a number of canteens. Under the present complicated rationing, the second method has a lot to recommend it, but a committee of workers is more than ever essential, we find, to meet the manageress frequently and see that the firm gets fair play.

Perhaps the most essential second welfare question is first aid and medical attention. We have three trained nurses (two women, one man) always on duty. Equally important, I think, we are continually recruiting first-aiders from among the workers to take the training course and be on call. The doctor spends a few hours in each factory twice a week, examining all new starters, and anyone else as required. On his advice we persuaded a number of workers to take vitamin tablets this past winter. In addition, our works runs a contributory scheme, twopence a week, to the local infirmary, insuring hospital treatment to all employees in need of it. A penny a-week benevolent fund gives grants on the advice of the workers' committee wherever sickness or accident hits a worker hard. At present only foremen are covered by a disability pension scheme.

As a matter of course, records are kept of all accidents and a safety committee normally meets monthly to go into the causes. My other connections with safety questions are chiefly in cooperation with H.M. Inspectors of Factories who advise and if necessary compel safety in stallations; with a safety council covering a large industrial area and meeting monthly for discussions; and with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents, a national effort which has the backing of the Ministry of Labor and National Service. This organization distribute posters and a helpful accident prevention bulletin. We are kept well aware that, in Mr. Bevin's words, "Accident in factories are a bonus to the enemy."

Safety equipment is slow to obtain these days, but find safety shoes with stiffened toes—coupon free—a great boon to the women and, at the other end of the scale safety caps a fearful bugbear. Only a few of our girl are on drills and lathes of a dangerous type. They are allowed to wear mob caps or their own scarf turbans, a they prefer, but wear something they must. The best type of cap I have seen is of net, with a stiff peak over that incorrigible front curl.

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As to coupons for overall, I apply for supplementary coupons (outside the regular allowance) for each type of work as they become eligible, and explain to all the impatient others that they must wait till the authorities announce that their occupation is to be included in the list. Supplies of soap, hot water, and clean towels are matters I thankfully leave to the stores and cloakroom attendants.

Fortunate indeed is the welfare officer who can procure all the workshop and cloakroom facilities she wants in these days of scarce materials and scarcer maintenance staff. My dreams pass from such elementary advantages as steam-heated pipes under the coat rails to a garden, a library, dental clinic, convalescent home, and holiday hostel—other firms are already doing these things, but as yet they are the exceptions. After all, my firm had not even an employment and welfare officer till I was taken on about nine months ago. Like a lot of others, I must encourage our workers to use the facilities we have, which include a recreation ground and weekly dancing, and to supplement them with the town library, Youth Hostels Association, and other community resources.

**Marketing, Babies—and Factory Work**

This raises the whole question of outside welfare. The district welfare officer and I, between us, must tackle the women's home problems. Child care, marketing, domestic duties, transportation, recreation are directly related to one matter inside the factory which we can control—the hours of work. We have staggered the hours of starting work to ease transportation; we have arranged short and longer shifts for those who must do their own marketing; we have day turns for those who must be home early and late for their families. With part time work we are drawing on a supply of labor previously almost untapped, and finding that, once started, many part time workers see their way to giving full time service.

Briefly, our workers are in four main groups, of which the first is considerably the largest. This group works six-day rotating shifts from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M., 2 to 10 P.M., 10 P.M. to 6 A.M., with Sundays free. An experimental group works five and a half days one week, five nights the next, from 6 to 6, with about two hours a shift in breaks and rest pauses. Part time workers work 8 A.M. to 2 P.M., and 2 to 8 P.M., on alternating six-day weeks. Day workers work 8 A.M. to 5:30 or 7:30 P.M., and stop at midday on Saturday. We definitely do not believe in Sunday work except in cases of unavoidable breakdowns. Even so, marketing and child care problems remain. The shops on the whole are uncooperative. The urgent need is for the dinner hour (noon) opening, and, still more needed, special evening opening "for workers only" with a proportion of all goods reserved till then. No neighbor's shopping, no grocers' and butchers' lists will secure those precious goods that are snapped up by the women with time through the day for the wearisome queuing. For example, I have not seen an orange since last October, had fish only twice, and one packet of gelatine.

Child care in my area is largely a matter of child "minding." By the end of January 1942, some 10,000 children in this country were being looked after in nursery schools, and many more schools and creches are on the way. We finally have a nursery at our works, open day and night, providing trained care for the babies of our women workers. There is provision for baths, preparing formulas, everything. Needless to say, a few mothers have tried to do the minimum hours of work for the maximum hours of baby minding, but not many. Now our urgent need is for a full time nursery school for toddlers. Meanwhile, the minding system works fairly well on the whole. The Employment Exchange has a list of approved child minders—Registered Daily Guardians—and if necessary, the government contributes a small weekly grant toward payment. The chief difficulty arises when the child is not well. It is hard for a mother to decide then where her first duty lies.

Transportation, billets for workers transferred from other areas, recreation are other matters on which welfare departments inside and outside the factory have to get together. In our case, the workers mostly live so near both sections of the works and the center of the town that these are not difficult problems. We have a flourishing recreation club. Its Saturday night dances are particularly popular. Even women straight from work at ten o'clock join in with a will, oily overalls and all. (A different picture from a year ago, when night work consisted frequently of knitting in the air raid shelters, and community singing to drown the "noises off.")

My sort of job and the course of training for it are something new in all but a few exceptional British factories. The demand for more "Bevin Belles" is insistent. Canteen cooks, foremen, workshop welfare supervisors are all being recruited for short courses, and given the background that will help make the most of their ability. Superficial this training must obviously be, so the main essential is to keep the courses wholly practical. Our own might perhaps have been improved by giving us twice as long at work in two contrasting types of factory, and more factory visits to show us concretely just what can be done.

But that brings me back to the basic point I have tried to stress in this account of my job—the power to put our principles into action. What is the use of being instructed and fired with new ideas, if we cannot get those ideas across as essentials to management, over the barbed wire entanglement of pounds, shillings, and pence? Welfare officers in British war industry are recognized, to some extent organized. Now we need authority to get on with our job.
A week after the bombing of Pearl Harbor I went out to the alien enemy camp on the island of Kauai to visit the Reverend Yamamoto*, Japanese priest of the most important Buddhist church on the island. The keeper shouted his name up the stairs, and in a short while he came down to join me on the back lanai. He is a little man, but he carries himself very erect for his seventy-three years. He clasped my hand tightly and said: "How do you do." Then his smile expanded to a grin, and he was silent. For with that handshake and the salutation in English, he had expended his entire working knowledge of things American acquired in forty years' residence in an American community.

Besides being the Buddhist priest at Lihue, the county seat of Kauai, the Reverend Yamamoto was head of the Japanese language school. His school and 171 others like it throughout the Hawaiian Islands have made Japanese the second language in this American territory. They have made it possible for the islands, with a Japanese population of only 165,000, to support twelve newspapers and five magazines in the Japanese language. Two of the newspapers are Honolulu dailies with a large circulation throughout the territory.

These schools have made possible the two well patronized, first-class movie theaters in Honolulu devoted exclusively to Japanese films. They were excellent films produced in Japan; the news reels were exclusively of war, with scenes from the battlefields of China and Europe—films never seen by haole (white) audiences. Later the films made a circuit of all the outside islands, where each important theater devoted one night a week to the Japanese, and then to small villages and plantation camps where other films were seldom seen; this gave them a far greater coverage throughout the territory than haole films.

These schools have made possible the daily radio hours in the Japanese language, which right up to the day of the Pearl Harbor attack were carried by every radio station in the territory.

The Reverend Yamamoto came to the Islands when he was thirty-three, and after brief preliminary training in Honolulu was sent to Kauai. His church and school—in reality but one—were a success from the very beginning. The island of Kauai is only twenty-five miles in diameter, but high mountains in the center forced the population to live along the shore. Transportation was difficult because of the hilly terrain; torrential streams cut deep gulches through to the sea, and the roads were either mud or dust. These physical circumstances kept the Japanese close to the locality in which they worked, and their lives centered around the Buddhist church and the Japanese school, which gave them a more complete expression of Japanese life.

Although the Japanese who came to the islands to work in the cane fields quickly adapted themselves to new methods of agriculture, when the day's work was finished they left all that was alien behind them and were once again in Japan: a bath sizzling hot from a fire underneath the tub; kimonos; wooden clogs left outside the door; in the rooms, elevated floors upon which the family sat, ate, and slept. On Sundays they went to church, the women in dark kimonos, the man in black American suits. Women, girls, and small children sat on one side of the church, and on the other side the men and older boys. Incense floated up around the gold and red lacquer of the altar, and the Reverend Yamamoto, in a long kimono, intoned the chant. When he struck the bell, hands hardened through toil came together, and heads were bowed in prayer.

Close by were the school buildings where the community met to see what their children knew of the mother tongue, and to watch them perform the songs and dances of Japan. Here, too, met the organizations, for the Japanese of Hawaii have always been "joiners" and cheerfully pay dues and make donations for every funeral, every wedding, every departure, or for any other occasion that demands mutual assistance. This was, indeed, Japan.

Yes, but it was also Hawaii, U.S.A. And all this was forty years ago. Today roads are good, and a trip that used to take a couple of days, can be done in an hour—the grandchildren of those early Japanese settlers go tearing by in autos on the way to American schools. When the Reverend Yamamoto first came to Kauai, to keep meat from spoiling he hung it in the shade in a bird cage made of mosquito wire netting. In recent years he has had an electric refrigerator. Then the news from Japan was weeks old by the time it arrived, but a few months ago he could tune in on Tokyo for an eye witness account while something was happening. Hawaii has gone modern. What did this do to the Reverend Yamamoto, his Buddhist church, his Japanese school? Did it put them into the discard?

**Traditional Folkways Persist**

Shortly before Pearl Harbor the Reverend Yamamoto performed a wedding ceremony. The religious part of a Buddhist wedding is only for the immediate family and the two go-betweens, but I was asked to the wedding party which, Japanese style, occurred about three weeks later. In the yard of the groom's home, tables and benches had been set up under an awning. The tables were piled high with Japanese food and American soda pop. All the little girls in the neighborhood, in bright colored kimonos, waited on the tables, and attended to the toasting—the latter being important but unobtrusive. A man who wants to drink with another sends a tiny cup to him by a waitress, who fills it with warm sake. The cup is immediately emptied and sent back so that the donor can have his drink.

At the head of the table sat the bride and groom. He ate heartily and talked with those around him, but the bride, her face powdered to a dead white, sat like a graven image. Over her kimono was wrapped a heavy brocaded obi. She kept her head bowed so no one saw higher than the tip of her nose under an odd shaped
cap whose purpose is to conceal the horns of jealousy. Occasionally she slipped out, changed her kimono and slipped in again to sit silently beside her husband. This bride had been to an American highschool, and on the campus, wearing sweater, skirt, and saddle shoes, could set a man back on his heels—when occasion demanded—with the same lingo used by highschool youngsters anywhere in the United States.

The marriage had been arranged by go-betweens (náko do is the Japanese word for them), one representing each family, with the young people having very little to say about it. Life for these two had been started in the traditional way.

Not long ago I also attended a funeral at which the Reverend Yamamoto officiated. We assembled at the little house in the plantation village. On the lanai were piles of rice in hundred pound bags, each bag bearing the name of the donor written in large Japanese characters. There was far more rice than could be consumed by the bereaved family in many months, and on the next day all but a bag or two would be sold to the neighbors at 10 percent below the market price. Those who did not bring rice brought cash. Rice, however, is especially prized as visible evidence that the deceased had been generous in life and his benefactors many.

Before starting to the cemetery we lined up in the yard to have our picture taken. On one side of the coffin, which had been brought from the house, stood the sorrowing women of the family, clad in heavy, expensive kimonos, their bare feet in straw slippers that were held on with a double cord, exposing the whole foot. By the coffin were poles from which white paper flowers were suspended, and a long slender grave marker of wood inscribed with Japanese characters that some day would be duplicated in stone.

Schools “Made in Japan”

Yes, the Reverend Yamamoto had been doing all right with his Buddhist church. As for the Japanese school, figures for attendance tell their own story. He says that the highest attendance his school ever had in its forty years was 400 students; the last published report—the Japanese schools’ census of September 1939 in the 1941 Japanese directory of the Hawaiian Islands—gave him 324. That drop of only 19 percent can probably be accounted for by smaller Japanese families; Japanese statisticians admit that the ratio of adults to children has been getting greater. But shortly before Pearl Harbor a Honolulu Japanese daily editorialized on the deplorable decline in attendance at Japanese schools.

Even on this little island of Kauai the Reverend Yamamoto was not a single candle in the darkness. On Kauai there are twenty-three Japanese schools. True, some of them are only one room schools, but nonetheless they are twenty-three centers around which Japan-in-Hawaii has revolved. In 1939 the Japanese students attending American schools in Kauai numbered 4,803; while 3,623 Japanese also went to these twenty-three Japanese schools—75 percent of all Japanese of school age. Since they begin to drop out when they reach highschool age, attendance in the first eight grades must have been close to 100 percent. The same score undoubtedly holds for the 38,000 young Japanese going to these schools throughout the islands. And incidentally this school property, exclusive of the land, since most school sites are loaned for that purpose, is valued at half a million dollars, while the monthly tuition is about $60,000, a per capita—every man, woman, and child—of 40 cents a month. These are large amounts when one realizes that much of it comes from the very low earning brackets.

Attendance at American schools in Hawaii is, of course, compulsory, so the Japanese schools have had to arrange hours that would not interfere. Grade students had classes from two to four in the afternoon, going directly from the American to the Japanese schools. On Saturday the hours were from eight to ten in the morning, with special classes for girls that lasted until the afternoon. The only time highschool students had available was from six to seven in the morning. Each day these young people had to be up at five to bathe and eat, in order to start their classes at six, and six o’clock in the Hawaiian winter months is black dark. At seven they left to go to the American schools.

No haole in the Hawaiian Islands really knows what has been taught in these Japanese classrooms. In recent years they have attempted to get girls interested in flower arrangement, tea serving, and kimono making—just as

Hawaiian street scene. There are 165,000 Japanese in this American territory.
they are done in Japan; and for the boys there has been judo and sumo wrestling. Leaders who can handle English a little better than the Reverend Yamamoto say that only the Japanese language is taught.

The Japanese schools association’s most recent textbooks bear the copyright of 1936. These books were “made in Japan” exclusively for the Hawaiian Islands, as evidenced by the illustrations of waving palms and sugar mills. None of the text is devoted to things American. The student reads Japanese fairy tales, Samurai warrior adventures of old Japan, and stories of modern life. Through all these stories great stress is laid on what the Japanese call politeness, though to the American mind it appears just the reverse. There is no man-to-man consideration of each other when Japanese speak. By the construction of every sentence the speaker indicates that he is addressing his superior or inferior, and there are many grades of each. Imagine requesting a drink of water from the girl at the service station and forming that sentence in a way to let her know you consider her your inferior! That is the Japanese idea of politeness, and it is carried to such extremes that it makes Japanese one of the most baffling of languages for the non-linguistic American to learn.

Only an American can understand why the haole in the Hawaiian Islands doesn’t know what is taught in the Japanese schools even though he resides a hundred feet from one. A part of his credo always has been to live and let live and to trust in the levelling processes of democracy. He does know about the bowing business, and it worries him, just because he believes in democracy. This bow of deference is made stiffly from the hips until the upper part of the body is almost parallel with the ground. From this position one is unable to see who passes—and that was the original purpose of this posture, to keep from seeing the Emperor or some other high dignitary as he went by.

In massed demonstration this bow is just as dramatic as a Nazi or fascist salute, and it antedates both by hundreds of years. Even when seen in a little Japanese school in Hawaii, it makes one pause. At the beginning of the school day the classes line up in the yard, and on signal they bow, all together like little automatons in the direction of the empty flagpole. It was only in recent months that American flags went up on these poles.

There is much bowing in the Japanese classrooms, too—when the class assembles and when it is dismissed, when a student gets up to recite and when he sits down. The picture of the Emperor of Japan used to adorn the wall to which they bowed. In recent months pictures of President Roosevelt suddenly blossomed out in every Japanese school—not one to a school, but one to every classroom.

Language: A Two-Way Wall

Today the vital implications of the four decades of the work of the Reverend Yamamoto and others like him are becoming evident not only to the haoles in these Islands, but to those of Japanese origin. The Japanese schools have made the Japanese language the only language of the large majority of Japanese homes in Hawaii, and this has been a tremendous bar to assimilation. Take marriage, for example. In the Islands every conceivable racial marriage mixture is commonplace, except the marriage of Japanese with those of other racial groups. These have occurred only in recent years.

In the Hawaiian Islands the Japanese language separates a Japanese from the other races with whom he lives and associates closely. It is a barrier through which he may reach at will, but through which no others can reach, for others rarely speak Japanese.

At the county seat of Kauai, there is but one tailor. He is Japanese and he runs his shop with Japanese girl assistants. He has been in business at this same spot for over twenty years, but when a haole customer comes in, the tailor calls one of his girls to do the interpreting. His lack of English is a convenient barrier behind which he stands; it does seem odd that American newspapers are so often seen on his desk.

The haoles have become so used to the Japanese language that it does not seem out of place, regardless of where or when it is heard: among servants in the home, on the street cars and buses, among clerks in the stores. In fact, whenever Japanese speak together, it is usually in Japanese. A former employee of mine was one of some two hundred Japanese who were working in Pearl Harbor right up to the day of the attack. At the naval base haole Americans had heard them talking together in Japanese without suspicion.

To many of Japanese origin this barrier, which has been raised by the yearning and effort to perpetuate Japan-in-Hawaii, has become almost tragically insurmountable. (And no American should ever forget that loyalty to America among these Americans of Japanese ancestry has been written even in these few months in unmistakable characters.) But even before that fateful December 7 there was plenty of evidence to reveal the anomaly of their position. Japanese workmen in Hawaii have received wages that enabled them to maintain a standard of living comparable to that of the continental United States and far higher than that of Japan. Visitors to Japan have brought back stories of the hardships of life in Nippon. Excursions for young Japanese have been frequent and so cheap that one naturally suspected subsidies from the Japanese government. These trips were enjoyable as long as they were conducted by government guides, but when some young Japanese from Hawaii tried to do a little traveling on his own, he was at once trailed and questioned by the police. Within the past year a newspaper in Japan carried a leading article advocating that foreign-born Japanese be sent back to their homes. Two years ago a group of Kauai-born Japanese boys were visiting Japan. After taking their cameras away from them when they landed in Yokohama, the chief of police gave them a lecture and told them that of all foreign-born Japanese, those from the Hawaiian Islands were the most lacking in discipline.

When victory comes to America and these Islands, though this generation of Japanese in Hawaii will have found the American way, that will never happen to the Reverend Yamamoto. I saw him only yesterday. The prison fare has been good for him, and he has taken on a little weight. On this visit I found him sitting out on the grass with his back against the prison wall. He doesn’t mind prison. It doesn’t bother him at all that he is interned as an enemy agent. He told me through an interpreter that he had a box of his books sent to him, that he was again getting the daily Japanese paper from Honolulu—and that he was perfectly content. And he did look content sitting there in the bright sunshine of Hawaii.
LETTERS AND LIFE

Karl Barth on the Obligations in This War


This small volume assembles three open letters dealing with war issues from a Christian viewpoint. In the first two of them the famous Swiss theologian addresses his Protestant friends in France, strengthening and sustaining them against doubts and uncertainties in his Christmas Letter of 1939, and comforting and encouraging them after the collapse in his letter of October 1940. These two letters are great human documents; they move the reader deeply with their tenderness, their sympathetic understanding of the difficult political situation of the French co-religionaries, and their pastoral concern for the deprieved and hopeless victims of Hitler's onslaught.

The third letter written on the invitation of two leaders of English Protestantism is less personal and more doctrinaire in character. Here the author discusses his thesis that all followers of Christ the English Christian is under absolute obligation to fight Hitler, although Professor Barth admits that "this war is not a crusade or a war of religion," but rather "a large scale police measure... to repulse an active anarchism which has become a principle." He wants to bring home to his readers the distinction between the Kingdom of God and the political realm. He cautions them against undue optimism and entertains them to do the will of God, even were it to mean defeat. But he is also certain that "the State is the sign of that consecration which the world has received through the resurrection of Jesus Christ."

It is here where, in my view, political passion carries the theologian away. With him we pray that Hitler and the Axis will be defeated. We further agree that a Christian is under obligation to take part in the political life, and that he must be ready to work and fight for right against wrong. But in international life the moral factor is infinitesimal, and thus the moral issue in this war is by no means so evident as Professor Barth depicts it. It is on account of this moral ambiguity of political and international life that Jesus gave his followers freedom in the choice of their political means. In them, therefore, as Christians we decide to make his war ours. We do not so believe because we consider our cause completely good and the cause of the Axis completely bad, or that our cause is at least the lesser evil, as Reinhold Niebuhr thinks. Rather we do act in such a way because we are determined to make this war a struggle for a good cause notwithstanding the selfish and immoral interests of the economic, political, and military factors involved. Yet it is exactly in this same way that our fellow-Christians who fight under the banners of the Axis are making their decision. Here in a most concrete way we are going through the experience that St. Paul had in mind, when he wrote that justification was by faith, not by works. Otto A. Piper Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

Interpreters of the Third Reich


The author was assistant to the foreign editor of the Chicago Daily News and, from 1934 to January 1941, its Berlin correspondent. "This book," he writes, "is the story of human beings involved in the greatest tragedy of modern men—the Nazi revolution, culminating in the Second World War." And that is what the book is—and more. If it were possible to find a heroic person who would neither read the papers nor listen to news over the radio, he would find in this one book all that is worth knowing about Germany's Third Reich.

"People under Hitler" is an understatement. Mr. Deuel also gives us an account of Hitler on top of the people. He tells us the story of the Fuehrer and of his accomplices. Concisely, yet thoroughly, he discusses all aspects of life in Germany: race, education, economics, yet remains readable and stimulating.

Mr. Deuel is not merely a reporter but also a brilliant interpreter. He places his problems in the proper focus and then floods them with the light of his profound knowledge and insight. He has the advantage of being able to draw upon a vast literature, German and non-German. The way he condenses the material without distortion and presents it to the reader in the proper perspective, is in itself a great art. Many readers will probably agree with me that no other book on contemporary Germany yields so many nuggets.

The last chapter, "World Counter-Revolution," is a remarkable achievement. He has lost his faith which first made him look heavenward and then toward the thrones of kings. More recently he has lost his faith in liberal capitalism and socialism. In his deep despair the European turned toward promises, emboldened in leaders and so-called great causes. The counter-revolution was on; the vacuum left by the death of soul-sustaining institutions had to be filled. "In the long run, there must be some faith and hope inspiring explanation of the universe. Life is unbearable without it."

Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Emil Lengyel

America: Dynamic Force


Not the least interesting of modern developments in international understanding is the place played by the foreign correspondents. They are of necessity headline seekers and beaters of verbal drums; but the best of them have, in addition, a sense of their responsibility in keeping the people back home informed, which at times seems better developed than that of our official representatives. A few of them keep looking behind the daily event to report trends. A very few are first rate political analysts with a flair for philosophy.

To this last select group belongs Count de Roussy de Sales, who since 1932 has been sending news of the United States to the French paper Paris-Soir. His pungent observations and his careful reporting of American life were valued by Americans abroad, but he had little fame here in the country he was reporting. Now, since Hitler took over his newspaper and his country, he has written a book which is the fruit of those ten years here.

It is good fruit. He finds us not only sound at core, but a far more important force in the world than most of us yet realize. In the mirror he holds up to us, democracy is restored to the brave and shining position it occupied before dictators began hurling flint at it for their own ends. He sees it not only as a dynamic force in the modern world but as the only form of government broad and flexible enough to embrace a possible solution of the conflict between the drive for increased efficiency and the need for preserving individual integrity, which he analyzes as our basic problem.

His consideration of collectivism, nationalism, and pacifism as the three major trends of the present day is both thoughtful and provocative. His chapter on the Germans, whom he considers the two-thousand-year-old enemies of civilization, will be hotly debated. But at the present moment, when our confidence has been shaken, when we have
been questioning ourselves as never before, it is the picture he paints of America as he has seen it that has the most importance. It should go far to reassure those who feared a "wave of the future" that might sweep away our most essential ideals. He speaks of the "rock-like quality of the American dream," of "the dynamic quality of Americanism as a world force," of "the indestructible American faith in human progress, according to which it is impossible to accept a war... without the ulterior intention of making war serve to create a better world." They are good words, and they come from a good mind at a time when we need them. If de Roussy de Sales has found hospitable refuge here, in the writing of this book he more than repays his hosts.

New York

Mildred Adams

Total War for Total Peace


COMMANDER KING-HALL IS NOT ONE OF THOSE OFFICERS who think that this time, if we just march to Berlin, it will settle everything—as one might think from the title of his latest book.

On the contrary, the King-Hall Letter, which he founded, has consistently and insistently plugged for psychological warfare against the Nazis, and for a curative peace. After Munich, finding no appreciation in the British government for the possibilities of getting at the minds of the Germans, he raised £4,000 and took a shot at them himself. He wrote five letters to the German people and smuggled thousands of them into Germany, starting in May 1939. Goebbels made the mistake of printing and ridiculing Letter No. 1, and soon thereafter was driven to a frenzied effort to stop the others. It was a wow, but the government still thought it wasn't war.

The commander, now an M.P., continues to harass the authorities who still believe that arms are everything. His main thesis is that the purpose of war is to get the other side to change its mind—first by beating the soldiers at fighting, then by confusing the opinions of the people, and after the armistice, by setting up a world in which no ordinary German will think it is worthwhile to listen to either Nazis or Prussian dreamers.

To an American, the meaning of total victory is not hard to understand, because we are beginning to realize that on a small scale we won a total victory over the Filipinos. We licked them, we educated them, and in the hour of need they fought and died for us. For that matter, we won a total victory in our struggle with England, and so, after she yielded, did England. It is a keen idea, for us who have the history to understand. King-Hall is worth reading.

Washington, D. C.

David Cushman Coyle

Between the Wars


FOR SOME YEARS PAST ALL OF US WHO HAVE TO READ MUCH about international problems have been agreed upon at least one thing: namely, that there has been a huge excess of writing about the miseries of Europe since 1918. What more, we were inclined to ask, was there to say, and how could we expect to see any new books of value on this vastly overworked theme? The question is natural enough, and yet it is certain that good books dealing with the two distressful decades will continue to appear. "The Lost Peace" is undeniably one such.

Harold Butler holds a place entirely his own among the men of Geneva. He was for eighteen years connected with the International Labor Office. Of that unique enterprise he was the second director, being followed by John G. Winant. This volume, however, is not concerned only, or mainly, with the ILO, for Mr. Butler was not long in realizing that there could not be any world order of labor laws and standards if the League of Nations itself was not to be established and enduring. And the League was foredoomed. Three of the greatest powers were outside it, and England and France were unable to provide Europe with strong or consistent leadership. Moreover, "the riddle of Europe was the riddle of Germany," and nothing could be done by Geneva toward the solution of that age-long mystery.

Mr. Butler deeply admires the French nation. He knew the profound conservatism and stability of the French princes; he is entirely lucid in his exposition of the forces which made the collapse of 1940. But he overstates, I think, a power of France in Europe until 1930. French domination, called, was a façade; and indeed Mr. Butler admits a good deal when he remarks that "something seemed to have got out of so many of the men who had survived the war," is especially good in the pages he devotes to the peoples we made up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The fierceness of their nationalism and their hatred of the old rulers made liberation inevitable, but independence was fatal. A federation might have saved them; "the Anschluss condemned them to death."

Mr. Butler is justified in the severity of his comment upon the Western powers' utter lack of interest in the small state created by the treaties. Prime ministers did not visit the capitals; very few public men had any knowledge of hideous poverty, the primitive living conditions, of the lands.

Mr. Butler sums up as a liberal still unshakeable in essentials of his creed. He believes, of course, in the resurrection of Europe. Like most of the men of Geneva who dream was lost with the peace, he is convinced that nothing but a fully inclusive federation nor any other scheme of world government falls within the bounds of a practicable future.

New York

S. K. Ratcliffe

When "the New Order" Was Old


THE INTRODUCTION AND THE EPILOGUE TO THIS BEAUTIFUL printed volume are doubtless intended to awaken the interest of American readers, for they deal with Huguenot emigration to the American colonies and the contributions which the Frenchmen made to American life and culture. It was hasty and unnecessary to employ this device, for the story of the Huguenots in France is here so well told that it makes its own connection with our time. This is sane, objective history, told clear, forthright fashion, with enough detail to have body and life, but sharpened with restraint and insight.

The story begins with Jacques Lefèvre of Etaples who taught the doctrine of justification by faith as early as 1515, five years before the promulgation of Luther's Theses, at the official condemnation of the Theses by the Sorbonne in 1520; and it ends with the heavy persecutions of French Protestants in the wars immediately before and after the revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes. Specifically and almost fully, the book deals with the years during which France suffered an almost continuous succession of civil wars—from the Tumult of Amboise in 1560 and the Massacre of Vassy in 1562 to the fall of La Rochelle in 1628 to the Pardon Edict of Nimes in 1629.

Here are vivid portraits of two women who "were born hate each other"—Catherine de Medici, "fleshy, voluptuous, charming, clever, an accomplished liar and intrigante," utterly lacking in principle as in morals; and Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry IV, a Protestant saint, grave, gaunt, beautiful, with "magic in her dark, patiently penetrating eyes." Here, too, are the deeds and persons of great men,
widely different in character and destiny—Calvin, Admiral Coligny, Henry of Navarre, Sully, Richelieu. Here is the black treachery and the incredible stupidity of the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day. Here is the oppression, vice, homosexuality, disease, and pitiable puerility of the French royal court throughout much of the period.

The author rightly sees that the religious wars of France were not due to differences of religious faith alone. They were due, in part, to personal ambitions, jealousies, and policies; and to social and economic conditions which were destined to lead in time to the French Revolution. It is his merit that he sees and appraises the interplay of all these factors. This is an interesting and arresting book—well worth reading in these days when political absolutism and armed tyranny are again stalking the earth and pretending to be a new order.”

—the University

LUTHER A. WEIGLE

Britain’s Churchill


OVERLOOKING THE IMPEDIMENT THAT A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT of the life of Prime Minister Winston Churchill at this imperial stage faces the inescapable limitation of being an uncompleted tale, Philip Guedalla has applied his gifted minstrelsy to England’s latest Man of Destiny, and brought forth a portrait of compelling color and appeal.

History is likely to inscribe Churchill’s name along with that of Disraeli as great prime ministers. What is the genius of this long unheeded prophet who rose out of England’s darkest hour to rally a faltering, sorely beleaguered people—breathing into them his own indomitable optimism in the slow but ultimate fruition of victory—answering their very agonies into courage and inspiration?

But a roguish schoolboy he abandoned the conventional act of Latin and Greek, preferring to sip the wine of Gibbon and Macaulay, developing a mastery of his mother tongue. Vivacious, buccaneering, he emerged from Sandhurst a cavalier subaltern. England not engaged in hostilities at the moment, he went to Cuba as a Rough Rider for Spain. His kaleidoscopic impressions which follow swiftly are of tempo and turbulence on many scattered sections of the empire. In Kipling’s India he saw action on the northwest frontier. Borne by fortune to the Sudan to fight the Dervishes with his regiment, the Twenty-first Lancers, he narrowly averted death when he came to close grips with a Dervish in a cavalry charge. A war correspondent in South Africa during the Boer War, the enemy captured and imprisoned him. But the unsuppressible soldier-correspondent fected a miraculous escape, became a popular hero back home, and won a seat in Parliament.

The First World War focused the light of world prominence sharply upon Churchill. As First Lord of the Admiralty, restless for bold strokes, he pressed the attack on strong Turkish forts of the Dardanelles which resulted in a shocking debacle for the English. Here historian Guedalla springs to Churchill’s defense, claiming that the action as brilliantly conceived but inadequately implemented. The inscrutable, however, incurred the disfavor of the Conservatives. The First Lord was dropped from office, offered positions of lesser significance.

In the period which author Guedalla aptly terms, “Jerusalem,” when Hitler was still a problem rather than a peril, Churchill grimly articulated his haunting visions of “the wheels revolving and great hammers descending day and night in Germany.” pleaded for “an air force at least as strong as that of any power that can get at us.” But the prophet of doom was destined to cry in the wilderness, finally “the fury and might” of the enemy broke upon the famous island. Without rancor or recrimination,
No nation can be successful in war while its functions are frustrated by a people not physically fit to man capably all arms of the service...at home and on the fighting fronts.

Uncle Sam sees to it that our fine fighting men are trained—made physically fit. But what of the workers? What of the home folks—the business folks—the youth at school?

Can we prosecute the war successfully if all these, who are America, become physically soft and flabby and jittery?

Healthful sports are part of the American way of life—the source of the strength, the aggressiveness, the will-to-win that make America different from slave nations. They are as necessary as food.

So play, America! Keep strong! Keep healthy! As far as war needs permit, we will keep you supplied with equipment necessary to sports.


Inside Movieland


"Hollywood" is the principal product of a three-year research project, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, for the sociological study of the movie colony and the movie makers; that is, of those who actually "make" the movies—producers, actors, directors, and writers—and the society which they inhabit. The first section of the book undertakes the description of this society from the viewpoint of its members, somewhat as an anthropologist "...might study the people and practices of Tahiti," and makes use of social psychiatry as the principal interpretive system. The second section of the book analyzes each group of movie makers in greater detail, largely according to the formal attributes of age, sex income, social heredity, and so forth. Additional but somewhat scattered information on the attitudes of the various groups is included from questionnaires and interviews conducted in connection with the project. By and large, Mr. Rosten has not attempted to formalize his description, and he relies upon various discrete data in addition to his own impressions and reflections on this most glamorous citadel of a major American industry.

Despite the complex and uncertain psychoanalytic approach adopted in the book, the writing is light and entertaining: the pressing scientific problems that would ordinarily arise in the application of social psychiatry are avoided—presumably as a concession to popular taste. Of this, all to the good, since there is a real need for extending the range of general knowledge of social science investigation. Mr. Rosten has unquestionably done this, and done it with admirable grace and discretion.

On the other hand, as is perhaps inevitable in a book of this kind, the professional reporting becomes muddy and the scientific pretensions of the book are seldom realized. Thus, the reader is promised a greater understanding of the American scene by the exposure of its abnormalities [sic], yet no direct tieup is made in the body of the work. Again, the book purports to make manifest the structure of Hollywood, yet only certain elements (largely pathological, one may suspect) are emphasized by the anecdotal character of the recitation. Indeed, the entire question of Hollywood as a part of America (and, incidentally, it might have been well to include California) is never satisfactorily resolved. More probably this is a shortcoming of the method of social psychiatry, rather than any oversight of detail on the part of the author.

Actually, "Hollywood" is almost exclusively the product of Mr. Rosten's own peculiar genius for writing, for acute observation, and for intense participation in the life of whatever particular group he is studying. If you liked "The Washington Correspondents," you will be far more well advised to read "Hollywood."

The Library of Congress

PAUL LEWIS

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The most obvious and most important conclusion is that labor's strength in this war was never more than a potential. The mere weight of labor's key position in war production and on the home front did not automatically make the workers secure from fascist aggression nor guarantee them a just share in the responsibilities of the war effort. Farsighted statesmanship both on the part of labor and on the part of government and the general public is required to make the workers active partners in the fight for freedom.

The present plight of the workers in France shows that a totalitarian government does more than dissolve workers' organizations and take away their legal rights. Using brute force, economic pressure, and propaganda, the Nazis have developed a highly efficient system of slave labor. Workers' resistance inside Europe, however daring and self-sacrificing, can achieve the strength to weaken Hitler's regime to a decisive degree only if it has adequate support from outside.

The ten million workers of France and the many more millions of workers all over Nazi-ruled Europe must be made to feel how wholeheartedly workers in free countries are behind this war. With this, they must realize that free workers are able to preserve their rights and civil liberties even in an all-out war effort against the Axis.

Further, we must convince European workers that the United Nations will not only defeat the Axis forces, but they will destroy the very roots of fascism so that no Versailles will follow this war. We must convince them that the United Nations are not only able and determined to win an uncompromising military victory, but are equally able and determined to win a just and lasting peace.

POWER AND THE PEACEMAKERS

(Continued from page 311)

machinery is only as good as the will of the people who make it work. The League of Nations, on paper, was a good piece of machinery, and much can be learned from its experience. If the League failed to prevent a world conflagration, it was not because the blueprint was faulty, but because all the old pre-League prejudices and hostilities had been welded into this new machinery, and hampered its operation at every turn.

What we need most of all today is not a detailed blueprint for a new world organization, but a new philosophy of relations between men and between nations. This new philosophy is emerging out of the war itself. We are discovering that, even to survive, we cannot act merely for our own benefit and protection; we must collaborate with others throughout the world who share our faith. The machinery of international collaboration is being forged right now in London and Chungking, in Washington and Moscow. Today we are pooling men, raw materials, munitions, ships, to win the war. Tomorrow we must learn to pool our joint resources and our energies to win the peace.

A Program for the United Nations

A PROGRAM OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON THESE GENERAL PREMISES MIGHT INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING SEVEN POINTS:

1. The United Nations should proclaim that the total war in which we are engaged has, as its first and foremost objective, the liberation of all peoples—including the Germans, Italians and Japanese—from military dictatorship and the rule of arbitrary violence based on the concept of a "master race."

But, in proclaiming a war of liberation, we must realize that only men who are truly free themselves can truly free
others. We must free ourselves from our prejudices, our inner conflicts, our intolerance toward minorities in our midst, before we can offer democracy to others as a pattern for their own future. It would avail us little if, after having defeated the efforts of Germany and Japan to set themselves up as "master races," we should seek, in turn, to assume a "master race" attitude. As the French poet and aviator, Saint-Exupéry, has said with fine humility in his "Flight to Arras": "The real task is to succeed in setting man free by making him master of himself. . . We must give before we can receive, and build before we can inhabit."

2. The United Nations should declare that, since they seek no territorial aggrandizement, consideration of territorial questions in disputed areas should be postponed until total victory over the Axis powers.

The United States and Britain have already declared, in the Atlantic Charter, that they have no territorial aims in this war. But we have not, as yet, a Pacific Charter, and the peoples of Asia are rightly questioning the ultimate purposes of the Western powers in the Far East. Stalin has indicated that Russia wants no new territory after the war—yet doubt persisted in the minds of Russia's neighbors regarding the war-aims of the Kremlin. These doubts and questions, it must be hoped, will be answered in part by the Anglo-Soviet and United States-Soviet understandings announced on June 11, but a United Nations statement on this point would still be valuable in relieving the fears of the Baltic states, Finland, Sweden, and Turkey.

3. The United Nations should proclaim the right of peoples in economically backward regions to seek political independence, and should undertake to give these regions all assistance in their power to achieve this goal by peaceful means, on a basis of racial equality.

The investment in democracy that the American people have made in the Philippines, by seeking to raise the standard of living and literacy of the Filipinos, and promising them independence at a specified date, has brought rich dividends in terms of Philippine loyalty. So has the sympathy of the United States for China's struggle to achieve equality and maintain its territorial integrity. This trend, well initiated, but unfortunately only in a few sectors of the world, should be carried forward in India, in other parts of Asia, in Latin America, in the Balkans. We should not merely tolerate people who are unlike us in color, creed, or economic and social condition. We should actively collaborate with them, on a basis of equality, in rebuilding the world not only for our own benefit, but also for theirs, if we are not to leave all over the globe vulnerable areas of poverty and discontent.

4. The United Nations should declare their readiness to collaborate with any people, whatever its form of government, which respects the integrity and dignity of the individual and protects his rights within the state, provided he, in turn, acts as a responsible member of the community in which he lives. It would be a great mistake for the Western powers to insist that every nation should adopt what we call democratic institutions. To force these institutions on other peoples by artificial means would merely be to discredit democracy. Democracy, in any case, is not a matter of this or that set of institutions. Its essence is respect for the individual, and a jealous concern for his rights as against the encroachments of the state. It would certainly be a strange paradox if, after the war, we should hesitate or refuse to collaborate with any nation merely because it does not have our form of government or economic system, when we have accepted war aid from Russia and China.

5. The United Nations should proclaim their belief that human welfare must be the keystone of the peace settlement, and can be most effectively assured by pooling the capital and labor, the managerial skill and inventive genius of all peoples for the tasks of reconstruction.

There has been much talk about "redistribution" of raw materials and colonies as a remedy for the ills of the world. Unfortunately this cannot be done in such a way as to satisfy all nations—for the simple reason that, when the earth was created, raw materials were distributed unequally over its surface. It will therefore be impossible to make great the goodwill of the peacemakers, to cut up the world as if it were a pie, and give each nation an equal share. We must do must is make it possible for all nations to share in the wealth of the world on an equal basis, contributing to the common pool whatever resources, talents, or skills they happen to command. There is no reason to assume that this peacetime pooling would have to take place on a dictatorially regimented basis. On the contrary, it must be hoped that private enterprise and initiative, operating on a basis of voluntary collaboration, may provide the mainspring for world reconstruction. But the maintenance of private enterprise will, in turn, depend on the willingness of all those engaged in production—workers no less than managers—to act as responsible members of society, and to pool their efforts not merely for personal profit or advancement, but for the promotion of human welfare in general.

6. The United Nations should undertake, at the close of military hostilities, to maintain wartime economic and financial controls long enough to permit reconversion of industry, commerce, and agriculture from a war to a peace basis. Instead of dismantling the machinery of wartime collaboration once war is over, the United Nations should pledge themselves to reestablish it for peacetime needs.

Today, in an hour of mortal danger, the United Nations are mingling their resources of manpower and war material. Australian soldiers, commanded by an American general, are using American equipment to defend the Pacific. An American general commands Chinese troops, while Russian aviators are being trained by British technicians in the use of British and American planes. It should not prove impossible to carry this ready-made machinery over from war to peace.

Similar, even more highly integrated, machinery existed in the last war. But it was scrapped the moment peace was signed. We must prevent the recurrence of such catastrophic economic dislocations by reestablishing wartime machinery for peacetime tasks.

7. The United Nations should express their profound conviction that isolation and neutrality are no longer practicable for any nation, given the nature of the threat. Reconversion lies in concerted efforts by all peoples to administer relations between nations on a basis of responsibility for each other's welfare.

To prevent the United States, and other United Nations from slipping back into grooves of isolation and nationalism, after the war, it is essential that we should reeducate ourselves right in the midst of war for new forms of international relations, based not on selfish opportunism, but on an enlightened self-interest, which would lead us to collaborate with other peoples instead of shutting them off by political and economic barriers. This reeducation is not merely a responsibility of the government in Washington. It is a responsibility that rests on every citizen of the United States; for if we are to have a fully functioning democracy, each of us must feel responsible for the general pattern of our foreign policy. Today we realize that foreign policy is not something remote from our daily lives, but part and parcel of any activity in which we may be engaged.

The magnitude of the tasks of post-war reconstruction should not fill us with discouragement or fear. On the contrary, we should feel peculiarly fortunate that we are living in a period of history which challenges the imagination, the courage, and the skill of each and every one of us. There may be few opportunities left for exploring new territories or exploiting new resources, but breath-taking opportunities open before us for pioneering in the development of relations between men and between nations.
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The Gist of It

ELEANOR PLATT (frontispiece), a former student of Arthur Lee and Edward McCarden, was in 1940 awarded the Chaloner Scholarship in sculpture.

HENRY PROPPER (page 341) is secretary of the Citizens Housing Council of New York, and a member of the board of directors of the National Committee on the Housing Emergency.

JEROME DAVIS, American educator and sociologist, is in charge of the Canadian program (of which he writes, page 345) of the War Prisoners Aid of the World’s Committee of the YMCA’s, with headquarters in Geneva.

What is in essence a new American white paper (page 349) is appraised by Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., who himself, just a year ago, wrote “Divided They Fall” (Harpers), a telling broadside in the national debate prior to Pearl Harbor. A New York lawyer and an officer in naval aviation in World War I, he is president of Survey Associates, treasurer of the American Committee for Christian Refugees, co-chairman of the Council for Freedom, Inc., and was chairman this past year of the Saturday Discussions Committee of the National Republican Club.

Over the years on the anniversary of the outbreak of the first World War, we have published things of the spirit that men and women have drawn from it. This warren August we have turned to Rufus Jones, educator, editor, author (page 354). In his eightieth year, he is known the world over for his work as chairman of the American Friends Service Committee.

In Pictures and Captions (page 356), Otto H. Ehrlich of Brooklyn College interprets the democratic need for wartime rationing.

The Headworker of Cleveland’s East End Neighborhood House, Geneva Mathiassen tells (page 359) an engaging story of community education.

IRVING DILLIARD, editorial writer for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, joins with his alma mater, the University of Illinois, in tribute to the courage and integrity of John P. Altgeld (page 362).

From Our Readers

To the Editor:—I read “Answers for a Soldier” in your July issue with a great deal of interest. However, among the reasons given for which we are fighting this war, the responsibility of each individual citizen of the world in the creation of the world we are to live in is so little stressed that the inference is virtually that we are fighting for a benevolent despotism guaranteeing the four freedoms.

No one has the power, he he ever so benevolent, to grant these freedoms to another man. These are first of all inner freedoms, secondarily a form of civilization. As Vice-President Wallace said in his speech on May 8, victory of the United Nations will mean the victory of the common man. The common man, therefore, must be conscious that it is the sum total of these inner freedoms which will determine whether or not he is going to live in a free world.

Though victory may enable the leaders of the United Nations to formulate a perfect peace, with every provision for flexibility and durability, it won’t be realized unless each citizen of the world works for it and is conscious that that is what he is working for.

The common man will have more power to act than ever before. Let him realize that it is he who will take the consequences of these—his own—actions. The soldier of today is fighting for a job, the job of shaping the world he is to live in.

New York City

LEE SHEPARD

TO THE EDITOR:—When a father believes his son is performing a task poorly, if he is a good parent, he will teach the son how to do the work correctly. I feel just the same way toward the federal government and the NYA, FSA, and various other agencies, including the CCC which is now to be liquidated. The administration of the maximum of governmental functions, in my estimation, should be as close as possible to the people concerned. Only thereby will the people take that vital self-interest in government without which democracy cannot long survive.

Granted that much of the NYA program has been developed entirely apart from state school systems; I have seen nowhere in any authoritative discussion by a federal officer a proposal to assign all the NYA to state school systems now or even in the dim future. And yet the NYA (as did CCC) constitutes just another form of federal competition with functions primarily assumed by state and local government. That is basically unsound.

JOHN D. LANGMUIR

New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations, Inc.
This portrait of the late associate justice by the sculptor, Eleanor Platt, has been presented to the Supreme Court of the United States by the American Bar Association.
Total War Hits Housing

by HENRY M. PROPPER

Hits it through the anticipated trek of 1,600,000 more industrial workers to new and expanded plants, and through the critical shortage in construction materials which calls for maximum utilization of every builder’s item down to the last ten penny nail.

What is taking shape in Washington is neither a public housing program in uniform—not an answer to the prayers of the home building industry. Rather it is born of America’s recent and painfully acquired consciousness of what total war involves; and of the succession of failures and partial failures which dogged “defense housing.”

The new war housing program stems quite simply from the imperative need to provide adequate, reasonably comfortable accommodations for war production workers at a price within their reach. Anything less, whether in old housing or new, means dissatisfied workers and high labor turnover, loss of efficiency and output.

Until fairly recently both private enterprise and public housing proceeded on the same sort of calculation. Estimate the migration of workers and their families, subtract the number of vacant dwelling units in the community, and you had the net requirement of new housing to be constructed. That assumption is out for the duration. Tanks, planes and ships must continue to have first call on steel, copper and many other essential materials used in building. Beyond a certain point, what is taken from the materials pile and put into housing comes out of the tools of war which the Army and Navy must have to win.

So much is now plain and makes the first job to cut down the migration of workers and therefore the need for new construction to the absolute minimum required to further the war effort. Equally important, every plumbing fixture, every piece of kitchen equipment, every stick of lumber used must serve the greatest possible number of individuals. These conditions set the rigid limits within which the program must succeed. They at once require full use of existing housing and dictate the types of new housing to be built.

Control of migration lies completely outside housing. It is a major responsibility of the War Production Board, and the new Manpower Commission headed by Paul V. McNutt. Plant expansion and the location of new factory construction will have to be determined by available local labor and housing supply, so far as possible, and workers who move to the job must be persuaded to leave their families at home.

The Program Before Congress

The new program as submitted to Congress gives full weight to these efforts but nonetheless envisages 1,600,000 war workers on the move in the next eleven months, going from their present homes to places where they are badly needed but where there isn’t enough housing to care for them. Some will move alone, some with their families, and some families will include two or more war workers. But in any event, the forecast is that at least 1,320,000
housing units will be required to accommodate them.

In planning for such a huge migration and resettlement the new housing program has taken fairly definite form. This is expressed concretely in the proposals prepared by John H. Blandford, Jr., administrator of the National Housing Agency, and recommended to Congress by President Roosevelt, calling for an additional appropriation of $600,000,000 for government war housing construction.

Obviously there is no new building magic by which that sum will construct homes for 1,600,000 workers. It would supply only $375 apiece. A family unit costs at least ten times that. The first answer is that existing homes must take care of almost half the number of incoming workers—745,000. The second, that whether in old or new housing, one third of the workers to be provided for are expected to come as individuals, and therefore can be accommodated in single rooms—550,000 of them. The required number of units for larger families is now estimated at about 40 percent of the total; and of this figure, private enterprise is expected to supply somewhat more than half instead of three-quarters as formerly.

Henry Ford Enters the Lists

When the program will pass Congress and in what form is another matter. The previous housing appropriation bill lingered on congressional desks for six or seven months, emerging as legislation only after the shock of Pearl Harbor. As this is written, the form in which any new act will be passed is in even greater jeopardy.

For one thing Henry Ford entered the lists, not again for Mr. Blandford’s housing program but in violent opposition to a specific war housing project which one of the NHA divisions, the Federal Public Housing Authority, has been planning for some of the 100,000 workers Mr. Ford is expected to require for his huge Willow Run bomber plant outside Detroit.

Engineers appeared to mark off a site on land Mr. Ford owns adjacent to Willow Run, presumably to be acquired in condemnation proceedings. They were ordered off the 700 surveyors’ stakes they had set out were pulled up until that time every public reference to housing around Detroit or Willow Run had stressed the acute shortage of homes for war workers. The entire area, it fact, had been considered the nation’s No. 1 housing problem. At Willow Run itself the most careful industrial planning has gone into the job of transforming a Michigan cornfield into the world’s greatest bomber factory but there had not been concurrent planning to meet the housing and transportation needs of the operating force the plant requires.

This much of the controversy appears on the surface. The root facts are more obscure. When Willow Run was projected, the operating force needed to attain capacity output estimated first at 120,000, and then 100,000. There seems grounds for believing also that the plant would continue after the war as part of the permanent Ford industrial empire. This lent a color of reasonableness to a plan promptly put forward by a CIO group calling on the government to construct a complete community of 15,000 homes for the Willow Run employees to be known as “Bomber City.” Due to changes it
plan and other factors, enough doubt has now been cast on all of these earlier assumptions to prompt NHA to re-investigate the entire question.

More serious for the war housing program than this particular controversy has been the reaction it brought from congressmen and senators.

The story of how the FPNA engineers were routed immediately resulted in demands from some members of Congress for full investigation of the entire housing program. With committee hearings on the Blandford proposal in progress, all manner of pot shots were aimed at a type of legislation which never has had easy sailing.

Earlier Stages of Conflict

This follows an established pattern. Many of the mistakes and inadequacies of the over-all program could be traced to the struggle between conflicting self-interest groups when housing legislation was being considered in Congress. Even worse have been conflicts and competitions among the governmental agencies charged with responsibility for the several divisions of the federal effort. For some years before Dunkirk touched off our big-scale defense program, there had been an increasingly bitter feud between the real estate and private home building industry and the supporters of the public housing program. Each had a governmental agency as a rallying point: the Federal Housing Administration or FHA for private enterprise; the United States Housing Authority, or USHA, for public housing; with the Federal Home Loan Bank Board as a third rallying point for the savings and loan associations, which have always been important mortgage lenders on small homes.

Each group sought to win a lion's share for itself when what was then known as the defense housing program got under way early in the summer of 1940. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the two private enterprise groups ganged up on the public housers. That was not difficult since the USHA was out of favor on Capitol Hill as a New Deal venture and its administrator unpopular in his contacts with senators, congressmen, and other government officials.

Advocates of public housing urged the chance to get permanent values out of the defense effort by building substantial, well-planned housing for industrial workers which, after the emergency, would provide for low-income families and facilitate slum clearance. For the most part these arguments proved futile. Although in peace time the USHA had done an outstanding job of large-scale construction of low-cost housing, and had in fact the only substantial organization and experience in the field, Congress threatened open rebellion if any part of defense home building was vested in the USHA office.

Hence, on the one hand, the cry for a federal housing coordinator, and on the other, for a defense housing program which put the major responsibility for providing shelter on private enterprise. The plan adopted was keyed to the notion that 75 percent of the total housing need should and would be supplied by private effort and 25 percent by public agencies. Questions were raised as to how low a price the private home building industry could achieve, whether workers' incomes could meet that price and, more fundamentally, as to whether or not such workers should be encouraged to invest their savings in
the purchase of homes in war-expanded communities where their tenure was, to say the least, uncertain.

Time alone would tell—and it has. Private enterprise, especially encouraged by liberalized FHA mortgage insurance, has been building 25,000 to 30,000 homes a month, but never as many or as soon as government estimates of local requirements call for. And only a very small part of these houses have been at the lower price-levels within reach of the incomes of the great majority of war workers. It is estimated that 80 percent of this construction has gone to purchasers other than the war-workers it was intended to serve.

Government built housing fared even worse with respect to prompt completion and was subjected to other criticism as well, including location, design, construction and general adequacy. For these shortcomings the Office of the Defense Housing Coordinator had little, if any, responsibility. It should be pointed out that primary authority was vested in his office only to the extent of determining the needs of a given locality and fixing the amount of housing required, private and public. Site selection, design and construction were entirely out of its hands. Government building was done by no less than seven divisions, bureaus and departments; three separate bureaus of the Federal Works Agency, the Farm Security Administration, the USHA, the Defense Homes Corporation and the Navy. Each selected its own sites, built in its own way, according to its own ideas.

Altogether Congress appropriated more than $1,000,000-000 for defense and war housing—military, naval and industrial—with which these several agencies undertook the construction of 300,000 dwelling units. Accomplishment as of May 1 last was about 100,000 dwelling units completed, some 86,000 under construction, and the balance in the planning stage. Not a small part of the present housing job in Washington is to hurry this program along and to get war workers into houses.

Judge Rosenman's Reorganization

By the time priorities on critical construction materials were established in August 1941, there was manifest need to revamp the entire set-up, especially in view of the vast expansion of war industry and the growing scarcity of materials. American involvement in the war was an increasingly urgent probability and mistakes were beginning to count. Justice Samuel I. Rosenman of New York, one of the President's trusted associates, had just completed his plan for reorganizing the war production agencies, and he now tackled housing. First the Japanese false-front peace discussions, and then Pearl Harbor and its tense aftermath, delayed execution of Judge Rosenman's plan. Finally, on February 24 of this year the plan was announced along with the appointment of Mr. Blandford as administrator. To this he brought experience as a city manager and effective service under the TVA.

Shrewdly conceived to overcome the creaking, labored progress of the previous eighteen months, the reorganization set up one agency where there had been sixteen. Competition between independent agencies was curbed by putting them all under Mr. Blandford's direct control and supervision. The National Housing Agency was established as the primary fact-finding, policy-making head. Under it are the three major divisions already noted: the Federal Housing Administration, with its special responsibility for facilitating construction of homes by private enterprise; the Federal Public Housing Authority which took over all government financed housing; and the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, serving the savings and loan associations.

The way was now clear for a thoroughly integrated program based on carefully determined needs rather than on aspirations of particular agencies or interests. At the top, at least, that process appears to be well under way, though it will take time before it reaches all down the line. Regional and district staffs of the three main divisions still report directly through their own channels to their chiefs in Washington rather than through NHA regional representatives. There are still FHA field representatives who avowedly consider it their job to promote and protect the interests of the private enterprise builder; there are still FHFA field men who see direct government action as the only answer to a given problem, losing sight of the tremendous aggregate capacity of thousands of small independent contractors to supply homes.

Then, Priorities

Before the reorganization was well under way the shortage of critical materials had become very grave. All housing construction had been under government control for six months or more through the granting or withholding of priorities. Now that regulation became really rigorous. All applications had to run the gauntlet of three governmental agencies—the NHA itself, then the War Production Board, and finally the Army and Navy Munitions Board. Laxity at any stage was more than likely to be offset by over-zealousness elsewhere.

Perhaps more than anything else, difficulties in obtaining priority ratings and materials convinced private builders that a rigid curtailment of new construction was inevitable. The enthusiasm of the industry was further dimmed by one of the first evidences of Mr. Blandford's over-all stewardship. Within a month after he had taken office, the FHA announced regulations which required that new privately-built homes must be held 60 days for war workers; that at least 50 percent must be made available for rent; that they must be located not more than two miles from a defense plant or transportation to the plant. And whether for sale or for rent, they definitely had to meet the income requirements of the workers.

Government construction has fared no better in obtaining materials. When the Army decided it had to commandeer nails or lumber or something else the order was applied with an even hand. Nor did the WPB, for its part, or the Army and Navy Munitions Board, hesitate to exercise independent judgment as to the need for a particular housing project after it had been recommended by the NHA.

The Human Equation in Planning

While the new NHA was wrestling with these difficulties and trying to push long- overdue projects to completion, more plant construction and expansions were being ordered almost daily by the war production agencies. Every sign forecast an accelerated migration of war workers as community after community exhausted its available labor reserves. In spite of the conversion of peace time industries to war product—(Continued on page 366)
Millions Behind Barbed Wire

by JEROME DAVIS

Twenty-five years ago, Jerome Davis as a YMCA man was serving German prisoners of war in the prison camps of Russia; today he serves them in Canada. The Barbed Wire Disease of 1917 he feels was less dangerous than the POLARIZED ILLITERACY of 1942. What does he mean? And what does it mean to all of us?

Throughout the world there are perhaps six million prisoners of war behind barbed wire, with mounted machine guns standing guard day and night. Their exact number is uncertain because the rival claims of governments at war cannot always be accepted at face value. Such men are not criminals, but patriotic soldiers whom the fortunes of war have cast into prison camps for the duration of the conflict. Today the Young Men’s Christian Association is serving these millions in six hundred camps in twenty-eight countries.

In the first world conflict the “Y” pioneered this work in every country at war. In 1916 as one of their secretaries, I was sent to Turkestan, Russia. General Sievers, the Commanding General of the district, allowed me to start in what was then called the Death Camp. His only stipulation was that I should sign an advance release to the Czar’s government. Said the General: “We do not ask you to go there. We should not be responsible if misfortune overtakes you.” I was glad to sign, not my death warrant, but a death waiver, and the next day was at the Death Camp.

What I found were ten thousand men confined behind barbed wire in the open air on burning desert sands. There was no well, no spring water. An irrigation ditch had been cut from a nearby muddy river. There was no wood to boil the water so the men were forced to drink it raw. Dysentery and typhoid resulted. Malarial mosquitoes swarmed by the millions and no quinine was available. The German prisoners of war came down with malaria. Meanwhile, the Russian Czar’s Colonel tried to make a record for efficiency and cut down the food supplies to a few cents a day per prisoner. Dietary diseases resulted. Some of the men’s teeth fell out. Complete idleness was the rule and barbed wire disease, a form of insanity, was widespread. To cap the climax a veritable scourge of typhus swept the camp, and when I reached there seventy-five men were dying every day.

As a YMCA secretary, my first move was to organize a medical committee among the prisoners themselves. We had first-rate German doctors on the committee. American money purchased wood; the water was boiled. We got quinine and other medicines. We organized an educational committee. We supplied pencils and paper, and wood for blackboards. The men met in the open air. Be-
fore long we had 1,200 German prisoners studying in the camp under German teachers. We had a library committee and beside purchasing German books, gathered all that the men themselves had to form a good library. We had a musical committee. The YMCA supplied wood; expert instrument-makers, who were prisoners, made violins, 'cellos and other instruments. Before long we had a superb orchestra of thirty-five pieces which gave weekly concerts in the camp. We had an athletic committee for which the "Y" provided footballs and other equipment.

Soon I found out that relatives of the prisoners in Germany had sent in thousands of dollars which lay idle in a nearby bank. Apparently no one knew where the prisoners were who were entitled to these funds. To find out we sent in trained accountants-themselves prisoners-under armed guard with a list of all the 10,000 prisoners and soon this money began coming through. Part of it was used to supplement the diet and gradually the death rate fell to normal.

Later in other camps I found epidemics of this same barbed wire disease as a challenge to our work.

In Germany, other "Y" secretaries were serving the British and French prisoners of war. The conditions they found were vastly better but nevertheless they confronted barbed wire disease working its havoc. This was true regardless of how good the food or housing. It was brought on by close confinement with many others whom you could not avoid; brought on by the worry and strain imposed by being in a hostile country out of touch with home and loved ones. Frequently, men who had been the best of friends in the

army would become irritable enemies under the strain and stress of prison life, with no privacy whatever. Constant close association together meant constant repetition of threadbare jokes. Each man knew the idiosyncrasies of every other.

The "Y" helped the men to help themselves. Only by organizing education, recreation and other activities did they regain a normal outlook and a wholesome interest in life.

The Span of the "Y" Today

Throughout the world as I write the YMCA has forty-six war camp executive secretaries. From among the six million prisoners of war, 50,000 are serving full time without any compensation whatever as directors of varied activities. These men will themselves never suffer from insanity.

In Germany, today, the YMCA has ten neutral secretaries from Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, making regular visits to British prisoners. They come to know them personally. When the secretary visits a camp he meets with the camp leader (who is usually chosen by his fellows) and with the chairman of all the committees. In the field of education, for instance, British prisoners in Germany are taking courses from universities in Great Britain. Hundreds of thousands of books have been shipped into the camps. A single shipment of athletic supplies costs $10,000. In some of the camps men are sent out in working detachments. For these men, sports boxes are supplied, including a football, a volleyball, a ping-pong set, cards, mouth organs and boxing gloves.

Some fifteen months ago, I was asked to go to Canada where there are prison camps stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The food provided for prisoners by the
Canadian government is excellent, perhaps the best in the world. But men do not live by bread alone. In our modern world, they also live by cultural activities which governments themselves do not provide. In Canada, we have not only German officers, aviators, submarine commanders, soldiers and merchant marines, but we have Italians, Japanese and non-Aryan refugees who have been in German concentration camps.

The easiest way to understand our work is to think of an American college or university campus. The YMCA tries to provide behind the barbed wire all the activities that usually belong to campus life, educational, musical, athletic, recreational and religious.

A Camp Close-Up

Perhaps I can dramatize our work by describing one camp for prisoners of war opened fifteen months ago in Canada and then the same camp today. It was fifteen months ago that I went there first, the first neutral to visit it. The weather was intensely cold. The train stopped to let me off, since there was no regular station. I was met by a tractor which pulled an open freight sleigh. I stood on this in the below zero weather until it reached the camp.

The men were housed in lumbermen's shacks, sleeping in double decker beds. They were surrounded by typical barbed wire fences and machine guns. The government provided food, clothing and shelter but as yet there were no activities of any kind—educational, athletic, recreational, musical or religious.

Not long ago I went back and spent the day in the compound. In athletics they had now a skating rink, ping-pong tables, gymnasium and track equipment. Twice a week moving pictures were provided, once by the YMCA and once by the men themselves. And beyond that they had a university with scores of classes and professors. Ninety percent of the men were enrolled.

They had arranged a concert in my honor played by the camp orchestra. In the evening the prisoners saw a theatrical performance. Lighting effects could be managed only by colored paper. Nonetheless, the stage and scenery were beautiful and had been arranged by an outstanding German architect, a prisoner in the camp.

It is easy to draw too rosy a picture from what I have just said. The orchestra in this camp consisted of only fourteen pieces. More instruments were desired, but we could not afford to furnish them. For the skating rink, we had provided only twenty-four pairs of skates and the men signed up for them as one would for a tennis court. For classrooms, they were using the dining room which meant all classes were conducted in the same room together. While they had a small library, many more books were urgently needed.

Perhaps I should say that in every camp in Canada the "Y" has arranged traveling libraries, usually provided by Canadian universities. The wooden boxes to crate the books are made by the German prisoners.

We provide moving pictures, which are shown one night to the Canadian guards and the next night to the prisoners of war.

Two directors of War Prisoners' Aid talk with German prisoners in Great Britain

I do not want to leave the impression that the "Y" is the only agency active in this field. The International Red Cross has also been doing notable work in the prison camps, especially in providing food parcels for the men.

"Polarized Illiteracy"

These things are cures for barbed wire disease. But prisoners of war today clearly demonstrate another affliction. I call it polarized illiteracy. While the world has been abolishing ordinary illiteracy, a new and unrecognized form has been growing more virulent. This scourge takes in entire populations. It is no longer a question of a certain percentage of the people who lack all education. It is a matter of seemingly an entire population afflicted with partial blackouts of the mind.

This polarized illiteracy is especially revealed when men from one country are captured and removed thousands of miles away. Here the cultural stimuli which they can and should receive are totally at variance with the old patterns. Only so can the polarization of their minds begin to break down.

What precisely do I mean? To understand polarized illiteracy, try this simple experiment. Scatter iron filings on a piece of paper. Then repeatedly pass a magnet through the air over the filings, always in the same direction. In the end, all the small bits of iron will point in one way.

Now suppose there are thousands upon thousands of minds within a particular national area. Control the eye and ear stimuli of moving pictures, of radio and press. Have these all point the same way. Prevent or prohibit counter ideas from free circulation. Inevitably a polariza-
tion of the mind tends to occur. Ideas rearrange themselves to slant in one direction just as the iron filings did. The process is slower and infinitely more complex, but it just as surely occurs.

Perhaps I can illustrate this best from the vantage point of my present work among prisoners of war. The men in the Canadian camps are confined behind barbed wire. They have been snatched by the accident of battle and removed to a hostile environment. They find themselves among a people who have different attitudes from those with which they were born or grew up.

Since the prison camp is a controlled area, it is in effect a small laboratory. Here one can see intricately and dramatically the effects of a particular ideology or culture.

What I Have Found in the Canadian Camps

The German prisoners think the Fuehrer is always right. They believe dictatorship is necessary and superior. They believe that democracy is discredited and impractical. They have been taught this by everything they have read and heard. They do not question it. Their minds have become largely impervious to any other point of view except that of the Nazis. Inconvenient facts are dismissed as hostile propaganda. They have what can well be termed polarized illiteracy.

Again they have been taught that many of the evils confronting the world are due to Jews. Here again the dogma has been so hammered home from all directions that Germans tend to accept it without question.

This is how one of them described a particular democracy—you can guess which:

A land of political crooks, perjured policemen, concentration camps, phoney democracy, frozen wastes, chaos and general confusion—a typical example of Jewish democracy.

Because of this polarization, German prisoners tend to think Hitler will win the war almost immediately. Two years ago they were all saying the war would be over in two months; a year ago they were still saying it.

Make no mistake, it is not only German prisoners who are so afflicted. Every country has its own brand and the democracies are by no means free. Take the question of the Negro in our own southern states. Many southerners still automatically accept and act on the dogma that the Negro is inferior to the white man. They hold that he should not have the same rights in the courts; should not serve on a jury, nor be elected to Congress. The Negro should not even have voting rights. He is automatically supposed to be subservient. Even the Congress of the United States has never passed legislation against lynching.

Closer Home

Other examples might be given. Take the question of unrestricted capitalism. Today, even the London Times recognizes that prewar capitalism and imperialism have both slipped. Too many of us go on expecting that the economic order of the past will continue indefinitely without constructive change. We are afflicted with polarized illiteracy with respect to progress in the economic order.

As long as our chief sources of information are directed in a certain way, our minds are warped. If we are asked the question, "What is he worth?" we almost automatically react in terms of financial status, not character or ability. Thus it is, if the eye and ear stimuli create a climate favorable to a money-centered culture, our minds congeal with complacent indifference.

It is a commonplace that if an article is advertised all over the United States as the best in its field, people gradually come to accept it as such. In the larger area of culture and society our habits, our way of life, our susceptibilities gradually are "concealed" by us to be the best. Just so we ourselves become victims of polarized illiteracy.

How can you and I guard ourselves against this disease? To begin with, we must let rival points of view have their say. Freedom of speech, of press and assembly are what fresh air is to the tuberculosis patient—they destroy germs. Every nation should have the free right to hear the point of view of the other peoples of the world.

Even this is not enough, for most people refuse to take the trouble to read or listen to the other side. Here then is the nub of our difficulty. How are we, for instance, to get more business men to read the New Republic or The Nation and more intellectuals to read the Nation’s Business? The only way we can genuinely break polarized illiteracy is by training ourselves—by training all our citizens—not to feel educated unless we hear both sides of every major issue.

Back to the Prison Camps

Fortunately, a prison camp inevitably and irresistibly becomes a place where such cross-fertilization of cultures occurs. Constrained nationals from one country are forced to read only the materials permitted them by the other country. German prisoners for the first time read English newspapers every day. English prisoners of war in Germany have access to German newspapers. Each nationality is inevitably in the center of the cultural climate of the other. This tends to cut across the old forms of polarization. Consequently as a result of the war, in the prison camps at least, common ideas will emerge. This may be a slow process but the process is irresistible.

Many German prisoners today are no longer so sure as they once were of the verdict of history. Changes of attitude are sometimes so great that their bale expression may even shock us. One British prisoner of war, for instance, writing from Germany says:

"Is not the present clash of nations due to the clash of two groups which are exclusively and sincerely loyal to their particular ideal? Will not the answer be found when they discover an ideal greater than their own to which they can give a common allegiance and after which they can strive together?"

Another British officer, a prisoner in Nazi Germany, recognized that through his very hardships, his deprivations, he was gaining new insights into what the poor of England endure all the time. His very discomforts, he wrote, "develop an active sympathy for conditions of poverty and squalor which my former inexperience could not visualize."

Every national state needs the shock of ideas at variance with the status quo, at variance with accepted mores and respectabilities. One of the greatest virtues of true democracy under freedom is that every minority group is free to have its say and win over the majority if it can. This means inevitable verbal conflict and clash of opinion within the social order, but it is just this free process which will be needed after the war to cure the menace of polarized illiteracy.

SURVEY GRAPHIC
"By the end of 1940, American foreign policy had hardened into a durable pattern."—Thus summarize David Davis and Lindley, drawing on hitherto untapped diplomatic materials and tracing the pattern in these phrases:

All aid to the democracies
A firm but unprovocative hand with Japan
Helpful collaboration with the Americas
A watchful but not unkindly eye on Vichy and her colonies
An active good will toward Russia

In a fireside chat at the year's close—two months after his election to a third term—Mr. Roosevelt nailed talk of another A.E.F. as a "deliberate untruth." Berlin was concentrating on a peace offensive to soften outside public opinion, preliminary to invasions of Greece and Russia. Senator Wheeler was urging the American President to "insist that just peace be worked out."

The "durable pattern" turned out to be firm footing for breaking new ground in the light of events. In his annual message of January 6 (1941) the President answered the psychological drive from Berlin by repudiating a "peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers"; and set forth his famous Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, of worship, from economic want and from fear of war. In March the Lend-Lease bill was passed by the United States Congress. Reflecting the views of a large majority of his fellow countrymen, Mr. Roosevelt had insistently urged it. At the same time a Gallup poll indicated that his popularity had gone up from 55 percent on Election Day to 72 percent. To quote:

Mr. Roosevelt, as usual, was abreast, not ahead of public opinion. The public will as reflected by the Gallup poll showed a hardening in the direction of war. In May, 68 percent were willing to accept participation in the war if necessary for allied victory; 71 percent favored convoys.

Here is the key to the concept of leadership in the democratic sense as contrasted with totalitarian dictatorship. Not since the "War between the States" have our people had so consistent a manifestation of the all-important truth that, under freedom, and by his own choice, a leader must be responsible to them. For me it is the heart of these findings.

First two young columnists and radio commentators, and now two seasoned interpreters of contemporary events, have experimented with native variants of the authoritative "papers" which governments have issued under one color of the spectrum or another. In July 1940, Joseph W. Alsop, Jr. and Robert Kintner brought out "An American White Paper," which Simon and Schuster published. This made available to the Ameri-
“travelled the country, visiting factories, talking with workers, soldiers, housewives.” Asking questions everywhere, observing, relating, and comparing, he concluded that “England would stick it out.” On his report the President relied. When in London with Churchill, Hopkins “resolved that Roosevelt and Churchill should meet face to face.” He returned to the United States with that idea, persevered in it until he had persuaded the President, and in August came the Atlantic Charter.

“How War Came” affords us glimpses of the cast of characters the American President leaned on to get at the truth of what was afoot. Here was Harry Hopkins, the social worker, who had proved his canny insight no less than his administrative capacity in swinging the tremendous job of the Works Progress Administration—the Iowa “harness maker’s son” who is sometimes referred to as Mr. Roosevelt’s “gray eminence.” Here was an admiral, William D. Leahy, whose word Petain grew to rely on and to “dread his blunt reminders of France’s obligations to this government and above all to trust his reports and his judgment on affairs in France and abroad.” Here a career diplomat, Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, who kept discussions with the Russian ambassador on an urbane level in the days of Finland’s invasion, but could counter with “congealing tones.”

Mr. Hopkins interpreted the pluses and minuses of a friendly nation. Let us look at the record with respect to this other nation, which was to shift its base tremendously and which, as I write, is for a second year meeting the brunt of massed Nazi power.

Re-discovering Russia

To go back to the date with which the Davis-Lindley appraisal begins, we find that as early as June 1940, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles began a persistent attempt “to wean the U.S.S.R. away from the 1939 pact of friendship and non-aggression which had freed Hitler’s hands for his western campaign.” We are told that Welles believed that the Russo-German pact of amity was “unrealistic and would not last out the war.” He was convinced that eventually the United States and the Soviet Union would “be aligned on the same side.” He was aware that Hitler had neglected to advise the Kremlin of his intended invasion of the Low Countries and that the Moscow radio had condemned the assault. Welles refused to recognize conflict of interest between the United States and Russia. He started to woo the Kremlin at a time when Russo-American relations were “at their lowest ebb.” In August 1940, he negotiated a renewal of our trade treaty with the U.S.S.R. Portents came thick with the new year. For in January 1941, the Soviet Union extended new credits to China and “enlarged its flow of munitions and aircraft to Chungking.” That month, also, Secretary Wallace lifted the “moral embargo” against Russia which had been proclaimed during the first Russo-Finnish war. And that month Welles warned the Russian Ambassador in Washington that “Hitler had Russia marked for slaughter the following June.”

Here is the significant passage in “How War Came”—which goes back to our turning point in American policy:

On December 10, 1940 Hitler, speaking at a munitions factory outside Berlin, visualized the war as the conflict between “two worlds, two philosophies of life,” one of which “must break asunder”; boasting that with German produc-

tion he could beat any power in the world.

Later that month Chinese military officers, inspecting supplies which still were being provided for Chungking by Germany in spite of the Axis pact, came across a significant sight in another German factory. They observed German workmen painting a thicket of tall road signs with crossbars. The language of the signboards was in both Russian and German. It seemed to the Chinese that signs showing the direction and distances between cities were being painted for every crossroads in western Russia. The Chinese, who find, strangely, that German military officers are more communicative than American or British, made inquiries and were frankly told that the Fuehrer had ordered the Reichswehr made ready for an invasion of Russia. This discovery was transmitted by the Chinese intelligence to the American and British military intelligence.

Here we have a clue to sources of information outside the realm of journalism. It was history repeating itself, as an earlier page of the Davis-Lindley book brings out:

When the Nazis marched into Czecho-Slovakia they were accompanied by billposters, who soon spattered the landscape with greetings to the population, assuring them that the Nazis came not as conquerors, but as friends. In one city the American consul who read Polish, was astonished to see blooming on all the billboards an appeal in Polish characters. Within an hour, other billposters had pasted the Polish matter over with sheets in the Czech tongue.

As already noted, the invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941 had long been expected by our government. In England, Churchill immediately delivered a speech which he had been rehearsing for two months; here in the U.S.A., Welles brought out a prepared statement which had been reposing in a State Department safe. The American public, however, including the American communists, had been taken by surprise and it was several weeks before our mutual interest was generally recognized. In the meantime General Robert E. Wood had announced that “the entry of Soviet Russia into the war would settle once and for all the intervention issue”; Senator Wheeler proposed that the United States could now “just let Joe Stalin and the other dictators fight it out.” And Herbert Hoover announced, “Collaboration between Britain and Russia ... makes the whole argument of joining the war a gargantuan jest.” Scant heed, however, was given by the general public to this unrealistic cynicism.

The Nazi invasion of Russia ushered in our third six months span. The month following (July 1941), Harry Hopkins returned to London. His mission was publicly concerned with Lend-Lease. His primary purpose was to arrange the conference at sea between Roosevelt and Churchill. Hopkins flew to Britain in a bomber. Both Churchill and Hopkins were more hopeful of Russian endurance than the military men, but there was little accurate knowledge of the range and quality of Russia’s defensive forces.” In London, Churchill suggested, “Harry, why don’t you go and have a look for all of us.” Hopkins obtained the consent of the President and reached Moscow on July 30 to find the city enduring a Nazi air raid.

In a few days the Hopkins genius for inspiring personal confidence had prompted Stalin to “unlock the inner chambers of Soviet defense secrets,” theretofore “hidden from all foreigners.” “The Germans,” prophesied Stalin, “will never get to Moscow this year,” Hopkins left Moscow convinced and authorized to disclose these “secrets.”
only to President Roosevelt, for such use as the President might consider proper. Later, when he accompanied Churchill to their meeting at sea, he imparted the information to Roosevelt. The President was thus enabled to apprise Churchill of Russian military secrets of which "no other human beings outside the high command of the Soviet regime had more than a glimmering."

Hopkins, it is set forth in the record, convinced both Churchill and Roosevelt of the reliability of this information and during the balance of 1941, our foreign policy, as well as England's military strategy, were predicated on the correct assumption that Germany would not succeed in her 1941 campaign against the Soviet Union.

The Skirmish Over Source Materials

Since the fall of France, there has been a welter of books and commentaries, by newspaper correspondents, historians, military experts; speeches by statesmen, and day to day war communiques. From time to time there have been brief recapitulations by government officials. But there have been many unfilled blanks between the manifestation of our policy and the definitive reasons for specific lines of action. This has been particularly true of our dealings with Vichy and the Fighting French, no less than our relations with the U.S.S.R. and our so-called appeasement of Japan prior to Pearl Harbor.

Time and again, Mr. Roosevelt had sought to make the public aware of the critical nature of our predicament. Moreover, for eight years he has, in his public utterances, continually sown the seeds of faith by counseling the people to believe in themselves. In the days of his greatest responsibility, he was to reap a reciprocating harvest.

Meanwhile, much of the confusion as to the sequence of events and the timing of our government's acts in transferring over-age destroyers to Britain, for example, in the occupation of Greenland, or in the various negotiations with Marshal Petain, are now clarified in the Davis-Lindley volume. A condensed first installment of the book appeared in the July number of The Ladies Home Journal. It immediately called forth criticism from Arthur Krock of The New York Times. He objected because the authors had been given access to government files and information which had not been made available to the Washington press correspondents. Without minimizing the value of issuing white books or blue books which afford source material to all concerned, it is to be said for Messrs. Davis and Lindley that their book has the obvious merit of being at once readable and understandable to the average layman. No official white paper gotten out by the State Department or any other governmental agency could possibly hope to reach so wide an audience.

Nor can the authors be dismissed as mouthpieces of the New Deal. Mr. Lindley brought to their collaboration intimate knowledge of the White House and the thoroughly grounded confidence of the administration. His contacts and knowledge of government procedures go back to his earlier days as an ace correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune. Mr. Davis, on the other hand, served in turn in the last campaign as public relations adviser to Senators Taft and McNary. His previous career as reporter, editor and political analyst, notably for Scripps-Howard, furnished the background qualifying him to carry out this new and formidable project. And only last year he gained recognition as an accurate historian as author of "The Atlantic System." In turn, "How War Came" is both comprehensive and exact as a fascinating adventure in contemporary interpretation.

The Coil Which Is Vichy

The treatment of our Vichy policy affords a full length example of the Davis-Lindley method. With the Nazi break through at Sedan in the spring of 1940, the administration recognized the impending doom of France. President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull directed their attention at once to doing everything possible to save the French navy from coming under Nazi control. That, together with the exclusion of the Axis from the use of Algiers, Dakar and the other French colonies in Africa as bases for a future invasion of the Western Hemisphere, became the core of our French policy.

In the first crisis, Ambassador Bullitt had succeeded in having $250,000,000 in gold shipped out of France before the Germans reached Paris. But the crux of our efforts centered on staying off all-out collaboration between Marshal Petain and Hitler. In September 1940, Henry-Haye came to Washington as Vichy's official Ambassador. Shortly thereafter Chautemps arrived as Petain's personal emissary. We in turn sent Admiral Leahy to France more as an envoy to Petain than to the Vichy regime.

Leahy was soon on a "sound realistic and comradely footing" with Petain. His popularity with the French people was such that he could not make public appearances without receiving such acclaim as to subject the French people to Nazi reprisals. He repeatedly foiled the efforts of Laval for all-out collaboration, including his attempts to make the French bases in the Mediterranean and West Africa available to the Nazis. However, our Admiral-Ambassador was not able to influence Petain sufficiently to prevent Vichy's acquiescence in the Japanese occupation of Indo-China. He did not prevent Vichy arms from fighting in Syria. But he did materially stiffen Petain's hand against Laval.

Prior to Leahy's arrival in France, the American government had made an agreement with General Weygand in respect to North Africa which Weygand meticulously adhered to as delegate general there. "If the Boche wants North Africa, let him come and get it," Weygand repeatedly told the collaborationists of Vichy and Paris. With Weygand's removal, the agreement was terminated by the State Department after it had served a very useful purpose during a most critical period.

In the meantime we had treated separately with Admiral Robert in Martinique to obtain the immobilization of a cruiser and aircraft carrier and had sent a consul to New Caledonia, a strategic island off Australia, which was under control of the Free French. The State Department's position with respect to two small French islands off the gulf of St. Lawrence was colored by anxiety not to undercut confidence in Admiral Leahy.

To me, the handling of our relations with Vichy is testimony to the wisdom of Secretary Hull and Admiral Leahy. This book furnishes convincing evidence that they served a vital purpose in impeding Laval's collaboration with the Germans. At the same time, they had a helpful influence on the French people. Certainly they delayed for a substantial period the utilization by the Germans of French naval vessels as well as North Africa and Dakar. Only last April, Luchaire, the Paris journalist, asserted that Leahy had "ruled France through intermediaries for eighteen months."

(Continued on page 367)
How China Mobilizes the Spirit of Its People

Only where there is a healthy spirit is there healthy action. Citizens who are not in good condition spiritually cannot do the job of saving the country from its enemies.

Change all your bad habits—refuse graft.

Improve your daily life. Do away with all improper pleasures; give up meaningless entertainment.

Don't waste your time chatting.

Be brave. Don't run away from danger.

Go to bed early. Get up early. Work energetically. Increase your efficiency.
These wash drawings are from a lantern-slide series—simple propaganda for the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement founded by Chiang Kai-shek and Mme. Chiang. The slides are shown by the Chinese army commands to strengthen morale of civilians and soldiers.

- Organize the people everywhere. Give them useful work to do wartime.
- Help increase the production of essential foods and goods.
- Furnish all military material to the government. Give money, food and other necessities for the refugees and the wounded.
- Confirm your belief in the Three People's Principles. Freedom means resisting the invader. Stand for the people's rights at all times. Increase production for the people's sake.
- The military affairs first, victory first. Concentrate will; concentrate strength.
- Love your nation and drive out the pygmy invaders who have fallen upon our land.
A Great Experiment

by RUFUS M. JONES

The dean of American Quakers interprets their loyalty to a way of life which has peace as its essence. To him theirs is not a "negative halt" but carries "love and service right into the areas of war and hate"—as harbingers of a great hope.

We are familiar with the peace-time pacifist—"done with war forever"—who swings over and becomes a fighter as soon as his country is at war. He finds this war "different" from any other one, and the "issue" now one that calls on every true man to support his country with undeviating and unquestioning loyalty. In my long life I have seen determined pacifists go down in a crisis like nine-pins before a well-aimed ball. It is a situation one can well understand. In the abstract almost everybody hates war and its methods. If one sits down in a cool, calm frame of mind, especially if he is a professing Christian, he is pretty sure to line up mentally, so long as the world is at peace, against almost everything that war involves.

But there comes a sudden change in the cosmic weather. The sky darkens. There is a noise of battle and trumpets rend the air. As the Psalmist puts it, "War rises up against us and foes come on to eat up our flesh." The issue shifts suddenly from the abstract to the vivid concrete. Everything now is "different." All the values of life appear to be at stake. Civilization hangs on the issue of arms. Theory yields to realism.

Theory thinks fact a poor thing
An' wants the banns read right ensuin';
But fact won't no-wise wear the ring,
'Tbout years 'o' setting' up and woorin'.

Theory is jest like a train on the rail,
Thet, weather or no, puts her thru without fail,
While fact's the ole stage that gits sloughed in the ruta
An' hez to allow for your darned ifs and buts.

The ultimate issue turns out in the end to be in the main a question of the soul's highest loyalty. That highest loyalty is a slow creation, formed in the face of many rival loyalties, and one hardly knows until the testing crisis comes which is to be the supreme loyalty. The tragedy of loyalties is one of our greatest human tragedies, for one cannot usually follow one supreme loyalty without going back on some other to which his spirit clings.

It is often asked why we Quakers come so near as we do to being unanimously devoted to peace, even in wartime, and why so many of our youth stand firm in their pacifist faith when others who had been equally antiwar-minded shift over and go out with the war forces.

The answer is in essence that we have been committed and dedicated as a people for three hundred years to a great experiment with a fairly definite way of life, which is flatly incompatible with the method and practice of war. The Quaker's supreme loyalty—after years of "settin' up and woorin'"—is to that way of life which has peace as its essence. It is not merely objection to war and refusal to take a person's life that characterize the "experiment," though those are both very real attitudes. It is a high resolve to manifest a spirit of love and to exhibit a type of life, which if they became general among men would make war unnecessary, and even impossible. The whole basis of the "experiment" is positive; not a negative halt. We sometimes use the phrase, "conscientious objector," but it does not truly express the heart of the position.

The first Quakers, and especially their founder, George Fox, who formed his view of life in the midst of the Civil War in England, took the Galiinian way of life very seriously. They were inaugurating a new movement in the spiritual life of the race—a new stream of spiritual life. They proposed to have done forever with dead abstractions about Christianity, to take it out of a Book and to translate it into the dynamic language of life and action. If it was true and real, then for them it had to be acted.

They furthermore held the explosive faith that Christ was not only raised from the dead on Easter Day, but that He was now and henceforth a living presence, re-living His divine life in men, in sensitive and responsive souls and writing His New Testament for the new age in men's lives. A new type of loyalty came to birth in these people's hearts. That way of Christ—the way of love and sacrifice—came to be the very breath of their lives. They struck a everything which held men in slavery of mind or body to effete inherited systems of the past, and they set out to attempt the creation of a new social order by faithfulness to the guiding Spirit revealed in their souls. It meant for them that a person who is potentially a child of God and a revealing place for the divine purpose must be treated as precious and sacred, as ancient temples were held by their devotees, for to them persons were thought of literally as possible temples of the ever-present Spirit of God.

The experiment, then, which these people, themselves persecuted and harried, started in the world was an experiment to see whether love and gentle forces would work in place of the harsh, cruel and brutal method which had always held the field. They refused to make distinctions between "high class" and "low class" people. They were "levelers," but they proceeded to "level up instead of "levelling down." They undertook to recognize a divine worth in persons who were down and under. They wiped out, or at least forgot, the differences of color, or the accidents of race and class. They struck a customs and systems that were built on sham and in sincerity. They cried out against inhuman forms of punishment and outdated social habits that had endured because it had not occurred to anyone to challenge them and propose a better way.

SURVEY GRAPHIC
It was obviously quite natural for them—with their determination to practice Christ’s way of life, with their ideals about the preciousness and the divine possibilities of persons, and with their decision to stand out against every inherited custom that treated persons as things—to refuse to take part in wars and carry on that ancient way of the cave man of securing rights. They felt about war as Tolstoy wrote in his “Confessions” that he felt about the execution of a man which he had witnessed: “No theory of reasonableness can justify this deed and though everybody from the creation of the world has held it to be necessary, I know it to be unnecessary and bad.”

The years grew on into centuries—all of them centuries crowded with wars, including the French and Indian wars, which ended the empire of France in America, the Revolutionary war and the Napoleonic wars—and through all those years of strife successive Quaker generations went on with their experiment. They inaugurated a “holy experiment” in government in Pennsylvania, they governed Rhode Island for a hundred years, they reformed prison systems and were in the forefront of the long crusade against American slavery.

Finally the torch set aflame in the seventeenth century was passed on to our hands in this stormy century, and we found their age-long experiment committed to us. It is an essential feature of a spiritual movement that it shall not slavishly copy the ideas and systems and methods of the past, but rather that the new generation shall capture the spirit of the founders, shall be the inheritors of their faith and vision and passion, and then transmit the ideals and central experiment of the movement, rethought and freshly wrought to fit the demands and the inner climate of the new age that has come.

That meant that we who had the turn of responsibility come upon us twenty-five years ago had to repossess our spiritual possessions and reshape the experiment with this inherited way of life in terms of our time. We were as sure as our forebears were that war was the wrong, the irrational, way to settle international issues, that men made in God’s image, with their divine possibilities as persons, ought not to be turned into targets for machine guns and T.N.T. bombs, or made themselves to become bombers; that this whole inherited system from barbaric ages was “unnecessary and bad.”

But at the same time we knew that the one impossible course for us was to refuse all responsibility for the tragedy that was enveloping the world. We could not withdraw into some safe and quiet retreat and assume that this tragic situation was no affair of ours. The world tragedy, with its series of cumulative blunders, was a common tragedy for which we were all in our degree to blame, and in the agony of which in some measure we were all bound to bear a share. We wanted to show our faith in action, and to make the experiment, which seemed to us a holy one, work; to demonstrate its value as a way of life even in war time. The American Friends Service Committee, with its twenty-five years of creative service of love and constructive work, is our contribution to this experiment which our forefathers inaugurated.

It is of course inadequate, because it does not prevent wars from occurring. The worst one in history has come while we were doing our best to prevent it, and to demonstrate another way of handling the issues of life. But it is a fact that if this experiment of ours of carrying love and service right into the areas of war and hate could be expanded, widened out to include for instance all the persons who belong to the Church of Christ, it would probably end war and make possible a new kind of world.

We took large bands of youth to France in 1917 and rebuilt the villages in the Marne Valley which had been destroyed in the Battle of the Marne, and there we rehabilitated the wrecked families. . . . We stayed after the war was over and rebuilt the villages of the Verdun District. . . . We brought cows into Vienna to get milk for the children. We brought in coal for the hospitals and helped life to start afresh in that desolated city of two million people. . . . We fed the German children whom the blockade had starved—more than a million of them—and we carried the feeding on for four years. . . . We helped the Serbians rebuild their destroyed homes. We helped the Polish peasants plow their abandoned fields, and we stayed with them and fought the typhus epidemic. . . . We carried food to Russia in their great famine, and we remained after the famine was over to organize clinics for their children. . . . We fed children of the unemployed and depressed soft coal miners in West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and worked out plans for rehabilitating their families. . . . We cared for the children of Spain on both sides of the battle-lines during the civil war. . . . And we have been in the south of France ever since the fall of Paris, doing everything in our power to care for underfed children and others in these hard months of their supreme tragedy.

This is only a brief and partial catalogue—bound to miss the human faces—of the experiment with this way of love and service in times of war and its aftermath of suffering and agony. Would anyone who had seen its healing effects, who had felt its warmth of love and fellowship, who had fathomed the spiritual depth of its way of life, want those who are engaged in it to go back on it, give it up, surrender the mission and return to the methods of war and join the fighting forces of the country? I think the answer is No.

There is no doubt about what Woodrow Wilson thought. I have his word of approval and blessing in his own handwriting. Hosts of men and women in all walks of life have supported the experiment not merely by letters of appreciation, but by generous contributions of money, which have made it possible to carry on the experiment effectively. If we failed in our faith and gave up our experiment, if we took the world’s old way of “saving” civilization with guns and tanks and bombing planes, these men and women, who have counted on us and believed in our belief, would feel that we had gone back on them. But what would be our most poignant feeling of failure would be the sense that God would be missing us at our post.

If there should be no spiritual volunteers in this crisis of human history to bear testimony to the truth and splendor of this brave way of life for which Christ lived and died, then the final victory of arms by the successful bombing of cities and sinking of fleets and destruction of armies can hardly save the faith of the ages. Somebody must love it enough and be enough dedicated to it to refuse to compromise or to count the cost, or to argue about what might happen if something else isn’t done. When the priceless jewel of the soul is at issue, you do not argue or hesitate, or halt between two opinions. You say: “I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen.”
1. Increasing war production has first claim on our resources. This means a drop in the production of civilian goods, and hence in consumption.

2. Taxation reduces consumption by draining off part of our purchasing power, but it does not determine how people use what they have left.

3. In time of scarcity this freedom of choice allows some people to get more than a fair share of the limited supplies by outbidding others.

4. Then prices shoot up. Today the government is trying to hold prices down by price control.
5. However, price control neither increases supply nor reduces demand—

6. —and so demand takes its purchasing power into black markets.

7. But we are all in the same boat, and inequalities must be removed to safeguard civilian morale.

8. Government rationing distributes equally the available consumer goods.
9. But rationing means share and share alike, without regard to individual needs and tastes.

10. Rationing also means the creation of a huge bureaucratic machine to administer and police the rules and regulations.

11. Americans have to choose between rationing and inflation.

12. Threatened with the loss of its force, excess purchasing power can be rescued only if changed into war savings bonds.
Window Show

by GENEVA MATHIASEN

How the neighborhood street joined up in a Home Defense week. An idea adaptable by communities everywhere, large and small.

The stores on our street in Cleveland's teeming East End, are like most neighborhood stores—uninspiring little cubicles, their show windows filled with a miscellaneous assortment of goods and commercial advertising posters. But for one week the stores on our street—twelve of them, counting the vacant one we used for an information center—took on dignity and importance as they served as true instruments of education.

"It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Eat These Necessary Foods Every Day." This was in red letters and blue on broad white banners spread across the windows of Gerlack's grocery store on the corner. Behind the glass seven groups of protective foods were arranged attractively on shelves. Housewives, coming to shop, stopped to look. Children on the way home from school gathered in little clusters. Drugstore loafers on the corner ambled over with studied unconcern to see what the fuss was about. And the East End Neighborhood House "Home Defense Week" was launched.

During the next two days other banners appeared as one display after another was added up and down our street. With each addition interest grew. "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Eat the Whole Grain," the housewife read on the bakery window, where little American flags were stuck in loaves of whole wheat and rye. "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Buy the Thriftier Cuts of Meat," she saw as she approached the butcher shop. On a bed of ice garnished with lettuce leaves were four of the cheaper cuts (changed every day) and below, recipes for cooking them. "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Use Enough Milk:" the housewife couldn't help seeing it as she went past the confectionery store where two papier-mache cows looked proudly from the window and all around them were bottles of milk, cartons of ice cream, cheeses, a cream soup, and some custard puddings. "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Buy Wisely and Use Carefully," she was reminded as she went past the store that sells notions and odds and ends of clothes, and saw a mending basket spilling over with thread and tape, flanked on both sides by American flags. As she went past the drug store came the warning, "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Practise First Aid," with a series of match stick drawings in the background and a display of first aid kits in front.

"It Makes a Difference to Your Country—What You Feed Him If He Works at Night," stared her in the face as she stopped to look at a lunch pail and a list of "lunches he will praise." As she reached the hardware store she read, "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Protect Your Home and Family" and looked in on a model air raid shelter room complete from stirrup pump to books and games for the children. "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—If You Look Your Best," she saw in the beauty shop, and stopped to exclaim over a flower arrangement of wild crabapple, lilacs, and tulips, with a card underneath, "Natural Beauty Depends on Health."

Sign posts pointed in one direction to Vitality Village, Port of Good Posture, Healthy Habits Hamlet, Clear Complexion Center, and in another direction to Exercise, Rest, Food, Cleanliness.

As parting reminder at the last grocery store she read, "It Makes a Difference to Your Country—Which You Choose." In the window were two baskets filled with food, meat, cereals, vegetables, both costing approximately the same, but one having about three times as many calories, proteins, minerals, and vitamins as the other.

When she came to the store that had been vacant for a year she saw in one window: "Food Demonstration This Afternoon—Free Movies Tonight;" in the other, five wooden figures of draftees—the caption, "Every Other Man Rejected." And above, the familiar slogan, "It Makes a Difference to Your Country."

She got the point, she and her husband and her children and her neighbors, that their every activity is tied up with the welfare of the nation. Home defense in our community became a reality in terms of daily living.

We planned the Home Defense Show for two reasons: first, because we realized that our neighbors, many of them Hungarian and Italian, felt somewhat detached from the national program and had natural emotional barriers in thinking about the war. Second, we knew that at best only a small percentage of them took part in the war effort of our neighborhood house, no matter how good the classes in nutrition and first aid. They wouldn't listen to lectures and were apt to flip the dial when they heard "vitamins, minerals, proteins, calories" coming over the radio. We tried to bring together all the visual-auditory aids we could lay hold of in a way that couldn't escape the notice of anyone who walked along our street. We took down to the information center our sound movie projector, and also the microphone and record player which hook up to the loud speaker. So the air was gay with music heard up and down the block. Neighborhood women took turns at the microphone calling out friendly greetings to their friends who passed along the street or came out on their porches across the way. "Come on in, Mrs. Silagi, we're going to have a very interesting demonstration in here in a few minutes. A man is going to cut up a quart of beef and a whole lamb just for you." "Yoo hoo, Mrs. Toth, come on over—you can do your ironing tomorrow." "Mary, go upstairs and take care of the baby so your mother can come to the demonstration."

Inside the information center was the traveling exhibit on nutrition prepared by the Cleveland Health Museum. Dr. Bruno Gebhard, directing a staff of artists, and in consultation with nutritionists, has worked out an unusual device for visual health education. There was a big board labeled "Food Facts and Fallacies," for example. The
most casual observers, attracted first of all by a very life-like pan of peas, could not miss the question beside it, "Should you use soda in cooking green vegetables?" Still less could they resist the invitation to lift up a triangular piece of wood to discover the answer. Intrigued by the process, they went on to examine the twenty other facts and fallacies similarly displayed.

Turning wheels, pressing electric buttons, manipulating knobs and sorting colored blocks of wood, each person who sees the exhibit takes an active part in learning about the relative number of calories used in knitting and dancing; the value of a nickel's worth of milk and a nickel's worth of soda pop; what part of the food eaten goes to bones, blood, and so on. But though the exhibit had been for months in the Health Museum, almost within walking distance of the settlement, most of the people in our neighborhood had never seen it.

On tables we placed a carefully selected collection of pamphlets on inexpensive meals, recipes requiring small amounts of sugar, how to choose sheets and other household linens, grade labeling on canned goods, and so on. But we didn't give any away. On each table was a sign, "Don’t take any of these, but leave your name and address and we will send you the ones you want." We got requests for nearly a thousand pamphlets. These we have sent through the mail, giving them a heightened importance, for our neighbors receive little mail and are impressed by anything the postman brings.

Every afternoon we arranged for a demonstration and every night there were movies. The afternoon demonstration included "Your Market Basket," by the nutritionist from the Dairy Council, with all the different articles of food given away at the end to the women who answered questions correctly; inexpensive cuts of meats provided by one of the packing companies; how to care for fruits and vegetables, provided by the Food Terminal; preservation of food and property through rat control, by the city food and drug division; homemade and made over clothes, a style show presented by the women's and children's sewing classes of East End Neighborhood House.

The movies were strictly educational and every evening the place was packed, with many people standing and ever looking in through the windows from the street. The last two evenings we ran a cartoon, unannounced previously. Why? Because the children in the audience had been so good about watching these educational films planned primarily for an adult audience. We wanted them to have a small dessert, as it were, without regard to food value.

The branch library a few blocks away carried a display of books featuring the subjects of our program and also loaned us one or two especially selected books or pamphlets for each store window.

A contest with prizes of Defense Stamps was an
nounced on the last night for the best scrapbook containing a week’s menus for the contestant’s family. The president of the settlement’s board of directors took responsibility for organizing this contest, and the board members gave the most practical kind of help throughout the whole project.

In the last analysis, however, we know that it wasn’t the careful collection of material or preparation of window displays that made our home defense show the exciting thing it was. What put it over was a lot of those unforeseen and even intangible things that have such power to make or break any project in defiance of well-laid plans.

We didn’t know, for example, that the storekeepers would become such apostles for health. They didn’t pretend to know what it was all about but they trusted us not to do anything detrimental to the neighborhood or their own interests. As the week wore on, their understanding and interest grew with their pride and prestige. The corner grocer became slightly apologetic about the woman who came in for a “handful of soup greens” instead of the basket of vegetables she ought to buy. The woman in the baker’s shop realized she was performing a patriotic act by baking whole wheat bread.

Most unforeseen of all was the fact that Chizzie (proprietor of Joe Ciz-Madia’s Confectionery in the telephone directory but Chizzie to the neighborhood) became an instrument of consumer education. We often think it’s a toss-up which is the real group work agency in the neighborhood, the settlement house or Chizzie’s. He certainly has better discussion groups than we do. It’s the sort of place where boys congregate before a neighborhood house opens and after it closes. Chizzie looks at the clock around seven in the evening and says, “Thank God, in fifteen minutes East End will be open and you bums will be out o’ here,” but saying it with the full knowledge they’ll all be back by 10:30 and likely half the East End staff with them. He is a cynic really—against women, against the administration (former administrations too), and most certainly he would be against consumer education if you asked him about it. But if everybody else was to have a window, so was he, and thereby all unwittingly was instrumental in convincing the “hard-boiled guys” of the neighborhood that the whole home defense show was pretty much all right.

We didn’t know the children would be so interested, or the men. And we didn’t dream the habitual hangers-on at the beer parlor across the street had any concern with our theme until one of them advised us in all seriousness, “The next time you do this show you oughta make the signs bigger.”

We didn’t know how excited the commercial salesmen would be, and how eager to help as they saw, many of them for the first time, the relationship between the articles they sold and the welfare of people and nation. Most of all, I suppose, we didn’t know how much closer it would bring us to so many of the people in our neighborhood, how much good fellowship there would be, how much friendly talk, how much laughter, how many little confidences, and how much “it makes a difference to your country—if you know your neighbors better.”

THE NOTION STORE—urged a stitch in time as a form of patriotism

THE BEAUTY SHOP. Both windows played up natural beauty
The Eagle That Is Remembered

by IRVING DILLIARD

I am prouder of the University of Illinois now than I have been at any time since I wore the cap and gown of the graduate in a fragrant prairie Junetime fifteen years ago.

This particular and unusual pride is based not on University of Illinois research or public service in the social sciences or pursuit of the liberal arts. It is not due to some new scientific achievement of the university's justly noted divisions of chemistry and engineering. It is not because the truly great agricultural experiment station at Urbana has added to its many laurels. Certainly it does not stem from ex-coach Bob Zuppke's last football team.

I am genuinely proud of the University of Illinois because of the name which has been given to one of its buildings. For the trustees of the university have done the literally inspired thing of distinguishing the building which houses its College of Law with the official name of Altgeld Hall, in corrected memory of one of the most reviled men in American history.

This is an act of justice which should be known not only throughout Illinois, from Jane Addams' native Cedarville near the Wisconsin line to the tip end of "Little Egypt" which sired Bryan and Borah. It is an act of justice that deserves to be known wherever men care about the righting of wrongs, however old. It sets an example for universities and colleges the country over. Especially should it be marked in the law schools which are training the members of the legal profession in the United States—and shaping their ideals.

John Peter Altgeld was elected governor of Illinois just fifty years ago. He took to the state capitol in Lincoln's Springfield a quiet and abiding love of fairness and an unyielding devotion to the welfare of ordinary people; it is significant that his parents brought him, a baby three months old, from Germany in the spring of 1848. Did any American ever come up a harder way? The poverty that cradled him in Ohio was the most abject kind. He had virtually no schooling and worked his way to Missouri as an itinerant, penniless farmhand. His appearance was against him and a heavy German accent was a constant handicap.

Here it is enough to say that John P. Altgeld did come up that hard way, that he taught a rural school, that he joined the Granger revolt of the Seventies, that he became a country lawyer and was drawn in time to the adventurous Chicago which rose from the ashes of the great fire, that he was a millionaire when he was elected governor as a Democrat in the year of Cleveland's second triumph.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was a boy eleven years old at the time Altgeld launched his New Deal in Illinois. That is one way to show what a social pioneer Altgeld was. Another way is merely to list a few of the legislative enactments of his four-year administration: laws regulating labor by women and children and requiring factor inspection; laws establishing an inheritance tax and setting up a probation system; laws providing the beginnings of state civil service and bringing new standards of humanity to charitable and penal institutions.

Thus it is that Altgeld would have been entitled to sure place among progressive leaders had there been a Haymarket bombing in 1886 and no pardon from his hand for the three surviving prisoners seven years later. But there was that pardon (less than six months after Altgeld took office) and it touched off a storm of abuse which raged throughout the country. Newspapers, magazines, ministers and public speakers sought to outdo each other in branding Altgeld as an anarchist as bad as, if not worse than, the men he had freed from prison.

The New York Times said: "Governor Altgeld has done everything in his power...to encourage...the spirit of lawless resistance and of wanton assault upon the agents of authority...exactly in tone with the wildest anarchist leaders." The Rev. H. A. Delano told his Baptist congregation in Evanston, Ill., that "a Nero in Rome, Paul of Russia, a Napoleon in France showed more care for the people than has this man by this deed!" And the annual Harvard alumni dinner in Cambridge, Abrahan Lincoln's son, Robert Todd Lincoln, denounced "this act of a demagogic governor with a little temporarv power, this slander upon justice" and then exhorted "Harvard men to stand firm in the midst of such dangers in the Republic." As Theodore Roosevelt charged that Altgeld "would connive at wholesale murder," Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court asked Fourth of July assembly if he (Continued on page 368)
For the Record: the Democratic Way

Operating within the framework of democratic procedure, the Roosevelt papers reveal the human goal which the New Deal has sought. Instead of following the patterns of liberal or Marxian dialectic in catering to class interests, Mr. Roosevelt has fought the battle of the common man of all groups; farmers, laborers, and capitalists. To him, steeped as he must be in the poetry of Whitman, "the spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good will. It is the spirit of God." In the New Deal, the common man has been made the object of a policy which has brought social change to this country comparable only to the establishment of the Constitution or the abolition of slavery. While the democratic world abroad crumbled, Mr. Roosevelt built here "a government strong enough to protect the interests of the people, and a people strong enough and well enough informed to maintain its sovereign control over its government."

The Roosevelt papers reveal how democracy has been turned away from the conceptions of an earlier age into a defense of economic security. This goal can best be described in the words used by the President in accepting the third term nomination: "Democracy can thrive only when it enlist the devotion of those whom Lincoln has called the common people. Democracy can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by ordering society as to assure the masses of men and women a reasonable security and hope for themselves and their children." This concept of democracy has been carried out in the legislative record of the New Deal in achieving such social gains as wage and hour regulation, collective bargaining, social security, and the abolition of child labor in interstate industry and trade. For the citizens of the future, Mr. Roosevelt has left an achievement (which alone would make him famous in American history) of planning and conservation. The checking of soil erosion, flood control, hydroelectric development, reforestation, all point to a faith in the future of democracy in this country and positive action to assure its well-being.

The Roosevelt papers record this democratic achievement in America. In addition, they reveal a consistent policy of the defense of democracy abroad. Mr. Roosevelt rode far ahead of public opinion in this country in branding fascism as a policy of aggression against democracy. The famous "quarantine" speech in 1937 outlined the problem and suggested the cure. The successive steps taken after that time in rearmament, hemisphere solidarity and defense, the transfer of the destroyers, and the lease-lend bill show how America has become "the arsenal of democracy." Mr. Roosevelt saw the fundamental realities of fascism and, recognizing its aims, attempted to educate American public opinion to its dangers. This is one weak spot of the New Deal. The problem was raised, but was not solved. Instead of a quarantine, there was a vacillating policy on neutrality and a failure to take an active lead against the isolationist bloc. The Neutrality Act robbed us of our freedom of action in combating fascism, and isolationist propaganda was not given a stinging answer. The difficulty, however, was insurmountable. From the political point of view, it probably would have been impossible to force action on this subject because the term "war-monger" was too well circulated. The failure of the Roosevelt administration to follow up the quarantine speech is the failure of the American people. It took Pearl Harbor to show what the fascists wanted, and Pearl Harbor proved that Mr. Roosevelt was right. Had the quarantine speech been implemented by the same daring and imaginative action which marked internal policy, Pearl Harbor might never have happened.
The Roosevelt papers provide a thrilling record of a successful democracy in a world in which democracy fights for its very existence. The papers will be of fundamental value from the documentary point of view in giving to historians a definitive record of a critical period in American history. They are more valuable in 1942, however, as a war document, building as a war aim the picture of a democratic system which is worth defending. Could they be approached by all Americans in a spirit of fair-mindedness and without the pettiness which has marked the opposition to the New Deal, they would provide an objective in national unity by giving to Americans an account of their land and should be "College of the City of New York".

Francis Williamson

Pacific Battleground


Here are two important and thought-provoking books—both of them in the very pressing field of political and military strategy. Both are authoritative, and the work of two American authors who have been following the events. Neither is a "pamphlet" but a serious and scholarly treatment of the subject, which is not only of vital importance in the present crisis but will be of lasting value in shaping a new world order after the war.

The German Home Front


This is the book from which all future discussions of Germany's ability to weather the war must start. Mr. Hagen has brought together the most specific and complete data yet compiled in one volume about Germany's economic resources and social trends. Though much of this information existed in fragmentary form in newspaper files, official reports and political publications, he has combed these sources, drawn on his own knowledge of Germany, incorporated information gained from underground sources, and produced a clear picture of Germany as it is now than exists anywhere else in print. It is an essential book on current affairs.

In spite of his own deep-seated opposition to the Nazi regime he has carefully avoided any over-optimistic emphasis on the weaknesses of the Third Reich. Though Germany is confronted by growing difficulties in shortages of raw materials, in production and in transportation, its situation is by no means so desperate that vigorous and imaginative leadership cannot continue to make it a formidable fighting power. There is little evidence here that any democratic up
rising within the country can be expected or have much chance for places in the immediate future.

When Mr. Hagen discusses possible political developments he makes some important points. He shows that any hope for an army revolution against Hitler is wishful thinking; even should it come about, it would have no genuine democratic content. There are still people who talk grandiloquently about driving a wedge between Hitler and the army, as though the generals could be divorced from the party that has made them, or as though they would be amendable to a genuine peace. Such talk runs counter to all the experience we have and will prove no more than a tragic deception to any who build a policy on it.

As the author shows, the adequate impulse to revolution in Germany can come only from the workers, reinforced by such intellectual and industrial support as will gravitate toward it. He addsuces evidence to show that recruits for a democratic revolution can be found among the youth, and we can only hope that his position here is as well grounded elsewhere. Certainly his political acumen is proved by the stimulating chapter which closes the book, on how Hitler can be beaten.

The whole work is timely and thorough. Its worth has been preserved by the able translation of Anna Caples.

New York
FRANK KINGDON

Progress Report on the South

SINCE THE CIVIL WAR NO PRESIDENT HAS EXPRESSED MORE interest and evidenced greater understanding of the unrealized potentialities of the southern states than Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mr. Dabney sees in this the most convincing evidence that "the direction of the New Deal is the direction of democratic policy in the older democracies—Great Britain and Scandinavia—strongholds of popular government and free institutions in an increasingly totalitarian world." But, although the South is patently overwhelmingly behind the New Deal and Democratic party of President Roosevelt, its politics are characterized by two dominant and outspoken types of political leadership which are in obvious ideological conflict with the national leadership—the "conservative gentlemen whose social concepts apparently are roughly identical with those of Chester A. Arthur," and the minority collection of mountebanks and demagogues. A strong Republican party and electoral reforms on a state basis are suggested as two feasible ameliorative steps.

The editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch sees definite signs of growth in the southern colleges and universities, in spite of the efforts of such politicians as Gene Talmadge of Georgia, and points out that free discussion of controversial issues is becoming a reality in a number of centers of learning. It should be noted, however, that more than free discussion will be required to give the South a genuine first-rank university. Until state legislatures increase appropriations for both secondary and higher education, valuable minds will receive only limited training and the migration of potential scientific and specialized personnel to other regions will continue.

There is nothing new in Mr. Dabney's two chapters on the Negro, which mainly point out that the southern Negro is much better off than he was forty years ago, partly as the result of court decisions and the genuine regard of the Roosevelt administration. More attention might have been given to the increasing difficulty encountered by Negroes in obtaining economic security in skilled trades, and war industries as well as in farming. Civil rights seem small consolation if economic security and the right to work are not also guaranteed to minority groups.

A Virginian by birth and education, Mr. Dabney interprets

SPRINGS EQUIPMENT IS FIGHTING EQUIPMENT

take care of what you have

Every piece of sports equipment you own has a part to play in our total war effort. America's sports must be kept up to keep America strong.

To aid in the vital conservation of sports equipment Wilson Sporting Goods Co. offers the following expert suggestions:

Always keep tennis and badminton rackets in presses and waterproof covers.

After play, apply gut preservative to strings. Have broken strings replaced at once, to prevent frame losing shape.

Keep baseball gloves and mitts in repair. Use Neatsfoot or other good oil to keep leather soft and pliable.

Do not use baseballs or softballs in wet. It ruins covers (except waterproof covers).

Inflate footballs and basketballs to correct pressure. Partially deflate when not in use, to reduce strain. Have broken seams repaired.

Have golf equipment reconditioned, and serviced regularly, by your Professional. Turn in all used golf balls to Professional or dealer cooperating with the Wilson "Accurated" System of rebuilding.

Be extra careful of all sports equipment you now have. Make it last and help give everyone a chance to enjoy healthful exercise for the duration of the war.

The Player's Pledge

Whereas—American sports play a vital part in the physical fitness and morale of civilian America, and,

Whereas—There is just so much of various types of sports equipment available for the duration,

Therefore—I pledge myself to follow the Wilson "Share the Game" Plan—to help preserve sports for the good of all—to make my present equipment last by using it carefully, and—if I buy NEW equipment, to see that my old equipment is made available to some other American who needs exercise, too.

BUY "WILSON" QUALITY

If you need new equipment, specify Wilson quality. It not only insures better play but longer play. Once you get new equipment, take good care of it. Never has sports equipment been as precious as now. See your Professional or dealer. Wilson Sporting Goods Co., and Wilson Athletic GoodsMfg. Co., Inc., Chicago, New York and other leading cities.

Wilson
IT'S WILSON TODAY IN SPORTS EQUIPMENT

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the belligerency of the South in the current way by saying: "The fact is that the region grasped the true significance of this world struggle more quickly than any other part of America." This interpretation should be subject to careful criticism. It is no more accurate to say that the comparatively high rate of pre-war enlistments in the South could be accredited to a higher consciousness of patriotism. And the long-standing economic dependence of the South on liberal foreign trade for its agrarian economy must be taken into consideration.

This readable volume, characterized by a facile journalistic style, will assist greatly in the education of "professional southerners," community leaders, average citizens and politicians. They should find this book easy to take because it presents a picture of progress made since the genesis of the movement for southern regional development little more than a decade ago. It also makes an integrated statement of objectives yet to be attained.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

M. P. Follett's Contribution


MAJOR Urwick and Dr. Metcalfe have done a fine thing in collecting and editing significant papers by the late Mary Parker Follett. The foreword is by B. S. Rowntree, an outstanding British industrialist. The introduction by the editors presents in a vivid yet restrained manner the essential facts of Miss Follett's rich and creative life and furnishes the best possible preparation for understanding and enjoying the material which follows.

In fourteen chapters, each presenting a carefully annotated paper, Miss Follett's philosophy is set forth as she developed it in the field of business administration. It is a dynamic philosophy, as the title of the book implies. It is based on a careful study and assimilation of the Gestalt psychology and is presented with a variety of illustrative material to bring it within the scope of interest and significance of the business executive, the industrial engineer, and the alert foreman and worker.

Miss Follett's sound and fundamentally philosophical mind made it possible by her training to present a well articulated system of thinking. It is fortunate that she followed the necessity of carrying such thinking into the field of business, undertook the project with courage and deep interest, and made such a success of the work. Especially at this time when we desperately need clear thinking and emotional stability, leadership like hers is of great significance and value. She had no interest in making simple things hard. She tried to make hard things simple and carried out this aim with great success. She was a "phrase maker," which means that her ideas are easily remembered. She wrote simply and clearly, with no idiosyncrasies of style.

NEWARK COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING LILLIAN M. GILRETH

TOTAL WAR HITS HOUSING

(Continued from page 344)

ion, of retraining programs, and of resort to women for every type of job they could handle, the estimates pointed inexorably to the movement of 1,600,000 workers, which just as inexorably meant finding around 1,300,000 additional living quarters.

This in the face of a building materials situation which was becoming daily more acute, particularly on certain critical items such as iron pipe, nails, and electric wiring. And in the face of an actual shortage in family dwellings in virtually all centers of war industry. This presents the biggest problem. New construction of family units eats up materials at a tremendous rate while providing shelter usually for only one worker, sometimes two and only rarely three. More than that, the influx of families creates additional need for such community facilities as schools, recreation, transportation, hospitals.

The first task therefore has been to cut down the number of families that pull up stakes to follow their breadwinners to the new jobs. Just how this is to be done is still not clear. There has been talk of enlisting and assigning labor to specific jobs through the new War Manpower Commission. If we embark on such a program it will certainly carry with it the authority to direct a man to leave his family and report for duty at a certain time and place. When, if ever, American public opinion will be ready for such a step is anybody's guess. Meanwhile it would appear that reliance will be placed on the one hand on a "leave your family at home" educational campaign, and on the other, on the recent designation of crucial jobs that draft boards can construe as exempt.

In any event the Blandford program estimates not only that 550,000 of the accommodations required will be rooms for single men or women but that 430,000 of these will be available in existing buildings. Billeting has been suggested but even the most authoritarian doubt whether the United States is ready for such a step as yet. The NHA is planning "war guest" campaigns to persuade families that do not ordinarily take roomers to do so now out of patriotism. Also owners of buildings which can be converted readily to dormitory use will be urged to undertake such ventures. Existing structures also are being looked to for the use of two person families, both of whom may be war workers, and the program calls for 160,000 such units.

Remodelling is expected to provide some accommodations for larger families. By cutting up large homes of the past it is expected that buildings now standing can provide 60,000 family dwelling units. The test here will be whether such remodelling absorbs more critical materials than would be needed to build new homes. All in all, existing buildings are expected to provide almost half of the 1,320,000 living accommodations which will be needed—saving materials, labor, and, what is equally important at the moment, time.

Tasks Ahead

EVEN SO, A STAGGERING CONSTRUCTION JOB STILL REMAINS TO be done by government and private enterprise. Some 670,000 units must be planned, financed, designed and completed by June 30, 1943—not anywhere, but in close proximity to specific industries. Further, all this must be adapted to suitable vacant land so located as not to ruin afoul of tire and gasoline rationing or of the even more severe rationing of water and sewer connections and of construction materials.

To save critical materials, 195,000 of these units are being planned as dormitories or hostels to be constructed by the government for single individuals or two person families. Here a single bathroom installation will serve eight or ten war workers; against one to three in a family dwelling. At most half of all the projected government construction is of this type. New plans have been drawn to make the dormitories comfortable and attractive and to avoid the feeling o barracks. Social rooms are provided, cafeterias and other arrangements for eating. England has gone in for dormitories in a big way and experience there has been drawn on freely. Since such housing is not only temporary, but requires rather substantial investment for furniture and equipment, private capital is not expected to enter this field.

Family dwelling units to the extent of 475,000 make up the balance of the program. Circumstances will force many households to move and others will want to, for reason
good and sufficient to themselves in spite of pressures to the contrary. The government's part of this job calls for the construction of 205,000 units, of which 120,000 are a carry-over from previous appropriations and programs. Of the remaining 85,000, all but 25,000 are planned as non-permanent construction. Most of these will probably be of the demountable or prefabricated type, with the balance designed to have a high salvage value when they are no longer needed for war workers.

Factory-made demountable houses have a dramatic interest which, for the moment at least, is all out of proportion to the part they can play. We may relish reading about forty houses a day going up outside of Portsmouth in the Hampton Roads area, but the fact remains that this is still an infant industry with a total capacity of about 40,000 units this year. In a program so vast it cannot as yet take the leading role.

The trailer has also received more than warranted attention, favorable and otherwise. It has been and is being used only for what NHA calls stop-gap housing—shelter which is made to serve in an emergency until homes of the standard types can be supplied. There are about 19,000 trailers which NHA can shift from place to place as needed and Mr. Blandford is not asking for any more.

The Field of the Private Builder

ALL OF THIS LEAVES THE PERMANENT HOUSING FIELD FAIRLY clear for private enterprise and removes what building and real estate interests have fought consistently as a double threat—first, the possibility that government built homes will become low-rent public housing after the war; second, that they will be dumped on the market at clearance prices when the need for housing war workers has passed.

In the twelve months ending July 1, 1943, private enterprise is assigned the task of producing 270,000 family dwelling units. In executing it, the private builder faces all the priority and materials problems confronting government construction and has additional troubles of his own. He probably will be checked much more closely than heretofore to make certain his houses go to war workers, that at least 50 percent are offered for rent and that both rental and sales prices are within their income limits. In the process he will want to make a profit, and unless he thinks he can do so while steering safely through the priorities maze, the materials situation and the other hazards, he is not apt to build up to the figure expected of him.

In sum, the program of the National Housing Agency means that half the war workers who are expected to move to new jobs by a year from now, must look for homes in buildings that are now standing, and in most of these they will find shelter only for themselves—not for their families. An additional 15 to 20 percent of the single individuals and two-person families will be housed in government built, and probably operated, dormitories. For the rest with families, the government is dividing the job with private enterprise on about a 40-60 basis, with private builders serving the higher-paid workers.

What Hangs in the Balance

LIKE ALL PROGRAMS THIS ONE MAY BE ASSUMED TO REPRESENT the optimum performance which can be hoped for on the basis of present factors. Into its preparation went WPB's estimate of materials which could safely be channeled into housing, together with a commitment so to channel them and grant the necessary priorities. How long that commitment will hold or how the WPB figures will be modified depends on the course of events in the Pacific, in Russia, in the Near East, and in China.

All of which makes Mr. Blandford's own job pretty much of a tightrope act. He must see that housing is available so that plants are manned and production proceeds at the required rate. In carrying out that assignment he and his associates may not take one ounce of material that is essential for munitions, armaments, or ships. If the scale is tipped against the supply of critical materials for housing, manpower trouble will slow production; if it is tipped against supplying critical materials to the war plants, shortages will slow production.

Which calls for a neat bit of balancing.

RED WHITE AND BLUE BOOK

(Continued from page 351)

The Pacific Boils Over

THERE IS LITTLE FUNDAMENTAL THAT IS ANY LONGER OBSCURE about our negotiations with Japan. The American government had no doubt in the fall of 1940 of "Japan's general intentions" nor of Germany's intentions to incite Japan to an open break. The Berlin belief was that "war in the Pacific would remove the United States as a formidable factor in the Atlantic," Secretary Hull "never underestimated the actual military menace of Japan," and had become convinced that Matsuoka was "as crooked as a basket of fish hooks." Our embargo on shipments of scrap iron "to any points outside the hemisphere and the British empire" followed by three days the joining of the Axis by Japan in September 1940. The President's Far Eastern policy had been:

We pick no quarrels with Japan.

We back down from no issue with her.

We reserve the right to use economic pressure in the hope of bringing Japan to reason.

The door meanwhile is left wide open for discussion and accommodation within the framework of our historic position in Far Eastern affairs.

The unavoidable issue was that we had to abandon China or fight Japan. This had become inevitable long before the attacks on Hawaii and the Philippines.

Leadership Among a Free People

THROUGHOUT "HOW WAR CAME" THERE IS MOUNTING EVIDENCE of the consistent adherence of our government to the principles of the democratic process. In a war-torn world, such adherence has obvious strategic handicaps in meeting

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC) 367
the thrust of fast moving military developments. When events reversed his stand, Wilson led a somewhat unwilling country into war in 1917. A quarter century later, not until Japanese aggression struck at us in the Pacific and “war trapped the United States,” did Roosevelt abandon his hope “that somehow the war might be won and American objectives achieved without the participation of this country in a shooting war.” Month after month he had wrestled with the paradox of reconciling the country’s reluctance to become a belligerent with its manifest determination to aid those nations which were resisting Axis aggression. Only the rugged faith of the chief executive in the considered and collective judgment of the people fortified him to withstand continuous pressure to act as an individual rather than as the spokesman for that common judgment.

Right there is the fundamental test of the usefulness of a leader in a democracy. On such issues, such leaders must have the capacity to understand and to voice deep and often unspoken hopes and aspirations. Our whole concept of self-government, as promulgated in our bill of rights, defined in the Constitution and enriched by the “blood, sweat and tears” of one generation after another, is based upon this confidence: —That the collective heart and mind of all the people is more reliable than the heart and mind of any one individual, however wise he may be. This is what Abraham Lincoln epitomized in his Gettysburg address. By example and precept, with patience, steadfastness and understanding, he shared and reflected the hopes and aspirations of his countrymen in administering his trust as President. In hewing to such a course, no quality is more essential than humility. Without it no man can understand, respond to, or make articulate the character of those who have made him their spokesman and the symbol of their collective strength.

To my mind, the present crisis in world affairs pivots on this American concept that the only tenable leadership springs from the people themselves. Never before in the history of mankind has the course of human events drawn that line so discernibly as today or created so great an opportunity for its general comprehension. Since the invasion of Poland and before, when the Nazi propaganda was directed toward the peoples of America as well as those of Europe, ours have stood firm against “the coming American fascism.” We have made it altogether clear that we delegate responsibilities to our leaders rather than vest them with ultimate or irrevocable power.

JAPANESE TREACHERY AT PEARL HARBOR abruptly terminated the debate on whether the United States could or should participate in a shooting war. Long before December of 1941, which closes the last span of this book, the American public made up its mind against both isolation and appeasement. Their antipathy to war had not blinded them to the danger of doing too little and doing it too late. Indignation at the importunities of Senator Wheeler, Colonel Lindbergh and their associates was gathering momentum.

Freedom of choice had been preempted by the Axis long before the Japanese struck in the Pacific. Pearl Harbor made this clearer in retrospect to those whose thinking had been sincere but wishful and at times befuddled by an insistently vocal minority.

The two years that have now passed since the Alsop-Kintner White Paper find the big four of the United Nations with strong governments, overwhelmingly supported in their war efforts by the grim determination of their peoples. Chinese and British, Russians and Americans are alike imbued with an unconquerable spirit. None of them wanted a war. All of them are today spiritually prepared for a united fight to the finish. They have passed through the valley of the shadow of death and have overcome fear.

THE EAGLE THAT IS REMEMBERED

(Continued from page 362)

was “to be another Jefferson Davis?”

The Illinois governor reviewed the evidence in an 18,000-word statement, called “Reasons for Pardoning,” which remains to this day a masterpiece of analysis and honest dealing. But he summarized it all in a simple sentence to his old Ohio neighbors when he went home to bury his mother a few days after the issuance of the pardons: “Those fellows did not have a fair trial and I did only what I thought was right.”

IT TOOK AMERICA A LONG TIME TO LEARN THAT HE WAS RIGHT. When Altgeld died forty years ago, Clarence Darrow spoke at the funeral of his friend because clergymen were afraid it would cost them their pulpits if they conducted the service. By 1912 he was, in the title of Vachel Lindsay’s moving poem, “The Eagle That Is Forgotten.” But time did have its way. At length a monument was raised in Altgeld’s memory in Lincoln Park, Chicago, and in 1934 his portrait was hung in the governor’s reception room at Springfield. The definitive reappraisal which was so sorely needed came six years ago in Harry Bernard’s scrupulously honest biography, written with a much-needed perspective. And now there is Altgeld Hall at the University of Illinois.

This last recognition is more fitting than is evident from the main facts of Altgeld’s public life. When he became governor, the University of Illinois occupied four old buildings and had a faculty of forty-eight. When he left office at the end of four short but crowded years, six new buildings had been provided for, the faculty was increased to 170, and the legislature in response to Altgeld’s urgings had appropriated $722,700 as against $201,350 in the preceding four years. One of these new buildings was the Romanesque library, now used by the College of Law, in whose founding Altgeld was instrumental. He also proposed the organization of schools of medicine and pharmacy. How much Altgeld did for higher education in Illinois was told by Dr. Edmund James James, long president of the University of Illinois. Dr. James said that Altgeld “raised this institution from a comparatively insignificant country college to the rank of a great school of learning, the foundations of which are broad and deep.” Somewhere in the law school building which now bears his name it should be possible to place prominently these words from an address which Altgeld made as governor at the University of Illinois, June 7, 1893:

“You turn to the courts of justice; you think of a godless, blind-folded, holding the scales; you recall eloquent things about eternal justice, etc., and you say, here I will find exact right, here wrongs are corrected, the strong are curbed and the weak protected.

“You will be disappointed. The administration of justice or rather of the laws, is better than it ever has been, but it is only a struggling toward the right; only a blind groping in the darkness toward the light.

“The men who administer the laws are human, with all the failings of humanity. They take their biases, their prejudices with them on to the bench. Upon the whole, they try to do the best they can; but the wrongs done in the courts of justice themselves are so great that they cry to heaven.

“That is the charge to his profession of the governor as a lawyer and judge whose name has been given to the University of Illinois College of Law. Surely its faculty and students must somehow have a different feeling toward the law, surely they must have a new sense of the law’s social mission now that their building is a memorial to John Peter Altgeld. Surely here is an influence that will spread far beyond Urbana and the Illinois prairie.”
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Please give a clear track to the war effort by confining your Long Distance calls to those that are really necessary.
The Gist of It

AGAIN DOROTHEA LANGE'S PHOTOGRAPHS (cover) and Paul Taylor's text enter into gifted partnership in interpreting migration. That combination is what gave personality, dust and sky, soil and spirit and significance to "An American Exodus" (1939). What John Steinbeck telescoped into a knot of human beings in "Grapes of Wrath," they stretched out and documented in terms of countless folk in the long trek from the Deep South to the Pacific Coast. Miss Lange has visualized the work of several government departments.

A CAPTAIN in the 2d Division of the A.E.F. in World War I, Professor Taylor has been a member of the faculty of the University of California for twenty years. Here are a few of his extramural activities which indicate his exceptional qualifications for appraising "Our Stakes in the Japanese Exodus" (page 373): Chief of research in investigation of Mexican labor in the U.S.A., Social Science Research Council (1927-29); consultant on Pacific Coast studies of crime and the foreign born, National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement (1930-31); field director, division of rural rehabilitation, California Emergency Relief Administration (1935); regional labor advisor, U. S. Resettlement Administration (1935-6); president, California Rural Rehabilitation Corporation (since 1935); consulting economist, Federal Social Security Board (since 1936); member, Governors Commission on Reemployment (1939); member state advisory committee, California Employment Commission; member, California State Board of Agriculture.

Every case history was another "human interest" story to Harold Keen (page 379) when in 1934 he graduated from the Los Angeles campus of the University of California—into the depression and the staff of the State Relief Administration. Twenty months of social work helped burnish his interviewing equipment—his writing talent is a gift of nature. In due course he walked into the footsteps of Max Miller, on the beat for the San Diego Sun that had yielded his predecessor the materials for "I Cover the Waterfront." And since 1940 he has been military news reporter and general feature writer for the San Diego Tribune-Sun. When I was assigned to cover the dedication of the Pacific Parachute Company, he writes, "I was told that Eddie Anderson (Rochester) would be the chief performer on the program. When I discovered on arrival that he was not only the chief performer, but the angel, the boss, the Buck of this unique enterprise, I pursued my investigation further and came across the real story—that of racial tolerance brought into full play in a practical manner in the war effort."

There is no California priority on this September issue of Survey Graphic. Meet two other newspapermen—thanks to Miss Wil Lou Gray whom they in turn delightfully introduce to our readers ("Where the Three R's Spell Opportunity," page 383). Second Lieut. George Chaplin, CAC, AUS, now at Camp Tyson, Tenn., was formerly city editor of the Greenville (S.C.) Piedmont. Earl Mazo, at present an aviation cadet, was a reporter there.

A NEW ENGLANDER, ORWAY TREAD is president of the Board of Higher Education in the City of New York. He won his spurs in this field at Amherst College, as Amherst fellow at South End House (settlement), Boston, as lecturer at the Finch Junior College, the New York School of Social Work, and Columbia University. In another field, he is not only a director of Harper & Brothers, and editor of their economic and business books, but on his own the author of a shelf of volumes. Their titles point up his luminous approach to the theme of his article ("Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Power," page 387) which he delivered last June as his Phi Beta Kappa address at New York University. Those titles include "Instincts in Industry"; "The People's Part in Peace"; "Human Nature and Management"; "The Art of Leadership"; "New Adventures in Democracy."

And OTTO H. EHRICH HAILS FROM VIENNA—if you please—and Brooklyn. In turning from banking to teaching in his native city, he improvised methods for visualizing his subjects. He practices them today at Brooklyn College—and in his series of economic cartoons in Survey Graphic (of which this is the fifth). Page 389.
A corps of specially trained teams from civilian agencies aided the Japanese, aliens and American-born alike, when they reported at the stations of the Wartime Civil Control Administration.
These teams helped them in completing individual preparations and in making disposition of their homes and property. They supervised health and assisted in innumerable problems of personal adjustment.
Our Stakes in the Japanese Exodus

by PAUL S. TAYLOR

Large white placards have long become familiar in the great military areas that blanket the West Coast. They are to be seen on telephone poles in residential districts, on lonely country roads, on buildings at crowded city street corners.

Their purpose was to instruct all persons of Japanese ancestry—by army command; under Executive Order; upon pain of penalties of an Act of Congress—to report to wartime civil control stations. In district after district the posting of these signs outlined the preparations and signaled the advancing schedule by which more than 120,000 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry have been evacuated.

Today, for the most part, they are little more than a port of reminder to the man on the street; vestiges from sweeping exodus of people that has passed beyond.

In a chain of ten assembly centers under the Wartime Civil Control Administration (U. S. Army), and four relocation centers under the War Relocation Authority with capacities ranging from a few thousand to fifteen or twenty thousand) more than one hundred thousand evacuees, Japanese aliens and American citizens of Japanese ancestry, are gathered under military guard.

This is the largest, single forced migration in American history.

There are people in the United States who have never even much less talked with, a person of Japanese ancestry. That is hardly surprising. The census of 1940 reported only 127,000* of them out of the 131,000,000 inhabitants in continental United States. That is, there are roughly a thousand of the rest of us to one of them. Eighty-eight percent of them lived in the three Pacific states of Washington, Oregon, and California. Ninety-three thousand, or three quarters of the entire number, lived in the single state of California, where they constituted less than 2 percent of the whole population. Well toward two thirds are American-born. [See page 375.]

Let me share with you three glimpses into loyal attitudes among these Japanese during the days of this impending evacuation.

THE AUTHOR—and his challenge

As few men, Paul Taylor knows intimately the patterns of American life from "Ole Man River" to the Golden Gate; from flooded bottomlands to the Dust Bowl. For he has explored schemes of livelihood, population currents, race relations—from the water-table crops that have sprung up in the old cattle country north of the Rio Grande to the steel mills that have overrun the sand dunes along Lake Michigan. His firsthand findings are crystallized in telling books, research volumes and governmental reports.

We singled him out to assess what in six months has come of the Japanese evacuation in terms of people and program. Instead he refers our readers to the report of the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. Here he does something more searching—goes beyond how an excruciating wartime measure has been executed or even the constitutional rights at issue where citizens are concerned.

In essence he asks all of us as Americans to take a really good look at what we are holding in our hands—not so much what military necessity required and what it didn't; but what's to be done now to fend against irreparable damage we are likely to do ourselves—damage internally, damage with our allies and potential allies, damage to our own children and their children and their chance of survival.

* In the Territory of Hawaii there were 158,000 more or 37 percent of the population of the islands, but these are not involved in an evacuation program.
Standing in a strawberry field near Sacramento an alien, ineligible by our laws to American citizenship, said to me:


Our people they don’t know what comes but they gonna do right. Jap people don’t talk much. Outside people don’t understand much. Now is too late to talk; too late.

As background, here is a statement the Florin chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League made on May 16:

Fortunately, the busy strawberry season has helped us keep our heads. . . . Even now as the evacuation day approaches, we find busy workers picking ripe red berries for strawberry shortcakes to be enjoyed in hundreds of American homes. Quietly they are packing away their precious possessions they have accumulated in the twenty to fifty years they have been in this beautiful community. In a businesslike manner, their ranches and their properties are being put in order and turned over to trustworthy hands. Mothers are busily sewing and packing clothing for their families. At night, after a hard day out in the strawberry patches or in the green grape vineyards, the entire family is busy crating necessities, and packing suitcases and trunks . . .

There is nothing to fear or dread. We are in good hands, the army of the U. S. Let us, with high hope, prepare ourselves for this new adventure and with courage meet this Evacuation.

II.

An American-born merchant of San Francisco, graduate of the state university, wrote this letter on April 10 to his business connections:

Since September 1902—almost forty years ago—ever since we opened our door . . . we have enjoyed a mutually pleasant and profitable business relationship. Now the terrible flames of war, scorching all the earth, has finally reached us . . . and, as you are all aware, we must evacuate from the coastal areas inland. Thus we must of necessity close our door.

We want you to know that we go as adventurers to the future that awaits us. We leave with the thought that since all must sacrifice in times of war, this is our sacrifice and our bit toward the defense of our country . . .

Our last thought to you: Thank you sincerely for all the help and service you have given us through the years gone by. May the human ties of our spirit of friendship transcend the chaos of war till better days come upon us. May God bless you till we meet again.

III.

With evacuation already an old story for most, the Tanforan Totalizer, organ of the assembly center at Tanforan race track near San Francisco, declared editorially:

To some, both here and on the outside, our observance of America’s Independence Day in this center will undoubtedly seem to partake of the nature of a paradox. The surface irony of our situation is apparent enough. But to let the mind dwell on this single facet of the matter would not only be fruitless; it would be prejudicial to all our hopes of returning eventually to the main stream of American life as useful citizens.

The ideals which germinated in the birth of this nation as a free people are as valid today as they ever were. They still form the one bastion of man’s hope for a better world, unburdened of the weight of fascist tyranny. If we allow the apparent anomaly of our particular circumstances to tarnish our faith in the tenets of the democratic creed, we are diverting ourselves from the current of humanity’s highest aspirations.

In our observance of July fourth, then, let us not speculate idly and fruitlessly on the special constraints and hardships—and in many cases the seeming injustices—which the fortunes of the present war have laid on us. Rather, let us turn our thoughts to the future, both of this country and of our place in it. It is our task to grow to a fuller faith in what democracy can and will mean to all men. To stop growing in this faith would be to abandon our most cogent claim to the right of sharing in the final fruits of a truly emancipated world.

From Voluntary to Planned Migration

It was on February 19, some ten weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, that the Secretary of War was given authority to prescribe military areas from which “any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions” the Secretary or his designated military commanders might impose. In due course the western half, approximately, of Washington, Oregon, and California, and the southern half of Arizona were designated as Military Area No. and an adjacent area as No. II.

At first, persons of Japanese ancestry were encouraged to migrate voluntarily to other states in order, so the head of the Wartime Civil Control Civilian Staff, “it lessen the drain on the military and civilian resources it involved in an immediate forced movement.” Many difficulties faced those who made hurried attempts to uproot and transplant themselves. One was the hostility of inland communities to what they supposed to be an influx of people so dangerous to our national security as to require their removal from strategic military areas. To Tolan Committee reports: “The statement was repeated again and again, by communities outside the military areas: ‘We don’t want these people in our state. If they are not good enough for California, they are not good enough for us.’”

Nonetheless, about 6,000 had moved themselves in the fashion by March 29, when the military commanders prohibited further voluntary migration by the Japanese.

In the meantime, steps had been taken toward planned and supervised migration. On March 23 migration began to Manzanar, in an isolated desert valley of eastern California selected as the army’s initial center for evacuation. One thousand Japanese from Los Angeles volunteered to initiate the move by way of example. The next day the military commander proclaimed curfew regulations for all American-born and alien Japanese, alien Italian and alien Germans. Previous restrictions limiting travel to five miles from home remained in effect.

Evacuation of the Japanese, district by district, proceeded rapidly thereafter until Military Area No. I was cleared in early June. Intention to evacuate Military Area No. II was separately announced, and this was practically cleared by early August. Today the only Oregon sides on our western streets are Chinese, Filipino, occasionally Korean or Hindustani.

The basis of the far-reaching decision to evacuate persons of Japanese ancestry was explained by the army officer in charge. Speaking before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in late May, he said, in part:
Now, if you and I had settled in Japan, raised our families there, and if our children and grandchildren were raised there, it is most improbable that during a war between Japan and the United States, if we were not interned, that we would commit any overt acts of sabotage acting individually. Doubtless, in the main, and irrespective of our inner emotions, you and I would be law-abiding.

But when the final test of loyalty came—if United States forces were engaged in launching an attack on Japan—I believe it is extremely doubtful whether we could withstand the ties of race and the affinity for the land of our forebears, and stand with the Japanese against United States forces. To withstand such pressure seems too much to expect of any national group, almost wholly unassimilated, which has preserved in large measure to itself, its customs and traditions—a group characterized by strong filial piety.

It is doubtless true that many persons of Japanese ancestry are loyal to the United States. It is also true that many are not loyal. We know this... The contingency that under raid or invasion conditions there might be widespread action in concert—well-regulated, well-disciplined, and controlled—a fifth column, is a real one.

Earlier, in terminating voluntary migration, the same officer had offered the additional explanation that they were "frozen" in their places to "insure an orderly evacuation and to protect the Japanese."

The army acted with dispatch and courtesy. The physical inconveniences and even hardships, the financial losses, and the keen mental anguish suffered by the evacuees resulted more from the basic decision to evacuate than from lack of skill in its execution. A corps of specially trained teams from civilian agencies aided the Japanese at civil control stations.

The Japanese American Citizens League gave a full measure of cooperation which set a standard for all Japanese. "If, in the judgment of military and federal authorities," said Mike Masao of the League, "evacuation of Japanese residents from the West Coast is a primary step toward assuring the safety of the nation, we will have no hesitation in complying with the necessities implicit in that judgment."

The Clash Over Public Policy

The House Committee on National Defense Migration, of which Congressman John H. Tolan of California is chairman, began to hold hearings on the West Coast two days after the Executive Order which gave power to the Secretary of War. The testimony revealed almost complete disagreement among civilian witnesses of Caucasian ancestry over the appropriate disposition of those of Japanese ancestry.

The basic premise of all groups who advocated complete and total evacuation of all Japanese on the West Coast was that it was a military necessity because of the inability of the federal and state officials to distinguish loyalties among Japanese-American citizens and aliens. In he words of the committee, they...

"...felt that no constitutional right or humanitarian consideration nor any consideration of the effect on agricultural production on the West Coast should prevent the complete evacuation of the Japanese from the area. It was their belief that evacuation was necessary for the protection of the Japanese themselves. They expressed in every hearing the fear of vigilante action unless complete evacuation were forthcoming. As a group they did not believe that the nation could afford to take chances with the Japanese population.

Persons of Japanese Ancestry

These are divided into two great groups:

Nearly 63 percent of persons of Japanese ancestry in continental United States, or almost 80,000, were born in this country, and consequently are American citizens. In the Pacific States and Arizona nearly 72,000, about the same proportion, were such.

Naturally every passing year brings more deaths among the first generation and births among the third, and so raises this percentage of citizens which already approaches two thirds.

The remaining 37 percent, about 47,000 in the United States in 1940, and about 46,000 in the Pacific States according to the Alien Registration, were Japanese aliens born in Japan. Among the Japanese these are known as Issei, or first generation. About 29,000 were males, 17,000 females. Their age groupings reflect immigration restrictions imposed long ago. Thus 35 percent of the alien Japanese of the West Coast were fifty-five years of age or over; 65 percent were forty-five years of age or over, 94 percent were thirty-five or over. Two thirds of these aliens had last arrived in this country before 1925, or more than seventeen years ago.

Contrary to a widespread belief, more than half of all persons of Japanese ancestry in continental United States have lived in urban communities. In the Pacific Coast states in 1940, only 45 percent of all gainfully employed persons of Japanese ancestry were engaged in agriculture. There were about 23 percent in trade, 17 percent in personal service, and 4 percent in manufacturing.

To round out these statistical estimates in terms of space and time, a further comparison can be made. The 1940 census showed that one quarter of all persons of Japanese ancestry in the Pacific Coast states and Arizona were under fifteen years of age. Of the aliens, less than one percent were under fifteen. Of the American-born, 39 percent were under fifteen—or almost two out of every five were minors below that age.

Witnesses who opposed wholesale evacuation of the Japanese were...

... generally agreed that subversive activities should be handled by the FBI, that the FBI is fully competent to handle sabotage and the espionage problems on the West Coast; that the great majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal; that their loyalty can be ascertained; and that loyal Japanese are assisting the FBI in ferreting out disloyal aliens.

In general, these witnesses challenged every point made by those persons who favored complete evacuation. Both groups agreed only that the military must do whatever is necessary to prevent sabotage. They disagreed on every other point.

The details of this disagreement are not presented here. Seriously interested readers will write their congressmen for a copy of the Tolan Committee report on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens. That report gives views of its witnesses and facts of its own collection in vivid detail.

Once evacuation was decided upon by the military, all groups, whatever their original reluctance, acquiesced. Serious legal questions of constitutionality remain, but these seem set for determination by the courts after long and mature consideration of (Continued on page 378)
The Japanese Exodus
—from Coastal Homes
to the Hinterland

Prologue: the evacuation order, the vacant store

Health protection begins early

Japanese evacuees arrive by train near the Manzanar relocation center in east-central California
Japanese farmers help make relocation centers self-sustaining. Loading a potato planter at Tula Lake, Calif.

Two American-born Japanese in their quarters at Manzanar

Recreation has an important place at the relocation centers
a few test cases, not in quick actions likely to produce an immediate upset of the program with respect to the Japanese, whatever the ultimate outcome.

With our huge alien population of many nationalities in mind, the Tolan Committee has already recommended both review of the original Executive Order issued to meet the special West Coast situation, and consideration of means for "allaying public anxiety about, and discrimination against, those now classified as enemy aliens." In pointing out that "the time has passed for retrospective considerations as to whether decisions then taken were dictated by necessity," the committee reaffirmed its original position that to "generalize the current treatment of the Japanese to apply to all Axis aliens and their immediate families... is out of the question if we intend to win this war."

It is not so much with the past, then, as with the future that the American public will do well to concern itself. Not so much with the Japanese aliens as with those who are American citizens. The aliens, in a sense, are prisoners of war. Clearly, as such, they cannot now harm the nation by sabotage. Adherence to the standard set by General MacArthur when he took Japanese prisoners at Bataan will not only assure humane treatment but will deny to Japan any excuse to do less well by Americans who have fallen into its hands: "They are being treated," he said, "with the respect and consideration which their gallantry so well merits."

What of the American-Born?

The American citizens of Japanese ancestry present quite another problem. It is very complex, and it touches the very fiber of American life.

Among them are unquestionably those whose greater loyalties are to Japan. Whether their numbers increase or decrease will depend partly upon how we make our next decisions. The Tokyo radio today has its Lord Haw Haws born in the United States, and there are counterparts in the Black Dragon and other Japanese nationalistic societies of the American-born Kunze, fuehrer of the German-American Bund. Dangerous persons of this type already had been taken, not to evacuation centers, but to the internment camps in Montana, North Dakota, or elsewhere, that are especially provided for dangerous enemies of all nationalities. There they undergo examination and release or internment as hearing boards may decree.

There are also the Kibei, those American-born Japanese who were sent to Japan for schooling. Their loyalties undoubtedly are divided, and as a group they have turned more toward Japan than those of the American-born, American-educated Nisei.

Certainly security must be maintained. It must be maintained within and without, during the war and during the peace that follows, and with a thought to the peace and to wars that may follow that—until men can break these ceaseless alternations of history. It is in this full-scale perspective that determination of our future policy toward the American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry appears in its complexity and in its national and international settings.

Straws in the Legislative Wind

Meanwhile, proposals are laid before the American people almost daily, formally and informally, by the known and by the unknown. Read, for example, the news and safety-valve columns of newspapers. Such as

I say send the Japanese back to Tokyo.

We should make sure before we take the Germans or Japs in our country as citizens whether born here or not. The Japs especially should lose this most treasured possession. How many American-born Japs have we that are in sympathy with their parents' homeland? How can we know for sure that they are telling the truth if they pledge their allegiance to this country.

A California congressman introduces a resolution, H.J. 305, amending the Constitution so as to deny citizenship by birth in the United States to persons either of whose parents is ineligible to citizenship "because of race."

A trade journal noted in June that:

The vegetable industry of the West has been seriously concerned for the past three or four weeks over the rumor that these Japanese were to be placed upon a self-supporting basis as soon as possible and that it was the intention of the War Relocation Board to place these Japanese, or more especially those with an agricultural background, in a position to grow vegetables to be sold and marketed in competition with those grown by Americans.

A Tennessee Senator introduces a bill, S. 2293, to permit detention of persons of Japanese ancestry wherever they may be and for the duration. The Senate Immigration Committee, in reporting this bill favorably, urged that citizens of Japanese ancestry be disfranchised—by reversal of a Supreme Court decision forty-four years old. The bill drew opposition on the floor of the Senate, an Idaho Senator observing that: "In the beet fields our farmers are extremely short of labor. Many of the Japanese race have come here and are helping to solve an extremely critical problem." He requested time to ascertain "whether at this time the passage of such drastic legislation would make those Japanese so angry that they would stop work." A Utah Senator remarked:

If we can wink at the Constitution in the case of the citizen of Japanese descent, then the next step, of course, is to move out and begin putting in concentration camps citizens of German descent, and every other citizen of foreign descent in the United States who may have come or whose parents or ancestors may have come from some nation with which we are today at war.

The contention was put forward that Japanese law makes "every male citizen regardless of where born or when he departed from Japan" a Japanese citizen "subject to the Emperor of Japan until he has served his time in the Japanese army or navy." Senator Robert Taft dismissed this contention. Undoubtedly, he said, this was... the position taken by the Japanese; it is also the position taken by the Germans; and it is also the position which was taken by the English in the War of 1812... We absolutely deny that the Japanese have any right to say that a man who is a citizen of the United States is a citizen of their country.

The Issues Get Into the Courts

Late in June a suit of more than ordinary interest was brought before federal court in San Francisco. Attorney for the secretary of the Native Sons of the Golden West, U. S. Webb (former attorney general of California) argued that American citizens of Japanese ancestry should be stricken from the voters rolls of San Francisco. Webb argued, accord- (Continued on page 396)
Rochester, Skippy Smith, and Co.

by HAROLD KEEN

How Jack Benny’s famous partner—over the radio he’s the very quintessence of ancient servitors—turns up in San Diego as the epitome of free enterprise in the business of beating the Axis. And how he had joined forces with an aerial daredevil and spot-landing expert in “the spirit of all-out production that knows no color line.”

Many have been the receptions for visiting celebrities at the palm-tree fringed railroad terminal in San Diego. None has been more extraordinary than that of March 26, 1942, which is as good a date as any on which to hang his story. For half an hour before the streamliner pulled in from Los Angeles, a heterogeneous array of semi-military groups formed and re-formed ranks. Dignitaries from various walks of life moved about in restless anticipation.

Bustling among them was a nervous, slender young Negro. This was Howard (Skippy) Smith, exhibition parachutist, parachute inspector, and more lately founder of one of the nation’s unique war industries.

It was he who had managed to contrive a stage setting that would have done credit to Octavus Roy Cohen. A contingent of Negro State Guardsmen was pacing up and down. A squad of white paratroopers of the Women’s Ambulance and Transport Corps stood stiffly at attention in full jumping regalia. The vice-mayor, the chairman of the county Democratic central committee (representing Governor Olson), and the county leader of the American Federation of Labor were on hand.

When the train came in, there was no difficulty in identifying whom the motley delegation had assembled to honor. Cigar at a jaunty angle, hat lifted in undisguised pleasure at the grandiose welcome, the newcomer exclaimed in gravel-throated phrases known from coast to coast:

“Oh! oh! Ain’t this somethin’!”

The Negro troops formed a guard of honor. The white paratroopers rallied about him. The vice-mayor, the governor’s representative, and the representative of organized labor enthusiastically pumped his arm. And while curious bystanders gaped at this extraordinary manifestation of interracial goodwill in what has become a great defense center, Eddie Anderson—known to millions of radio and
movie fans simply as "Rochester"—proceeded with police escort to the workshop of the Pacific Parachute Company.

To you and to me and to those millions, Rochester is Jack Benny's sprightly liegeman. Now he was divested of his customary humble cloak of manservant and stood in a new aura. He was, forsooth, the Boss—the man who had come to the rescue of a free enterprise that had almost died stillborn; of a wartime venture which today symbolizes the shattering of racial barriers by more than lip service.

"Rochester," Capitalist

The whir of power machines stopped as Eddie Anderson entered the factory. It was jammed with well-wishers, white and colored, for he had come to witness the dedication of an addition to America's arsenal for democracy.

It was his first visit to the plant he was financing. He looked down the long row of sewing machines, at the inspection, cutting, and trimming tables, where clouds of silk were taking canopy shape. As Skippy Smith had told him, white girls, many of them of Mexican descent, and Negro girls were working side by side. On the wall was President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802: "... there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries ... because of race, creed, color or national origin ..." When the speeches were ended the week old factory had been dedicated to the spirit of all-out production that knows no color line. Rochester himself distributed the first pay checks. The valet to a comedian was in the business of beating the Axis.

Enter the Pacific Parachute Company

More than that, the concern he has financed cracks the notion that whites and Negroes can work in the same plant only if they are segregated. When Skippy Smith was scurrying around desperately in search of money to launch the Pacific Parachute Co., he turned down all suggestions that because this was to be the first Negro-managed and Negro-financed aviation plant in the country, it ought to have 100 percent Negro personnel.

San Diego, like many another war production area, has plenty of Negroes who have been unable to get jobs above the level of maintenance or janitorial work. Why not provide economic opportunities for them? But Smith stuck to his line: "If a girl is recommended to us as a good worker by the United States Employment Service or the National Youth Administration, I'll hire her whether she's Negro or white, and whether she comes of

Skippy Smith as an inspector with the Standard Parachute Corp.

American or Mexican parents." When Rochester heard the proposition in this light, he endorsed it with the cash that Skippy Smith needed. As a result, Pacific Parachute Co. today has an almost equal number of white and colored girls working side by side.

Skippy Smith, Entrepreneur

How this was accomplished is the story of a young Negro's all-consuming ambition to blaze a new path, the story also of how he was encouraged and supported by a backer who had won national fame as, of all things, an obsequious radio jester.

Howard Smith, twenty-eight, is son of a formerstructor at Tuskegee Institute. He came to California for

Skippy (left) and his partner, Mack "Skip" Gravelle, who was killed in 1939 when his parachute failed to open
years ago with 98 cents in his pocket. Behind him, in his native Birmingham, Ala., he had left a record as at once an agile professional baseball player and a conscientious carpenter's helper in the American Cast Iron and Pipe Co.

True, the opportunity for a college education was within his reach, but he felt that, like Booker T. Washington, he could reach his objective without higher education. As he figured it, if he worked hard enough he could without college training become the president of a company or even the principal of a school.

Interested in aviation, young Smith turned to southern California as the place for him. His first job in Los Angeles was as a laborer in the city engineering department. Later he cleaned Pullman cars, washed autos, performed all sorts of odd tasks. He scraped together funds for a few ours' flight instruction, but before he soloed, he became attracted to an aviation by-product—parachutes.

Howard Smith pawned part of his meager wardrobe; borrowed $85; made a deposit on a $285 'chute and proceeded to learn how to use it. Leaping from airplanes became his profession, once he discovered that as the only Negro parachute jumper in exhibition meets he could draw from $75 to $250. He barnstormed as an acrobatic jumper, his repertoire consisting of delayed 'chute openings, breakaway jumps from one canopy to another, and spectacular free falls. As a spot-landing expert he is surpassed, claiming victory in every one of the sixty-five such leaps he has made. Altogether, Skippy Smith has jumped for cash 154 times.

Two years ago this August he was in San Diego helping promote a parachute show for a Hollywood aerial troupe. Some of his acquaintances suggested that he strike the Standard Parachute Corporation for a position. This company was at the time shifting into high gear as one of the country's leading 'chute factories. The show over, he returned to Los Angeles and forgot all about the application he had made. A month later the concern offered him a job as 'chute packer and drop tester at a suburban airport.

Now Negro power machine operators had attempted to get work at this plant without success. But Smith's qualifications made him a natural for a specialized job, one that would not require his mingling with white employees in the factory. He became the first and only Negro worker in the production organization, and as an accomplished parachutist, held the professional respect of his fellow workers. Looking back, George M. Russell, Standard's assistant superintendent who then was foreman of the drop-test crew, puts it this way:

We were having a hard time getting enough packers in those days, when every 'chute, instead of only a representative number, had to be drop-tested and packed.
Skippy was a well-known parachutist, and when Colonel Fauntleroy (C. E. Fauntleroy, president of Standard) asked me if I would have any objection to a colored packer, I took a vote among my six-man crew. Everyone agreed to work with him.

He was one of our finest employes.

**How Skippy Turned the Tables**

The time came when the drop-test crew was relieved of its arduous duties of checking performance on all canopies and Skippy was moved inside the Standard plant as an assistant inspector. This was itself a daring move. Defense production in San Diego had led to the migration of thousands of families from Oklahoma, Texas, and neighboring states. Standard had a worldly proportion of women power machine operators in whom southern prejudices were deeply rooted. They were upset when the management thus put a Negro under the same roof. Racial feeling flared up briefly, and was countered by Smith in characteristic fashion.

When he learned that several of the women had made known their resentment, he merely said: "I can take care of that. Let me do it my own way." Meanwhile, the plant superintendent and engineer had become anxious at the brewing discontent and they took him to the office of Standard's president. It had been fears of just such incidents that had led Colonel Fauntleroy to avoid general employment of Negroes in his factory. But he heartily approved of Skippy Smith, and forthwith he offered to meet the situation by the most direct method he knew—by firing the complainers. Again Smith asked permission to stop the trouble himself.

His first step was to ask Johnny Mumma, the superintendent, to provide him with a book on parachutes written by his father, J. V. Mumma. His next was to go to every one of the 400 girls in the factory, asking them for their autographs and for any sentiments they wished to express. As he told me the story, later, he wouldn't let anyone tell him which of the girls had had it in for him: "At any rate, no one refused to sign my book, and many of them wrote nice things. From that time on, everyone was my friend. They'd come to me more than ever before, asking how to do a certain piece of work, and for advice on one thing or another."

That was the way he "took care of it" in his own way. How well he succeeded was demonstrated, when the time came, by the desire of his fellow employees to see Skippy make good in his new factory. Once that was opened, experienced operators from the Standard plant kept dropping in at Pacific Parachute Co. to give pointers to the comparative novices there. When Smith made known his plans to launch out on his own, offers of financial assistance, modest though they were, poured in on him from his former white colleagues at Standard.

**A Sky High Prospectus**

The idea of operating a parachute company of his own was one which grew in Smith's mind. He had little money himself and he realized that only by some spectacular method of demonstrating his integrity could he get backing. Naturally enough, he thought of a parachute circus; and he proceeded to interest fellow 'chute enthusiasts at Standard in organizing one. Office space to promote the venture was provided at Standard itself; then an honorary citizens' committee was set up, with the president of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce as chairman, and the local newspaper editors among the members. Once he was thus assured of civic support and publicity, Skippy sent word to all his former jumping pals in the Los Angeles area.

They responded to a man. Late last October, the circus, with Smith as one of the star performers, was staged on Kearny Mesa. This was a financial success. That is, its debts were fully paid; all performers received their promised compensation, and Colonel Fauntleroy retrieved every cent he had advanced. Smith reserved nothing for himself. The jumpers shared all the net profits.

So far as Colonel Fauntleroy was concerned, Howard Smith was more than ever a man to be trusted and it was not long before Skippy gave him the chance to put his faith to work on a broader scale. In addition to full-size parachutes, Standard made small 18-inch pilot canopies, which bloom above the main 'chutes and speed their opening action. Standard's facilities were hard-pressed. Why wouldn't it help the company to let out manufacturing of the pilot 'chutes on a sub-contract basis?

To go back a bit: for some time, Negro civic groups had been attempting to convince Colonel Fauntleroy he ought to employ colored operators. Many of these had already completed NYA preemployment training but could not land jobs. He had taken Smith himself on as a specialist but hesitated to embark on such a mass experiment at Standard. Now he saw in Smith an ideal instrument both to get more pilot canopies and to throw open work opportunities for Negroes. Thus Smith's ambition to head his own outfit and Colonel Fauntleroy's receptiveness to the plan set the stage for action. It was Eddie Anderson who supplied the third and crucial factor.

**Money to Make the Mare Go**

"I have all the money I need for machinery," Smith told Colonel Fauntleroy cocksurely. He had exactly $25 in the bank, a small fraction of what was required. Three thousand dollars would only begin to meet his financial requirements. Nonetheless, Colonel Fauntleroy gave Smith a contract for several thousand pilot 'chutes, arranged for a priority for him to obtain power machines.

Thereafter began a fantastic and unorthodox hunt for money to make the mare go. Smith got in touch with San Diego Negroes likely to have spare change. The United States now was at war, and they were a bit jittery. "They told me it was too late for the Negroes to plunge into a war industry," he recalls, "but I kept saying that now was the time, if ever, for us to get started."

In desperation, Smith went to Los Angeles; but not before he had taken long shots by leasing a building with a down payment of $100 (which left his bankroll) $150 and by drawing a check for $915.20 as part payment to machinery. His trip to Los Angeles took him back to his haunts on Central Avenue, the Harlem of that West Coast city. It was here several years earlier that he haunted Rochester when the comedian occupied a modest home in the days before he hit the entertainment jackpot. Smith turned up at the office of Dr. D. A. Hawkins, Rochester's family physician, and through him made an appointment with his patient. "All I had then was a business on paper—a contract from Standard Parachute and the priority for the ma... (Continued on page 395)
Where the Three R’s Spell Opportunity

by EARL MAZO and GEORGE CHAPLIN

This is the story of Wil Lou Gray and of how she is helping wipe out the patient phrase of southern illiterates: “Readin’ an’ writin’ ain’t for some folks, and we is some.”

DOWN IN SOUTH CAROLINA they call it the “Op School.” It has no credits, no examinations, no degrees, no endowments. It is in session only one month each summer. And yet the Opportunity School, founded twenty years ago by an energetic southern school ma’am, has become a great force for progress among people who never had the education we are apt to take for granted as the birthright of every American child.

Slowly, steadily, against terrific odds, this school teacher has worked to wipe out a phrase often heard in her own state as it is all through the South: “Readin’ an’ writin’ ain’t for some folks, and we is some.” Her name is Wil Lou Gray, and today she is South Carolina’s supervisor of adult education. But titles mean nothing to Miss Gray. To her the important thing is that men and women have been able to catch up with their schooling in the “Op School,” and in the night schools and the harvest-lay-by classes that are part of the same resourceful campaign against the cruel handicap of illiteracy. Today, hundreds of South Carolinians, once illiterates, are in the armed forces, are working as skilled craftsmen in plane and textile factories and in shipyards, as typists and stenographers in government offices, as hospital nurses, as merchant seamen, as community leaders.

In 1910, South Carolina’s illiteracy rate for those over twenty-one was alarmingly high—29.6 percent. By 1920, it had been trimmed to 23 percent, by 1930 to 18.6. The 1940 census indicates an illiteracy rate for those over twenty-five of only 7.9 percent. The most illiterate state in 1930, South Carolina now has climbed above Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, perhaps others. This almost phenomenal reduction adds up to thousands of people. It also adds up to Wil Lou Gray.

As for her, she lets past gains stand on their own and emphasizes the job ahead. Her proof: more than 13,000 South Carolinians—11,000 Negroes, 2,000 whites—have been rejected by the draft for lack of education. In Tennessee in four months, 6,400 were turned down. Over the nation 142,000 of the first two million appearing before draft boards “flunked” on similar grounds.

The Richmond Times-Dispatch demands action, citing figures to show that one in every five Virginia registrants, otherwise qualified, is rejected for educational limitation. In Atlanta, The Constitution points out that a man or woman who cannot read safety notices cannot hold a job in the new aircraft plant there, and “is a handicap, instead of an asset, to his nation at war.”

The South is mindful of the problem. But it needs more money and it needs more people with Wil Lou Gray’s vision and common sense and stick-to-it-iveness.

While all the state has been Miss Gray’s classroom for more than twenty years and her educational inventions—pilgrimages, summer teaching campaigns, and the rest—have taught thousands of young and old to read and write, the pride of her labors is the annual Opportunity School at Clemson College.

“Book-larnin’” Won’t Hurt

THIS YEAR THE OLDEST STUDENT WAS A WOMAN OF SIXTY-nine and the youngest was eleven-months-old Claudia, who came with her widowed mother and immediately was made the model in the home nursing course. In all classes, the central theme this war summer was “The War Effort and Permanent Peace.”

A former pupil, now in the army, was given a four-weeks furlough to continue his education. He had been to school only seven months in his life, two of the seven at the “Op School,” but on a test he now ranked seventh grade. A forty-four-year-old woman who for years helped support an invalid husband had had only three years of schooling. On the bus over she confided in a friendly stranger that at the Opportunity School you studied what you liked. The stranger was so intrigued she came too. Both had been out of school for more than thirty years. Both made honors.

A nineteen-year-old boy who had left school to work when he was twelve came in 1939. In 1940 he returned and brought his sister. That fall he joined the marines, but last summer he managed a week’s leave and was back at the school at his own expense. There were 264 others—some years there are more than 300—from the mills and the farms and the towns. They attend class according to educational level, aptitudes, and interests. This year (1942) eighty-seven were former students. It is these coming back, for five to ten summers, who have stretched instruction from the R’s to high school courses.

When Harry Lee came several summers ago he figured, like most of his fellow moonshiners, that a little “book larnin’” wouldn’t hurt—although his father and grandfather had made whiskey all their lives, and who was he to flout tradition? The atmosphere of the place got him, though, and he came back the next year and the next, carrying books in the crook of an arm more accustomed to toting a shotgun. Today Harry is a flying cadet, heading for a commission in the Army Air Corps.

A county school trustee, one of the more successful farmers of his community, who first attended night school twenty years ago, went home after his first session at Clemson and said, “I didn’t know there were so many good people in South Carolina.” He’s been coming back every year, and was the first to enroll for the 1942 term.

Typical of the classes this past summer was one on the sixth grade level with twenty- (Continued on page 386)
"It makes you feel good to know you can write your name"

At the "Op Schools"

There are libraries to help "get on with the learning"
Informal teaching is pegged to life." Forestry, erosion, nature study show the practical application of science.

Reading—for those who have had no chance to learn.
one pupils from fourteen to fifty years old which had as its theme, “People Who Dared To Improve Our World.” A young girl reported on Franklin D. Roosevelt; a soldier studied Clara Barton; and an old man looked into the life of Booker T. Washington. Lincoln, Jefferson, Edison, Horace Mann, Susan B. Anthony were studied. The reports were made into a scrapbook with original illustrations by class artists. Before the month ended, the students decided that good men and women in all fields are necessary to a better national life.

Informal teaching at the Opportunity School is pegged to life, from toothpaste to bedding, from the use of trash containers to social introductions, from behavior at public gatherings to listening intelligently to music, from racial prejudice to religious tolerance, from rugged individualism to cooperative living, from self-satisfaction to salutary discontent.

The pupils have their formal schooling in the college classrooms; they live in the dormitories—every tenth room is a teacher’s—and make up their own beds, sweep, clean windows, and do their laundry. Occasionally a man shies at “womenfolks’ work,” but he usually comes around. “I’ll be ruined, though, ma’am, if the old lady finds out.”

A couple of years ago the students built a demonstration home to show what could be done for $1,500. During the winter it was rented to a Clemson professor and the income used for improvements. The boys made tables and beds, the girls upholstered second-hand furniture, made rugs, curtains, quilts, and linens. The furnishing cost was $251.48. Many who helped build the house were inspired to buy homes. Some “reckoned” they’d never have $1,500, so with $489.95, saved bit by bit in the dining hall through the years, another cottage was put up to serve as a model dwelling and home economics laboratory, to be rented to help raise scholarship funds to enable alumni and alumnae to come back to Clemson.

“I’ll Just Make My Mark”

It’s a far cry from that day thirty years ago when Miss Gray, a pert little school teacher, stood watching farmers and mill workers as they shuffled into the general store to sign the Democratic Club roll. Election time was coming in South Carolina and the Laurens County voters were qualifying. An overalled six-footer edged over to the roll-keeper. “I can’t write my name,” he said. “Reckon I’ll jest make my mark.” The teacher heard him and another and yet another. That night she wangled the roll, sharpened a pencil and began counting. Hours later she sat staring at her figures. Four thousand, five hundred and twenty-five had registered; six hundred and eight—13 percent—had made their marks.

“Lord,” she breathed, “this is shameful! We’ve got to do something about it.”

The fight always has been up-mountain. She has worked with pennies and suffered yearly rebuffs from the politicians, but her faith is as sure as the Monday back in 1914 when she began her first Laurens County night school. For the experiment she selected Young’s township (“It had the most illiterates”), gathered thirteen teachers about her, and began to peddle the idea.

“I had been told by nearly everyone that uneducated men would be insulted when approached upon the subject of making up lost opportunity. The first man I spoke with could neither read nor write, and in response to my question he said, ‘I would give half of what I expect to make this year to learn.’ So anxious was he to assist that he agreed to take a number of us to school in a wagon.”

The first night twenty-one people gathered in the frame schoolhouse despite a heavy rain. They were shown stereopticon pictures of Yellowstone Park and then the proposed night study was outlined. The pupils had only one suggestion: “Let’s cut out the ten minute intermission [between classes] and get on with the learning.” Six more schools were started, 137 men and women enrolled and classes met three nights a week from 7 to 9 o’clock for a month. Of the beginners, all learned to read a little and to write their names. Some were able at the end of the month to write letters and do primary arithmetic. In twelve nights.

The idea caught and soon night schools spread, stumbling along on a pittance, but arousing hope. At the importuning of the State Federation of Women’s Clubs, South Carolina set up an illiteracy commission, named Miss Gray executive secretary and director and provided a fund of $25,000.

The commission helped nurture a state division of adult education, and the battle against darkness lengthened its lines. In 1921 the Opportunity School was born up at Tamassie, a D.A.R. institute in the shadow of the Blue Ridge.

Miss Gray came, armed with faith, three teachers, $100 and a barrel of flour donated by her brother. Alongside trudged twenty men and fourteen girls and women, aged sixteen to thirty-five, from drab cotton mill villages and eroded farms. Many were illiterate, a few had attended elementary school, but all had responded to an “ad” for “those over fourteen, who in youth did not have a chance to learn to read, write and figure, but who long for an opportunity to study.”

That first August they sweated over the three R’s, over spelling, health habits, citizenship, good manners, domestic science, arts and crafts. The results prompted a similar vacation school at Lander College in Greenwood the next summer. Eighty-nine girls and women showed up. The youngest was fourteen, the oldest fifty-three, and their average schooling was three years. The school’s bulletin puffed its infant chest to clarify the opening of “a new epoch in our educational history.”

Twelve months later girls and women again were boarding at Lander; an affiliated school for men opened at Erskine College in Due West, twenty-two miles away. In 1931, the schools combined and set up permanently at Clemson Agricultural College, founded by fire-eating Ben Tillman on John C. Calhoun’s old homestead.

Where There’s a Will . . .

They come in old cars, in trucks, on the train, in the limousines of patriotic benefactors, in wagons and buggies. They are brought by parents, by sons and daughters, by husbands or wives, by friends, by employers, by mill authorities, by county education superintendents, by teachers and social workers.

The entrance requirements are a good mind, a desire to learn—and $22 for room, board, medical care, supplies, books, movies, swimming, and other recreation. The fee is small because the pupils do most of the work, learning all the while, but it is high enough in this poverty-ridden state to bar eager thousands. Many come on scholarships. Some save (Continued on page 398)
Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Power

by ORDWAY TEAD

Must democracy choose between "power so centralized as to be a threat to freedom, and power so diffused as to be a threat to performance?"

This is the urgent question here posed and answered by an educator.

My title, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Power," is deliberately chosen to suggest that the pursuit of power is as natural and as desirable as the more familiar "pursuit of happiness." But this pursuit creates problems, especially within a democracy; and it creates even graver problems where power is being pursued by those opposed to democratic effort and anxious to destroy it.

It is my purpose to consider such questions as these: how do we reconcile the normal pursuit of power by individuals with its pursuit by others? How do we deal with what seems to be excesses in the pursuit of power? Are there specific personal or institutional conditions which give rise to excesses or abnormalities in the display of power by some individuals? If there is a pathology of power, how may we recognize it and work to correct it?

Further, how in our many activities do we keep the exercise of power in proper bounds and in proper relation to the pursuit of life and liberty? Is there any way to reconcile the necessary exercise of power by administrators with the rightful demands for life and liberty on the part of those in subordinate positions?

For unless we know how to identify the pathology of power and how to channel power expressions into democratic ways, the charge that democracy is an inadequate expression of organized living might become valid.

The fact is that already we are faced with the opposed views here at home of those who fear centralized power, even to the degree necessary for effective common action; and on the other hand, those who fear that democracy must inevitably fail because of its seeming ineffectiveness in the conduct of organized affairs.

But is there not some middle road between these two extremes of attitude? Do we have to choose between power so centralized as to be a threat to freedom and power so diffused as to be a threat to performance?

Wholesome and Unwholesome Use of Power

I am assuming that up to a reasonable point something which has been called "ego maximization"—a satisfying sense of individual worthwhileness, of registering in action with others, of being known to amount to something in human dealings—that all this is natural and desirable. But in business, in government, in the church, in education, in the family, we find, in fact, that some people in positions of power love the exercise of power for its own exhilarating sense. We find that they often assume more power than they are competent to exercise, that they do not want to have their judgments reviewed or criticized; that once in the seats of power they are reluctant to step down. Moreover, there is the familiar tendency to become more and more insensitive to the claims and the conditions of those who must comply. A certain aloofness creeps in. And finally, many of those in positions of power are able to convince themselves that they are indispensable, that the organization could not get on without them.

It needs only a statement of these familiar difficulties to know that the status and the attitude of those in power may easily become opposed to the attitudes which a democratic society is designed to support.

It is a fascinating field of research, only the outlines of which I can suggest, to inquire why certain individuals get this way. Some responsible psychological analysis concludes that this condition frequently has its roots in frustrations, resistances, tensions, and conflicts created by dominating parents, nurses, or teachers in the first years of life. That some of the manifestations I have just described are in adult years compensatory for infantile repressions may well be true.

Certainly it is true that the stigmata of pathological power expressions are unmistakable. In some cases there is a desire to inflict pain upon others, the familiar sadistic aberration; or, in other cases, to inflict pain in subtle ways upon oneself. There is the so-called "scapegoat mechanism," the too ready willingness to attribute present difficulties to influences which may be real but which have only an accidental connection with the problems to be met. Again, there is the demand that "when I ope my lips, let no dog bark." The desire to impose the purposes to be served and the methods chosen, is, I take it, what Shakespeare was talking about. Last in this extraordinary bag of tricks, is the ability to create the illusion of participation—the belief, or at least the boast of the powerful, that they have the willing cooperation of those who obey their orders even when duress or mass hypnosis get the results. Where most or all of these manifestations are present, power is being expressed pathologically.

If this characterization brings to mind one or two obvious examples overseas, may I remind you that the problem within our own nation is one of degree, and not of kind, as between the European dictators and some highly placed leaders in business, government, or education over here.

However, European dictators do have their important, if limited, warning lesson for us. We are members of a large, complicated, and heterogeneous national society. It is only realistic to admit that we have in our midst especially in what we speak of as private organizations those who have, in many cases, more than the average will-to-power. Our developing industrial corporate life has placed in its top ranks some of America's most vigorous power-
wielders. The power which they are able to exercise over the lives and welfare of their fellow citizens has become enormous. This has brought great social benefits but it also has created grave social difficulties. The problem of power in American life includes the problem of making sure that countervailing influences work in the public interest, to keep in proper subordination the will-to-power of corporate administrators.

If we are to make any pretense of fulfilling democratic aspiration in this country, it is essential to establish and to invoke at the federal level, a body of power exercised by individuals which is greater than the power of those lesser states which we call "industrial corporations." This federal body of power, of course, creates its own problems of bureaucracy, inertia, and arbitrariness which cannot be ignored.

Many will accept in principle the need for strong public authority who resent the extension in power and range of federal activities during the past decade preceding the present emergency.

It is a familiar truth that our federal system is ingeniously designed to set up checks and balances upon the exercise of power by public officials. A further check upon power centralization is presumably in the operation of the two party system. But practical demands upon government have brought into operation federal administrative commissions and federal corporations in which the traditional divisions of powers and checks and balances no longer operate in the old-fashioned way.

Few probably would wish to see all these agencies abolished. Yet the creation of new administrative bodies with such broad powers raises the question whether present tendencies do not, in fact, run counter to our democratic protestations.

Further, let us remind ourselves that the present administration is in office for an unprecedented third term, while in the totalitarian countries, any notion of an opposition party is completely if hypocritically repudiated. Nevertheless, the idea is widely current in the world that to try to run public affairs under the divided and critical influence of a two party system is an ineffective way to get such business done.

It is worth noting that no one has ever seriously proposed that business corporations be run on a two party system. The government system of checks and balances would be felt by practical business administrators and by experts in the principles of business administration to be a completely archaic and haywire way to proceed.

All this, then, is the warning of European totalitarian experience. It bids us beware, on the one hand, of too much power at the top level of government; and on the other, of power insufficiently centralized to meet the typical administrative problem at the federal level.

A Functional Government
It is not irrelevant in any study of the will-to-power to ask whether it is not possible and desirable to have an operating government which would be more nearly what I shall call a functional government, while retaining the wisest features of checks and balances.

A sound industrial corporation is an example of what I mean by a functional government. Of course, even at their best, contemporary industrial corporations have not solved all the problems of administration. For example, they have not learned how to channel and curb the overwhelming will-to-power of their own executive hierarchy. But there are in many corporations clear (if socially inadequate) criteria of what constitutes good performance; there are well defined areas of functional responsibility; there is clean-cut differentiation between what we call advisory staff activities and operating line activities. The personal function is recognized, with more or less sensitive attention to methods of dealing with employes and of facilitating the application of their energies to the purpose at hand. But there remains in industry democracy's problem of using for social ends the technically capable and effective power holders.

In government, on the other hand, the problem is to make sure that power is closely related to function, to expert skill and to explicit responsibility for good performance. In the one case—business—we have thus far given power its head in blind worship of something spoken of as free enterprise and the result is, for all except the top dogs, neither freedom nor enterprise.

In the other case—government—we have created agencies so hydra-headed and so divided in responsibility that it is always a grave question whether any particular assignment will be competently finished on time and on the terms required.

If I had space, it would give me satisfaction to outline in some detail a functional public corporation which combines in terms of proper power subordination and proper power expression, the purpose and the performance of a valuable public service. My example is the administrative set-up including the organized relationships with employees in the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is significant that in the conduct of such a government corporation there is little of checks and balances, or of the two party system, save only in the selection of the three members of the top directing body. Rather the TVA administrators have an outright grant of power. Within that grant they have chosen as a matter of public policy to do two important things: first, organize the corporate activity along tested and accepted lines of functional responsibility; and, second, organize their dealings with the large body of employees on a basis of explicit, continuing collective conference and agreement about all operating methods and personnel policies.

From such an instance as the TVA, I believe we may draw important clues for the answer to certain aspects of the problem of curbing the will-to-power. On these terms, I believe that the power of the administrator can be kept in some sort of defensible restraint.

In TVA there is a clear distinction between policy making and policy enforcing. Policy enforcement, execution, oversight, supervision, inspection are, however, a unitary responsibility. While, as in TVA, members of an organization may object to the detailed methods of carrying out the enforcement, and may, on occasion, ask for review or charge that methods of enforcement are arbitrary or wilful, the act of executive oversight itself is an act of individuals and not of committees, of responsible agents and not of balloting groups. Again, administration which safely channels power requires careful definition of individual tasks, of authority and responsibility all the way up and down the line. The administrator properly invokes what Mary Follett has called (Continued on page 394)
Inflation Lurks in the Budget

ECONOMIC CARTOON

by OTTO H. EHRlich

1. In the budget for the fiscal year, 1943, which began on July 1, available government revenues amounted to only $17 billion.

2. But total expenditures will rise from $31 billion in the fiscal year 1942 to $73 billion in 1943.

3. To cover this deficit, the public has pledged $12 billion additional in war savings bonds, with an extra $6 billion from savings banks, insurance companies, and other financial agencies.

4. Added to this will be $8 billion in new taxes.
5. As this amount is still insufficient, the government seeks new financial sources.

6. The commercial banks bring forth the $30 billion required.

7. Now the whole sum of $73 billion is at hand, but inflation lurks nearby.

8. For, while money obtained through taxes and bonds merely transfers purchasing power, the creation of the $30 billion credit money adds new purchasing power.
9. If this excess purchasing power were to appear on the market, it would create such a discrepancy between demand and supply that prices would shoot up—

10. —and this is INFLATION.

11. However, inflation can be brought down by new taxes and bond purchases.

12. This triumph will minimize the danger of runaway inflation that lurks in the budget deficit.
The World Tomorrow and Today


The authors of these four books discuss problems that have resulted from and contributed to this global war, viewing them from the American angle and that of a future world community.

In “North America: Wheel of the Future,” Mr. Daniel takes the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the turning point in the progress of civilization and briefly highlights the effect of its impact on the economic and political development of the Great Powers, showing that because of the geographic position, racial background and political traditions of Great Britain, the United States and Germany, very different conditions emerged in each nation. He stresses the importance of recognizing that the oceans now connect the eastern and western worlds, that the continents, not the seas, create the divisions. He analyzes the economic possibilities of the continents in the two great areas of the Atlantic and Pacific and arrives at the conclusion that at the end of the war the North American continent will be the dominant power in the future world. Without minimizing the devastation and poverty, the loss of man power and the magnitude of the tasks ahead, Mr. Daniel takes the optimistic view, foreseeing a world of opportunity for all on the basis of mutual cooperation. The British Empire as a whole will be stronger than it is today, he states, though it will “be based economically on Canada.” As to Germany, he is convinced that when she chose militarism and dragged Europe, Great Britain and the United States into war, she lost forever her chance to be the great economic center of Europe.

“The Interests of the United States as a World Power” is a little volume far too slender in content to cover adequately the past, present and future of American foreign policy. As this book comprises three lectures given at the Clarendon Colleges, perhaps it is fair to judge it only as an effort to interpret for the average student and layman the salient points of our historical policies, our immediate problems and our future tasks. This it does. The danger of our immediate situation is not minimized. Mr. Shepardson’s analysis of the part we have played as a world power both before and after the first World War touches only some of the high spots. His formula for post-war treaties seem an over-simplification of complex and ever- vexatious questions. When he says that the matter of boundaries is simple—that “they can be fixed precisely where they stood before this aggression began—that is to say, before Germany overran Austria,” he will find many who question the possibility or wisdom of attempting such a solution. “To help clarify the post-war task of the United States” he says, we should follow the developments of a European conference “closely and sympathetically by means of a commission of observers, but without direct responsibility for its outcome, thus freeing us somewhat for our own parallel problems in the Western Hemisphere, as well as for our responsibilities in the Far East, whether of war or of peace. Surely European reconstruction, if it is to be authentic and lasting, must originate in Europe itself. Direct American participation from the outset in the formulation of a European program might arouse false hopes concerning the nature and degree of financial assistance we can render. On the other hand, it might stir up false fears that we intend to dictate political policy.” Many Americans feel that the work has become so united that our country must no longer be an observer but a participant, that we must commit ourselves to full responsibility in the solution of the problems ahead. However, Mr. Shepardson’s lectures are thought-provoking, even though one may not agree with all his conclusions. We need to be stimulated to give serious consideration to the problems of the new world that must rise from the ashes of the old.

The title of a book written in lighter vein, “Time Runs Out,” explains its thesis. It is the highly personalized record of an amazing flight all over Europe begun as late as October 1941 by a newspaper man and economist, who since 1929 seems never to have had any illusions about what the economic pyrotechnics of the leaders of Germany would do to the people of that country and the world outside. Mr. Taylor was willing to take long chances that he might not be able to go where he wanted or leave if he got there; he receives full cooperation of the highest government officials in the countries he visited. He went from England to Finland whose plight “between the devil and the deep blue sea” he recounts with sympathetic understanding; from London to Germany, where he was “the last American in and out” of the country; through France to Spain and Portugal where he listened to Hitler declare war on the United States; then to Africa, Brazil and back home. It is a vivid, thrilling story. Though it is not too well coordinated he weakens his presentation of the need to strike now on all fronts at the same time. For him, Egypt is the core of the battlefront— who loses Egypt loses the war. He breaks down the argument that time is on our side and calls for action now. Non of the implications of this war escape him and no one can fail to be impressed both by his story and his conclusions.

In the book called “Toward International Organization, nine experts of first rank discuss the movement toward international organization from all angles (historic, economic, political, military, judicial, cultural and religious) in a most illuminating way.

Each of these books offers a real contribution to the thinking of the American who wants to understand why we are where we are today and what we must do to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy the world is now enduring.

New York

Charlotte Burnett Made

Beneath Japanese Surfaces


There are many examples of nations that have for short periods accepted some mirage of glory as a substitute for material satisfactions. The Japanese people alone, in our time, have remained for more than a generation under such a spell and this despite an ardent desire to become powerful through the adoption of modern instruments. Miss Mears tells us how and why this happened, and this without ever getting f away from what she herself has seen and heard.

Recent books on personal experiences in Japan have been of two kinds: those wholly under the influence of the country’s cultural propaganda, and those which with a great deal of exaggerate every little fact that tends to ridicule its aspirations to modernity. As a personal narrative, the present book does not altogether avoid a duplication of observations already recorded by others. But the author has set herself a far more serious task, and this is a story of its highly original and successful pursuit.
How does it come that the Japanese have kept intact almost the whole of their medieval beliefs, customs, habits, and value judgments and yet play the part of a modern nation? One answer is that their everyday life is a succession of dramatizations and not of direct experience of situations. Without the all-pervading make-believe, the actual poverty of the vast majority would be intolerable. A few examples must suffice. The typical banquet is a feast for the eyes and a feast of assorted literary memories; hunger is satisfied with large bowls of rice at the end. Elaborate social forms are made necessary by overcrowding and lack of privacy. The cult of flower arrangement derives from rarity of flowers. The glorification of the family, associated with deification of the dynasty, compensates for a lack of personal freedom unique among nominally free peoples. The internal policy of the government, since the Restoration, three quarters of a century ago, has been to fortify the State by subjecting the People to an illusion.

This all too brief summary cannot do justice to the sympathetic objectivity with which the author has pursued her study through all the ramifications of a complex subject. Having for several years served on The Survey Graphic editorial staff, she is skilled in the techniques of social interpretation; but the determination of her quest and the charm of her style are altogether her own.

I should like to recommend this book especially to those who believe that, while making an end to Japan’s military expansionism, the United Nations should, after victory, strengthen rather than weaken the position of the emperor as the unifying symbol of the people. In the light of Miss Mears’ evidence this may be a dangerous policy if the aim is that of gradually assimilating the aspirations of the Japanese people with those of the democracies.

Bruno Lasker

Labor’s Job


There used to be a pretty well established tradition that you couldn’t organize steel. Ten years ago there were not over six thousand union members in the whole industry. Steel executives used to say that the men didn’t want to join a union (and that they preferred the twelve-hour day). Andrew Carnegie and H. C. Frick smashed the steel union in 1892. The elder Morgan wrote fins to its activities in 1909. Eugene Grace of Bethlehem and Judge Gary of Big Steel kept it in its place. But the union idea was hard to kill. Last May in Cleveland delegates from over 1,600 locals, representing 600,000 steel workers voted to establish themselves as the United Steel Workers of America. Today, Bethlehem is bargaining with the union, and in a series of elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, the employees in every plant of the U. S. Steel Corporation have voted for the United Steel Workers or its predecessor, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, as their representative in collective bargaining. (In Duquesne where a couple of decades ago the mayor said Jesus Christ couldn’t hold a union meeting, the vote was 4,312 to 151 for the union.)

So the horrendous thing is here—and what impedes for steel? Anyone who wants to know should read this book by Clinton Golden and Harold Ruttenberg, two leading actors in this astounding drama. The book isn’t about the steel union, exactly. It is more about unions, in general, what they are for, why they sometimes fail, and what the authors think unions can do to make America a better place. But most of the illustrative material comes out of the authors’ experience in the steel industry, and since they have been pretty important figures in the former SWOC, and will continue to be important in the new union, their views as expressed here may give something of a line on what unionism in steel is going to be like.

If I were to reveal the fact that this book is in its entirety a discussion of thirty-seven “principles of union-management relations” which are listed in a prefatory statement, you might gather that these two practical labor men have gone on an academic debauch. But that would be a mistaken notion. Chapter I starts off with principle number one: “Workers organize into unions not alone for economic motives but also for equally compelling psychological and social ones, so that they can participate in making the decisions that vitally affect them in their work and community.” Then follow an account of the experiences of Al Risko, who joined the union to get back the community respect that he had lost; of Bert Edwards, who told Al that a union was valuable because, “We’ll get something you can’t put into words or take home right away in your pay envelope, but by the Lord in Heaven we’ll know we got it”; and of John Rider who was ready to fight for a union in a shop where the boss was generous and kind because he made the workers “feel subservient when they wanted to be proud.”

Each principle is illustrated by specific situations encountered by the authors in their five years experience with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The result is one of the most informing and thought-provoking of books that has yet been written in the field of labor relations. Nowhere else is the case of the union demand for seniority rights made so clear. If there is any one argument for the union shop I have missed it. Yet the most impressive and stirring feature of the whole book is its bid in behalf of the workers for a chance to help make industry more productive. Labor, according to these writers, wants to work with management toward greater efficiency, lower costs, and increased production, and they argue that there must be such cooperation if these ends are to be attained. “Managements’ assumption of sole responsibility for productive efficiency,” the writers say, “actually prevents the attainment of maximum output.” The examples given of successful cooperation between unions and management, though all too few, are convincing. Sometimes it doesn’t work because the executives refuse to believe that the union can help with a “management” problem. Sometimes because the union leaders refuse to cooperate. “Such a lack of vision on the part of the national union leaders,” say the authors, “may prove the undoing of their union.”

The sum of it is that these men, writing out of their experience as union leaders, believe that the job of organized labor is to get justice for its members, and then to lend a hand in helping to solve the problems of consumer and owner as well. It may be that the steel executives could safely risk a bet on a leadership like that.

This book, written in good humor and with pithy wisdom, is required reading for practically everybody.

New York School of Social Work

John A. Fitch

Strides in Cooperation


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

These three books are rather indicative of the present status of the cooperative movement in the United States. One, by a practical journalist, Joshua Bolles, is the latest survey of the movement, its extent, growth and progress. The other two come from within the movement and are among the first attempts at real self-criticism and evaluation. As such, these two books are invaluable aids to the cooperators’ library, just as the Bolles’ book is the current guide book to cooperatives in the nation.

As the journalist who made the first outside factual survey of consumer cooperatives in the United States, this reviewer finds the book by Mr. Bolles singularly illuminating. Much
has happened to the movement in the past few years and these happenings are set down in clarity and precision. He delineates the march of the people's business that has expanded into real business. The oil wholesales have grown up; have become refiners and owners of factories, pipe lines and oil wells. From mere dealers in fertilizer, seed and feed the farmers of the middle west have moved on to actual ownership of mills and factories. It is a heartening and encouraging story and well told.

In "Problems of Cooperation," Mr. Warbase has tried to show why some cooperatives fail and how to avoid such failures. Approaching the subject as a physician does a case, he has diagnosed the ills and prescribed remedies. He indicates that the man who looks upon the few failures of cooperatives—small in comparison to the percentage of profit business failures—and attempts to evaluate the movement by the failures is being most inconsistent. We do not, Dr. Warbase points out, down the human race because a few of them succumb to mortal ills. Here is a long over-due book—a book that every real cooperator should study. "Consumer Cooperative Leadership," compiled and published by the Edward A. Filee Good Will Fund, Inc., is the work of many hands. It, too, is an invaluable addition to the cooperator's library. The title seems slightly misleading. While the book does deal with problems of leadership, it devotes more space to the business, financial and organizational problems of all types of cooperatives. This volume is a text and guide book on cooperation.

BERTRAM B. FOWLER

New York.

LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF POWER

(Continued from page 388)

"the law of the situation" using full factual knowledge as the basis for decisions. Such power is functional and situational; it is not personal except in the sense that it is exercised by a person.

The use of the expert, or of the staff consultant, is another facet of the problem of administrative power. I mean here the technical expert, not the authority on administration. The danger of this specialist's overarching himself is a by-way which it would be fascinating to explore. Rather, I wish to stress, again as a safeguard in the exercise of power, the soundness of the doctrine that "the expert should be on tap and not on top." His is not the task of final decision. He supplies what are presumably sound data, and if he is competent, his advice should command acceptance. But the key to the expert's influence is the persuasiveness of his facts, not the arbitrariness of his authority.

The method of arriving at satisfactory terms of employment in such an agency as the TVA calls attention to a final point—the need for a periodic vote of confidence in the administration. We are familiar with this notion in political government. There it has become one of the major techniques for curbing the power lusts of elected officer. But we have no comparable mechanism in the conduct of industrial government. To allege that the annual meeting of the stockholders of an average corporation amounts to an annual vote of confidence in the executives betrays complete innocence as to the workings of corporate management. In those companies having collective agreements with organized labor, there is a partial review of certain policies at the stipulated intervals when the agreements are renewed. But the process of conference in the TVA is more continuous and more inclusive than is true in the usual collective agreement.

I realize that what I have said about the exercise of personal power in administrative areas has raised more problems than it has settled. The fact that in this country we have not solved many of these problems indicates only that we have dodged the difficulties presented by the lust for power in the organized phases of democratic life. By this failure we have, I believe, laid ourselves open to the criticism (however hypocritical the motives) of the dictators.

Before going on to positive aspects of this analysis, let us glance at situations in which the power seeker opposes those communities trying to resolve their difficulties by non-violent means.

The Resort to Force

Today the world's stage is filled with the bitter drama of one power seeker who is striving by every means to override democratic societies such as ours. The ultimate appeal of such a power seeker is the resort to violence. Irrespective of the reasons for the totalitarian lust for power, those nations which stand in its way must either subject themselves to the power of the dictators or resort to arms to defeat and destroy it. To many there is no third alternative; yet the problem is not fully stated or understood without taking account of those—more numerous than in the first World War—who say that no good can ever come out of resort to violence, that he who takes to the sword must perish by the sword. There is a sincere minority with a strong religious conviction who hold that nobody's inner attitude or basic motive is changed by the use of violence; that forceful resistance even to such mad dogs as Hitler leads only to our catching the contagion of his madness. In this view, the remedial method is one of non-resistance in which the desire for a loving relationship with the offender is the controlling factor.

Even in the extremities of war, this sincere conviction should not be lightly pushed aside. Yet we must ask this minority whether, in all honesty, the exercise of force and the resort to arms do not in fact bring about vast changes in human relationships which may be highly salutary. For example, the American Revolution which severed our tie to the power lusts of England; the Civil War which preserved the Union and defeated the power lusts of slaveholders, did transform human relationships. These changes led on to what to the best of our human insight would seem to be more satisfactory stages in the developing American scene. This is, of course, one of those unprovable historical judgments. But it seems reasonable to maintain that those drastic shifts in the exercise of power constituted on the whole a beneficent change. I agree that those two resort to arms did not immediately change inner attitudes; I agree that violence may have resulted which no man can foresee and lead to the release of fear, hatred, and vindictiveness, which are clearly evil.

It is in regard to the influence of these unleashed powers of darkness that the pacifist war on war is most significant. But to most of us, the resolution of this dilemma lies not in capitulation to the evil emotions which Hitler arouses, but in the resolute and dispassionate destruction of the forces and power he employs. Once that is effected, the next step is a peaceful ordering of world affairs which cannot take place under controlling motives of fear, hatred, and vindictiveness. It is difficult, and some will say impossible, to expect peoples the world around to change overnight from hate to love. Yet are not the pacifists correct when they say that only out of friendly motives and attitudes can come a peace which will not be an invitation to yet another World War?

How to Keep the Peace

The prescription for the exercise of power in world affairs in our generation becomes, in short, the identical prescription suggested for the conduct of internal affairs. This prescription can be simply stated, however baffling its application to the practical policies of the peace table, and to American post-war reconstruction. The prescription is for procedures of conference among associates in a common enter

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prize, which enable the powerful to exercise their power in collaboration with other people and not in domination over them. We keep the peace only as we establish collective dealing on a basis of nearly equal, negotiable power as can be achieved.

The very heart of this corrective has to do with "moralizing" the exercise of power of those men of tough stomachs and tough minds who must, in the nature of things, help shape human affairs. In trying to resolve any of these momentous issues, I find it impossible to progress without an appeal to moral loyalties.

Sound procedures, adroitly devised, are one half the solution of the vast problem of power. But inescapably, the other half of the solution is to enlist and sustain good will, along with good method.

At its base and core, the power problem is a problem of education and equally a problem of religion. The educational responsibility may be stated readily, in general terms. Democratic education must be seen ashes as the task of cultivating the capacity to use power wisely, to know when power is being used dangerously, and to help individuals enlarge their vision of the areas over which personal power, socially motivated, has to be exercised.

The role of religion, stripped of its theological and ecclesiastical confusions and trappings, is to secure that response from all of us which we are not only able but are, indeed, yearning to make. This response is an aroused desire to put into action all that education has taught us about the exercise of power, its rightful, its wholesomeness, and its potentialities for the public weal.

This means that democracy must use its great educational forces to clarify to its people the rightful role of power in the world, while at the same time the purified forces of religion enlist the ardent support of the personal powers of us all for a moralized expression of our common power. Then, and only then, will democracy show its integral and profound superiority over any other form of human association which human beings can devise.

ROCHESTER, SKIPPY SMITH AND CO.
(Continued from page 382)

chinery," Smith says, "but that was good enough for Rochester."

There was little or no discussion of salary or financial return. Eddie Anderson loves planes. Intrigued with the idea of financing a war industry, he put a large sum at the disposal of Skippy Smith, whom he had admired as an intrepid aerial daredevil. From the first it was understood that no racial discrimination was to be shown in favor of Negroes.

Several days had elapsed since Smith had written the check for machinery, backed by money yet to be obtained. But now it wasn't much of a job to get this matter straightened out with the bankers in vindication of his faith in himself and his idea. Some of them were in the audience when Rochester came to San Diego to dedicate the Pacific Parachute Co. last March.

The Parachute Makers

For himself, Skippy Smith had scrubbed floors, cleaned walls, and built partitions in almost frantic haste to prepare the shop for production. Then he called on the National Youth Administration to supply girls from among its sewing classes. "I never counted how many whites and how many Negroes were sent over. All along I was determined from the first to have a mixed group."

To the NYA, the Pacific Parachute Co. came as a godsend. There were Negro girls and Mexican girls who had been on the project for months without prospect of placement in private industry. Thus Mrs. Gwenth Low Bowdian is nineteen and colored. A high school graduate, she had applied for work in a war plant where her NYA training might have been put to advantage. They told her they were waiting for more equipment, and would let her know when it came. She never heard from them. It was this sort of subtle practice that made it difficult to pin outright racial discrimination on a management. Nonetheless it effectively blocked Negro employment.

Virtually all the NYA girls had gone through the tenth grade. In their work on the project, they had practiced on parachute silk for four hours; spent another four hours producing clothing or uniforms for the county welfare and Red Cross. "Racial antagonism simply doesn't enter the minds of these youngsters," in the words of Katherine Uroff, project supervisor.

Learning-to-work together, white and colored, at the NYA, the step to the Pacific Parachute Co. proved a relatively simple one for them. There their forelady is Olevier Greer, a Negro. "We're too busy," she says, "trying to increase our production to worry about race problems." Most of the girls are beginners. As a spur to performance there is a chart showing the rate of weekly production of girls' 'chutes in the shop of the primary contractor, Standard Parachute Corporation. Boards also have been set up for the day and night shifts, showing averages for each machine.

An unconscious form of racial rivalry also plays a part in the improvement of their work. The white girls of American descent are on their mettle not to let Mexican or Negro girls excel them. But that is only half of the picture. When a nearby cafe refused to serve one of the Negro girls, a group of white co-workers volunteered to accompany her back into the establishment for a showdown.

Their employer, himself, had gone into the place for lunch one day with an army inspector. The proprietor refused to serve him to the disgust of his companion.

"Let's not make an issue of it," Skippy urged. 'He'll find out after awhile that there's no harm serving a Negro, and then he'll be our friend for life. If we forced it on him, he'd be as bitter as ever, in his heart. You can't fight fire with fire in this sort of thing."

That just about summarizes the philosophy which governs the conduct of the Pacific Parachute Co.

Manager Smith draws no fixed salary—he simply takes what he needs (usually less than $25 a week) for the frugal requirements of himself and his little daughter. Nor does Eddie "Rochester" Anderson, as the financial angel, expect a set return. "As long as he's sure his money is being properly used, he's satisfied," Smith explains.

Rochester is a busy man—occupied with rehearsals, out-of-town trips for the radio show, USO and military camp performances. These in addition to his motion picture roles. But as the man who holds the purse strings on the Pacific Parachute Co., he finds time for the numerous conferences (many by long distance telephone) necessary in an enterprise that already has spread into the entire second floor of its building and is ripe for further expansion to the third story. When he is too busy, Mrs. Anderson comes to San Diego for sessions with Skippy.

Race Relations in War Plants

Quite aside from the racial tolerance argument, Rochester's company is being used by preemployment training officials in California as an example of the practicability of hiring both Negroes and whites in war production jobs. As things stand, some aircraft plants and shipyards in California have been hiring Negroes for other than maintenance or similar menial tasks. An expressed non-discrimination policy has been sought at Vultee by the United Automobile Workers (CIO), Consolidated Aircraft Corporation and other con-
cerns employ Negroes, but primarily as janitors, maids, messengers, and in certain clerical, mailing, and shipping jobs. Douglas Aircraft last December began hiring Negroes in production jobs after Donald Douglas himself was appealed to by William Mahue, Los Angeles county NYA area supervisor. Mahue's argument was that since the government is spending money to train youths, the companies have a responsibility in the all-out production effort to use available skills.

Employers have been quick to deny that they practice discrimination, and that is something difficult to prove. Negroes are interviewed and their applications taken with the utmost courtesy. "We'll let you know," says the interviewer, but the applicant all too rarely hears anything further.

Despite President Roosevelt's Executive Order prohibiting racial discrimination in war industry employment, some powerful labor unions holding contracts with war plants restrict their own membership to the Caucasian race, thereby placing another obstacle in the path of qualified Negro mechanics.

Because of the difficulties thus faced on either hand by Negroes in obtaining employment, some vocational schools have in turn been reluctant to accept them for training. Thus, a vicious circle exists in spite of an increasingly acute labor supply problem. In Los Angeles, Mrs. Fay Allen, only Negro on the Board of Education, has helped break down discrimination. Government subsidies to local vocational training projects also have aided in cracking it.

Skippy Smith's own experience in the Standard factory, and the subsequent successful mixed labor policy at Pacific Parachute, demonstrate that anticipated difficulties are to some degree imaginary. One of the white workers at Pacific Parachute put it aptly: "As far as we young people are concerned, it doesn't bother us whether we're working with white or colored folks. It seems that it's just the older ones and the employers who are worried."

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**OUR STAKES IN THE JAPANESE EXODUS**

(Continued from page 378)

ing to The San Francisco Chronicle, that our naturalization laws and the Fourteenth Amendment were meant to "limit citizenship to the white race except for the American Negro," and that they "exclude the Chinese, the Japanese, Hindus, Hottentots and the islanders of the Pacific." Some years ago he presented a similar argument to another court, applying it to Mexicans of Indian blood. One of the documents presented to the Tolan Committee by a Joint Immigration Committee (of which Mr. Webb is a prominent member) carried the statement that "Another grave mistake was the granting of citizenship to the Negroes after the Civil War." Clearly in the light of American history, the proposal he advocated before the federal court has far-reaching implications—embracing our enemies, our allies, and neutrals alike.

On the one hand, statistics published by the National Bureau of Economic Research show that since 1650 the white race has increased tremendously in numbers as we expanded over the face of the earth. Three hundred years ago people of European stock made up 22 percent of the world's population. In the present era they have come to make up about 35 percent.

On the other hand, lowered birthrates have levelled off the increase in northern and western Europe, North America, and Australia. In 1940 the United States census reported for the first time that our net reproduction rate was somewhat less than sufficient to maintain our numbers.

In this perspective we may wish to resolve our attitudes towards other races and peoples with thoughts not only of our allies of today, but with some long thoughts, also, for our grandchildren and their potential allies if, and when, war should strike them.

Federal court in San Francisco rejected the suit of the Native Sons; but this may be appealed and resolutions of similar temper are still pending before Congress. In the safety-valve column at the time a correspondent wrote:

"Some of our local politicians who have endorsed this dangerous proposal should read again the Declaration of Independence and ponder the statement that 'all men are created free and equal.' To modify that noble phrase by saying it does not apply to American-born children of Japanese ancestry would dishearten our Negro soldiers, our Filipino and Chinese allies, and the millions of British India, whose support we so desperately need.

"Let us win our battles in the field rather than look for easy victories over our neighbors' children."

The Chronicle's own comment was carried in a front page editorial:

"It is true, as Mr. Webb says, that the Declaration, and the Constitution for that matter, was written by white men. It is not true that it was exclusively 'for' white men. Those charters are for human, not race principles, and to suggest otherwise now is to furnish excuse for unjustified accusation that America is not true to its principles."

The Issue in Our Colleges

Leading educators of the West Coast were deeply disturbed at the dislocation of the collegiate education of loyal Japanese-American citizens. They have put forward a program which, as outlined by President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, involves a cost "including scholarship funds, special teaching staff and administrators' of "a million dollars a year or more." To quote President Sproul:

"It will be a million dollars spent as insurance on the future welfare of the American nation, and there will be substantial savings in the release of funds appropriated for the support of evacuation centers. . . .

"We cannot safely neglect the morale and the loyalty of the future leaders of the American-born Japanese minority in this country, either on practical political grounds, or on humanitarian grounds. Respect and love for democracy cannot be inculcated by depriving citizens of their rights and privileges without compensation, regardless of abstract or concrete justifications which may exist in the public mind."

To this statement, Presidents Wilbur of Stanford and Holland of Washington State gave hearty support.

Recently the press reported objection by a California congressman to the release of Japanese-American students to continue their university education in non-military areas. One ground, he urged, was that every member of Congress has in his district "thousands of young men whose education was being interfered with. These young men were going into the army." This ignores whether loyal evacuees are outside
the army because they choose to be, and forgets the women."

To quote Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Leland Stanford University and formerly Secretary of the Interior:

"Every effort should be made to avoid mistakes in this important action of our government. It has been impossible for me to answer the many questions put to me by these students as to why. Everything that they have learned from babyhood up in this country is negated by their present experience.

"It seems to me important for us to visualize the situation that will develop at the end of the war if these young American citizens, with their great capacity for leadership, have been confined in camps, have had their education interfered with, and have had the disillusionment that must inevitably come to them."

Are we sure that our course is not of a sort to encourage young people of Japanese ancestry who are now in camps to place little value on their American citizenship? It would be natural in these centers under guard they would find no way answer for the taunt, "If you're American citizens why don't you walk past the sentry?" Yet if we wish to increase loyalty to America rather than to strain it, we must give their American citizenship all value possible under the circumstances.

Education, hitherto open to Japanese without restriction of race, is a logical point at which to infuse this value, hearten the loyal, and mitigate the anxieties of parents wherever born, whose personal hopes and ties naturally center increasingly in their children. Congress, under attacks by its members such as have been cited, seems reluctant at present to support the educators' plan. Efforts to transfer loyal evacuee citizens to colleges outside the military areas go forward slowly with such impetus as a devoted but private committee under the American Friends Service can give.

The Long Look Ahead

Most Americans will realize that in its basic elements the problem of Orientals in our midst is not new. Long-time Survey readers may remember mellower passages under the title "Behind Our Masks," by the distinguished sociologist, Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, who some years ago directed an illuminating appraisal of race relations on the Pacific coast. In Survey Graphic for May 1926, he wrote:

"It is probably true of the Oriental, as of other immigrant peoples, that in the process of Americanization, only superficial traits are modified—but most of the racial traits that determine race relations are superficial . . ."

"Whenever representatives of different races meet and discover in one another—beneath the differences of race—sentiments, tastes, interests, and human qualities generally that they can understand and respect, racial barriers are undermined and eventually broken down. Personal relations and personal friendships are the great moral solvents. Under their influence all distinctions of class, of caste, and even of race, are dissolved into the general flux which we sometimes call democracy.

"It was a minor statesman who said: 'What is the Constitution between friends?' As the embodiment of a moral doctrine, this question, with its implications, is subject to grave qualifications, but as a statement of psychological fact it has to be reckoned with. What, between friends, and any of our conventions, moral codes, and political doctrines and institutions? It is personal friendships that corrupt politics. Not only politics, but all our formal and conventional relations are undermined by those elemental loyalties that have their roots in personal attachments.

"There is no way of preserving existing social barriers, except by preserving the existing animosities that buttress them."

This surely is a statement to be recalled and pondered as we look ahead.

Probably the best guide for the long look is the report of the Tolan Committee. Of the evacuation itself it says, "The decision of the military must be final in this regard." With regard to next steps the Tolan report continues:

"It is, therefore, with a sense of looking forward that these problems must be considered. Emergency measures must not be permitted to alter permanently those fundamental principles upon which this nation was built.

"The fact that in a time of emergency this country is unable to distinguish between the loyalties of many thousands of its citizens, and others domiciled here, whatever their race or nationality, calls into question the adequacy of our whole outlook upon the assimilation of foreign groups. To many citizens of alien parentage in this country it has come as a profound shock that almost overnight thousands of persons have discovered that their citizenship no longer stands between them and the treatment accorded to any alien within our borders in time of war.

"The realization that this nation is at war must form the cornerstone of all our national policies in connection with the treatment of aliens and citizens alike. This realization of conflict must likewise carry with it an enlightened understanding and a thorough appreciation of the aims and purposes of that conflict.

"This realization, in turn, must motivate the operations of the War Relocation Authority, created by Executive Order of the President to administer the resettlement of persons evacuated from prohibited military zones. The majority of the evacuees to date are American citizens against whom no charge of individual guilt has been lodged. A constructive performance, therefore, on the part of the War Relocation Authority, will go far toward fashioning the whole pattern of our policy on racial and minority groups now and in the post-war world."

This task, the responsibility of the Authority in cooperation with the army—and the broader task of which it is a part, and which concerns our whole front as a democracy in ordering our relations with diverse peoples at home and abroad—calls for nothing less than the best that our statesmen can give.

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(Continued from page 386)

pennies year-round to make possible the month of schooling. At Clemson several men came on part of their veteran’s bonus. An old woman, a Gold Star mother, bartered chickens for her keep.

Much help has come from the outside—from the American Legion Auxiliary, the State Federation of Women’s Clubs, churches, textile executives. A mill president one year gave thirty-two scholarships. In the days before the mills started selling their villages, several waived house rent and light and water costs to any family head who attended; if there were youngsters, a $5 gift was tossed in. For those short on clothing—every year some come with their entire wardrobe on their backs—the occasional gifts of shoes and overalls and cotton dresses are like manna.

But there is always the bleak figure of $268, South Carolina’s average annual cash income (the nation’s: $336). It means blackouts for thousands of minds. The politicians know but have two answers: the state is too poor to educate those the schools missed; anyway, it’s too late, they’re too old to learn.

What of those who can’t afford the $22 or the time to come to Opportunity School? They are finding help in the night classes that Wil Lou Gray has strung from the mountains of Ocones to the beaches of Beaufort.

In one community, after adult school came, arrests dropped 75 percent within a year. In another, people “screened doors and windows, built sanitary toilets, and set out fruit trees and shrubbery.” A teacher in Barnwell County reported: “I have a class made up of one family, eleven children and parents, none of whom could read or write at the beginning of the year. Now they read, write, and work simple arithmetic.”

Mrs. Susie James prayed that God would send someone to teach her to read the Bible. The next year an adult class was formed. She not only learned to read, but to write letters to two of her children who were in an orphanage. Another woman confided in Miss Gray that now she knew which was right side up on her initialled wedding pillows.

All southern states maintain a dual school system, and all do better by white youth than by Negro boys and girls in the quantity and quality of education they provide. Thus South Carolina spends eight times as much for the schooling of a white child as for a Negro child. This is one factor in the illiteracy situation, with figures running so much higher for colored than for white South Carolinians. The night schools reveal hunger for education and the capacity to learn among underprivileged adults of both groups.

One Negro man walked twelve miles a day, three days a week to attend classes. Nathan Owings, ninety-six, found the book work difficult, but he did his bit by fixing the screens and stove flues. In one school there was a Negro mother, sixty-four, her six daughters-in-law, twenty-one, thirty-five, and three sons-in-law. All were absolute beginners. The teacher of a Negro class asked, one stormy night, how the pupils managed to get to school without lanterns. “We falls down and gits up and travels on,” was the reply.

Since 1919 the adult education program in South Carolina has reached 246,000 men and women. To foot the annual bill Miss Gray has averaged $2.72 per pupil, some years more, some years less. The past ten years have been the most difficult of all—for illiterate per year. In 1935 the state appropriated for her department just enough to cover Miss Gray’s salary. She immediately diverted it all to teachers’ salaries and went payless for months.

FERA and later WPA helped shoulder the burden and Miss Gray reciprocated by going into the CCC camps and, at last, to Fort Jackson, the huge army center just outside Columbia. The need was there. In one class of CCC youths fewer than 10 percent knew the meaning of Thanksgiving; only 12 percent knew who Hitler was, and but 5 percent
had heard of Armistice Day. One year, 51 percent of those enrolled in CCC classes had not completed the fourth grade.

At Fort Jackson, Miss Gray's program is for "functional illiterates," that is, those who are not technically illiterate, but whose ability to read and write is so limited that it has little practical value. After six weeks most of the enrolled soldiers were able to write their first letters home—for Mother's Day. One said: "I had to work day in and day out as far back as I can remember. There wasn't time for school."

Another said, "We moved so much I didn't seem to be able to get along." A third: "I wasn't fixed to go to school."

South Carolina's adult program gradually is taking the form of county continuation schools, a vast advance over the isolated classes in one-room schools and tenant cabins, and, in at least one case, at the end of a field where farmers dropped their plowlines at sundown to toil over the three R's.

Last year fifteen county continuation schools were set up, with 3,306 pupils and 191 teachers. At the Parker and Olympia schools follow-up classes were organized. Two Olympia men who had worked in the mill since childhood and had raised families before coming "under Miss WilLou's influence" earned state high school diplomas and wrote to the University of South Carolina for a catalogue.

"Miss WilLou"

When Wil Lou Gray was four years old, her principal joy was swinging on the front gate and speaking to all who passed, white and colored. "Chile, ain't ladylike," her nurse remonstrated, but the child wasn't interested in being ladylike, she wanted to see folks and talk with them. The trait has persisted.

Her mother died when she was nine and she was brought up by her father, a well-to-do farmer-merchant-lawyer. From local schools, she went to Columbia College, a Methodist institution in the state capital, then returned to Laurens to teach. One injustice of the educational system was brought sharply home to her the first day in the classroom. A young girl ejected by her predecessor "because he was trilling and wouldn't learn" was, she found, almost totally deaf.

Later Miss Gray earned her Master's degree in political science at Columbia University. Back in Laurens she resumed teaching and surprised herself by winning a $30 grant made by the state that year for books, and one of the ten $100 prizes offered the school showing the most progress in a year.

After serving on the faculty of Martha Washington college in Virginia and more graduate work at Columbia she went to Maryland as rural school supervisor, then came home—this time to stay.

Miss Gray's pet hate is intolerance. "Every human being, white or colored, rural or urban, ought to have an opportunity to develop to his or her maximum ability." That's her core of belief.

Sometimes friends remind Miss Gray that her salary is still only $2,700 a year and in fairness to herself she shouldn't help finance so many students—through college, in marriage, or even to visit soldier husbands. Her pupils return her devotion in full. Brides write her about their new homes. Men in the service insist that she be on hand to see them receive honors or promotions. And there was the aged woman who confided that her late husband, an Opportunity School alumnus, had been too shy throughout their fifty years of married life to tell her of his affection; but after his death she found a scrap of paper in the family Bible, on which he had written, "I love my wife."

The University of South Carolina recently awarded Wil Lou Gray the Sullivan trophy "because of her love for her fellow man and her unselfish service to mankind." She accepted with some hesitation, explained that nothing could have been accomplished without the help of so many loyal students, teachers, and friends, and went back to work.

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The Gist of It

It would seem as if Louis Fischer had been somewhat premature in bringing out his widely read autobiography, "Men in Politics," in 1941. In May, June, and July of this year that energetic journalist lived an exciting new chapter in India, the Middle East, and Africa, including the week he spent as Gandhi's guest. Page 405. He is foreign correspondent for The Nation, his latest contribution being "Why Cripps Failed." (Nation, September 19 and 26)

In spite of the costly education of the depression years, Senator Byrd and others would have it that all social work is non-essential and should be discontinued. A reminder of the error of their ways by Fred K. Hoehler, member of the board of directors of Survey Associates. Page 412.

Tamar de Sola Pool (page 415) is president of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America. She can write vividly of its war emergency work in Palestine because she knows that country so well. Born there, and brought to the United States at an early age, she has often returned on official and unofficial visits. Her husband is the distinguished rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York.

Born in Butte, Mont., Rose Hum Lee knows her China too, speaking Cantonese and Toishan. She knows her United States through coast-to-coast lecture tours. What has been happening in Chinese communities here, since Pearl Harbor, page 419.

Since her work as a member of The Survey staff in the 20's, Clinch Calkins has published a volume of poems and a number of books. "Some People Won't Work" (1930) interpreted the pioneer findings on unemployment of the National Federation of Settlements. "Spy Overhead" (1937) was a study of industrial espionage. On page 420 she writes of an interesting man in an interesting, though tough, job, as only a friend could know him.

The Economic Cartoon on page 425, though executed before President Roosevelt sent his Labor Day cost of living message to Congress, bears on it directly. Sixth and last of a series on inflation by Otto H. Ehrlich of Brooklyn College. This issue offers a special section on books for early fall perusal. Page 428.

"The Right to Grow Up"

To the Editor: Nothing would so undermine the morale of this country as drafting young boys of eighteen and nineteen.

Mere boys are immature physically, mentally, psychologically. They are impressionable, inexperienced; they have not the stability and preparation of the older soldier.

If they are given two more years in which to mature they will be more of value to the country both in the war and post-war world. Psychiatrists and educators agree that they would be completely wrecked by the war experience at this early age.

We have in this vast land great reservoirs of manpower without sacrificing our boy power. All of us know many men in their twenties and thirties who have not gone into military services; they should be called first; the young boys should be the last to go. Most adult men would rather go themselves than see the youngsters sent into combat.

Those boys who are entering college should be urged to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education the country will be depleted of trained minds in the future when it will have grave need of them. Other boys not headed for college could replace unskilled older labor on farms, in factories, thus having a chance to gain experience and independence before going, fresh from school, into war.

Everyone should have at least the right to grow up!

I urge your readers to use their influence and skill to defeat this dangerous proposal to draft boys—to communicate with their Senators and Representatives in Washington, with the President, General Hershay, Secretary of War Stimson and General Marshall. And to urge others to do likewise. Time is short. Those of us who do not want to doom the generation now growing up cannot leave any stone unturned.

New York


THE SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.


Editor: Paul Kellogg.


Business manager, Walter F. Geisinger; Circulation manager, Molly Condon; Advertising manager, Mary R. Anderson.


Survey Midmonthly published on the 14th of the month. Single copies 30¢. By subscription—Domestic: year $3; 2 years $5. Additional postage per year—Foreign $5; Canadian 75c.

Joint subscription to Survey Graphic and Survey Midmonthly: Year, $5.

Cooperative Membership in Survey Associates, Inc., including a joint subscription: Year, $10.
Gandhi's train comes into Karachi, strategic seaport in northwest India, near Iran.
A Week with Gandhi

by LOUIS FISCHER

Gandhi's followers say of him: "There has been no man like him for 2,000 years." Here he reveals himself to an American journalist, at meals, on strolls in his native village—through long summer days when the whole world rang with his name.

TWENTY-FOUR HOURS AFTER MY ARRIVAL IN INDIA, PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru, the Nationalist leader, stopped at New Delhi on his way to Sevagram, the tiny village which is Gandhi's home when he is not in jail. I told him I would like to see Gandhi.

Several days later Nehru wrote me, saying: "Gandhiji suggested that if you would like it you could stay with him in his ashram (community). You will miss modern creature comforts, and the food will be simple—vegetarian of course." Nehru also warned me about the heat and added that I would have to "learn how to take a path without a tub."

I left immediately for Wardha, a small town in central India. The train ride lasted twenty-seven hot hours.

A two-wheel, one-horse tonga in which the passengers ride with their backs to the driver brought me and Gandhi's dentist to Sevagram, about five miles from the railroad. On the outskirts of the village I saw a slight, brown figure clad in white. Gandhi. To help him carry the 94 pounds which his body weighs, he held his hands on the shoulders of two young men who walked by his side. Leather sandals on his feet; bare legs; a white loth about his loins; a cheesecloth cape on his shoulders; folded kerchief on his head.

He greeted me in excellent English, and I followed him to a thick flat board mounted on two metal trestles. He sat down and asked me to sit down. "We are glad to have you here," he declared. "How long will you stay?" I said I would like to remain several days. "Oh," he exclaimed. "Then we will be able to talk much." Two young men, members of the community in which Gandhi lives, came over, bent low to Gandhi's feet and swayed up and down. "Bas, bas," Gandhi said. Enough, enough.

The dentist then approached and Gandhi told him the bite of his artificial teeth was imperfect and the sets were too long. Somebody brought a brass bowl in which were three sets of teeth, and the dentist started fishing them out of the water. I stood up to go. Gandhi said, "You will walk with me in the morning and in the evening, and we will also have other opportunities to talk." I bowed and went away, leaving the Mahatma saint who had made the British Empire quake to devote his attention to gum impressions and factory-made molars.

How Gandhi Lives

My ONE-ROOM, MUD-WALLED HUT, WITH EARTHEN FLOOR and bamboo roof, was just like Gandhi's hut a hundred yards away. "Sister Kurshed," Gandhi had said, "will take care of you." At eleven, Kurshed Naoroji, a Parsee woman aged about forty-two, came to conduct me to lunch. The daughter of a millionaire family, she had studied singing in Paris and Rome but had abandoned her musical career to become a disciple of Gandhi. We walked across the flaming expanse of sand and gravel...
which separated my home from the Mahatma’s. I left my sandals on the stone steps outside. Gandhi was lying on the floor on a straw pallet which was covered with white homespun. The only decoration in the room was a framed picture of Jesus Christ on which was printed in English, “He is our Peace.” Gandhi is a Hindu but he accepts many of the tenets of Christianity. He also reads the Moslem Koran and sees the virtues of Islam.

Gandhi got up and said to me: “Now put on your shoes and hat. Never be without either. And don’t get a sunstroke.” He placed his hand on Kurshed’s shoulder and we walked over to an el-shaped dining hut with walls of bamboo matting. Gandhi’s wife, seventy, toothless, with a face noble from suffering, sat on the floor. Gandhi sat down to her right and I to his right. Mrs. Gandhi, the symbol of silent self-effacement, fanned her husband with a straw fan. We sat on the earth with a narrow strip of matting under us. A waitress, who is a member of the community, placed an empty brass tray and a metal tumbler full of water on the ground in front of me. She handed Gandhi several pots and pans. From one pot he dished out a bowl of vegetable mush in which I could discern chopped spinach and squash, and gave it to me. Then he passed me a crisp hard wheat cake almost as thin as paper. A woman poured some salt into my tray and set a bowl of hot cow’s milk before me. A moment later she served me two boiled potatoes in their jackets, some bits of coconuts, milk curds, sugar, raw onions, and several soft flat wheat cakes baked brown.

Gandhi said: “I am serving you, but you must not eat until the prayer.” I told him that I had been observing the children sitting against the opposite wall, and since they weren’t eating I knew I had to wait. He laughed. People passed food from one to another with their hands. A gong announced the prayer, whereupon a tall powerfully built waiter, dressed in nothing but white shorts, stepped in front of us, closed his eyes so that only a narrow white slit was visible—it made him look blind —and started a high-pitched chant in which Gandhi and everybody else joined. It ended with “Shaanti, shaanti, shaanti,” peace, peace, peace. Then all began to eat. I had a teaspoon, but the others relied on their fingers and their folded wheat cakes as pushers. Gandhi used a tablespoon. Later he said to me: “Commensurate with your size, you shall receive a tablespoon.” I laughed and so did he. I watched him eat. His fingers are long and his hands are big and well formed. His knees are pronounced and his bones are broad and strong, all visible through his smooth, tight, healthy skin.

A hot wind blew through the matting wall; I perspired. Gandhi said to me: “I see you have come to standstill. You dislike the food?”

“No,” I replied, “I find it surprisingly good.” He laughed at my emphasis on “surprisingly.” He said “You can have all the water you want. We take care that it is boiled. Now you must eat your mango.” I learned to eat that fruit with its delicious aroma and taste.

His Austere Regimen of Living

I had thought I might stay at Sevagram two or three days, but I stayed a week. When we finished talking each day we both knew that we had not reached the end...
When a question is put to Gandhi you "can see and hear his mind work"

and Gandhi is unhappy about an uncompleted task.

I walked with him every morning and sometimes in the evening, had a daily interview with him from three to four in the afternoon, and ate lunch and dinner with him every day in the common dining room. All fourteen meals were exactly alike. Gandhi is very much interested in the science of food, and the austere menu of the ashram is his attempt to work out a vegetable and dairy diet that might some day be adopted by India’s millions.

"Do you know Dr. Kellogg of Battle Creek, Mich.?" he asked me suddenly at dinner. I said I recalled a Kellogg food company but didn't know the doctor. Gandhi said he had corresponded with Dr. Kellogg about dietetics. "It often happens," he added, "that men are known abroad and not at home."*

Gandhi never touches meat, tobacco or alcohol. He obviously attaches no importance to variety in food. After the mess of spinach and squash had been ladled out to me four times in two days and then again for lunch on the third day, I said to Gandhi: "Thank you, no. I respect you as a man and leader, but not as a chef." He laughed. He likes to laugh.

He is up at 5:15, after a solid night's sleep under the stars; by 5:45 Gandhi has finished a breakfast of mango fruit and starts out for a 30-minute walk on dirt roads that wind around peasants' farms. Dr. Das, his physician, accompanies him and so do about a dozen members of the ashram, male and female, who vie with one another for the honor of having Gandhi lean his hands on their shoulders as he paces briskly over the rough earth. I would come to his bed while he was still breakfasting. When he got up to walk he would usually say to me: "Now," and in answer to questions thus invited, invariably talked for the whole half hour. He has great energy.

No room in India is comfortable without a constantly twirling electric fan. But Sevagram, one of the hottest spots in sizzling India, has no electricity. A board from which hangs a black cloth is suspended from the ceiling of Gandhi's hut, and a member of the ashram incessantly tugs at a rope attached to the board so as to create a current of air. At seventy-three Gandhi carries on all day, writing letters with a fountain pen, dictating letters and articles to four secretaries, and receiving visitors. He pauses for a daily 45-minute massage and one or two brief naps. He can fall asleep at will and wake in 14 or 25 minutes just as he wishes. He apparently has complete control over his body. He can empty his stomach by an exercise of will power, which would make it difficult to feed him forcibly if he decides to fast in prison.

He Has Little Vanity

Gandhi is informal and personal, and likes a joke. When I asked him if he would stand and sit for some photographs with me, he replied: "I have no objections to being seen on a photograph with you." He has little vanity. After I had left his village he sent me a letter for President Roosevelt; and in an accompanying note to me he wrote: "If the letter does not commend itself to you,
you may tear it to pieces."

Gandhi never hesitates to admit error, and by preference he does so publicly. In May 1942, as a consequence of the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps's mission, Gandhi announced that "The British must go." They must withdraw their troops, he said, or else he would start a campaign of civil disobedience. In June, however, he altered this demand. "There was obviously a gap in my first writing," he confessed in an article in Harijan, his weekly magazine. "I filled it in as soon as it was discovered. I could not be guilty of asking the Allies to take a step which would involve certain defeat. Abrupt withdrawal of Allied troops might result in Japan's occupation of India and China's fall. I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore, I feel that if, in spite of the acceptance of my proposal [to liberate India], it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so."

Gandhi hoped this radical departure from his earlier point of view would persuade the British to grant his life's goal: independence for India.

The ordinary politician who seeks office or the adoption of his policy will promise peace and prosperity, lower taxes, higher profits—in fact, the moon and the stars. Gandhi sought therefore to assure England and the world that if freedom is granted everything will be well in India. Instead he says: "I am not sure that there will be order after the British leave. There could be chaos. I have said: 'Let the British go in an orderly fashion and leave India to God.' You may not like such unrealistic language. Then call it anarchy. That is the worst that can happen. But there may not be anarchy. We will try to prevent it." Such a statement enables Gandhi's critics to say: "Gandhi predicts chaos if the British leave."

As Gandhi Thinks Aloud

PART OF THE PLEASURE OF INTIMATE INTELLECTUAL CONTACT with Gandhi is that he opens his brain and allows the interviewer to see how the machine works. When most people talk they try to bring their ideas out in final form so that they are least exposed to attack. Not so with Gandhi. He gives immediate expression to each step in his thinking. It is as though a writer were to publish the first draft of his story, and then the second draft, and ultimately the third and last draft. Readers might protest that the plot has been changed, that the hero had been transformed into a villain, and so on. Gandhi would say, "Yes, I changed my mind."

Actually he thinks aloud, and the entire process is for the record. This impels some people to say he contradicts himself, or that he is a hypocrite. Gandhi does not care. Maybe he is too old and impersonal and not of this world to bother about the impression he makes. Many Indians and Englishmen in India cautioned me when I interviewed them that their words were not for publication. Gandhi never worried about what I would write of him or how I would quote him. He did not talk at me; he talked to me.

I had spent many hours with Mohammed Ali Jinnah, president of the Moslem League of India. He is a smooth parliamentarian, a skilled debater and an incorruptible politician. But he talked at me. He was trying to convince me. When I put a question to him I felt as though it had turned on a phonograph record. I had heard it all before or could have read it in the literature he gave me. But when I asked Gandhi something I felt that I had started a creative process. I could see and hear his mind work. With Jinnah I could only hear the needle scratch the phonograph record. Jinnah gave me nothing except his conclusions. But I could follow Gandhi as he moved to a conclusion. An interview with him is a voyage of discovery. His secretaries, who sat with us as he spoke, were often surprised at the novelty of his assertions.

His Weekly Day of Silence

GANDHI DID NOT MERELY GIVE ME FACT and opinions. He revealed himself. He also supplied one with ammunition against himself. Here is a sample: Gandhi observes each Monday as a day of silence. For twenty-four hours he never utters a word. If his associates talk to him he may reply with a nod or a movement of the hand, but usually they leave him altogether alone. I once asked him what was the idea behind this day of silence. He smiled and said: "It happened when I was working very hard, traveling through the country in hot trains, being approached everywhere with countless questions and pleas. I wanted to rest for one day a week. So I instituted the day of silence. The motive was purely material. Later I clothed it in all kinds of moral virtues and gave it a spiritual cloak. Actually it was just because I wanted to rest."

Laughing at this self-revealed discrepancy between the real and advertised

Beside Gandhi on his pallet covered with homespun sits his self-effacing wife
benefits of his day of silence, Gandhi added: "Silence is very relaxing. Not in itself. But when you talk much and then stop for twenty-four hours you get great relief and there is time for thought."

Gandhi did not have to tell me that he had ascribed qualities to the day of silence which it did not possess. But that is Gandhi. His brain has no blue pencil; he doesn't censor himself. He says, for instance, that if he had the opportunity he would go to Japan and try to end the war. He immediately adds that he knows Japan would not make peace. Then why did he say he would go to Japan? Because he thought it. As a pacifist he would like to bring about a cessation of hostilities. That this is impracticable is no reason not to mention it.

Gandhi often takes delight in expounding ideas which are impractical anachronisms. He scoffs at modern inventions. After seven days at Sevagram, I left the village with Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Moslem divine who is the president of the Indian Nationalist Congress. A car took us to a Congress hostel in Wardha where I would wait until the departure of my train for Hyderabad. The same automobile then returned to Sevagram to fetch Gandhi to Wardha for a private conference with Nehru and Azad. Just as luck would have it, the car broke down a mile from the hostel. Gandhi stepped out and walked the mile in the blinding heat of an Indian summer afternoon. When he entered the house he was fresh and full of smiles and he mocked "these undependable, new-fangled contraptions." He is aware that he cannot turn back the clock; he cannot abolish automobiles. But he can make fun of them.

The Congress Party and Its Wealthy Sponsors

"I WOULD NOT SHED A TEAR IF THERE WERE NO RAILROADS in India," Gandhi affirmed. He said this during a long discussion about what India would be like when it attained independence. The discussion started this way: I had mentioned to him that prominent Englishmen whom I met in India said the Indian Nationalist Congress was financed and dominated by the millionaire Hindu mill owners of Bombay.

"Is it true?" I asked.

"Unfortunately," Gandhi replied without hesitation, "Congress is financed almost wholly by our rich friends."

I: "Doesn't that affect Congress politics?"

Gandhi: "It creates a silent debt. But actually we are very little influenced by the thinking of the rich. The dependence of Congress on rich sponsors is unfortunate. I deliberately use the word unfortunate. But that does not pervert our politics."

I: "Doesn't it make you concentrate on the nationalist struggle almost to the exclusion of social problems?"

Gandhi: "No, Congress has from time to time, especially under the leadership of Pandit Nehru, adopted advanced social programs and schemes for economic planning."

I: "What, then, is your program for the improvement of the lot of the peasants who constitute 95 percent of the population? What would happen to them in a free India?"

Gandhi: "The peasants would take the land. We would not have to tell them to take it. They would take it."

(Continued on page 446)
Commonwealth Comments

Low (David Low), who went to London from Australia, is the cartoonist of the British Commonwealth best known in the United States. An exhibition of almost two hundred cartoons and caricatures from Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa, now at the American British Art Center in New York and shortly to be shown in other cities, calls attention to a number of other able and original artists. For instance, WEP (above) is a portraitist and woodcarver as well as cartoonist. Hill (left), a former army man, is self-taught. La Palme (top, opposite page) is instructor of drawing at Laval University, Quebec, and Robinson (bottom, opposite page), who came from South Africa, now is working in London.
Du Reich. Robert La Palme for L’Action Catholique, Quebec

"CHARGE!"
"Where to?"
"Anywhere you like."

Charge! Wyndham Robinson for the Star, London
Welfare Services in Total War

by FRED K. HOEHLER

"It's only our ideas that lag; they too must be 'converted'," writes the director of the American Public Welfare Association; president of the National Conference of Social Work; who at Washington functions both as a member of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation and as chairman of the Committee on Community Organization of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

It was December 1939, a few months before France fell, that a member of the French cabinet reported discontent among the men on the Maginot Line because the government had failed to provide aid and services that would assure security to their families. In England, after Dunkirk and Coventry, people began to say, "This war will be won on the home front." And they had discovered the part which a well balanced and adequately functioning system of welfare services could play in mustering self defense against Hitler's blitz.

In this country we are still groping to find the place of such services in our own wartime organization. Our attitudes toward them are still conditioned by peacetime situations already relegated to history. In this, as in every other area of social activity, there is need to weigh old values, old institutions, in terms of a world at war.

Now the job of welfare services is essentially the same in time of war as in time of peace. It is their job to help people with needs and problems beyond the power of individual solution.

However, most of the existing public measures for relieving the economic distress of individuals were born out of the upheaval and insecurity of the depression of the '30s. At that time the surplus of goods and services for sale in the market, over the buying power available, to purchase them, created a tailspin of unemployment, shrinking production, and deflation. Many people believed that if the government created sufficient purchasing power through payment for services that produced public value rather than saleable goods for an already glutted market, the economic balance would be righted and involuntary unemployment would be ended.

In actual fact the war has created just that situation on a scale never imagined. Where New Deal economists were often attacked as visionary crackpots, bent on undermining the economy, for talking of public works in terms of a few billion dollars, the current expenditure of $60,000,000,000 annually for non-marketable munitions is regarded by many as too conservative in its demands and expectations of a war economy.

Nor is that all. Today, people are being paid for producing goods and services more than half of which cannot be bought in the open market. The surplus is now on the side of purchasing power, and the resulting situation is inflationary rather than deflationary. Shortages of goods result in rising prices as people with income gained from producing munitions or performing public services related to the war, including fighting, bid for the shrinking store of goods in competition with those who produced them. Shortages of manpower result in intensified recruiting of workers. The problem is no longer one of unemployment but of how best to use our total and limited manpower. People are drawn from overpopulated areas to new locations; those who never worked before are tempted by high wages and patriotic appeals to leave home and school for paid employment; those in the low paid fields of domestic service, agricultural labor, and distributive occupations are drawn off into the better paid fields of production.

The Dynamics of War

This complete reversal of the situation which originally caused the assumption of governmental responsibility for individual security has created much confusion. On all sides the shapers of public policy and public thinking cry out that welfare services have outlived the conditions that brought them into being. Even people engaged in the various governmental programs for welfare and security are puzzled and bewildered as to their place in the new economy.

The war creates many problems of understanding and adjustment for every profession and every individual. Those who succeed at this are those who grasp that in time of war nothing stands still; nothing is as before; no social institution, no individual, no family is immune from its devastating impact. People who talk about freezing the status quo for the duration are as remote from reality as bats flying blindly in a shining light. People who judge the usefulness of existing institutions in terms of pre-war functions or in terms of the pre-depression era are the impractical dreamers of today.

The deflationary conditions which gave rise to the assumption of governmental responsibility for individual security are gone, let us hope forever. But the forces which brought about the changing relationship of government to individual need are not dead but accelerated a thousand times by the dynamics of war. The complex collectivism of modern life which makes the individual dependent on social organization for security rather than on his personal ingenuity, is not lessened by modern war.

On the contrary, both the military and economic character of this war makes the individual dependence on governmental protection more basic than ever.

War has removed from the individual and the family much of the ever-present fear that unemployment will strike them and that a right to a place in the working world may be lost forever. But war has replaced that
particular insecurity with new fears and dangers that
test the courage of the individual as never before. It is
ture that there is no substitute for the stout heart and
the conviction of right that sustains individuals in meet-
ing the risks, the family separations, and the actual losses
that go with war. But wartime economic readjustments,
like those of depression, spring from forces so cataclysmic
and so widespread in their effect, that no individual can
be expected to meet them unaided. In a war as in a de-
pression, these problems exceed the powers of individual
solution, yet on their solution depends the public secu-
ritv and welfare.

Long before the bewildered citizens of a dying France
clogged its highways in flight from dangers unknown
and unanticipated by them, the soldiers at the front were
demoralized by tales of suffering and want among their
families left behind. We have been slow in this coun-
try to read the lesson of the fall of France and to con-
trast its civilian panic with the magnificent courage of
the British under similar conditions. Every British sol-
dier knows that his dependents at home receive a family
allowance and allotment from his pay and supplementary
assistance in case of special hardship. Every British
citizen as he hears the enemy bombers fly overhead knows
that if the laws of chance bring devastation from fire or
explosives on his own household, the government will
not let his family go hungry, unclothed, shelterless, or
unprovided with the necessary medical attention and so-
cial counsel. No visitor to England has failed to be im-
pressed by the effect of generous, immediate assistance,
untrammeled by red tape or legalistic concepts, on the
morale of civilians and on their uninterrupted produc-
tive efficiency at the bench and in the field.

First—The Defense Period

We in this country have not yet suffered the devast-
a tion of widespread direct attack on our own shores. But
we dare not be unprepared. We have not yet been
obliged to call up family men for military service in
large numbers. Yet the increasing demand for man-
power makes it evident that the allocation of individuals
in the war effort will be based in the future more on
occupational needs and less on family considerations.
The needs directly related to enemy action and military ser-
vice of the family breadwinner must be provided for.
Family allowances have now been provided by law. Legis-
lation to relieve persons made needy by enemy action is
now before Congress.

But there are needs which are even more directly upon
us as a result of the war, and which, being less dramatic,
are not so generally understood. These are the needs,
usually temporary, of individuals who require assistance
in readjusting themselves to the upheavals now taking
place in our economy as a result of the conversion to war
production. The delicate balance of our economy is little
appreciated until it is disturbed. It is easy to say that
an all-out war effort requires the services of every man,
woman and child. But to the individual it is frightening
and bewildering when the automobile plant where he
works suddenly closes to undergo conversion for the
production of airplanes, when his slowly built gas sta-
cion business vanishes overnight for lack of gasoline,
then the labor to harvest his crops seems to vanish into
air.

It is almost impossible for individuals to understand
the forces that create these dislocations clearly enough to
anticipate their own personal readjustments. But it is
important that the dynamics of the situation be accepted
to the extent that public machinery for facilitating
the necessary changes be maintained and strengthened.

The swift course of economic change has bewildered
the minds even as it has revolutionized the lives of all
of us. In retrospect, the pattern of change is clear. In
the spring of 1940 Germany, by her successful invasion
of the Lowlands, swept from the American mind all lin-
gering hope that the war was a localized, stalemated force
without threat to our shores or to our cherished freedoms. A vast navy, compulsory military training,
and armament production on a scale never before imag-
ined, were not only accepted but eagerly embraced by
an aroused public.

While the change in public attitude was revolutionary,
the effect of war production on our economy during this
period was still comparatively light. For this was the
period of drawing on our surplus, our vast idle resources
of men and materials which had created tragedy for so
many during the depression years. This was a period of
lessening burden for the welfare agencies, as govern-
ment money, invested in expanding productive facilities,
 began to pull back from idleness the millions of workers
who had begun to despair of ever finding a real place
in an economy running constantly below capacity. This
was the period of struggle between government and those
industries whose high profits had hitherto depended on
a policy of restricted production, a struggle to achieve
necessary expansion of basic productive facilities. It was
a period characterized by the slogan "Guns and butter
too," when expansion was the goal and it was hoped
that the increment would more than meet our military
requirements. Only a few were far-sighted enough to
see that more than our surplus would be required for the
task ahead. They began to preach conversion from ci-
vilian to military production and allocation of raw ma-
terials only to essential war goods. Priority controls came
along slowly as shortages developed. But for the most
part, business proceeded as usual.

It was a period of relative prosperity. People who had
suffered the long economic drought now had money to
spend. There were still goods on the shelves and prices
rose slowly. Young men suffered the dislocations of
military service but it was the inconvenience and bore-
dom of peacetime service, not the dangers of war, that
they had to bear. Dependency deferments were liberal
and few married men were taken. There was still a
reasonably comfortable relationship between labor supply
and demand, so that while jobs became easier to get and
wages rose, no controls were imposed. There were boom
towns, overcrowded and lacking in the conveniences and
community services expected by Americans. But the
boom town is a part of American tradition; it contributed
to the air of rollicking prosperity.

Then, the Era of Conversion

These were the halcyon days of the war economy.
They were the days when we clung to the dream of
victory without struggle, war without sacrifice. Pearl
Harbor changed all that—just how much, we are coming
slowly to realize. Successful war cannot be waged on a
nation's surplus. The appetite of war is unlimited; it is
only satisfied when the war is won. War must be fought

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with our very substance. Only that part of our economy can be retained for civilian production as is essential to the maintenance of war production. Workers and their families must be housed, fed, and maintained in good health in order that the soldiers may be housed, fed, maintained in good health and supplied with the weapons necessary to a successful prosecution of the war. That is the philosophical essence of a war economy.

And so we are now well launched in the era of conversion. One by one, elements of our normal civilian life disappear and people, busy adjusting to the requirements of each loss, fail to grasp the sweep and the depth of the total change. First it was tires, then new automobiles, then sugar, then gasoline. Soon perhaps tea, coffee, cocoa, articles made of metal or rubber, the right to travel except on war business, the luxury of domestic service, the right to rent property at what the traffic will bear or to withhold it from rental, the right to keep a family together, the right to leave a job at will, all these will also go.

If the pre-war period of an expanding economy created comparatively few problems for individuals requiring public aid, the period of a tightening war economy creates many. Every readjustment affects the livelihood of those who were concerned with the production or distribution of the particular product involved. There are millions who must change their way of making a living and perhaps their way of living as well.

To be sure, there are war jobs and no one need remain permanently idle. But perhaps there is a necessary period of training. Perhaps the war job is in a new location. Perhaps it means a lower wage when the salesman becomes a munitions worker and his family must readjust its scale of living. Perhaps there are no family dwellings in the new location and the man must go alone, leaving his family behind. Perhaps there are Negro families confronting still the anachronism of prejudice springing from an economic fear which no longer has a basis in fact.

There are problems of women and children. Women whose men have gone to war are going into industry and their children must be cared for while they work. Women and young people must take the place on the farm of men who are soldiers or workers in war industries. Who will see that their strength is not overtaxed? Their living conditions healthful and wholesome?

The Choice We Confront

It would be ridiculous to assume that all the readjustments of a war economy require the midwifery of a welfare agency. But in a period of upheaval there will be those who find the readjustments beyond their personal capacity. When this occurs there are two alternatives: resistance to change, or public aid.

In time of war, widespread resistance to change can well be fatal. In peacetime the refusal of one or two farmers to move from property required for an artillery range makes an interesting story. In wartime the grumblings, dissatisfaction, sense of burden too great to bear or of sacrifice inequitably exacted can so undermine a nation's vitality, so slow up the processes of conversion to a wartime economy, as to lose the war itself. The investment of public funds in financial aid and service to carry people over these readjustments bears interest a thousand times in the success of the war effort.

England has learned that lesson and put it into practice. Not only are English citizens protected from the hazards of blitz, but social services have been liberalized and expanded to meet the stress of war conditions, new ones added. In our country there persists the curious notion that welfare services are a peacetime luxury, like airplane travel or trouser cuffs, that should be eliminated in the strait and frugal period of a war economy. In effect, the advocates of economy in the social services maintain that in a period when the national income available to civilians is being reduced, the brunt of the reduction should be borne by those at the lowest income level. Assistance, at public expense, to those temporarily out of work as a result of the conversion from civilian to war production thus is placed in the category of luxuries.

The real luxury in this situation is the attitude of mind which looks on governmental social services as a substitute for the medieval idea of Christian charity. Fundamental to the theory of charity is the easing of a rich man's conscience by the voluntary sacrifice of a part of his surplus to those less "wise," less "prudent," and less "virtuous," than himself and therefore unfortunately poorer. Obviously charity on such a basis was a luxury which rich men could easily forego when times became harder, the surplus less ample, and the giving no longer painless. In such times conscience was just as easily satisfied by the conviction that wisdom, prudence, and the virtues of thrift, hard work, and sacrifice should now come to the rescue of all in the national interest.

But government spending to maintain a minimum standard of life for all its citizens, to ease the necessary adjustments of war, and to place a ceiling on the economic sacrifices demanded of any one individual or family by the war, is a charge against the total national income. It is a part of the function of governmental management of a successful war to see that these needs are met. In a time of stress, when the total income is small, the task becomes harder but all the more imperative. Just as the housewife takes stock of the charges against a dwindling income and allocates her budget, so a nation considers the problem of how a national income with less than fifty billion dollars available to meet civilian needs out of a total topping a hundred billion, can be stretched to cover the basic needs of a healthy, producing nation functioning at maximum effectiveness. Obviously the average income will be lower; none can be permitted to live in luxury. But, by the same token, minimum guarantees must be maintained if productive efficiency and national morale are to remain high. The job of cutting spending power to fit the national income available in goods and services for sale is the job of taxes; the job of maintaining a minimum standard of subsistence in the interest of national health and vitality is a job for the social services.

A nation which cannot guarantee such security to its citizens at home in time of war is as doomed as a nation which cannot feed its soldiers at the front. Fortunately we are not such a nation. Our resources are vast and even as our annual production of war materials climbs above the sixty billion dollar mark, our remaining civilian income has not fallen to the depression low point. Only our ideas lag; they too must be converted to a war basis. It is ironic and yet hopeful that it takes war to make us realize that people, "manpower" as we say in war jargon, are our greatest national asset.
American Outpost in the Near East

by TAMAR DE SOLA POOL

American Protestants and Catholics alike—even American Jews—are many of them unaware that things are afoot in Palestine all but as exciting as in those ancient days when Joshua called on the sun and moon to stand still at Gibeon. Not Old Testament miracles these, but telling strokes for health among the armies and peoples of the Mediterranean.

THIRTY YEARS AGO, WHAT WAS THEN A HANDFUL OF WOMEN sent two American nurses to Palestine. Within a twelfth-month, Hadassah, the organization they founded, had set up a little house on a Jerusalem highway, where Moslem, Christian, and Jewish mothers and children were equally welcomed and taught methods of child care. Out of that start sprang the great Rothschild-Hadassah University Hospital to which patients come from all the countries of the Near and Middle East—where kings of the East and princes in exile from the Balkans meet with the humblest denizens of the ancient city in common search of health. Companion institutions in this medical center at Jerusalem are the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing, the Hadassah University Pharmacological Institute; and, in conjunction with the Hebrew University, a concourse of scientific departments, laboratories and postgraduate medical courses banned by leading men of science, many of whom were last of yesterday's exiles or refugees from Nazi persecution.

But all this is already an introductory chapter in a story touched with the future no less than by the past. The World War has lengthened the route between New York and the Haifa docks from 6,000 to 20,000 miles, yet monthly and sometimes weekly, shipments have made their way across land and sea fraught with drama, danger, and daring. The British Ministry of Shipping and the British War Relief Society give priority and free space to every packing case labeled with the destination, “Hadassah-Palestine.” From needles to an elevator, from incubators to blood bottles for plasma banks, a greatly lengthened list of hospital supplies is steadily being dispatched.

Armageddon of the 1940’s

YISHUV IS THE HEbrew NAME BY WHICH THE JEWISH SETTLEMENT of Palestine is popularly known by Jews throughout the world. And in this global war, the upbuilding of the Yishuv has fortuitously provided an outpost for health and democracy, as well as a potential arsenal for the United Nations.

The battle for the Mediterranean began long before 1939. At its western end, in Spain, the gateway to the Atlantic, it was Hitler and Mussolini, not Franco, who won. At its eastern end in Palestine, in spite of Ethiopia’s fall, they lost. That this was true was not clearly recognized at the time. Equipped with German arms, supported by Italian funds and fascist Arabic propaganda, the Mufti of Jerusalem failed to conquer the Jewish pioneers of Palest-
tine. Today, as a Hitler ally he is fugitive in Berlin. To an extent out of all proportion to its numbers, the Yishuv, young of age, hardy of spirit, disciplined, fearless yet restrained, kept the Near East from becoming a pivotal point of support for the Axis.

Nor did the strategic importance of the Holy Land stop there. As brought out in a University of Chicago Round Table on the Near East: “The outcome of the present war itself may depend upon who is master in this region.” There are experts who regard the terrain as the site for a new Armageddon in World War II.

For peoples as for individuals, the casting of bread upon the waters oftentimes brings strangely unexpected rewards. British and American help to Palestine in the last three decades offers a case in point.

Health as a Weapon

Let me begin at the end. A year ago a wounded soldier who had been treated without success in more than one military hospital was finally sent to the Jerusalem center with an imperative amputation in prospect. This was the time to try a new rapid healing tissue culture developed in one of the University Medical Center laboratories. With dramatic swiftness the stubborn wound yielded to the new treatment. In three weeks the soldier was discharged, able to walk once again.

At once a ward was assigned for further experimentation. In spite of efforts at secrecy, rumors reached London and New York. Questions were raised in Parliament and the American press made inquiries. At first only the British military authorities, as those most concerned, were apprised of progress. “We have been supplying military hospitals with the extract,” writes Dr. Haim Yassky, medical director of Hadassah, “and we learn that experiments are being conducted by them with success."

The results have been so promising that they were brought to the attention of the Russian army medical authorities. Although it could not be said as yet that the new method was best, it seemed a duty “to inform those who are so gallantly fighting our common enemy.” To the Free French forces, too, Hadassah was of vital assistance during the struggle for Syria’s liberation from Vichy control. Afterwards ways were found to be of help to Madame Georges Catroux who had been in charge of the medical and war relief activities in the Syrian campaign directed by her husband. When an earthquake struck Turkey, emergency medical supplies from Hadassah were among the first to reach the scene of the disaster. And graduates of the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing were rushed to Egypt after the early bombings to organize local nursing on a war footing.

Since 1939 special courses and clinical conferences in tropical and semi-tropical diseases, war surgery, typhus fever, etc., have been made available to the Allied forces. These have included not only English medical officers but also Australian and South African, Free French, Czechoslovakian, Polish and Yugoslav. Colonel Chandra, director of an Indian General Hospital in Palestine, expressed his determination to study various aspects of the work after the war and seek to create a closer bond between India and Palestine. According to another non-Jewish military authority, the medical center at Jerusalem shows “what the Jews have done and can do in this part of the world, not only for themselves but for the whole of the Near East.”

American Team Play

Closer home, no sooner had the American High Com-
mand established its North African base than Hadassah put at the service of our War Department its wide experience in public health in the Near East together with the facilities it has developed since its small beginnings in 1912.

Today Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization in the United States, numbers upward of 100,000 members. The first concern of that little house on the Jerusalem road had been to help eliminate trachoma, the virulent eye disease of the Near East. In four decades it has found its talents engaged and its scope challenged by two world wars, by intermittent riots and uprisings, and by the bitter wave of Nazi madness and persecution which today washes the shores of all the earth.

Shortly after America's entry into the first World War in 1917, Hadassah sent to Palestine the American Zionist Medical Unit not so much to minister to a catastrophe as to bring into a land, which time and progress had forgotten, the gifts of knowledge that American medical science and public health had developed to such a degree. From the start the hallmark of permanence has stamped the enterprise.

At the end of World War I, the Jewish settlement in Palestine could count only about 50,000 men, women and children. More than half of them had been victims of disease, exile, war. Today, the Yishuv numbers more nearly 600,000. Along with the increased immigration, it is no exaggeration to say that this accelerated growth would have been impossible were it not for Hadassah's anti-malaria campaigns; its efforts to eradicate trachoma, control tuberculosis, typhoid, typhus, dysentery and other endemic diseases; its child health welfare work which brought down infant and child mortality to an unprecedented degree.

Thus, in commending a report by Dr. I. J. Kligler (director of Hadassah's malarial services and research stations of the Hebrew University), Dr. Thomas Parran, U. S. Surgeon General, drove home "that successful colonization cannot be accomplished in sections where malaria is continuously prevalent; in fact, malaria is one disease which, if uncontrolled, will completely depopulate an area." True as this was of the workers in the Panama Canal till Goethals came, it was equally true of the early settlers in Palestine, and it holds good for our soldiers today. Three malariologists serving under Dr. Kligler are already in the armed forces. To quote from his latest report: "Twenty years of malaria control have rendered Palestine the only country in this part of the world in which this infectious disease is of minor significance as a factor in troop morbidity."

When Hadassah opened the new hospital in 1939 the plan was to maintain it as a 290-bed institution. Today, it has 320 beds and 200 war disaster emergency cots which can be set up at a moment's notice. Field surgical units, which are available in various parts of the country, showed their efficacy after the bombings in Tel Aviv and Haifa. Instructions in first aid and auxiliary nursing are steadily pursued. A department of neurosurgery, the first of its kind in the whole of the Near and Middle East, was established to meet the high incidence of head wounds due to aerial warfare. This began with the 22,000 mile flight which brought Dr. Henry Wigderson, young American neurosurgeon, from New York to Jerusalem last Christmas Day. The joint request of the Palestine government and the Military High Command that he should come, cut the difficulties from his path over land and sea to demonstrate to Palestinian doctors and army surgeons from all parts of the world a medical art preeminently American.

Among Arab Neighbors

FROM THE MORNING WHEN HADASSAH HUNG UP ITS FIRST solitary shingle until today, when hardly a section of the
country is untouched by its services, its health institutions have been open to all the peoples of Palestine without distinction of race, color, creed or nationality. The Arab as well as the Jewish mother and child were sought out so that all might be told the wonderful story of health that America has for the world. Long since, Jewish nurses who spoke the language were sent into Arabic neighborhoods. Playgrounds were established where Jewish and Arab children could play together. The first child health welfare station in Transjordan was established through the Nathan and Lina Straus child welfare funds.

Long since, also, a series of publications on medical and health subjects was initiated by Hadassah. One of the first of these books was written by a Chicago doctor and translated into Hebrew. Today original volumes in Hebrew are translated into other languages. Only recently, in the palace of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, a reception was given to a Hadassah delegation that had come at his urgent invitation. The occasion was the presentation to the Arab Minister of Public Health of the first copies of an Arabic version of a Hebrew booklet on child care.

In Palestine itself since 1939 (when the Mufti fled taking with him his fascist fifth column), extraordinarily good relations between Arabs and Jews have given Hadassah new opportunities for service. In the preceding years, intermittent political difficulties may have affected the number of Arabs who came to Hadassah institutions, but never the welcome they found there. Today, in new centers, the history of the early work in Jerusalem is repeating itself. Hadassah prescriptions take the place of charms; the physician supplants the witch doctor. Thus to the Forgotten Villages of Palestine comes a heritage of health.

Front on the Future

What is true of the American Red Cross is true of Hadassah. It is hard to draw a line between their normal activities, their part in civilian defense, and their emergent war services. Hungry, diseased, dispirited populations are as useful to the enemy as sunken battleships. The Yishuv of Palestine is a bastion for the United Nations because its children are fed, taught and cared for, its soldiers befriended, their families supported, the health of all guarded.

Since 1920, Hadassah's American sewing groups, now numbering nearly 1,000, have been sending hospital and children's supplies to Palestine—launderies for new-born babies, sheets and blankets, work shirts and lab coats, tooth brushes and knitted sweaters for 100 public institutions, hospitals and orphanages. With the war, this unheralded labor of love suddenly became "Big Business"—carried on by a committee of volunteers. As ammunition for the "battle of nutrition," large quantities of sorely needed foods have been sent: peanut oil, barley, beans, oatmeal, rice, lentils, split peas, egg powder, powdered milk, tea and cocoa—measured by the ton or the hundred-case.

A survey has shown that of the 80,000 children under Hadassah's supervision, 25,000 are malnourished. Even a war economy cannot compensate the poor for a 260 percent increase in the cost of living. Hadassah is cooperating with parents' committees and local organizations, the Jewish National Council and the Palestine government, in furnishing a balanced hot school luncheon in 320 schools, orphanages, children's villages, playgrounds, and day camps.

At the age of four or five, children in forty-eight welfare stations receive their "graduation" health diplomas with which to enter kindergarten. Thence onward, twice yearly, more often where needed, the Hadassah doctor and nurse examine each child in school and make entry on his record card. Two hundred students have already entered the Hebrew University with such certificates beginning with their baby "health diplomas."

The social imperatives of wartime, which have more than doubled the child feeding program, have trebled the number of Hadassah playgrounds (from eleven to thirty-three). These are not mere play-spaces which compete with the street corner. They are miniature settlements, and serve as shelters and safety isles. The children themselves have a large part in their making—stirred by the epic story of how their elders could set up their colonies between dawn and sundown. Here is a typical report:

The day before the camp was scheduled to start, a vanguard of older children from the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv playgrounds went with their leaders to the site. There they pitched a number of tents and started to erect the temporary kitchen and dining room accommodations. Nearby residents assisted with setting up provisional showers and primitive toilets... The smaller children were assigned the task of pulling up the wild thistles and weeds from areas chosen for play purposes, and helped with meal preparations...

Thus the therapeutic and cardinal principle of Yishuv, the principle of self-labor, becomes part of child life.

Of Give and Take

In the case of Hadassah it is hard to tell where America leaves off and Palestine begins. The funds that the women of Hadassah have sent overseas can be reckoned in millions. With them go American ideals and standards.

Henrietta Szold, American founder, for many years president and now honorary president of Hadassah, has been working in the Holy Land for more than twenty years. The organizer of child welfare work was an American public health nurse. The present director of the Hadassah medical organization was trained by one of America's distinguished hospital administrators, Dr. E. M. Bluestone. The pattern for Hadassah medical work in Palestine had been set earlier by Dr. I. M. Rubinow, who was the outstanding pioneer of the social insurances in the United States. Dr. Kligler was attached to the Rockefeller Institute, which cooperated in sending him to direct the anti-malarial work in Palestine. The first dietitian was an American trained expert—Julia Aronson, now Mrs. Alexander M. Dushkin. Two trips to Palestine by Dr. J. J. Golub, consultant in hospital construction, assured that Hadassah's Medical Center was planned in accordance with the best American experience.

The chairman of the Hadassah war emergency committee is Dr. Judah L. Magnes, whose spiritual insight and rare organizational skill, as in the case of Miss Szold, represent anew the integration of two forces that have helped build America itself—the spirit of the Bible and the forthrightness of the pioneer.

Demonstrably, such an outpouring of service and means has been a blessing to Palestine. This article has presented clues to how far, also, it is proving a wartime source of strength to the strategy of the United States and of the United Nations. History will be enriched by one more story of human adventure.
Chinese in the United States Today

THE WAR HAS CHANGED THEIR LIVES

One hundred and thirty million Americans were very little aware on December 7 of the eighty thousand Chinese in the United States. But by noon of December 8, the country’s declaration of war on Japan and similar action by the Republic of China had made the two nations allies. Since then the outlook of the Chinese living in this country has been considerably changed by Pearl Harbor.

One half of our Chinese population lives on the West Coast. San Francisco and the Bay Region have approximately 30,000, Los Angeles 4,500, Seattle 3,500, Portland some 2,000. Most of the others are located in large cities in the East and the Midwest; New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Cleveland have sizeable Chinatowns. In out-of-the-way towns are lonely laundymen silently washing and ironing. Wherever the Chinese are, it has been possible to count the variations in ways they can earn their living on the fingers of the hand—chop suey and chow mein restaurants, Chinese art and gift shops, native grocery stores that sell foodstuffs imported from China to the local Chinese community.

In San Francisco’s Chinatown, merely from force of habit, signs saying, “This is a Chinese Shop” are still displayed. But they no longer are needed; the section today is completely Chinese. The fifty Japanese shops fringing upon or in Chinatown have had to liquidate and Chinese have rented the stores. One of the most attractive shops is being run by a second generation Chinese-American young woman.

Throughout the Chinatowns in the United States there is a labor shortage. For the first time since Chinese labor exclusion began, absorption of the Chinese into American industry has been significant. Whether in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, or in Butte, Mont., the service in Chinese restaurants is slow. Four restaurants in New York’s Chinatown have closed their doors in the past few months. The proprietor of Li Po, an up-to-date cocktail-chop suey place located in “Chinatown on Broadway” in Los Angeles, said sadly: “I was just ready for another venture. But I can’t now. No men to run it.”

They have gone in the army and navy, into shipbuilding and aircraft plants. Even the girls are getting jobs. A personal column of the Chinese Press notes: “The newest on the defense payrolls are Jane Sai, stenographer; Rose Hom, timekeeper; Jimmy Hom, welder; J. Eric Hom, carpenter.” And another item says: “In Fresno, Chinese boys and girls are training at the NYA resident project for employment with Consolidated Aircraft.”

The same issue carried the announcement that the associate editor, William Hoy, is donning a uniform. This brilliant young inductee is one of the best informed persons on the history of the Chinese in California.

In War Industries

In Portland, ORE., the Chinese Consul, Silwing P. C. Au, and his wife have done much to promote interracial understanding. For three years they have worked to get Chinese assistants and cooks into the hospitals at Vancouver Barracks. The Chinese make good workers: they are tactful, orderly, and perform their duties well. Meetings with the union leaders have smoothed out some labor difficulties and paved the way for absorption of many Chinese-Americans into war industries. Recently the restaurant unions invited the Chinese restaurant employees to join their ranks. Although very few Chinese have joined so far, the invitation is significant. Mrs. Au is active in the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women (she was recently invited to be the program chairman for the coming season), in the National Federation of Women’s Clubs, as well as in the Chinese-American Women’s League, and in all organizations aiding in relief for China.

Only a handful of stores dot the (Continued on page 444)
FRANCIS BIDDLE

Wartime Attorney General

by CLINCH CALKINS

"Before we even know his name, his history, his principles," writes Miss Calkins, "it goes without saying" that we can be sure of one thing about the man who heads the U. S. Department of Justice in a war cabinet "We know he stands in the hottest spot in the government." An engaging penetrating, affirmative sketch of the incumbent of that spot today

THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY ONE MILLION ALIEN ENEMIES IN this country. That is, they are legally alien enemies. Although their loyalty may be above reproach, technically they are under suspicion. In time of war, they have no constitutional rights. Except when the army has moved in, these people are under the protection of the Attorney General of the United States. In this war, Francis Biddle is their custodian.

Investment in one man of such tremendous power over life, property and freedom of movement is not only exceptional, but also hostile to our peacetime habit. He has two wartime functions. He must see that not only the letter but the spirit of the Bill of Rights is preserved. And he must determine at what point individual liberty shall be constrained for military considerations. In any war these are functions difficult to reconcile. In the total warfare in which we are engaged, where military action has seeped backward from the military lines, if indeed there are any military lines, into every home, plant and transportation unit, the wartime Attorney General's problem becomes one too nice to envy.

His historical stature will be taken as jealously for its military effects as for its effects upon civil liberties and very ironically, it will be taken by the same people, since upon the outcome of the war, both abroad and at home hangs the fate of the civil liberties that he is sworn to uphold.

If some military disaster should occur because he has been too insistent upon protecting individual rights, it would seriously set back our progress toward extending the scope of free institutions. He is confronted with the fact, more deadly clear as racial issues become operative that whereas he must, in the interest of military safety curtail certain customary liberties, there extension and improvement at home will become a military strength, and as such be considered military strategy.
Biddle is a Philadelphian. True Philadelphians are never on the make.

In his own novel, "The Llanfear Pattern," Biddle described the city's love of place and love of possession, translated into the ritual elegance of family institutions. Neither smug nor conceited, old time Philadelphians have had victory without effort by virtue of their happy birth.

This attitude may be amusing to those who have ebbed and flowed across the continent with the American tide of life. But a public servant who sees this view from out his windows is not animated by a hope of place. He may be animated by a hope of power: that will be determined by his temperament. Pat Boland, late Democratic Party whip of the House, was authority last winter for the fact that hope of power also has been absent from Biddle's calculations. He said that Biddle was the one figure upon whom the Democrats of Pennsylvania could have united for governor, even though Senator Guffey does not forgive Biddle's insistence that party politics should occasionally be transended in making important appointments. If Biddle had been elected, as many felt he could have been, he would have been the second Democratic governor in Pennsylvania in one hundred years. A Democratic governor of Pennsylvania would have an unparalleled chance at the Presidency. But Biddle turned it down. He apparently saw in his present job a chance to perform permanent services to the administration of the law at a time when the law must be protectively strong.

A look at his past, since his entrance into this present administration, would indicate that it is the active law he likes: investigation, advocacy, and administration. He came to Washington originally with the National Labor Relations Board of which he was chairman, 1934-35. He made an investigation for Congress of TVA. He took a tedious fling at the bench, as Judge of the United States Circuit Court for the Third Circuit. He was made Solicitor General; then Attorney General. If he has no love of the bench, this would seem to be the top rung and the jumping off place for nothing.

One is sure this never troubles him, and has no part in his plans. He loves immediacy. It has often been said that in moments of accomplishment or the sharing of triumph he gives off a sort of physical glow, not of the halo but of the birthday party variety. A prodigious worker, in relaxation he wants gayety.

He likes praise and congratulation. That is the part of him that loves action, the immediate job, the friction of life which is necessary to ignite the purposes of men. But more important than that, he is not bothered by adverse criticism when he believes himself to be in the right. This, in turn, is the side of him that believes in the service of an ever continuing past to the future. A study of his first year's record makes clear that Biddle obtains acute satisfaction in believing his service to democracy will be evaluated by historians who know his technical problems down to the ground.

The Lawyer Brother

There have been many brilliant exceptions (Francis Fisher Kane and David Wallenstein will come to mind as two who fought ardently for civil liberties), but the traditional Philadelphian's attitude toward the law might be expressed by the story of a recent encounter between a brother of the Attorney General and an old gentleman dozing in the library of the Philadelphia Club. Moncure

The Man and His Job

Francis Biddle is a strict constructionist of his duties. In the round of those duties a strict constructionist is bound to step on differing sets of toes from time to time. He occasionally has to brave unpopularity even from his closest circle. Biddle doesn't seem to mind. He liked this job well enough to pass up what many party men would consider a prime political opportunity. It is interesting to ask what was there, or is there, in his background which makes his appointment to this post intrinsically logical, rather than the paradox it is casually assumed to be.

Actually a less paradoxical figure than Biddle is hard to imagine. His chief strength for this job, other than his congenital brains, flows from his circumstance. A man on the make finds it hard to make unpopular decisions, and harder still to take historical perspective.
Biddle is an investment broker, and the only conservative among the four brothers: George, the painter; Sydney, the psychoanalyst; and Francis, the lawyer. Upon this occasion Brother Moncure is said to have introduced himself as the son of Algernon Sydney Biddle, who though he died in his early forties of overwork, had already made for himself a distinguished record as professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania.

“Oh yes, yes, of course,” said the old gentleman. “Now one of your brothers was studying law in Harvard.”

“Francis, that would be,” supplied his brother.

“I remember him. Quite brilliant, I was told. He was going into a firm. Is he still with the firm?”

“Well, not exactly,” said Moncure Biddle, somewhat at a loss to explain. “No, Francis isn’t with a firm now.”

“What a pity!” said the old gentleman, before dozing off again. “He showed such promise.”

The “Biddle-of-Philadelphia” myth—worked overtime during this administration which is also embellished by the more spectacular Anthony Drexel Biddle, Jr.—is a creation of the outside world. Not the Sturgises, the Wisters, the Whartons, the Ingersols, the Bories, to name a few of the first troop of families who hold the reasonably impregnable fort of Philadelphia society, and least of all, a Biddle, could tell you what it is about this name which has so captivated the dowagers and the headwaiters of the world without, that when a Biddle travels he is treated as royalty, and charged on the bill accordingly. Except in its Drexel connection, the name does not connote riches. Any so large a clan (at one reunion eight hundred Biddles turned up), is bound to have its unillusory areas. Francis’ mother conveyed to him at least equal reliance upon her line. Born Frances Robinson, she was a handsome, arrogant woman of great style, considerable shrewdness, and much intellectual and human curiosity. She was a Virginian and among her ancestors was Edmund Randolph.

The Public Servant

The present Attorney General has in his office souvenirs of this first Attorney General of the United States from whom he is directly descended and for whom he named his first son. He probably obtains more gratification from this accident of fortune than he would admit. His induction into the law was more direct than this remote influence, both his father and his grandfather having been lawyers. His record in Harvard accomplished for him the post of secretary to Justice Holmes, and thereby gave direction to his legal career.

In the stress of last winter Francis Biddle took time, usually late at night, to write a small book about Holmes

Club and by the Boston dinner parties when he went from Groton to Harvard. His chief intellectual excursions of those days seem to have been described by the circle around Santayana.

There was nothing sudden about his growing away to a larger world. The beautiful Mary McMurtrie, his cousin, who took boarders into her old Spruce Street house so she could have stimulating company of her own choosing, was an admirer and close follower of Woodrow Wilson. Francis spent much time in her home. He heard her portrait hanging beside her front door and speaks of her often. He has cousins who have done social work in Philadelphia. His brother George, of whom he once spoke as a truly free man, has undoubtedly been a nourishing member of his family, with his gay love of life and his single-hearted pursuit of his art. The pictorial art have also been brought into the Francis Biddle household by McCarter, the painter (an intimate friend): Helen Sardeau the sculptor, who is George Biddle’s wife; and Cornelia Van Aukun Chapin, the sculptor, his wife’s sister. This interest in contemporary artists perhaps left upon Biddle its customary double effect, since he is a sensitive person: it strengthened in him his absolute standard of workmanship, and brought him closer to human problems.
Many friends believe that more than to Holmes and to the brilliant men who surrounded him, Biddle owes his concept of public service to his wife, who was Katherine Garrison Chapin, sister of his school friend, Paul Chapin. Under this name she is widely known for her published poetry. Like Justice Holmes she has a love of shape, but hers is the poet’s love of shape which must make a pattern of the emotion so that it can be conveyed. To her, justice is a warmer and more immediate necessity of the dispossessed. The range of her sympathies is so wide, the force of her indignation at injustice can make itself so felt, that it would be phenomenal in a woman who had experienced in her own life the tragedies of poverty and oppression, instead of the shelter of New York’s most formal society. Painters, musicians and poets, Negro leaders, bring their problems to her.

Biddle’s Wartime Portfolio

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, whom Biddle deeply admires, had set new sights at the U. S. Department of Justice as Attorney General. Notably he had resuscitated the Civil Rights Statutes of the Criminal Code. Among the cases prosecuted under these statutes, since Biddle succeeded him, was a near-slavery case in Georgia. In this the complaint was that a man named Cunningham repeatedly charged Negro field hands, who left or escaped his employment, with past demeanor—reemploying them after their arrest and short terms on the chain gang. In Detroit, white citizens were prosecuted for a conspiracy to prevent Negroes from moving into a federally supported project of the Detroit Housing Commission. The admiration of Biddle, widely held among Negroes, goes back to his successful advocacy before the Supreme Court, as Solicitor General, of the earlier Mitchell case, which had to do with equality of travel accommodation for colored and white passengers.

His first public move after Pearl Harbor was to lay by the heels all self-appointed local vigilantes with the insistence that to the Department of Justice, and to that Department only belongs the task of taking care of disloyal aliens. He adjured employers not to discriminate against aliens, in a statement which declared that “all freedom is based on fair administration of the law.... The Bill of Rights protects not only American citizens, but all human beings who live on American soil.” To this initial sanity we owe the fact that although we are all the way into war with Germany and Italy, 625,000 aliens of German nationality, and 325,000 aliens of Italian nationality, are being treated with composure by their neighbors and employers.

Californian’s quondam derisive jeer for anything ineffectual—to call it “Biddling along”—arose from his early refusal to deprive American-born Japanese of their constitutional rights as citizens. There were army men who joined him in identifying the source of much of the West Coast hysteria: a veteran dislike of Japanese competition which flowered in a discrimination so complete that it was expected to bear fruit in second generation disloyalty—though strangely enough, it usually didn’t. An Attorney General with less predilection for constitutional principles might have given way at the outset to congressional clamor and moved to evacuate citizens; all he more, because the proved craftiness of Japanese agents and the known pressure they would try to exert upon members of their race to betray their native United States, made extreme precaution desirable.

Ultimately the army took over under pressure of public opinion. Biddle drew for the President an Executive Order creating military zones. Under this order, as it has been applied on the West Coast, the army makes the rules but civilian authority carries them out, with the courts sitting as usual.

Thereafter, keeping to his line, he resisted overtures to set up a similar military zone on the East Coast. And he acted to moderate a proposal to pull United States citizens of German and Italian extraction into the same category into which second generation Japanese were unhappily, if perforce, thrown in the west. And earlier still, he had set up in every judicial district at least one, and in the more populous two, hearing boards composed of highly regarded citizens, to give enemy aliens who had fallen under suspicion every fair chance to show they should not be interned.

The Bridges Case

In the year of his tenure, Biddle has been in command of three important actions—the case against Harry Bridges, Australian-born alien, leader of the Pacific Coast waterfront; the trial of eight Nazi saboteurs; and more recently his devastating appraisal of the dragnet technique of the Dies Committee. We exclude activities of the Anti-Trust Division, for which the main credit should presumably go to Thurman Arnold.

Looking back, with the record in, it would seem that their treatment was similarly characterized by reliance up-
on traditional procedure—and this in spite of the fact that there are good lawyers who believe it was an aber-
raration therefrom, when in May 1942, the Attorney General
handed down an order deporting Bridges. In this he re-
verted to the conclusion of the Naturalization Service in
the spring of 1941. This conclusion had been reversed
by the Immigration Appeals Board, to whom Bridges
carried his case.

Attorney General Biddle now, in turn, reversed the de-
cision that the board had put on his desk for execution.

The disputed point was one of fact: whether Bridges
after entering the United States had been a member of an
"organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and
teaches the overthrow by force and violence" of the govern-
ment of the United States. The question involved the
credibility of testimony that had been heard at San Fran-
cisco by an inspector specifically chosen for the purpose
by Attorney General Jackson. This was Judge Charles
B. Sears, a retired member of the New York Court of
Appeals.

The testimony filled 7,500 typewritten pages and Biddle
studied it for two months. In coming to concurrence with
Judge Sears he also followed the tradition of the Supreme
Court that for reliability of witnesses, the trial judge, who
has eyes and ears to aid him, shall be the only judge.
A question of law was not at stake. An earlier opinion
by Dean James M. Landis of Harvard Law School, in earlier
proceedings, under an earlier act, had been ren-
dered obsolete.

Congress in 1941, in essence, determined that if the old
law of 1918, as amended in 1920, was not adequate to
catch the fish they were after, they would so amend it so
as to put finer mesh to the net.

Resultant reactions in public opinion were doubtless
no surprise to the Attorney General. True, left wing
resentment could have been predicted, but for inherent
reasons Bridges and his organization would be thought
unlikely to slacken in their war effort. Foreign reperc-
sions would be negligible. Ultra-conservative strong
holds here at home, but distant from the scene, hailed
what they ardently hoped was a labor setback. Not a little
of the press reechoed their encomiums for the Attorney
General.

On the other hand, however, West Coast employers felt
deply and personally injured in their war effort. They
wanted to keep Bridges where he was in these busy patri-
ottic days, for the same reason that two years before they
wanted so badly to pass a law to get rid of him. It had
been earnestly proposed in Congress to name him per-
sonally in the bill. That is, he is effective. He is a labor
leader who keeps orderly hiring-halls and keeps his busi-
ness promises. Biddle, himself a liberal, must have known
from what corner to expect his most troubled reactions.
The emotional quandary in which all shades of liberals
would find themselves could have been espiad ahead of
time.

It was to be noted, during the expected repercussions,
that Biddle did not commit himself as to whether he
thought he was dealing with a good law or a bad law.
His only remark was:

"It's in the mill now. It will get to the Court."

The Underwater Invasion

In the case of the apprehension and the trial of the
eight Nazi saboteurs, the two wartime functions of the
Attorney General fused into one: protection from military
danger, and strict adherence to our scheme of justice.
Within a week after the landing of the saboteurs, by bril-
liant work on the part of Edgar Hoover and his men,
the dragnet had been sufficiently drawn for their story
to be announced to the public. Within three weeks
of their landing they were being tried by a military com-
mission appointed by the President. This trial dragged
along for eighteen days to end abruptly in a demand
for the defense for a Supreme Court decision on the validity
of the commission. The Attorney General at once won
the case for the commission, and had the gratification of
seeing the highest traditions of American judicial pro-
cedure observed in a case which will go down in history.
He gave unreserved tribute to the defense, whose unhappy
task was magnificently executed.

The Dies Black List

The bridges decision aroused fears of a witch hunt.
These fears were aggravated by the summary dismissal of
several government employees on charges not made known
to them. One of these dismissed workers was Josephine
Herbst, a distinguished novelist, who was escorted to the
doors by a pair of bouncers, after having had her desk and
pocketbook searched.

In making account to Congress of his stewardship of the
$100,000 appropriated for investigation of the Dies list
Biddle put an end to these worries. He said the whole
inquiry had been a waste of time. He said that out of
the eleven hundred workers accused of subversive activi-
ties only two had had the charges confirmed and had
been discharged.

When the FBI set about to investigate the record of the
accused government workers, there existed no machinery
for disposing of the cases after the FBI report was lat-
upon the desk of the worker's superior officer. Biddle did
not two things to expedite the disposition of the cases and to
insure, as far as was possible, fair procedure. He set up
in his own department a hearing committee consisting of
his top men, headed by the Solicitor General, and he
encouraged other departments and agencies of govern-
ment to do likewise. These were set up in every depart-
ment and in most of the agencies. It was in an agency
which refused to cooperate that the Herbst case occurred.
And he set up an interdepartmental committee whose
chief task was not to hear appeals but to prod the dilator-
departments into disposing of the cases. He knew that an
uncleared charge could work irreparable damage to the
career of an accused worker.

These committees were neither mandatory nor uniform.
In his report to Congress he proposed that a uniform an
permanent hearing board be required of each department
and agency, and he proposed a permanent interdepart-
mental committee as a board of appeals.

This is the most recent major act within Francis Biddle's
first year as Attorney General. It has set a high level
When we were this distance into the last war we had no
such comforting example for our future conduct.
How Inflation Grows in the Fields

1. Once upon a time, before World War I, an equilibrium existed between the prices of farm products and of industrial commodities—which has come to be called parity.

2. During that war more American land was thrown into cultivation, and mechanization spread. Thereafter Europe moved toward greater self-sufficiency in food; new competitors arose. Our agricultural prices were brought down.

3. To give the American farmer a chance to get back to parity, the government pumped subsidies into agriculture and resorted to certain “protective measures” to bolster up rural America.

4. With the outbreak of World War II, the farm situation improved. First came lend-lease purchases here for delivery abroad; then the rising demands of our own armed forces. Four months after Pearl Harbor farm prices had reached parity.
5. To protect consumers, price ceilings were established but certain foods were exempted. Meanwhile, the farm bloc had secured legislation forbidding the establishment of maximum prices for agricultural products below 110 percent of parity.

6. Wheat, corn, oats and cotton still lag behind; but in the last few months a score of other important farm products have risen beyond the parity levels of thirty years ago.

7. Rising prices have carried the supply of some fruits, vegetables and meats almost beyond the reach of the average housewife.

8. With this rise in food prices comes the demand of workers for higher wages.
9. Should this process go on, the prices of industrial products will pierce the ceiling and again farmers will have to pay far more for the goods they buy than they get for what they grow.

10. With the prospect that agricultural and industrial prices will push one another upward on a run-away spiral of inflation.

11. If this inflationary spiral is not stopped, prices will keep rising until there comes a sharp and sudden break. Then the whole price structure will tumble to pieces.

12. It is to avoid runaway inflation that President Roosevelt has stepped in and asked for stabilization of farm prices, an important part of his seven-point program.
Literature and Faith

What we hunger for today is a restoration of faith in the spirit of man. Global revolution has not brought us global faith. The hope of some new spiritual revelation illuminates these reviews. The reconciliation of the Americas, says Eduard Lindeman, is a “problem of humanics, not mechanics.” “The issue of our age is moral,” declares S. K. Ratcliffe. “Many voices are now demanding a fresh moral dynamic, a new faith.” And Nehru praises the ancient Indian ruler who desired for his people—“security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness.” Do not peace of mind and joyousness rise out of faith?

The books we get today reveal the hunger, but do not define the faith. They are by nature transient, current guides to war-making and politics. They clarify the struggle in this nation and that. Many are negligible; some informed and wise; some noble in their exploration of the possible future world of peace and order. Such explorations do offer consolation—for if men in the midst of chaos can hope and plan for a better world tomorrow, they have faith. Yet they, too, teach that the first need of all our plans is to put forward a set of human values, the principles of a moral order on which all other order must rest. Too many of these proposals seem to proclaim that salvation will come if we can adjust the economics of nations. The emphasis is on material interests. The wiser course may be to depend on the nature of man and human brotherhood: then the economic problems will answer themselves.

But we cannot command authors to create the books of inspiration we want. They are enmeshed in the terrible circumstances that try our own souls. There is no remote reservoir of faith from which they can draw truth and beauty. We can only be grateful they have courage to carry on at all. No dreams of Golden Ages, no far strange islands, no happy unknown peoples, offer escape. The globe indeed and the people suffer one common tragedy. The only place of strength is within the spirit itself. The literature that can help us will as always be born there.

Yet we can set down our needs, and ask that authors strive to remain aloof enough to serve these needs. We can pray that their imaginations can cover the globe, and pierce to the last depths of the human soul. We need books that keep the spirit of man alive; that defy intolerance and hate; that can transcend our bitter age to tell us of the coming age. We need books of drama and poetry. We hunger after books of gayety and humor to keep us sane. We need the classic books to teach us how noble spirits have conquered life in other tragic times. Our need is very great—for the literature that can win new life.

—Leon Whipple

What Hemisphere Solidarity Implies


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A consciousness of the Western Hemisphere on the part of its inhabitants does not yet exist. Such a variety of self-consciousness cannot become a world force, obviously, until a certain degree of inter-nation, inter-class and inter-race equality has been reached. The attainment of this hemispheric quality, in turn, awaits a higher type of mutual understanding among the various peoples of this region. How is this understanding to be brought about?

The government of the United States and the business interests seem to have adopted a simple and, I believe, an ineffective program for this purpose. They seem to think the problem is one which will lend itself readily to those techniques which we have found to be so successful in advertising and sales promotion. But this is not a “selling” problem. On the contrary, it is basically a problem in humanics, not mechanics. What this hemisphere requires, if it is to become a force on the side of world peace and order, is a quality of relatedness which is organic in character. If one person is organically related to another—and the principle applies to groups as well—this result has come about by reason of the fact that they have found a way of sharing ends and values. When one person, and again the same holds for groups or nations, exploits another, there can be no relationship except a mechanical one; consequently in such relations there can be no growth.

I have stated the problem of the Western Hemisphere in intellectual terms, but it is no longer an academic question gradually we come to see that somehow or other the fate of the people of South and Central America determines also the fate of those of the North, and vice versa. It is still possible to allow these continents to drift into a condition of perpetual and chronic conflict, a condition which reflects the tragedy of Europe. But it is also still possible to prevent this cataclysm. The task is not, however, simple or easy.

We must begin with intelligent understanding. Citizens of the United States who realize the importance of this hemispheric problem will follow different courses, once they have assumed a personal responsibility. Sooner or later, however, they will come to the conclusion, so I believe, that the Western Hemisphere cannot be adequately understood unless on comes to grips with the Indian question. The lands and the waters of the Western Hemisphere were once inhabited by
proud race of human beings called, by mistake of course, Indians. They loved these lands and waters. We, the white people of Europe, disregarded their attachment to the soil and their rights as well; we exercised aggression upon them. But we did not conquer them. They remain a part of us. There are in this hemisphere as a whole, over thirty millions of these Indians who, for the most part, are still forced to live as refugees from their own land. The white men and women of this region will not become what they might become, they will not create a culture of which they and their richly endowed environment are capable, until the curse of Indian aggression has been exorcised. In other words, the Indian problem is our problem.

And so it is a happy circumstance to report that American scholarship is furnishing us with some of the fundamental tools of understanding. Before me are three beautiful and informative books, two dealing directly with the Indian question and one with Latin America as a continent. It is not my purpose to review these volumes in orthodox manner. I want Americans to read these books and to keep the meaning of them in their minds.

Oliver LaFarge edits a book dealing with the more recent changes which have occurred among our northern Indians since we have begun the new era of enlightened regard for their interests. Paul Radin tells about the unique cultures of South American Indians, Bolivia and Peru excepted. And Preston James has written the most useful handbook on the geography, the population, the economics, the sociology, and the civilization of Latin American countries which has thus far come to my attention. What I say about each of these books should be taken, not as a review, but as an appetizer, an invitation to share the same joy and knowledge which I have had.

"The Changing Indian" is a symposium of papers read at the recent conference on this subject held under the auspices of the American Association on Indian Affairs. Unlike most collections of papers by experts, these expressions hold together as a unit; they constitute a whole, and the whole is an indispensable source of information for those who wish to know what is happening to the North American Indian in these times. In brief, these Indians are increasing in numbers; their health is improving; they are becoming more eager for education; they are experimenting with self-government by synthesizing our developed democracy with their native democratic talents; their arts and crafts are being restored and their basic cultures renewed. These are all heartening signs, but there is a grave flaw in this catalogue of improvements. The economic situation of the North American Indian is almost completely unsatisfactory.

"Indians of South America" is a book for professional and amateur anthropologists. It is composed of both fascinating details concerning these ancient civilizations and scholarly generalizations. Professor Radin assumes that the Indian cultures of the South are not "dead" in the sense that similar cultures of North American Indians are dead. The Indians of South America are Indian in feeling as well as in biological inheritance. He therefore assumes that it is essential for an understanding of Latin American cultures of today also to understand the cultures of these Indians who still constitute over 12 percent of the total population of the continent. His chapter titles are in themselves latent with descriptive meanings, as for example, The Wanderers and Eluders; Pioneers and Culture Bearers; The Empire Builders.

"Latin America," as I have stated, is a handbook and belongs to the same order as Bryce's "American Commonwealth." In other words, it seems to me to be an indispensable reference for all persons who wish to attain accurate conception regarding this vast continent and its vital civilization. Professor James has invented a plan or scheme which makes his book extremely useful. Each country is treated according to this formula and hence, if one wishes to know something about the people of a specific South American nation such as, for example, its habitable land or the diversity of its population, these facts will be found in the same order for Brazil as for Argentina. In addition, there is an excellent index and a usable bibliography. This is a book which does credit to American scholarship and research.

New York School of Social Work

When Peace Returns


The later reputation achieved by Professor Carr is one of the conspicuous facts in the province of political thinking. There was something rather remarkable in a Whitehall official's producing full biographies of Karl Marx and Bakunin, and following those important studies with a brilliant short analysis of the interval between the two world wars. And now, in this crucial year, he sends out a book of unusual quality upon the one theme that touches every citizen of our world. True, this volume is not quite accurately labeled, for it is a manual of reconstruction rather than a forecast of the conditions upon which the war might be brought to an end. The book is extremely able and provocative. We are not likely to get, while the conflict is still raging, a better basis for debate upon what should be possible when peace returns.

"The Twenty-Years Crisis" was not only realistic; it could be described as hard-boiled, in a fashion not altogether inappropriate to a writer trained in the British Foreign Office. But there is nothing hard-boiled about Professor Carr's new book. Its central chapter is on the Moral Crisis, for, as the author says, the final issue of our age is moral. We have first a statement of the plain thesis of war as revolution; and in this connection it cannot be irrelevant to note that Professor Carr is now a leading influence in the editorial direction of a great London newspaper which no one thinks of calling anything but conservative.

Professor Carr throws his net wide, and with a masterly hand. "Conditions of Peace" is a book of moderate size, yet it covers all the major problems that we today can envisage: the future status of France, Germany and the new Europe, the remaking of England, Britain and the world, the destiny of the U.S.S.R., the organized control of the world's resources, the inevitable power and leadership of the United States.

In attempting an estimate of Professor Carr's contribution, we have to make one proviso. His new Europe and Asia are of necessity pure conjecture. It is a daring thing to sketch the government of a world which may never come into existence, the nature of which, indeed, depends upon assumptions that might in the near future be proved baseless. But all our writers and speakers are doing just that, and we have to deal with their guesses and proposals. Starting from Professor Carr's premises, then, it would seem to me that the bulk of what he has to say about probable political developments is as conclusive as anything written at the present stage of the crisis could well be, but I confess to being less satisfied with his economic analysis and forecast. One inevitable comment here, I think, must be this, that a scheme of world reconstruction as comprehensive as his must involve an upheaval far wider and harsher than the revolution which he so clearly and amply expounds, while it would demand governing institutions and powers still unknown. By the way, he cannot be correct in saying that a new doctrine of under-consumption was invented by the economists under stress of the last post-war condition, for that doctrine was the ably-argued "heresy" of J. A. Hobson and his school, preached throughout the preceding generation.

Professor Carr joins his voice to that of the many now demanding a fresh moral dynamic, a new faith. He gives eight points of the creed that he deems to be essential. The reader will note with interest that in this list the tenets not
specifically economic are enshrined in the declaration of the Rights of Man. What have these plain truths to do with religion or a new revelation? If the multitudes of men and women, lacerated by cruelties and agonies such as our earth has never before endured, are unable even yet, with their leaders, to see and understand the realities by which they could live together, what conceivable religion, known or unknown, might bring them aid? There is, of course, and will be, no new faith. But if there were, it is quite certain that no calling for it could be of any avail.

New York

The Quest for Order Under Freedom


"UPON THE MEN OF OUR GENERATION," SAYS Mr. COREY, "falls the duty to unlearn, relearn, and learn anew." To this injunction he has responded with earnestness, intellectual vigor and a deep sense of moral responsibility. The result is a major analysis of the economic and political problems of our society, fresh and almost free of the rigidities of the doctrine.

Historically, he argues, democratic freedom arose out of the separation of economic and political power. That separation is basic to the continuance of democratic freedom. Capitalism, however, now threatens that separation through its failure to discharge its job of full employment. The result has been the totalitarianism of the fascists and of the communists. Each, in Corey's opinion, destroys democratic freedom and for the same reason; it unites all economic and political power in the over-all authority of the state, against which dissent is impossible. Although he agrees in a brief section that there are differences between the Russian and German states, it is clear that he considers the similarities fundamental and conclusive.

Totalitarianism may become our lot, too. For our economy functions badly, and the social pressures working toward expansion of the state power are multiple and strong. The devil of the study is monopoly—monopoly, restrictive in production, mother of idleness, and agent of socially irresponsible power.

Corey fortunately does not rely on trust-busting or government regulation. He turns instead to the government corporation, which device he would apply over the large field of monopoly in our economy. At the same time, he would free us from the restraints and tyrannies of private power and would turn against the horrendous tyrannies of state power which inheres in the simple government ownership proposals of the socialist and communist. In the government corporation the fullest measure of discretion would be guaranteed to management, checked by strong and independent labor unions, and the policies laid down in general by a free legislature.

The rest of the economy would remain free. Thousands of small agricultural and business units and independent professional activity would preserve us from the dangers of the over-all type of planning and control. Presumably underly ing the entire economy would be monetary and fiscal policies by which the people's government would preserve full employment.

I have many minor disagreements with Corey which go unstated. But there are two major ones. First, I think he has not grasped the concept basic in Keynes' and Hansen's reasoning; namely that employment and production are determined by the extent to which the community spends its income; that full employment can be sustained only if the entire income yielded thereby is spent; that therefore obstacles to its use impose lower production, unemployment, and relative poverty upon the community. The chief obstacle arises in the form of large savings and inadequate investment openings. We must either save less, which means redistributive taxation or its equivalent, or discover investment opportunities in sufficient amount to absorb the savings. The former is pretty clearly indicated for what Hansen calls a "mature economy."

Had Corey grasped this, I do not believe that his pages on the public debt, for example, would have retained their conventional and old-fashioned character.

Second, for all his efforts to avoid the doctrinaire, I have the feeling that his fears of bureaucratic power are the result in part of abstract reasoning rather than concrete examination. His conclusions on Russian administration are not convincing—at least to me. He may be correct. But he would have been more persuasive had he adduced evidence rather than logic. Similarly, the experience in these past few years in our own government argue that bureaucratic function, not simply in accordance with exact constitutional permissions or standard propulsions inherent in all power, but in response to the entire social climate which surrounds them. And that is a thesis which merits immediate and careful examination by social analysts. I'd like to see Corey go on where he left off.

Living History


This volume, with its fifty helpful maps, is a series of letters about history, written to a young girl by her father Nehru describes it as "a rambling account of history for young people." It is a disarming description. The letters written in prison, are from a father who is also a great political leader. They are written to a daughter who has been since birth in the thick of political activity; a child whose father, mother, grandfather, and innumerable other relatives and friends are serving prison sentences for political opinions and activities. The letters are genuinely letters full of a father's love, but Nehru's child is more than daughter, she is also disciple. She is only thirteen when he writes the first letter, but she is sixteen when he writes the last, and twenty-one when he writes the postscripts. Writing to her unites the emotion of a personal love with the emotion for a cause. The letters become a political testament.

Considered merely as an outline of history, the volume is remarkable. Writing largely without reference books, Nehru traces the rise and fall of civilization from ancient times to the present, seeing always the known world as a unit, stressing relationships and influences of one civilization on another. He reevaluates historical judgments by his yardstick. The central theme is man's slow progress toward freedom, his preoccupation is the lot of the common man. By his scale of values Alexander is far from Great. More worthy of the term is Ashoka, a ruler in India in the third century B.C. who desired for his people "security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness." It is interesting to compare the ancient prescription for the good life with the "Four Freedoms."

The summary of past history, however, is only a part of the interest and value of this volume. The letters are written from a succession of prison-cells, between October 1930 and August 1933 (a postscript written in November 1938 brings the record up-to-date), and the historical record is frequent, broken by personalities and accounts of current personal experience. These digressions serve to humanize and personalize the historical passages. Nehru's own story does not intrude on the historical record but belongs to it, supplementing it, dramatizing it. His account of empire-building, of war revolution, and man's long struggle towards freedom brought home in terms of his own life, which is a landmark in a contemporary struggle.
This volume, together with Nehru’s autobiographical “Towards Freedom,” published in America in early 1941—and they should be considered as a unit—make a document as political as that other document written in jail—“Mein Kampf.” Both are interpretations of history, both are statements of values, principles, and programs. To read them simultaneously is to glimpse startlingly the basic conflict that is tearing the world asunder today, and emphasizes the paradoxes that weaken the democratic nations. No two men could be less alike than the authors. Hitler stands for frankly brutal aggressive plunder and exploitation of the weak by the strong. Nehru stands for international cooperation, socialism and democracy. Yet during the years that Nehru languished in jail, Hitler was free consolidating his power, encouraged both directly and indirectly by the same imperial policy that held Nehru prisoner.

Helen Mears

Sane and Civilized


In this book of thoughtful essays, George Soule is writing about the fundamental issue of our time. The chief question is, “Where can sincere and confused people turn for guidance?” Assuming that we believe in the dignity of man and want to celebrate it in practice, what can we do about it? To whom can we turn for the soundest counsel about ways and means of putting ideals into habits and institutions?

His answer is austere and sound. He commends us to psychiatry and the social sciences. The fundamental viewpoint is not difficult to put into words—the idea that the only way to control reality is to understand it. We can grasp reality when we use the methods appropriate to its discovery; hence we must rely upon the scientific method of examining man and his institutions. We must chase our hunches into hypotheses, and discipline our hypotheses by the data collected through systematic observation. Concretely we need to expand the psychiatric and social sciences until they become ever more adequate tools for the remaking of man in society.

George Soule is mercifully free of illusion about the present state of the sciences, and his book is full of trenchant remarks about how existing imperfections may be overcome. He deftly pricks the balloon of alibi with which many persons have consolled themselves as a means of excusing the meager outcome of past effort. By referring to the history of medicine he scores many useful points: “Medicine long ago learned how to by-pass the apparent contradiction between scientific objectivity and concern for practical results. To the modern medical man it would be absurd to argue that his science could be ‘pure’ only if he did not care what happened to the sick.” . . . “If practitioners in government, banking, industrial management, and other responsible executive positions were required to have as rigorous a professional training in the social sciences as doctors must have in their field, and if specialists in social science research were required to qualify by an internship in practical affairs, there might develop a somewhat comparable situation in the treatment of social ills [to the present relation of medical scientists and practitioners].”

Beginning as an economist, George Soule has steadily enriched his insight into the whole context of human relations, and in the process has discovered human nature. He is not afraid of drawing boldly upon the results of psychoanalysis, animal psychology, and experimental biology.

Fortunately, he has emerged from his contact with the deeper insights of modern personality research free from inspiration to transform a competent economist into an amateur physician or prophet. He continues to write about

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HAROLD D. LASSWELL
Chief, Experimental Division for the Study of Wartime Communications, The Library of Congress

Burma in the Years Just Ended

ANY BOOK ON MODERN BURMA NOW IS CONFRONTED BY FESTER TESTS than it would have been a short time ago. Now the first question in a reader's mind is not, does this book present a convincing picture of a distant and unfamiliar land, but did it foresee and account for the Burmese disasters.

Although Mr. Christian pointed out a number of unsatisfactory elements in the contemporary development of Burma his general tone—no doubt to his present pain—continued cheery and optimistic. In an epilogue which brought him to the end of January 1942, the author remarked, for example, that the reported use of Thai forces in the attack on Moulmein "galvanized anti-Japanese and anti-Thai sentiment in Burma and further united the Burmese efforts for the defense of their country." In general it was the tendency of Mr. Christian, as it has been of most writers on colonial questions including the present reviewer, to underestimate the hostility, or at least the indifference, of colonial peoples to their imperial overlords.

But Mr. Christian's share in this almost universal failing should not be taken to mean that this book is without value. On the contrary, it is filled with a large amount of highly useful material normally available only to a limited group of experts. Sketching in the past history of Burma, the author, in scholarly and somewhat pedestrian style, concentrates on the last few years and ranges from government and economics to art and religion, not to mention a considerable examination of the background and significance of the late-lamented Burma Road. Many of the materials which will be necessary for a reexamination of the Burmese problem at the war's end are presented here.

Washington, D. C.

RUPERT EMERSON

Britain's Empire at the Outbreak of the War
Price $4, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, WE NOW FIND OURSELVES fighting side by side with the British Empire. It behooves us, therefore, to know something about that very complex and continually changing organization. Professor Knaplund is excellently equipped to describe and explain it. Born in Norway, he completed his education in this country and became attached to one of our great Midwestern universities in time becoming head of its history department. The awash of a Guggenheim fellowship and other grants have enabled him to spend valuable years working on source material in Great Britain. He has had varied experience, made wide contacts, and seems likely to be free from the various prejudices—either for or against the British—that so often mar books dealing with their Empire.

There can be little doubt that Professor Knaplund's book

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Miliukov’s Russia


AUL MILIUKOV PERSONIFIES THE TRAGEDY OF THE OLD RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA. As a young professor of history he offered prison and exile for his political views. During the pseudo-constitutional years of 1905-1917 Miliukov was the acknowledged leader of the Liberal opposition in the Duma and in the press. After the overthrow of the Tsar he became the spokesmen of the moderates, first as foreign minister, then as organiser of the anti-Soviet forces. He was tried by both the Right and the Left. Forced to flee from the Bolsheviks, he barely missed the bullet of a Monarchist as a gathering of Russians in Berlin. Until the fall of France’s published in Paris the most influential Russian daily abroad. He is still in Hitler-Petain France, fearless, vigorous, and in his late seventies.

In his long and eventful life Miliukov has written an impressive number of books and articles. But the book which you doubt will survive the whims of time is his monumental “Outlines of Russian Culture,” known to every educated Russian since the first edition came out in the eighteen eighties. As an historian of prodigious erudition and broad-minded objectivity, Miliukov will retain his high place long after his services as a spectacular political leader are forgotten. An English version of Miliukov’s fine study should be warmly welcomed. Miliukov is typically Russian, in the sense that he attempts a broad synthesis of causes and facts. The reader is offered a rare opportunity to follow the evolution of Russia’s institutions and ideas with the help of an extremely competent guide. He demonstrates the independence of material and spiritual values. He is as much at home and graphic in discussing the church and the dissident sects as he is in analysing the reforms of Peter the Great and Catherine II, the dominant currents of thought, painting, architecture, music, literature, education. Though Miliukov has not yet completed his gigantic task, he has established a sufficiently broad basis for a synthetic comprehension of Russia’s national traits and expressions.

Readers will find these three slim volumes pleasant in appearance and easy to handle. The editor, Professor Karpo-
On the occasion of the first anniversary of Free World, I wish to express to you my appreciation of the splendid work which you have done for democratic victory and world organization. The phrase, “Free World,” is making the hearts of increasing thousands of people beat faster. You are helping in your way to give a spiritual meaning to the war, without which the Free Nations cannot win.

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fluence of the forces of Prussianism as they have found expression in the writings of poets, philosophers, and politicians alike, thus preparing the German soul for an almost enthusiastic surrender to the inhuman religion of Nazism.

This study is important because it points the way for the student of history and psychology to some of the most significant sources of National Socialism. However, I doubt whether its analysis can truly be called "devastating, with an almost unanswerable finality," as one reviewer has labeled it. Can such a book about the Germans written by an English scholar in the quiet of his library be final? One who has not seen war cannot describe it, and one who has no German background himself cannot give a satisfactory analysis of the German mind. Maybe this is the reason why I find the German-American Peter Viereck's similar approach in his "Metapolitics" so much more successful than Butler's.

That the greatest of all Germans, Goethe, is dealt with in less than one page indicates that the author exposes only those roots from which his thesis arises. As to Richard Wagner, I think that his anti-Semitic utterings are of much less significance than his music. Finally I believe that such attempts at analysis dangerously underestimate the vigor of Nazism as a religion based upon the disillusion and despair of the masses, and that, as such, it has no ideology at all.

It is to be regretted that the author has used inaccurate sources in describing the period of the Weimar Republic. To call the Kaffeegau politician Kurt Eissner a "forceful" prime minister of Bavaria is but one of several mis-statements which strike a wrong note and prevent the reader from seeing certain roots of Nazism in their last ramifications.

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

H. W. WEGERT

He Lives with Gusto


Every autobiographer has in him something of little Jack Horner. Necessarily; for if he did not believe or had not been persuaded by his friends that his experience was in some respects unique he could not go through the agonies of production that the author so vividly describes in the chapter on civil liberties.

But "City Lawyer" is neither the autobiography of Arthur Garfield Hayes nor "the biography of a law practice." It is a vivid and entertaining account of one of the outstanding personalities of the American bar and some of the innumerable and impressive activities in which he has been involved, told in an easy, clear and direct way that often heightens the drama of an episode by its very simplicity. And of drama there was plenty. Indeed, one reason why the book fails to be either autobiography or biography is the total absence of any reference to the long, weary hours of routine detail, grinding effort, and dullness which are the inevitable occupational affliction of every professional worker. For those who have attained the author's position, much of the essential preparation or "clean up" may be turned over to the lesser angels in the hierarchy of a law office; but no lawyer, of whatever rank, wholly escapes hours of uninteresting toil.

It was said of a group, I forget whether British or American, that had opened a shop in Jerusalem as an outlet for Palestinian craftsmanship, "They came to do good and they did well." Arthur Hayes has done a vast amount of good and also amazingly well. In this narrative he takes us from the Greek florist who was his first client to the Versailles peace conference. In Puerto Rico to the Reichstag fire trial in Berlin, from the British Prize Courts to the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tenn. "I have insisted almost to the point of boredom on the importance of the individual," he writes in the final chapter entitled "Our Kind," and certainly the individuals he

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The rights of the individual are, however, not always seen in their necessary setting of society, and in a world that is struggling for a new and more developed concept of that relationship the views on the mutual obligations of government and citizen seem to echo the past rather than to herald the future. This is perhaps what gives the book and, one feels, the life of its author their episcopic character. “We find no purpose in the world, intelligent or otherwise, except to satisfy our urges as human beings, and when we curb these, we do it to satisfy some other urge or to avoid discomfort.” Unless there is purpose in the world, no individual can have either direction or meaning, and society becomes a chance herding of rambling and unrelated units.

Millions are fighting—and dying—today merely to satisfy their urges; consciously or unconsciously they are expressing their conviction that there is a spiritual source of life and that it must be made manifest in all the forms of human activity.

Dorothy Straus

New York

So Democracy Makes Weaklings—Does It?


An English general and military critic once remarked that although tactics and machinery change through the years, the human heart remains the same. And the heart of Lord Nelson or John Paul Jones, not to mention Richard of the Lion’s Heart itself, seems to animate the four principal characters of this timely little book—Messrs. Cox, Kelly, Bulkeley, and Akers of the United States Navy. These men fought the good fight when the going was tough—the enforced going, that is, from the Philippines in the face of the sudden and hard-hitting Japanese. The four men mentioned are perhaps the only survivors of the seventy-eight members of Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron III.

The American withdrawal from the Philippines was a sort of “Yankee Dunkirk,” as somebody put it. This is made only too clear in Mr. White’s journalistical little book, which interviews, listens in, and depicts naval, aerial and land warfare in the raw. There is even a love story—a frustrated one—woven into the saga: the tale of Nurse Peggy with the green-blue eyes, a Joan of Arc (or maybe Molly Pitcher) of 1941-42.

Incidentally, the craft of this M.T.B. squadron consisted of six boats, 70 feet long and 20 wide, with three Packard marine motors a piece. Each carried four torpedo tubes and four machine guns, but no armor. They were “as fast as an auto.” Further, they got MacArthur “out”—from Luzon to Mindanao, the high point of the book. The crews kept themselves alive, apparently, by playing poker with the luckless army men, and by—on one occasion—eating just plain tomatc, which tasted something like duck, “all dark meat.”

There is something remarkably fine and likeable about these young officers, who seem to be quite without the self-consciously virtuous sentiments and pent-up hate of the civilians back home. Your reviewer has recently been reading a little Dumas, and there are certain three-musketeering aspects of selfless devotion and mutual adherence, all for one and one for all, that cannot help but attract the reader’s attention as he pushes breathlessly on through 200 or so easy reading pages.

These naval youngsters—whose motorboat torpedo-war was pioneered by the Italians in the Adriatic during the last war—considered themselves to be “expendable,” and hence the book title. That is, they were at all times ready to sacrifice themselves for the good of the whole, and for the Cause. They classified themselves with gasoline, or ammunition, or drugs, or whatever was needed at any given place or any given moment. They were matter of fact about this as about everything, and therein lies the peculiar charm of the book. MacArthur thought a lot of these men, just as I had a high opinion of the Dumas musketeers.

There is a lesson to be derived from the Expendables, or perhaps several lessons. Every radio commentator should read it, and the bulk of armchair generals would also profit.

Here were men who needed everything except resource and courage. They inflicted heavy casualties. They suffered heavy casualties. And they achieved their major objective: Mac Arthur is in Australia.

New York

Roger Shaw

The Making of a Citizen-Soldier


“SEE HERE, PRIVATE HARGROVE” IS A JAUNTY LITTLE BOOK about the life and training of the men who make up the new American army and, more especially, that of Private Marvin Hargrove.

What he tells of the training of the citizen-soldiers as he calls us, rings true to one who has but recently completed similar basic training. A very real talent would be needed to get into quite as much trouble and spend as many weary hours on “kaypee” as Private Hargrove would have us believe he did, but a man without real talent could never have written this book.

Light and humorous in style, this small book provides a brilliant insight through a trainee’s eyes into life in the army training camps today. The selection of material is good in that it has variety and deals with most of the experiences common to all of us in the army. I missed few dominant themes—such as the burning desire of men to get away from camp at every opportunity, regardless of where they may have to go; or the spirit of comradeship; and good natured joking which makes the hardest and most distasteful of details not so bad after all—but a book of this size cannot be expected to contain everything.

In spot Hargrove’s style becomes monotonous. Why must all of his sergeants be so restrained and have the same super-patient approach to the rookie? Even their vocabularies are so much alike as to be uninteresting. Most of the sergeants of my acquaintance have been much more picturesque and origin when similar situations have arisen.

Private Hargrove has written a book which should be a interest to those who would like to know more about life in the training camps, whether as a preparatory gesture just because they are interested. I have yet to find a man in the service who has not found this book the source of many a chuckle.

Pvt. l/c., Richard Patrick Kellogg

Headquarters and Service Company

Medical Replacement Training Center, Camp Pickett, Va.

Mail Order: Barometer of Social Change


THE MAIL ORDER BUSINESS HAS BEEN A BAROMETER OF CHANGE in America’s system of communication. R.F.D. routes grew from 82 in 1897 to 42,278 in 1912, and with them the business grew. Verily, as Mr. Asher says, Uncle Sam was a ally of the mail order business.

Once automobiles and good roads became general, people from rural and isolated areas were no longer so dependent
on the mail order catalogue. By car Minneapolis, Chicago, Indianapolis, and Louisville were not far away; and shopping trips to big cities became part of the American pattern. Fast trains and the extension of bus lines reinforced the trend. To meet changing times, Wards and Sears opened retail stores in major shopping centers, and it looked for a while as if shopping from a catalogue was on its way out.

The war will reverse the trend. A return to catalogue shopping seems inevitable now that bus and train schedules have been curtailed and America's automobiles begin to disappear from the highways. Once the chief instrument for creating a desire for goods not obtainable in rural communities, mail order houses will now be the best developed agency to meet an established taste for a wide variety of goods not found outside of big cities.

How Richard Warren Sears evolved techniques to break down rural America's distrust of the stranger, how he taught Americans to buy goods they had not seen from people they did not know is the story of "Send No Money." And it is an absorbing story, rich in "inside dope" available only to those who worked with mail order houses in their early days.

The growth of this enormous business is a study in trial and error; and it is good in times of confusion such as ours, when even the most optimistic begin to despair of errors made, to realize that growth comes through mistakes and it is important only that the errors be fewer than the good guesses.

The authors have included numerous letters from the company files. One from a woman who bought a cook stove that awed her and the whole community is folk poetry. The letters give us some indication of what it meant to people in isolated areas to get goods they dreamed about from places they knew only by name.

AEROL ARNOLD

Legal Sociology


The Pound book is an effort to compress the author's whole approach to law into four short lectures intelligible to laymen. As the third lecture in the same author's "Contemporary Juristic Theories" shows, he can come close to accomplishing that formidable feat when he is touched with inspiration. These lectures lack that necessary touch, and suffer, in accuracy and also continuity, like the prior book, from being drawn off into constant attacks on a non-existent body of nameless American thinkers who, in the author's view, have managed somehow to exalt utilitarianism and absolutism at the same time. Yet in the first lecture there is found Pound's best synthesis of the continental writing of this century. And in the closing pages there is a note new in his writing: an approach to the problem of more effective "cooperation" within our government and without, which indicates that Pound's next book may be more fruitful. Indeed the meaty introduction which Pound wrote to the Gurvitch book (after the lectures on "Social Control") demonstrates how a new slant can invigorate analysis. The new slant is perception of the difference between the seeing of things legal by a man of sociology, for "scientific" description, and the seeing of the same things by a man of law, or immediate use in legal work, or in "jurisprudence" addressed to legal work.

The Gurvitch book itself further evidences the growing importance of legal sociology. It is hard reading, written or the small group of professionals in the field, and again or those whose major interest is theory. Unlike Ehrlich's rich book on the subject, Gurvitch's is meager in illustration and concrete application. Unlike Tinasheff's, it wisely sees the subject matter as extending to include not only the or-

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The answers to these, and literally hundreds of other questions on war are suggested in this two-volume work which summarizes fifteen years of collective research carried on at the University of Chicago—A Study of War, by Quincy Wright.

In Volume I, the destructive intensity of modern warfare is shown, by facts and figures, to be forcing an increasing need in our civilization, in our time, of preventing war. The drives, the theories, the technologies, and the functions of hostilities are studied.

In Volume II, Mr. Wright analyzes the causes of war and its control. The ways in which various economic and political factors combine to upset the equilibrium of peace are examined. Suggestions are made for estimating the probability of war under given circumstances, and the practical problem of war prevention recognized in all its aspects.

A Study of War is a book for reading and reflection, as well as a solid foundation work of reference. It should be at the elbow of every writer, commentator, teacher, student, and theorist on the social phenomenon of war. With numerous statistical tables, maps, and diagrams; complete index; appendices. Over 1500 pages.

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A Study of War

By Quincy Wright

Professor of International Law, University of Chicago

Two Volumes. Boxed, $15.00

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)
organized doctrine of the state legal machine, but also the less explicit and less fully organized ideas about right regulation which are found in the society and in its groups and classes. One main advance here is the author's perception that "law"-phenomena are found, and need study, in the life of any subgroup within a larger society. One main lack is inadequate appreciation of the role of men, of those specialists who have vital importance as individuals in key positions and, above all, as members of a going craft at work with craft traditions, techniques, skills. Here as in so much else, the Max Weber book which is shortly due to appear will provide necessary supplement to the existing books.

Gurvitch's lengthy survey and critique of prior literature centers on the theoretical writers. His estimate of American legal sociology is in consequence misleading; our monographic work is materially in advance of our "systematic" writing. Moreover, Gurvitch has missed the better "systematic" work, presumably because the titles did not serve as signposts: Bentley's "Process of Government," the early and last chapters of Common's "Institutional Economics," or C. J. Fried- rich's "Constitutional Government and Politics." There ought to be some way of warning European scholars that the proof of American legal and social "science" lies very largely in the doing.

The book serves to point vigorously the need for American legal sociology to gather itself together more "systematically," and to find out explicitly what kind of prose it has been managing to talk all these years, and how amazingly far the game has gotten without discernible communication among the players. Gurvitch's theory of the emergence of fresh material and outlook into organized "law" is not only the best since Kantorowicz but it represents an advance over the latter's deep but neglected work.

*Columbia University School of Law*

K. N. Llewellyn

**Yankee Town**


For the past decade, Lloyd Warner and associates have been probing the social anatomy of a New England city, with instruments whetted on prior anthropological research in non-literate societies. Their analytical tools work. This, the first six volumes comprising the Yankee City series, makes fresh advances on every front of sociological inquiry. There is little in the way of sparking idiom but much of integrated analysis which shows in detail the basic interlocking of the local society, culture, and social personali-

ties.

The class structure is conceived as the dominant organizing principle of the community. A set of operations has been developed for reliably distributing a total population, of some 17,000 persons, in a sixfold class hierarchy, ranging from "upper-upper" to "lower-lower." The characteristic kinship structure, cliques, ethnic composition, formal associations, income and expenditures, political participations, reading matter and symbolic behavior are recorded for each of the strata distinguished in terms of prestige-gradients. Thus, by focusing on the class framework of this society, the authors translate into demonstrable fact what is so often a functionalist cliché — the essential interrelatedness of apparently disparate behavior and institutions. The book is by all odds the most elaborate and instructiveanan-
tomization of an urban community that has yet been effected.

Having said this, and precisely because the general excellence of the study merits rigorous standards of evaluation, one must note inadequacies.

The discussion of class structure is cast in almost wholly static terms—an emphasis which probably derives from the authors' functionalist orientation. Little is said of the dynamics of the class system. Forces which make not only for mobility of personnel within the structure but also for change in the structure itself are virtually ignored. Despite allusions to lineage and ancestral achievements there is no systematic examination of changes in the criteria and determinants of class position in such fashion that Yankee-City-1932 is identified as a particular moment in an ongoing historical process. As a result we are given a picture of a basically stable and practically unchanging class system—a picture which may or may not conform to the facts.

In another sense also, the authors imply a degree of stability in the class structure which cannot be tested by the evidence at hand. In their otherwise lucid account of techniques for "placing" people in the class hierarchy, there is one significant omission: the degree of consensus in these placements, particularly among persons who themselves occupy disparate positions in the hierarchy. If "in the final analysis individuals were placed by the evaluations of the members of Yankee City itself," then the findings imply an extraordinary degree of consensus among this population, since only .84 percent of some 17,000 persons could not be placed. What conventions were adopted by the authors in classifying persons who were differently evaluated by superiors, co-workers, and inferiors?

There is some indication that the authors rely on their sixfold classification; that is, think of six strata as authentic in a sense in which three or nine or twelve would not be. This is evident when they observe that the class di-

tribution of Yankee City "does not conform to the 'pyr-

midal' form into which the class population is usually thought to fall." But surely the "form" of the distribution is a function of the nicety with which classes are discrimina-
ed. A further differentiation of the lower-lowers (in parliars, Lumpenproletariat, and so on) might well lead to a "diamond-shaped" distribution, just as a pyramidal profile comes into being if the Yankee City strata are recon-

bined into three major classes. The authors are not entirely clear on this score: do they consider class differenti-

tion as a continuum segmented by them for convenience or as a series of abrupt empirical discontinuities?

By stressing esteem or prestige gradients as the gist of the class structure, they seem to have over-reacted to the original "general economic interpretation." If they intend only to assert that contemporary income, wealth, and occu-
pation are insufficient to assign all members of the com-

munity to their "correct" positions within the prestige hierarchy, their evidence is adequate. But this is a perilous narrow conception of an "economic" interpretation. It

prompts the von Mises statement of a case study. Families who, over a period of generations, have not been their claims to upper-upper status validated by "economic" criteria which must serve as means for maintaining the behavioral attributes of that status. The occurrence of inher-

itance in the imputation of status after changes in the objects determinants of status is to be expected. We may hazard the guess that, had historical dimensions been taken into account, the initial dilemma of a "general economic interpretation" or a cultural interpretation would have been perceived as a pseudo-problem.

This reader, for one, would like to learn more of the relations between position in the prestige-hierarchy and position in the authority-hierarchy, with respect to importa-
tions within the community. Where are the loci of control? The study contains highly suggestive remarks on various techniques for the exercise of authority by the upper strata and an illuminating comparison of the class con-

trol of the voting population and of the political officials. Yet there is no detailed analysis of the structure of effec-
tive control comparable to the Lynds' discussion of pattern of business class control" in their "Middletown Transi-
tion." We learn who reads which newspapers, but not the pressures which fix the policy of the "spectable" daily paper and the "highly colored" weekly.
To what extent are the exclusion devices, adopted by upper-uppers to subordinate other strata, effective controls over those persons who do not seek intimate association with the local patricians? Is there an opposition-elite who challenge the authority and criteria of status of the topmost stratum? One such repudiation of lineage as a valid claim to status is noted in a series of generalized case studies, but more systematic data are needed to assess the waning, constant, or waxing influence of the upper strata.

An important methodologic omission should be noted. The authors have not exploited the study of "deviant cases" which usually enrich our understanding of modal patterns documented by statistics. What, for example, accounts for some 3.5 percent of the lower-upper class being found in the "professional and proprietary" occupations, which are typically upper and middle class? What of those upper-upper families whose income overlaps that of some lower-lower families? And since houses are "symbols of status," what explains the fact that some lower-uppers live in "small houses in state of bad repair" whereas some lower-lowers live in "large houses in state of good repair"? A detailed exploration of such ostensible deviations from the central pattern would doubtless provide a further cogent test of the general hypotheses set forth in the research.

Finally, a word on the presentation of findings and, admittedly, this is a matter of taste and economy. With the notable exception of the chapter on association, the last half of the volume is largely a verbal translation of statistical data; a translation which adds little by way of analysis to what is found in the tables. Such repetition is numerical and verbal terms might well be avoided, especially since the basic data are to be compiled in a separate volume.

However, these critical remarks must be read within the context of the over-all estimate. The initial volume gives so much that is good, one is led to demand even more. Moreover, criticism must be wholly provisional; it is altogether possible that the inadequacies noted will be taken care of in the succeeding volumes of one of the most exciting sociological enterprises in recent decades.

Columbia University
ROBERT K. MERTON

Protecting Labor Standards


Among those who have watched the operations of the International Labor Organization for more than twenty years it will be generally agreed that its procedures, and perhaps its constitution, call for amendment. Apart from those, not very numerous, who would like to see the organization assume the right of direct international legislation, binding upon all member states, on the ground that progress is too slow, two flaws are often commented upon: available methods to secure legally binding interpretations of ILO conventions are ineffectual and cumbersome; there is no constitutional provision for the revision of conventions.

As regards the former problem, a certain elasticity of provisions embodied in ILO conventions has been helpful in that it has permitted member states to fit their new obligations into their respective legal structures and administrative traditions. But all vagueness is abhorrent to the legal mind. It testifies to uncertainty and delay when it becomes necessary to ascertain the intentions of the convention makers.

As for the need for machinery to revise the international conventions, the case has been well put by one of the organization's former directors, Harold Butler: "Social legislation is not static but dynamic. There is no absolute ideal which, once achieved, represents finality."

The present work addresses itself to both the problems named. As Ambassador Winant says in his foreword, the author's approach to them is able and scholarly. He analyzes the procedure as it has evolved from the start and suggests
remedies for its defects. Although the work is limited to the legal phases of its subject, it is important for the interested layman, too. The war objectives of the United Nations demand a large advance in the protection of labor standards through international action; and to be sound that advance must be supported by an effective legal procedure. In this connection, it is comforting to learn that the legal difficulties encountered by the ILO have delayed but by no means frustrated the progressive realization of its objects. And it is gratifying that the tendency of the courts, practically everywhere, has been to interpret the intentions of the international body liberally, not only with respect to their nationals but also in the extension of the agreed guarantees to alien workers.

New York

Bruno LASKER

Home Town Democracy


THE AUTHOR WANTS DEMOCRACY TO FUNCTION IN THE OLD home town. But he is too astute to believe that it can be made to function by a periodic visit to the polls. The chief value of this book is that it makes the everyday needs of the community come alive and indicates what John Smith and Eva Jones can do about them.

Mr. Lies follows closely the procedures suggested by Thordike in his "Your City." There are questions, for example, we need to ask about our schools: the average age of teachers; whether new blood is being brought into the system; whether teachers are selected on a merit basis; their average salary; the educational equipment of school board members; the instructional cost per student as compared with that of other cities. There are questions we need to ask about library facilities; recreational opportunities; social welfare services; the local government; provision for leisure; provision for cooperation between young and old; questions about chambers of commerce and trade unions; about youth counselling; about crime, the police, and the courts.

These are day by day matters that concern the citizen—matters that are within the competence of everyone, and in the handling of which everyone can be effective—if he wants to be.

This is a modest little book. It begins with a modest question: "What can I, just an average person, do to make this thing we call 'democracy' strong?" It quietly points to very simple things that need to be attended to at home and right around the corner—simple things that, added together, total up to the decent life we want.

And because they total up to the decent life we want, they are the sure way to the only kind of victory we ought to want.

New York

H. A. OVERSTREET

Record of a Remarkable Experiment


WHEN THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS WAS PROJECTED in March, 1933, there were thirteen million unemployed, and thousands of idle youths.

"Our primary task" proclaimed President Roosevelt in his first inaugural, "is to set people to work; our second task is to conserve our national resources." He proposed to set hundreds of idle boys at useful healthy work and apply their work to augment the value of the national domain. It proved to be the most popular of the New Deal measures.

The record of the CCC achievements for a single year, 1940, is worth recalling: 287,117 acres of trees were planted; 945,491 acres put under insect-pest control; 8,036 miles of truck-trails made; 564,639 check dams and 907 reservoirs built; 2,501 miles of fire-breaks and 3,666 buildings for public use constructed; 877,678 man-days of work spent in fighting forest fires.

The drain on the public treasury by family relief was lessened by the sums sent home to their needy families by the enrollees. The cost of the enterprise was high, but, in competent opinion, it was more than offset by the values, physical and moral, which it achieved. In the words of the authors of this study: "Whatever its future may be, the CCC will long be remembered in America."

Some mistakes in administration undoubtedly occurred. Certain people believe that to superimpose education upon the original program of work and conservation was overloading the curriculum. A more obvious defect was the multiplicity of bosses set over the movement: the federal departments of War, Agriculture and Interior, the Bureau of Biology, Animal Industry, Parks, the TVA, the Land Office, the Veterans, even the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "It is a miracle," say the authors, "that so disjoined an organization functioned as it did."

Most of the boys were faithful. Some suffered from homesickness and one fifth of the enrollees, after a few days or weeks, went "over the hill." The majority, although the victims of poverty, seemed to hold no one, least of all the government, responsible for their plight, believing their fate in democracy: "We're going to school in the world this way."

The book is too long, too repetitious, but it is a valuable record of a remarkable industrial experiment showing how the disease of unemployment can be best handled.

Keene, N. Y.

PRESTONIA MANN MARTIN

The Color Line—A New Interpretation


THIS STUDY, ONE IN THE SERIES PREPARED FOR THE AMERICAN Youth Commission, analyzes the personality problems peculiar to Negro youth, attributing them primarily to intra-social discriminations of color and secondarily to class and sex. Thirty-two types of social personality are hypothetically evolved from the criteria of sex; upper, upper-middle, middle, lower-middle, and lower class status; and darkskin, passable, light-skin and brownskin shades of skin color. Incidentally these various "class color types" will probably be confusing to the average reader. Wide sampling of Chicago Negroes reveals that they suffer directly with the degree of visibility of Negroid characteristics and inversely with their lack of status, and that women suffer color discriminations more poignantly than men.

Only members of the upper or upper-middle classes become race leaders by compensating for darkskin or by proclaiming race loyalty if they are of passable color. Lightskin men and women are shown to suffer few traumatic experiences if they value adjustment over attainment of higher social status.

Lightskin men and women are alleged to be happier, as they can identify themselves with groups ranging from lightskin to darkskin. Persons of northern background and education incline toward lightskin, upper class status, whereas southern background and education make for identity with darkskin, lower class Negroes.

Provided more basic personality conflict is absent, color is the determining factor in successful adjustment. Cases of psychoneuroses cited are characterized by indecision as to identity with Negroes due to a childhood dominated by white women. The propagation by lightskin women of an exclusive mulatto class is suggested as partial solution of the color problem, but the authors recognize its impracticability.

There has been perhaps too great a tendency in this book to develop the idea that color accounts for the class. A large group of the lower class were unskilled migrants from the South and on relief, and dark. The cases presented show that it was not being dark which accounted for their being of
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relief, but rather it was not being prepared for the demands of urban industry. Moreover, it is not quite fair to blame the Negro for his evaluation of colors, when color as well as other physical traits are evaluated by the majority group for the Negro. The selection of the cases presented can be questioned because of the frequency with which clinical cases are presented by the authors as normal personalities.

Implications are suggested for treatment when family disorganization is precipitated by color discriminations as practiced within the family or projected into its darker members when frustrations are imposed by life outside of the family.

It is interesting to note that social scientists, such as the authors, are just beginning to discover a cause of "personality problems" in Negroes which social workers have recognized for a long time. The probable explanation is that when the social scientists discover one or two cases representing what they consider a new phenomenon they write reams on the subject, whereas social workers who have encountered thousands of similar cases over the years write practically nothing about them for publication. It is true that a few social workers such as Maurine La Barre, editor of publications, Family Welfare Association of America, Eileen Blackey, formerly director of social work training, University of Hawaii, and Elizabeth Grant Watkins have recently called attention to the connection between color and personality problems in short magazine articles. But these are only the "exceptions which prove the rule."

The facts seem to be that in the field under discussion social scientists write too much on matters about which they know too little, and social workers too little on subjects about which they know a great deal. If one were to make a recommendation to social workers it would be that there is much they can contribute from time to time to the field of the social sciences from material buried in this case work files of social agencies, which would be valuable material for the understanding of human behavior. Social workers can speak with much more conviction about personality problems because they can burkwark their findings with many more cases than can the social scientist.

Negro social workers who study the Warner-Junker-Adams analysis may become more intelligent and sympathetic about the disintegrating effects of color lines, provided they themselves do not harbor serious conflicts due to discriminations. They may expect to deal with the brownskin and darkskins masses, as these are at the bottom of the social and economic scale and manifest dependent temperament, identifying sociological father, God, and "the relief" with benevolent white folks dominating the clients' southern background.

Forrester B. Washington

**Atlanta University School of Social Work**

**Housing Administration Close-Up**


The states, as distinguished from the federal and municipal governments, can and should play a powerful part in improving housing conditions in time of war as well as time of peace but have failed to do so. Professor Schaffer has made a comprehensive study—the first of its kind—of what has been done to date in the ten states which have had a state program of some kind or other. The character and administrative aspects of each of these programs range from the innocuous and unimportant to trail-blazing and impressive demonstrations.

Although the author includes a history of the legislation on which each state program is based, her approach is primarily that of the student of administration. She has taken a magnifying glass and scrutinized the personnel, the budgets, the promises and the achievements. In presenting her findings she has pulled no punches.

Professor Schaffer summarizes the various theoretical plans for state housing agencies which have been published by non-official sources. She describes the different administrative set-ups in existing state housing agencies, and discusses the present and potential powers and programs of these agencies. Finally, she gives her own views on what she believes the most desirable form of state agency, its staff, budget, functions, and relationship to other levels of government.

Some readers may feel that there is too much detail, and a tendency to discuss policy and legislation where they are not relevant to the main study—administration. It is difficult to draw the line at the point where policy and legislation affect or do not affect problems of administration. The advantages flowing from the author's decision to state facts rather than omit them, outweigh the disadvantages. The basic research has been so meticulously done that no one will ever have to retrace the steps that Professor Schaffer has taken in gathering the material for this volume. A gold mine of information for the student of housing administration will be found in the sixty-five tables and charts.

**IRA S. ROBBINS**

*Council to the New York State Commissioner of Housing*

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CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

(Continued from page 419)

so-called Chinatown in Minneapolis. In June, when the city turned out to welcome fifteen war heroes from the East Coast, tiny Chinese-Americans wearing their gay costumes waved welcome to the visiting celebrities. The flag of the Republic of China elicited thundering applause. The proprietor of the city's only Oriental gift shop liquidated his business last winter at the height of a busy Christmas season and entered a war industry. His wife, likewise a Chinese-American, works in the same plant. An American-born, University-of-Minnesota-trained master in architecture found work in a war industry—the first technical job he has held since his graduation fifteen years ago. Previously he had to be satisfied with managing his father's restaurant, but now, his American-born, business-trained wife is doing that.

In the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia communities, shortage of help has been acute for so long that not even labor imported from other cities can ease the situation. In New York, students who used to earn money as "extra waiters" during the weekends have found employment in industries working on lease-lend material. The Chinese Institute in America has placed many trained young men in American industry as technicians, chemists, and engineers.

An officer of the China Institute, Dr. B. A. Liu, has been making a tour of the large universities to get in touch with Chinese students, many of them stranded in this country as a result of the war. The Department of State announced in April that such students would be given opportunities to gain practical experience or be assisted financially to complete their technical training. The response of American industry has been heartening. Industrial, transportation, and scientific organizations have absorbed many scientific and technical students. Other students hope for employment in educational institutions, libraries, foundations, hospitals, publishing houses; and as translators. Meanwhile, those who need to complete their training are being assisted by the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department. More than a hundred have been awarded temporary grants to continue with their courses or to take up practical training in line with their studies. (More recently the Chinese government has delegated the responsibility of supervising the education and training of Chinese students in this country to a committee headed by Dr. T. V. Soong, Chinese foreign minister, now in Washington.)

In the Armed Services

PORTLAND'S CHINESE COMMUNITY SENT A CONTINGENT OF thirty-three trained pilots to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek before December 7. With America in the war as an ally, those now in training will be pilots in the United States Air Force. The Generalissimo has urged Chinese men here to enlist in the armed forces of the United States as a demonstration of China's complete cooperation with the United Nations. The removal of restrictions in the United States Navy and Naval Reserve has started a drive for 500 Chinese as apprentice seamen. Heretofore, Chinese were restricted to enlistment as messmen and stewards. The recent requirements for enlistment are American citizenship; ability to pass the navy's physical examination; age seventeen to thirty-one for the navy and seventeen to fifty for the naval reserve.

New York's Chinatown cheered itself hoarse when the first draft numbers drawn were for Chinese-Americans. Some below-age boys tried to pass on their "Chinese age," which is often a year or two older than the American count. Since their birth certificates told a different tale, they had to be patient and wait.

There are only eleven Chinese-Americans of draft age in Butte, Mont., and all have enlisted or are serving Uncle Sam in some other way. One in the army was promoted to sergeant, and has gone overseas. A family with three sons has one in the medical corps, another in the army air corps, and the third in the navy. In another family with three sons one an engineer, is in the East in a lease-lend organization, and the other two, both engineering students, are reserves in the air corps until they graduate.

K. S. Jue, president of the Shiu Hing Benevolent Society speaking of home front activities, said: "San Francisco has gone over the top in its recent Red Cross drive. We raised $18,000 for the campaign. In the Defense Bond Drive, we bought over $30,000. This is in addition to all the war relief the Chinese here have been sending to China and in response to the demands of relatives across the Pacific.

Civil Rights for Our Chinese Allies

THIS YEAR, AT THE RECENT CONVENTION OF THE CALIFORNIA League of Women Voters in San Francisco, the following resolution was passed:

Recognizing the racial discrimination shown in several Asian Exclusion Acts passed by our government over a period of sixty years, the California League of Women Voters accepts its responsibility for education as to the history and effects of the Exclusion Acts leading toward effective opposition to racial discrimination in immigration laws, and asks that the National League send material to all State Leagues.

It is significant that this step towards righting an old wrong should come from California, where the Chinese exclusion movement first saw birth as a state issue, gradually to become national policy. While the exclusion sections of the Immigration Act of 1924 were aimed primarily at the rapidly increasing immigration of Japanese picture-brides in the early years of the twentieth century, they worked even more hardship among the Chinese immigrants. The solution to the problem of Oriental immigration promises to be not exclusion by law, but intelligent restriction and selection of those who desire admittance into the country. It seems to the Chinese that those of us not born here should be eligible to become citizens through a process of naturalization as do those who come from other lands; and that the right to own property as citizens should be acknowledged. Surely racial discrimination should not be directed against those who are America's Allies in the Far East and are helping here in every way to win the war.

It has long been recognized that "cheap labor" was not eliminated by the series of exclusion laws. Immediately after the passing of those laws, "cheap labor" was supplied by incoming Mexicans and Filipinos.

Every thinking Chinese in this country and in China hopes that the American people will advance the social, political, and economic status of the Chinese in the United States. To be fighting for freedom and democracy in the Far East, at the cost of seven million lives in five years of hard, bitter warfare, and to be denied equal opportunity in the greatest of democracies, seems the height of irony. With the absorption of the Chinese in industry and the proof that they are good workers, loyal citizens, and faithful to the United Nations' cause, racial barriers and prejudices should break down now and for all time.

In California, today, there are four generation Americans—Chinese-Americans who speak no Chinese. They live on close terms with their American neighbors, enjoy the same recreation and health facilities offered to their fellow citizens. For them the present crisis is another stepping stone toward complete assimilation. No longer do Americans think of the Chinese as mysterious Orientals from a little known land. Most of these Chinese living among them are fellow citizens. The rest of them, as well as their cousins in the old country, are Allies. The crisis of December 7 has emancipated the Chinese in the United States. It is up to the American people to effect the emancipation by law.
BNAI BIRITH—Oldest and largest national Jewish
service and fraternal organization whose
program embraces manifold activities in war
service, Jewish education, community welfare,
B'nai B'rith. Founded in 1843, engages in
educational and social service work for Y.M.C.A.
and Y.W.C.A. publications, fort-
nightly bulletin in Far Eastern Survey; books, pamphlets, papers, and bulletins are available to interested American citizens.

BENJAMIN BLOOM—For 28 years, a prominent
historian, editor, author, and publisher. In addi-
tion to several major works on American
history, he has edited and published "The
United States Almanac," a comprehensive
annual reference work. His latest book is "The
American Utopia," a study of the history of
American utopian communities.

CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT—
344 Madison Avenue, New York City. Its
program includes: (a) Study of current
international problems and recent decisions of
the United Nations; (b) Study of the United
States role in world affairs; (c) Study of
international law; (d) Study of the United
Nations' role in maintaining world peace.

CARPENTER UNION—1225 19th Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. The Carpenter Union is
an international union representing carpenters,
drywall finishers, and other wood-workers in
the United States and Canada. It provides
benefits to its members, including health
insurance, pension plans, and job referral
services.

COMMUNICATIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION—
20 East 22nd Street, New York City. It is a
non-profit organization that provides informa-
tion and resources on a wide range of social
issues, including education, environment,
healthcare, and labor rights. It publishes several
publications, including "The Social Action
Bulletin," which covers news, analysis, and
research on social justice issues.

CONSUMER UNION—17 Union Square, New
York City. The Consumer Union is a non-
profit, non-commercial organization that
publishes "Consumers Union," a quarterly
magazine that provides independent, objective
reviews of consumer products and services.

THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION—
An agency of the Congregational Christian
Churches in the United States which pub-
lishes magazine Social Action, 10 issues
a year. It provides information and
resources on social justice issues.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION—A
nationwide organization, founded twenty-four
years ago, which promotes the study of
international affairs. It publishes "International
Bulletin," a monthly publication that covers
the latest developments in foreign policy.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' 
ASSOCIATION, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago.
It is an organization of city managers that
provides training, research, and advocacy for
city management in the United States.

THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE—67 West 44th Street, New York City. It is
an organization that promotes civil service
reform, including merit-based hiring and
promotion, and反对 political patronage.

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funds, as grants-in-aid to institutions and
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A WEEK IN INDIA
(Continued from page 409)

I: “Would there be any compensation to the landlords?”
Gandhi: “No, that would be a fiscal impossibility. You see, our gratitude to our millionaire friends does not prevent us from saying such things. Each village would become a self-governing unit leading its own life.”

I: “But there would have to be a national government.”
Gandhi: “No.”

I: “Surely you need a national administration to supervise or run railroads, telegraphs, etc.”
Gandhi: “I would not shed a tear if there were no railroads in India.”

I: “But that would bring suffering to the peasant. He would want to get goods from the city and he would want to sell his produce in other parts of the country and abroad.”
Gandhi: “I know that despite my personal views there will be central administration.”

Gandhi’s Pattern for Government
This is a characteristic Gandhi cycle: He enunciates a principle, defends it, and ultimately admits that it is unworkable. His mind is malleable and fluid. There is something of the dictator in him when he wants action. Then he crushes opposition by the weight of his logic and the strength of his popular following. But there is nothing of the dictator in his thinking. A dictator can never admit he is wrong.

Gandhi often does.
Our discussion continued. “There will be a central administration,” he had agreed. “However,” he went on, “I do not believe in the accepted Western form of democracy with its universal voting for parliamentary representatives.”

I: “Then what form of government would India have?”
Gandhi: “There are 700,000 villages in India. Each would be organized by the will of its citizens, all of them voting. Each village would have a vote. Then there would be 700,000 votes and not 400,000,000. The villages would elect district administrators, who would in turn elect provincial administrators, who would choose a president as India’s chief executive.”

I: “That is very much like the Soviet system.”
Gandhi: “I did not know that; I don’t mind. On the other hand,” he emphasized, “I have no desire to control. I am opposed to violence or domination and don’t believe in powerful governments which oppress their citizens or other states.”

Gandhi dislikes the harshness of Russia’s internal regime. He also feels that parliamentary democracy “is not immune to corruption as you, who remember Tammany Hall and mayors of Chicago, should know.” Therefore he concluded, “I don’t think that India, when free, will function like other countries. We have our own forms of government to contribute.”

At this point he looked at the big dollar watch which hung from his waistline and said with a smile: “Four o’clock. You have had your hour.” Always punctual himself, he demands the strictest punctuality from others.

“Our First Problem Is Independence”
The next day, with considerable difficulty, I brought Gandhi back to a consideration of the shape of the India to come. He really preferred not to deal with the subject. He was interested in one thing: the freedom of India. That, he contended, would purify England and give wings to the war aims of the United Nations. “It will help win the war. What we do when we are independent is a matter of pure speculation. If you ask me what I prefer, I will say federalization and not centralization. At present the center of power is in New Delhi, or Calcutta, or Bombay, in the big cities, would distribute it among the 700,000 villages. That would mean that there is no power. There would be voluntary cooperation among those 700,000 units, but not cooperation compelled by Nazi methods. Voluntary cooperation will nurture real freedom and a new order vastly superior to the old Russia. You say there is ruthlessness in Russia but this is incidental for the benefit of the lowest and the poorest. For me there is very little good in that. Some day this ruthlessness will produce an anarchy worse than we have ever seen. I am sure we will escape that anarchy here.”

I asked for more detail on the economic system of the future. “The villages will invest their savings and the capital in a central bank,” Gandhi proposed. “Then they may build windmills, or hydro-electric power stations, or anything they like. A central government will evolve, of course, but it will act according to the wishes of the peasantry and will be based on their collective will.”

I: “That central state would then proceed with industrialization of India, would it not? Is it not a fact that India’s greatest problem is the five million annual increase in her population? How are you going to deal with that?”
Gandhi: “One of the answers to your question might be birth control, but I am opposed to birth control.”

I suggested economic measures.
Gandhi: “You want to force me into an admission that we would need rapid industrialization, I will not be forced into such an admission. Our first problem is to get rid of British imperial power. Then we will be free, with no restraint from the outside, to do whatever the country requires. The British have seen fit to allow us some factories but to prohibit some factories. No. For me the paramount problem is the end of British rule.”

When I pressed for a final opinion as to who would industrialize India, Gandhi concluded that, “In case there is industrialization the state would, of course, have to lead the process.”

I did not expect Gandhi to give me a complete, accurate blueprint of an independent India. I was studying the man and his mind, and I wished to see where he stands on the social problems which face our world. But what emerges more than anything else was his reluctance to project himself into the future. He talked to me about the transformation of the soul after death; he believes in that; it is a religion. In the realm of politics, however, he prefers to stand on the firm ground of today. He concentrates all his attention and emotion on the one primary and immediate objective: the liberation of his country.

Millions of Followers, Rich and Poor
Throughout the week I spent with Gandhi I kept wondering what was the source and secret of his power over many millions of Indians. There he lay on the ground wearing only a loin cloth. He has no money and no political organization in the accepted Western sense of the word. A police or government machine does his bidding. He can order, he cannot punish, he cannot reward. Yet men die if he asks them to do so. He has, in the past, called his people to drop their work, or refuse to buy British goods or cooperate with the British, and millions have obeyed. Gandhi’s followers are not merely ignorant peasants or wool class masses. They include many of the finest school and intellectuals in India, as well as hard-boiled big businessmen.

I made an appointment with J. R. D. Tata in Bombay. I
is the president of the Indian owned TATA corporation. Say "Tata" in India and it connotes what General Motors plus U. S. Steel means in America. Tata owns one of the biggest steel mills in the world, makes chemicals, operates hotels, runs air lines, manufactures shaving cream and laundry soap, and is now busy turning out munitions for the British. J. R. D. Tata is thirty-eight, a graduate of Cambridge University and thoroughly European in his background and outlook. He is a civilian pilot. His mother was French, his father a Parsee and therefore of another religion than Gandhi. His office is the office of an American industrial tycoon. But on his big desk there was a statue of Gandhi. Urbane, cultured, busy, matter-of-fact, Tata is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He is a patriotic Indian who feels that Britain has cramped India's economic growth. He is not the only one.

I went to see Sir Chinalal H. Mehta, a Bombay stockbroker and the editor of a financial newspaper. He is small with gnarled face and jet black hair. We talked about the possibilities of American trade in India after the war, about the effect of American tariffs on such trade, about the need of credits and loans to finance it, and about India's present industrial activity. It was a cold interview about economics. Then I asked him what he thought of the interest which he Indian National Congress, under Gandhi's influence, was displaying in cottage spinning. He said it was silly. "Are you at all concerned with Indian politics?" I inquired. "No," he declared, "I do not belong to Congress. I am the president of the Indian Merchants' Association."

"And what do you think of Gandhi?"

Mehta was as though transformed. Hitherto I had purposely kept our conversation on the dollar-and-cents level of commerce and business. But at my last question Mehta's eyes began to shine and he grew animated. "Gandhi!" he exclaimed. "There has been no man like him for 2,000 years. He will live for thousands of years. The gates of heaven all open to receive him. He is more than a human being."

symbol of a Nation's Yearning

Any Indians undoubtedly regard Gandhi as a god or one who is destined to become a god. The Hindu religion is tolerant and sponge-like in religion. Hindus believe in one god. Some also believe in Christ. Some are atheists; they claim that Hinduism is a code of life independent of a city. Some pray to idols. Some worship mountains and rivers and gods who were once men and women; they see no conflict between monotheism and idolatry. "If Niagara falls were in India," an Indian said to me, "they would be god."

Thus, the Mr. Olympus of Hinduism is densely populated, but many are sure that there is a place reserved on for Mahatma Gandhi.

The general Indian feeling is that Gandhi has devoted a life to the people. He lives like the people and shares their primitive hardships and poverty. He has nothing and is nothing for himself. He wants only one thing—a free dia. And since so many millions of Indians want the same thing, Gandhi has become the symbol of a nation's yearning. Everywhere in India, whenever an Indian criticized the British, I would insist that he explain to me why he was anti-British. I invariably got the answer given me by an Indian Moslem who is a high civil servant in the British government: "Why shouldn't we be?" he replied. "No nation likes the foreign nation which rules it."

Gandhi has devoted Moslem followers and Hindu followers, and Parsees and Untouchables who believe in him because he has striven for decades to free his country. Many of them differ with Gandhi on other questions. There are some who accuse him of wanting to establish Hindu India, but few deny the sincerity of his labors for national emption. In modern times the urge towards nationhood is elemental, natural, and instinctive. Gandhi is the most forceful exponent of this urge.

The Passion of Gandhi

I observed Gandhi carefully for seven days. I asked his friends about him. I wrote down in my notebook every word he said to me, every gesture, every joke. Then I re-read those notes the next day and pondered over them, trying to assess the man and understand his political role. His wisdom, his shrewdness, and his profound religiousness, in a nation that is the most religious nation of the world, help explain his preeminence. But he has something else; he has passion—consuming, impatient passion. This passion is the vehicle which carries his ideas to the masses. It is contagious. It is the passion of burning desire and is accompanied by the ecstasy born of endless repetition.

One evening in Sevagram village I walked over to the hut of Mahadev Desai, who since has died in jail. I sat on the earthen floor of his hut—it was just two months before his death. He was bald, paunchy and jolly and Sevagram's champion spinner on the hand loom. He had been a lawyer but gave that up twenty-five years ago to serve as Gandhi's private secretary. He went wherever Gandhi went and sat in on all Gandhi's conversations, and made copious notes on them in fat copybooks which are preserved. Desai therefore knew Gandhi.

I said to him: "I think Gandhi's power is his passion."

Desai agreed. He explained that that passion wore out his opponents and gave Gandhi the physical and spiritual strength to fight on.

"Where does it come from?" I asked.

"It is the sublimation of all the passions that flesh is heir to," Desai asserted.

"Sex?" I asked.

"Yes, sex, and anger and personal ambition," Desai replied. "He can admit his own error. He can chastise himself and take the blame for the mistakes of others."

Gandhi has suppressed in himself the ordinary yearnings of man, the petty passions of man, and the common weaknesses of man. By suppressing the little passions he has accumulated a big passion. He has trained his body so that it lives with the minimum of food and clothing and (what is more important) the minimum of attention. The regimentation of Gandhi's day means that his life's pattern is auto-

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matic and requires no thought of attention or decision on his part. This permits the maximum concentration of time, energy and emotion on the one goal—India's freedom. That is the source of his passion.

"I Pursue the Truth," Says Gandhi

Not content with my own inquiries and analyses, and not satisfied with asking others about Gandhi's personality, I decided to ask Gandhi himself what was the secret of his unique hold on so many people. We were walking through the field one morning. Apologizing, I said: "This is really not a personal question. It is a political question. I have seen how objective you can be about the world. I am sure you can also be objective about yourself. How do you account for your influence?"

"I think it is because I pursue the truth," Gandhi replied. "It is my goal."

"I do not underestimate the truth," I protested, "but this seems to me an inadequate explanation. Truth itself has not always helped others in other countries. So why is it that you, without any of the paraphernalia of power, without ceremony, or organization, or the usual mechanisms for winning over people, have been able to sway millions?"

"Truth," he persisted, "is not merely a matter of words. It is a matter of life. He stopped and I felt he wanted me to review in my mind what he could not, without immodesty, put into sentences: His ascetic life devoted to the cause. "You are right," he proceeded. "I do not have much equipment. My education is not very great. I do not read much."

He had not been very helpful. I volunteered my own analysis. "Isn't it that what you say to the people strikes a chord in them? A musician does something to his audience. You play a note which millions are eager to hear."

"Yes, yes," he interjected, "that may well be it."

This, I am sure, is the key to the riddle of Gandhi's influence. There is a musical harmony between him and the millions of Indians. Great leaders must have harmony. Winston Churchill has had it in his speeches. He says brilliantly what so many plain citizens say crudely their neighbors or to themselves. You applaud most lust the aria you have heard before, applaud a speaker when you echo your own thoughts, follow a leader who is you it better edition. Millions of the simple folk of India can say: "Gandhi is just like me; only he is higher and wiser. Lives for me." Gandhi is father and brother to India's millions of semi-naked, half-starved, not-too-intelligent peasants and workmen, who want to gain dignity and prosperity through national effort. He is a chip off their own block.

Gandhi has a conviction that he can, sitting in his hut at Sevagram, reading letters and listening to the Indians who visit him, sense the sentiment and hear the prayers of masses. He is persuaded that he knows what they want and is therefore entitled to act for them. Gandhi is an Indian. There is no radio at Sevagram, and Gandhi takes only a cursory look at the newspapers. The rest of the world exists and is important, but Gandhi is immersed in India. All his antennae are out to catch the voice of Inc. He hears it and is sure he interprets it correctly. Such certainty is often the motive power and guiding light leaders.

Gandhi may have doubts about his views on economy and sociology. He will consent to modify methods and objectives. But he is undaunting, unyielding, uncompromising on the central issue of independence.

A single-track mind is a characteristic of many great minds. Churchill's one absorbing purpose is the preservation of England as a first-class power. Lenin's was the lifting of Russia out of the feudal mire. Lincoln's was union. Hitler's conquest. Gandhi wants a free India. A big man is all one piece, like good sculpture. Indians tell you Gandhi was born to achieve independence. He is ready to die for it.

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The Social Question imperiously demanding solution of our generation is not a race problem—all superficial evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. The Social Question is a socio-economic one. It is the problem of reconstructing society in such a way as to replace class exploitation with classless cooperation. Do this and the racial antagonisms resulting from competition and conflict generated by capitalism will vanish and give way to the universal fraternalism to which humanity aspires.

This is the unique and solidly bastioned contention of the Socialist Labor Party of America—the original party of Socialism (founded 1890) and the only party in this country of uncompromising scientific Marxism.

To attempt a solution of the race problem and leave unsolved the Social Question would be like treating the symptoms of a disease and leaving the cause untouched. Moreover, to treat the race problem as the central question is to accept the premise of degenerate Nazi capitalism that it is the central question.

The present global turbulence is, as many thinking persons already perceive, a precursor of world-wide capitalist collapse. All signs point to this culmination and all trends, political and economic, are in the direction of some kind of collectivism. In the absence of an organized class-conscious working class this collectivism must inevitably be a feudo-capitalism under which every vestige of democracy will have vanished. For “collectivism, deprived of the fundamental principles of fraternity and self-government,” in the words of the celebrated Danish critic, Georg Brandes, “is by the very nature of things a liberty-sapping doctrine.”

The task confronting the American workers, whatever their color or racial origin, is that of uniting their political forces as a class, and of consolidating their economic might into integrated Socialist Industrial Unions. For it is through Socialist Industrial Union organization—the requisite power to give substance and meaning to the Socialist ballot—that a democratic, self-governing collectivism may be achieved. In the society that, even now, struggles for birth the democratically elected Industrial Union Administration will replace the political State of class rule, and the industrial vote will supersede the political vote. Its ruling principles will be those to which our present high productivity and socialized productive processes clearly point: Production for use under the direction of nationally integrated Industrial Union councils, and the appropriation by each producer of the full social value (or the equivalent) of his product.

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The Party publishes a great variety of authentic Marxist literature of which the following are a few pertinent examples:

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Reform or Revolution, by Daniel De Leon
What Means This Strike? by Daniel De Leon
The Old Order and the New, by Arnold Petersen
Democracy: Past, Present and Future, by Arnold Petersen
Socialist Industrial Unionism: The Workers’ Power, by Eric Hass
Socialism: Hope of Humanity, Socialist Labor Party Manifesto on America’s entrance in second World War
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This special number, seventh in our "Calling America" series, is brought out on the 50th Anniversary of Survey Associates. Since our earliest years, we have used such special numbers to explore current developments.

In the present undertaking, we were fortunate in enlisting as special editor, Alain Locke of Howard University, philosopher, teacher, author, publisher. Seventeen years ago, he edited another, special issue of Survey Graphic, "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro"—which revealed the renaissance of life and culture that had come to the northward migration of a people. In the present issue, Dr. Locke presents a larger canvas, ranging from wartime America to the far reaches of the earth.

The spark of this special number was touched off last spring by John Becker, author, playwright, public relations adviser to the Council Against Intolerance in America. His imaginative suggestions and cooperation have counted at every stage as the project has gone forward. Following Mr. Becker's original suggestion came a series of conferences, participated in by key people, white and colored. Our indebtedness runs to those collaborators and to such organizations as the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, a special committee of the Council for Democracy, the Inter-American Section of the Federal Council of Churches, the Harmon Foundation, the Citywide Citizens Committee on Harlem, the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters.


The number has been given caliper and reach by generous grants from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Nathan Hofheimer Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Council on Library Trust; and through individual contributions from Mrs. Rachel R. Anderson, Mrs. Benjamin V. Becker, Mrs. Henry White Cannon, Miss Peg Converse, Mrs. Babette B. deSham, Lt. Ben Ehrlich, William N. Eisendrath, Jr., F. T. Fisher, Mrs. Arthur Lehman, S. Arthur Loeb, Mrs. John Loeb, Mrs. Paul Mellon, Mrs. Aubrey Morgan, Harry D. Oppenheimer, Miss Ethel Pew, Mrs. Henry Pierre, Jr., Mrs. David de Sola Pool, William Jay Schieffelin, Mrs. J. E. Spingarn, Alfred Star, and Mr. Swett.

Paul Kellogg, Editor

NOVEMBER 1942

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Survey Graphic published on the 1st of the month. Price of single copies of this special number 50c. Regular issues 25c. By subscription-Domestic: $1 2 years; Foreign: Postage per year: Domestic: $2 1 year, $3 2 years, $4 3 years, Foreign: $5 1 year, $7 2 years, $10 3 years. By subscription-

Domestic: $1 2 years, $2 3 years, Foreign: $1 1 year, $5 2 years, $10 3 years. Each copy 50c. Canadian 75c.

Public Affairs Information Service, Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus.

Survey Monthly published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 30c. By subscription-Domestic: $1 2 years, $2 3 years, Foreign: Postage per year: Domestic: $2 1 year, $3 2 years, $4 3 years, Foreign: $5 1 year, $7 2 years, $10 3 years. Each copy 50c. Canadian 75c.

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How would you have us, as we are-
Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star—
Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
With dragging pace or footsteps fleet
Strong willing sinews in your wings—
Or tightening chains about your feet

This recent figure by the distinguished Negro sculptor, and Johnson's stirring poem published several years before his death in 1938, seem today to present much more than the plea of the Negro to America; they speak symbolically for the non-white peoples in a world become circumscribed and interdependent.
The Unfinished Business of Democracy

ALAIN LOCKE

Each month, the race issues traversed in the pages that follow stand higher on the War Docket. Later on, we shall confront them high up on the more constructive Ledger of the Peace. How they reach home to us as Americans, not only with practical urgency but with a spiritual imperative not to be gainsaid:—by the professor of philosophy at Howard University, special editor of this special number.

All of us by now are aware of the way in which this global war has altered the geography of our lives. Americans are reminded enough of that with our armed forces dispersed over five continents and the seven seas and feeding to every compass point of the sky. But even more revolutionary changes are due to take place in the geography of our hearts and minds.

For the same forces which have all but annihilated latitude and longitude also have foreshortened cultural and social distance, and have telescoped their traditional imaginary dividing lines. Most of all, these new forces for unification are closing in on that great divide of color which so long and so tragically has separated not only East and West, but two thirds of mankind from the other third.

As the new perspective comes into our lives, with its transforming angles of human group relations, we are beginning to sense that we must find common human denominators of liberty, equality, and fraternity for humanity-at-large. When the democracies in such a crisis seek the world to espouse and defend their cause, they cannot escape the logic by which democracy itself is asked to stretch its tent-ropes to embrace the peoples of the earth. For better or worse, humanity faces the alternatives of world chaos, world tyranny or world order, and must take serious stock of its choices. This is what we presume to call democracy's unfinished business.

In their all-out attack, Japan, Germany, and Italy have challenged not merely the strength but the moral fitness of the democratic nations. In so doing, they have converted what might have been solely an international war for political dominance into a planetary civil war between two incompatible principles, social no less than political. The die seems cast by the present crisis as between a world consistently free and a slave world of equal consistency. The situation takes on aspects of civil war, not simply because so radical an issue, once precipitated, cannot be settled by compromise, but because its settlement can only be accomplished, nation by nation, by the defeat of the enemy within as well as by that of the enemies without. As it stands, either ours is to be a world in which most of the hitherto free and independent nations themselves become exploited underlings, like the conquered countries of Europe and Asia, or it must become a world in which all peoples everywhere shall be freed even from the inconsistent half-way democracy which, before this war, conferred freedom for some and subordination for others.
Parity Among Peoples

The situation repeats on a world scale a basic issue of freedom in our own national history, that between the Missouri Compromise of 1850, which merely limited the physical expansion of slavery, and the War between the States in the 1860's which involved its moral and legal renunciation. Crucial in today's situation is the basic readjustment of the status and relationships of the white and non-white peoples, both as peoples of the East and the West and as dominant and subject or colonial peoples. For as Pearl Buck has so aptly put it: "The main barrier between the East and the West today is that the white man is not yet willing to give up his superiority and the colored man is no longer willing to endure his inferiority." No retreat to the status quo in terms of the pre-war relationship of races and cultures will ever resolve the issue. This is the constructive recognition which runs like a linking thread through the contributions to this special number from men and women close-in to the deep-seated problems of human group relations; national and colonial, domestic and foreign; majority and minority; racial and cultural, between black, red, brown, white, yellow.

The present war happily is not, as many racialists think, a color war. In fact, its alignments of friend and foe cut diametrically across race lines. In Europe, they divide as enemies branches of the so-called "white" race. In Asia, they divide branches of the so-called "colored peoples." Nonetheless, color and ethnic differentials correspond very largely to those invidious distinctions between imperial and colonial, dominant and subject status out of which has arisen the double standard of national morality. The crux of this inner conflict is whether our vision of world democracy can clear-sightedly cross the color line, whether we can break through the barriers of cultural racialism to reach the Four Freedoms in their universal goals. Certainly here, both nationally and internationally, color becomes the acid test of our fundamental honesty in putting into practice the democracy we preach.

There is essential truth, then, in saying that the parity of peoples is the main moral issue of this global conflict. Only through the vindication and implementation of that principle can democracy come full circle, can we conclude a war for world freedom with a just and stable peace.

The epoch of world colonization produced our modern world of national imperialisms and undemocratically related peoples. There is not only logic but irony in the fact that its probable self-liquidation will involve a retraction of the theory and practice of national and racial inequality. Just as the foundation of democracy as a national principle made necessary the declaration of the basic equality of persons, so the founding of international democracy must guarantee the basic equality of human groups.

Germany and Japan have, in this sense, merely precipitated the inner contradictions of our whole international system. Just so the insatiable South precipitated those self-contradictions of the slave economy in an American national life destined to realize its true stature under free labor and free enterprise. In that situation there was a moral logic which few saw until it ripened into a national crisis. But Abraham Lincoln foresaw it when he said: "This country can no longer endure half-slave and half-free; either it will become all slave or all free."

For those who will boldly look across the new horizons of color today, there is the same logic and the same prophetic vision. They will not find, for example, obvious alignment of the American Negro question with the cause of a free India. Or of a Jewry free from cultural disdain and persecution. Or even with the cause of an Africa liberated from colonial exploitation. Or a federated, self-governing Caribbean. Morally, however, there is the closest of connections. For all of these disabilities are part of the same pattern of group relations. In one degree or another, they involve similar frustrations and distortions of the democratic principle. Further, they are all justified by rationalizations cut from the same psychological cloth. They are all, as well, items written large on the moral agenda which has become part of the unfinished business of democracy.

The New Horizons of Color

Significantly enough, the phalanx of the United Nations unites an unprecedented assemblage of the races and peoples of the world. Could this war-born assemblage be welded by a constructive peace into an effective world order—one based on the essential parity of peoples and a truly democratic reciprocity of culture—world democracy would be within reach of attainment. The justly acclaimed Four Freedoms and the hopefully scrutinized Atlantic Charter open the prospect of such a hope. Moreover, as Walter Lippmann has it put:

The United Nations have found themselves in a position where they could be accused, not without warrant, of fighting to preserve the rule of the white man over the peoples of Asia and of being committed at fearful cost to a war for the restoration of empire. . . . But the Western nations must now do what hitherto they have lacked the will and the imagination to do: they must identify their cause with the freedom and security of the peoples of the East, putting away their "white man's burden" and purging themselves of the taint of an obsolete and obviously unworkable white man's imperialism.

In short, to the dictates of conscience and principle, the world crisis now adds the practical demands of strategy. On the one hand, hangs the loyalty and support of two-thirds of the human race. On the other hand, the hazard of a war for survival. By way of the hard, inescapable alternative of death or survival, out of the wide and desperate character of the challenge of these times, democracy confronts her greatest moral opportunity, her biggest historical chance to win acceptance, the world over, a the full way of life.

The Ordeal of Democracy

Let us look closely at what stands in the way of that chance. The Axis powers have chosen to abandon the modern world's most humane political professions and adopt with ruthless consistency its worst and most reactionary practices. So democracy is faced not merely with a political adversary, but with her own shortcomings blown up into a Frankenstein, breathing virulent and uncompromising race hatred. As the die is cast, either we are to have forced on us a world of infinitely more racism than we must ourselves shape a world having infinitely less. For with German and Japanese ethnic nationalism, racism becomes an avowed principle of state policy. This modern breed of autocracy has resurrected in place of the divine right of kings and nobles, the supreme force-right
t blood and tribe. As a result, racialism in its new pro-
orions is no longer a minority predicament but now a
mon danger, an imminent majority fate.
But, as we all know, racialism is regrettably not an
axis monopoly. Were it so, the democratic cause could
ick up the challenge with firm, clean hands and set
both as Galahads of an all-out counter-movement and
usade. But much must be done, and undone, before the
representative democracies can convert their military
leadership of the conflict which involves these issues into
oral leadership of the cause itself.
When, in their revolutionary days, British commoners
allenged the divine right of kings and lords, and
rench Jacobins advocated "for all men" the democratic
ity of liberty, equality, and fraternity, these early
ths for political democracy were insurgent movements
not saddled with the heritage and spoils of power. Later
turies have seen the major democracies themselves be-
come encumbered with national imperialism and eco-
omic overlordships and striped with their own brands of
or and cultural racialism. All this had become chronic
nd sub-acute in our world of yesterday until a more
tulent strain of infection came to precipitate a crisis
ck of long standing social maladies. There is little use
llaming Germany, Italy, and Japan for all this pain and
ture in the body politic; that is childish and unscient-
ic. Some of it stems from our own social rheumatisms
nd our ancient imperial gout. A good part of the trouble
endemic, calling for self-medication and cure if the
ternal economy of democracy is to be brought back to
rigorous health and strength.
Still less can we dally now that the strains and hazards
of world war beset us. If democracy itself is to survive, all
the lurking anti-democratic infections in our own systems
must be discovered and counteracted, whether manifested
in the internal viscera of our nations or as colonial aches
nd imperial twinges in the farflung extremities of the
r great world powers.
To such a task of objective diagnosis Survey Graphic
as called in a corps of specialist consultants. Whether
our readers agree with their findings, take or reject their
individual prescriptions, of this one thing we may be sure:
hey have all tackled their delicate wartime job as the
ysician friends of democracy, at home and abroad. If
heir objective scrutiny reveals that few if any of the na-
tions aligned against the Axis are free from open source
nts of possible infection from fascism, racism and anti-
democracy, it also reveals preventive struggle and life-
giving forces at work. This is no time for mutual recrim-
nation but for intelligent, constructive social action, for
rastic self-reform of social practice and cooperative re-
ignment of political policy.

The Price of Democracy

Let us glance at their check list of symptoms. Britain
has, here in the Caribbean, in Africa, in India, indeed the
world over, critical problems in her extensive colonial
domain. The United States has her perennial hold-over
problem of the Negro, her Oriental exclusion dilemma,
and other problems of minority attitude that go back even
as far as our original bad treatment of the American In-
dian. France not only has her segment of the problem of
empire but the ironic paradox of her yet unliberated co-
nial children safeguarding at the Equator a democratic
patrimony otherwise lost. The Netherlands has her co-
nial problems, too, to which the chastisement of recent
loss has brought a new and clarified vision.
India, in turn, has grievous internal problems of caste
and of her Hindu-Moslem cleavages; Central Europe, the
hard puzzle of reconciling fanatic nationalisms with the
elfare of her minorities. Palestine is not yet free of the
feud between Jew and Arab. Many of the American Re-
publics to the south of us have yet to make the break with
abor serfdom and successfully incorporate their aborigi-
nal stocks in the mainstream flow of the national life. Last
but not least, in almost all our countries there still un-
democratically persists the disturbing phenomenon of
anti-Semitism.

To many, this will seem but a list of old familiar ills
nd domestic problems, local symptoms to be patched or
ushed up during the emergency. This is the old way of
looking at them, the old way of treating them; but to do
so is of a piece with grandmother's tonics, lotions, and
oulces. For like so many of grandmother's contempor-
aries, our sick civilization may also die of "complications"
which we have failed to diagnose and see as intercon-
ected—as a general systemic condition of democracy
breaking out here and there, but with increasing fre-
cuency, and jeopardizing our social survival and the
whole war effort.

Witness the world repercussions of Western color preju-
dice, corroding with suspicion the confidence of India,
China, and other non-white peoples in the common dem-
ocratic cause. Note the disruptive effect of an old colonial
grudge, as in India, upon common action when face to
face with common danger. Consider the tragic cost of
American race prejudice, operating to curdle the morale
of one tenth of the American nation. Or again, the avo-
able waste and frustration of curtailing the use of Negroes
in the industrial output of the chosen "arsenal of democ-
acy." Worst irony of all, observe the same undemocratic
behavior, venting itself in a southern lynching or a mid-
western race riot, boomeranged back at American democ-
ency in mocking and insidious Japanese propaganda.

These examples could be multiplied, but only to come
to the same general sum. These matters are no longer
merely "domestic affairs," to be superficially bandaged,
poulrised, lanced or opiated, things to be locally endured
and tolerated. They are deep-seated dangers to democracy,
crippling us in war and in facing the issues of peace. Be-
fore our eyes a minority disability becomes a general
weakness. Under the threat of a ruthless enemy, the
minority status becomes the majority danger. We then
begin to realize that if we would effectively stave off
totalitarian tyranny, democracy itself must first be uni-
versalized.

There are persons and interests who, in the face of this
situation, still think it possible to be halfway democratic
in the face of the whole-way demands of the times. They
do not see that it is necessary to pluck out from our own
body politic all those elements latent or actually of a
piece with the creeds and practices of the enemy and all
which we externally repudiate and defy. This is where the
moral and intellectual lines are drawn in this war, and
they are as urgent to the fate of the democratic cause as
any issues of the military battlefront.

Thus it would be a tragedy as catastrophic as military
defeat itself if the Atlantic Charter should turn out to be
another deceptive mirage of war rationalization. For it not to be, it will need to become the long awaited Magna Charta of the colonial peoples, an international bill of rights for all minorities, and a revolutionary extension of the democratic principle of equality to cover the parity of all peoples, races, and nations.

It is the part of practical wisdom and statesmanship to face this task. In doing so, the very symptoms of the social difficulties we have reviewed have a constructive rather than a negative role to play. Rightly viewed, they are clues to that equitable reconstruction of group relations so necessary for a truly consistent democracy, so indispensable for a world order of justice and peace.

If this is to come to pass, however, the world power nations must realize that they are cast in the role of King John in this historic crisis—and that they are called upon to rise to the occasion and make the wise and requisite renunciations. On the list to be renounced, if the new democracy is to be realized, are irresponsible national sovereignty, power politics, military and economic imperialism, racist notions of world rule and dominance, the persecution of particular minorities and the bigotry of cultural superiority. This is a formidable list, but it seems to be the indicated strategy of the war as well as the inescapable imperatives of the peace. These are the stakes of world democracy, the high but not impossible price of international justice, fraternity, and security. The question is: Will the democracies decide to pay it?

America's Role in the New Democracy

When it comes to these international aspects of democracy the United States, it is worth recalling, had an auspicious start. We are prone to forget that the American Revolution was fought by a continental army made up not only of rebellious colonists but also of a French contingent under Rochambeau, and with the strategic aid of Lafayette, von Steuben, Kosciusko. In the Savannah campaign against Cornwallis, there was even a sizeable colored volunteer expedition from San-Dominique, now Haiti. The leadership of the time was a galaxy of all-out libertarians, who considered the world as their country and humanity at large their fellow citizens. For them democracy was a world principle, and the struggle for American freedom but one chapter in the same book of liberty which was continued in the French Revolution.

Even when this international birthmark faded into a narrower nationalism, there remained with us something of the tradition of world connection and mission. This was confirmed particularly by our steady stream of migration from all over the world. That door of asylum and opportunity kept open for generations—at least on the Atlantic side—held this tradition alive, as against our early lapses into slavery and the slave trade, and our later ones into dollar imperialism, half-hearted colonialism, Caribbean meddling and flirtation with world power politics. But as offsets, over the decades, to our self-interestedness throughout the world, must stand our overseas adventures of heart and mind—our missionary, educational, and philanthropic overtures to the common future of mankind.

Today we are, it would seem, on the swing back to a wider democracy. We have recanted our selfish isolationism of 1919. We have repaired our undemocratic ways at their weakest foreign points by the timely institution of the "good neighbor policy," by statesmanship innate in Pan-American relations, by the practical altruisms lend-lease aid before our formal entry into the prewar war. The universal spread of the Four Freedoms at the broad implications, however sketchy, of the Atlantic Charter have revived the original principles Alaxand Hamilton must have had in mind when, in the ear days of the Republic, he said: "The established rules morality and justice apply to nations as well as to individuals."

Moreover, the United States, with its composite popular sampling all the human races and peoples, is a way of being almost a United Nations by herself. We could so easily and naturally, with the right dynamics become the focus of thoroughgoing internationalism thereby realizing, one might say, our manifest destinies. On the practical side, also, through our large proportion share in the war effort, we have a gigantic investment in world order and human freedom. We have been foreg,ing this future as well as weapons in assuming the task of being the "world arsenal of democracy."

Again in our frontage on the Pacific, we have Easter allies, and may well become peculiarly a guardian of peace. And more, as the one great power without explicit colonial and imperial commitments, we are ideally chosen as the neutral referee in the urgent business of the righting of colonial wrongs. Africa will look to us particularly for special intercession, and with warrant, on the grounds of that debt of unrequited slave labor take from her to build the foundation of America's earlier wealth. All these are assets in our chance and expectation of leadership in an emancipated new world.

But over against all this, there stands one tragic but irremedial liability. In the neglected and unsolved problem of the Negro in America, the Achilles of this West has a dangerously vulnerable heel. At any time in any critical position requiring moral authority before the world, this threatens to impair our influence as an exemplar of democracy. It has already done so.

The Negro: Paradox of American Democracy

For this very reason, not since the Civil War has the Negro's cause been of greater significance. As has aptly been said, the question has moved around from a back-yard domestic issue to a front-porch exposure for all the world to see.

For the moment, then, the paradox of race has become our democracy's great dilemma. But speeded on its way to solution, it could, by that very token, become a triumphant vindication. Clear credentials on this score would give America a passport to world confidence especially in the eyes of that two thirds of humanity who happen to be non-white.

The March on Washington Movement puts the case in a pithy phrase: "Winning democracy for the Negro means winning the war for democracy." Allowing for the short hand of slogans, this is in a deep sense literally true. For the Negro, always the test case of the complete internal soundness of our democratic practice, is now a touchstone the world over of our democratic integrity.

That our domestic policy of race is a serious impediment in our world relations may well exert unique new pressure as a corrective of traditional American race
The commitments we have undertaken, the external challenges of the world goals we have set, may well turn out to be the very forces destined to clear our own democracy of its present undemocratic inconsistencies. The more we define this world position and policy, the more paradoxical our race attitudes and traditions will in contrast become. Dictates of expediency may re-emerge, at long last, the dictates of conscience.

Consider the present global alignment of the United Nations—with China and Russia participating with authority, with a Free French cause based on African colonial support, with a crucial India and a near-critical Ethiopia—Near-East. No European, Anglo-Saxon or even Anglo-American bloc has more than a passing chance to dominate the peace. World leadership under the circumstances must be moral leadership in democratic concert with humanity at large. And a real share in such leadership will not accrue to any nation that cannot abandon racial and cultural prejudice.

Thus the international front of race has been permanently joined to our home front of race, and only a consistent, fundamental policy seems possible. All the more reason, then, why hoary traditions, already internally inconsistent, should be uprooted when they stand between us and our goals in war and peace. We must, therefore, put our democratic house in order, and drop those racial differentials which amount, after all, to a double standard of democracy.

Here in the United States, in 1860, fate cast the Negro in the role of a test case of the basic human right of freedom, of the integrity of our national Constitution, of the Union. Today the Negro is cast in an international role involving on a world scale pretty much the same issues of political morality. The Negro's cause becomes the fulcrum of this extension of democracy, a world stage to its prospective fulfillment.

The New Double-Entry Bookkeeping

To sum up: We see how race prejudice (1) hinders the effective and wholehearted participation of one tenth of our population in the national war effort; and (2) how not only provides fertile ground for Axis propaganda at dangerous soil for the possible growth of fascism.

Meanwhile, in ever-widening circles of international contact and foreign relations, this domestic denial of democracy provides present moral embarrassment and threatens future political complications. In at least the following concrete ways, the foreign reactions to American race prejudice do and will stultify America's moral and practical leadership of democracy:

1. With the Caribbean population predominantly "colored," they will hamper any progressive Caribbean program—necessary enough during the war, for hemispheric defense, at crucial thereafter for sound post-war trade and cooperation.

2. With important elements of the South and Central American populations also "colored" and the Latin liberalism of racial policy and feeling, North American prejudice will block the full confidence and cooperation of Latin America in the Pan-American program.

3. The same attitudes will align American opinion and political leadership as a reactionary ally of colonial imperialism, rather than as a progressive force for any worldwide political and economic federation, which justly incorporates the Asiatic and African peoples.

4. Finally, they will alienate the confidence of this vast non-white majority of humanity, balk their hopes of international democracy, and ultimately lay the groundwork for a global color-war.

To many, these more remote consequences may not be of immediate concern, but nonetheless, in the light of their serious ultimate effects, they should and must be made matters of immediate consideration.

Our latest and shrewdest observer of the world situation comes back with these frank, sagacious conclusions. Says Mr. Willkie:

Our Western world and our presumed supremacy are now on trial... Men and women in Russia and China and in the Middle East are conscious now of their own potential strength. They are coming to know that many of the decisions about the future lie in their hands. And they intend that these decisions shall leave the peoples of each nation free from foreign domination, free for economic, social, and spiritual growth.

Fortunately, too, Mr. Willkie takes into account and into camp the mounting liberal forces in the Western democracies which are not only ready to concede these points, but regard them as of equal importance to the enlargement of human freedoms everywhere. This progressive concern, rising now almost to a ground swell of popular feeling and conviction, is to be counted upon to pull reactionary democracy out of the narrows and set us heading for new democratic goals.

We can justly be proud of our political expression of democracy; but in the matter of social democracy, we must chart a new course. We must meet the challenge on the south of the more liberal race policies of Latin America; on the east, of the militant race equality creed and practice of Russia; while from every side there bears down upon us both the questioning skepticism and the hopeful expectations of the non-white world.

To the far-sighted, the future is not divorced from present action. Every constructive step in social democracy, in social justice, is not only net gain for the present but assured dividends for the future. So linked up are the home and foreign fronts of race, that it matters little where the moves begin. Any gain is a world gain; any setback, a world loss. The recent full recognition of Ethiopia has favorable repercussions in Harlem; our remission of extra-territoriality in China is as much a matter of morale for those who think on the Gold Coast or in Georgia as with those who plan and heroically fight in China.

Conversely, a lynching in Mississippi, over and above its enemy echo on a Tokyo short-wave, has as much symbolic meaning in Chunking, Bombay, and Brazzaville as it has in tragic reality in the hearts of Negro Americans. Steps taken to abolish second-class citizenship in Florida or to democratize the American army or our war industry have, on the other hand, favorable repercussions almost to the ends of the earth. It helps build up not necessarily a democracy of extended political power and domain, but a much more needed democracy of full moral stature, world influence and world respect. It is such unfinished business, foreign and domestic, that waits on democracy's calendar today.
OUR NEGRO POPULATION HAS Risen FROM 800,000 TO 13,000,000 IN 150 YEARS

BUT THE PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION IS SMALLER TODAY

ALMOST 4 OUT OF 5 STILL LIVE IN THE SOUTH

LIFE AND DEATH

THE NEGRO'S LIFE AVERAGES 10 YEARS LESS THAN THE WHITE'S...

MATERNAL DEATH RATE IS THREE TIMES THAT OF WHITE...

YET NEGRO DEATH RATE IS GOING DOWN
THE U.S.A.

EDUCATION

MANY NEGROES HAVE LESS THAN 5 YEARS SCHOOLING

YET NEGRO ILLITERACY IS DISAPPEARING...

IN 1865 ONLY ONE IN 20 COULD READ

TODAY MORE THAN 18 IN 20 CAN READ

AND ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS GREW EVEN FASTER

IN 1865 ONLY 7.4% OF NATIVE WHITES HAVE LESS THAN 5 YEARS

BUT 41.3% OF NEGROES HAVE LESS

IN 1940 MORE THAN 18 IN 20 CAN READ

MAKING A LIVING

MORE THAN TWICE AS MANY NEGROES AS WHITES, PROPORTIONATELY, ARE LIMITED TO AGRICULTURAL AND DOMESTIC SERVICE

NEGROES: 64.8% OF ALL WORKERS

NATIVE WHITES: 28.0% OF ALL WORKERS

NEGRO INCOMES ARE LOW...

IN LARGE NORTH CENTRAL CITIES, 4 OUT OF 10 HAVE LESS THAN $1,000 PER YEAR

IN SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITIES, 9 OUT OF 10 HAVE LESS THAN $1,000 PER YEAR

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION
The Quest for Equality

HERBERT AGAR

A compass reading to help us keep American democracy on course during the crisis—by the former editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, founder of Freedom House, now a lieutenant commander in the U. S. Navy

THE PROBLEM OF THE WHITE MAN'S TREATMENT OF THE Negro in America is related to the central moral problem of this war. The world revolt against civilization, of which the war is the military phase, would not have happened if we had served more faithfully the ideas on which our civilization rests.

The idea of equality, for example, which is deep in the American mind, is the idea which brings together most fully our political and our moral tradition. As Saint-Exupéry says, men cannot be equal unless they are equal in something. To the mind of our Western world it is natural to think of men being equal in God—not only equal before God, in the eyes of God, but equal in God, in the divine spark which gives abiding value to the individual soul. A whole set of political systems has arisen in the effort to make real this idea of equality which man in the Western world has always desired. Our religion has recommended it and our politics have often promised it. Yet it has proved a mirage.

It remains, nevertheless, a deep and passionate desire. It satisfies a religious and a secular yearning at the same time. It fulfills the Christian idea and the democratic idea. It could even lend moral value to that striving for mechanical perfection and mastery which is characteristic of our world; for the marvels of technology, if used to serve the idea of equality, would truly come into their own.

A world where equality was accepted and served would be democratic necessarily. It would be free necessarily. It would be without race prejudice, and obviously without class oppression. No such perfection will be found on our disorderly earth; but to whatever extent we make the concept of equality come true, to the same extent we fulfill many of our deepest political and moral ambitions. In this concept, with its religious sanction and therefore with its implication of equality of duties as well as of rights, we have the "explosive idea" with which the human race can stand up and fight the Axis. The idea is simple. It is dynamic. It can move the heart to a mystic joy. And America seems in a special way to be the guardian of the idea, because in the preamble to our first state document we already dared to talk of truths and privileges which were applicable to "all men."

The Democratic Beauty That Was Greece

IN THE FUNERAL ORATION FOR THE SOLDIERS WHO DIED in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles had this to say of Athens: "We have provided education and recreation for the spirit . . . and beauty in our public buildings, which delight our hearts by day and banish sadness." It is unusual for a statesman to give such a reason why men should die gladly for their country. Yet this re-creation for the spirit, these buildings that delight the heart by day, are precisely the reason why Athens has remained a symbol for man's hopes.

It is easy to make the story of Athenian democracy sound fraudulent. It was a brief story, dark with quarrels. The life of the city rested always on the labor of slaves and of underprivileged metics. And Athens, whose writers preached moderation in such lovely language, blew herself white in an immoderate imperialist war. Yet for more than two millenniums man has looked to Athens as a sign of grace. And in matters such as this the instance and the memory of man are always right.

The beauty of Athens was a democratic beauty because it was made for the most part by the ordinary artisan-slaves and citizens alike, doing their daily work and drawing their pay like other craftsmen. The beauty was there for everybody, just as the theater of Athens was attended by everybody. Whatever the city was able to build that was noble or great, was built out in the open for all men to see, so that it might help to banish a man's sadness. In politics they were oppressive toward their neighbors; in economics they indulged the usual undisciplined greed; and these sins brought them to early disaster. But in one great field of life they tried to make men's opportunities equal, and for that they earned the power to create beauty in their lifetimes, and immortalize in the mind of man.

The Democratic Opportunity That Is America

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "equality of opportunity" in this Periclean sense and the same phrase as it is often used in America to justify the inequality of our world. Too often we use the words to mean an equal chance for the man of rare ability to get ahead. To whatever extent we have provided this form of equality, it is a useful feature of our life, making initiative and self-reliance and hard work. But this form of equality does not make for brotherhood, or charity, or respect for all men, or the sense that we are equal in God.

In fact, if it were the only form of equality widely practiced by a community, this equal chance for the gifted man to get ahead might be said to work against the moral values of our world. R. H. Tawney calls it "Ta pole Equality:"

It is possible that intelligent tadpoles reconcile themselves to the inconveniences of their position by reflecting that, though most of them will live and die as tadpoles and nothing more, the more fortunate of the species will one day shed their tails, distend their mouths and stomachs, hop into the dry land, and croak addresses to their former friens on the virtues by means of which tadpoles of character as capacity can rise to be frogs. . . . Who has not heard it suggested that the presence of opportunities, by means of which individuals can ascend and get on, relieves economic co-
traits of their social poison and their personal sting... As though the noblest use of exceptional powers were to scramble to shore, undeterred by the thought of drowning companions!

It is doubtless a good thing for tadpoles to get ashore and to become frogs. No criticism is implied of those features of our society which facilitate such change. But the equality which would do justice to the American idea must go further than this.

Rightly interpreted [says Mr. Tawney] it means not only that what are commonly regarded as the prizes of life should be open to all, but that none should be subjected to arbitrary penalties; not only that exceptional men should be free to exercise their exceptional powers, but that common men should be free to make the most of their common humanity.

If a community which is indifferent to the need of facilitating the upward movement of ability becomes torpid and inert, a community which is indifferent to all else but that movement becomes hardened and materialized, and is in the end disillusioned with the ideal that it has itself created. It confines change with progress...

It is wrong in suggesting that opportunities to rise, which, of their very nature, be seized only by the few, are a substitute for a general diffusion of the means of civilization, which are needed by all men, whether they rise or not, and which those who cannot climb the economic ladder, and who sometimes, indeed, do not desire to climb it, may turn to as good account as those who can.

When Pericles boasted that Athens provided "re-creation for the spirit" for all men in the city, he was saying that Mr. Tawney's "general diffusion of the means of civilization" had been accomplished. Doubtless he exaggerated, but the statement was more true of Athens than it has been of any modern community. Yet we are the heirs of a Christian tradition which gives us more incentive to rue equality than the Athenians enjoyed.

One reason for our failure is that we have not steadily distinguished between opportunity to get ahead and opportunity to be civilized. To be true to itself our Christian world should aim to provide equality in both. But the second is the more important, because it concerns the overwhelming majority of the human race.

Another reason for the failure is that equality is sometimes pictured as a purely physical or mathematical question of equality of income. Presumably this is impossible; in any case it is irrelevant. It does not matter in the least that some men should make more money than others; this does not interfere with equality. What does matter is that a man's education, and health, and life-expectancy, and even many of his traditions of conduct, should necessarily be different because he has more money than his neighbors. What matters, says Mr. Tawney:

...is that some classes should be excluded from the heritage of civilization which others enjoy, and that the fact of human fellowship, which is ultimate and profound, should be obscured by economic contrasts, which are trivial and superficial. What is important is not that all men should receive the same pecuniary income. It is that the surplus resources of society should be so husbanded and applied that it is a matter of minor significance whether they receive it or not.

This is not an unattainable idea. In the simpler America of a generation ago it was often attained, except for the Negro. And in many middle western communities it is almost attained today, except for the Negro. The exception could be overcome. And modern technology, which has been allowed to destroy the natural egalitarianism of so much of American life, could just as well have been used to spread that egalitarianism—if we had put first things first. It was only necessary for us to say that this American idea, this precious American practice, was not to be taken from us anywhere, but was to be extended where it did not already prevail. Had we said it, we could have done it. But the excitement of the technological revolutions was so great that we gave ourselves to simple enjoyment of the machine; while in many places the spirit of our culture withered half away. We must now repair in a hurry what we allowed to decay over decades.

Failure and Rededication

One prerequisite for such repair is to remind ourselves how far we are from even the simplest form of equality—the equal chance for the very talented to rise. We admire this equality so much, we think it so essential to the American way of life, that we tend to persuade ourselves that we actually possess it—thus holding ourselves back from the hard thinking and the hard work which are the preludes to such possession. Complacency is not a quality we can afford in this challenged world. An example of this self-delusion is an interesting letter in The New York Times for May 7, 1942. The writer is discussing the meaning of "equality," assuming without discussion that "equality of opportunity for the development of the individual [is] provided through our modern schools." A few vital statistics should be enough to dispel such optimism: Out of a thousand white male children born in the United States, about 440 will live to be seventy years old. Out of a thousand Negro male children, about 250 will live to be seventy. Out of ten thousand white male births and the same number of Negro male births, there will be 500 more white boys alive at the age of ten; there will be 1,200 more white men alive at the age of thirty, and about 2,400 more at the age of fifty. Equality of opportunity should obviously include equality of opportunity to remain alive. Even in this bedrock sense of the word, however, the Negro baby has only about 60 percent of the white baby's chances.

There is no reason to be discouraged by such facts. The pity is that few people know the facts, and that even among those who know them many do not care. If we did know and we did care, the problem could be met. Most of the sins against equality in our society can be removed the moment we become discontented with the sin.

As Vice-President Wallace suggests, the first step in bringing about this change is to see that "the methods of the nineteenth century will not work" in the world we now inhabit. Those methods made for the concentration of money and power by means of the exploitation of colored peoples by white peoples, and of certain groups within white countries by other groups. It was said that the benefits which were conferred by economic progress more than compensated for the inequalities such progress brought in its train. This was always a dubious argument, morally. It has now become an impossible argument. For we now know that the moral obliquities of the system were so great that they led the human race to lose faith in the civilization that permitted them.

It was assumed that in Malaya and in Burma the
natives would be so thankful for antitoxins and for cheap tin trays that they would not resent being treated as if they were morally and socially inferior. The assumption has been proved wrong in a test that cannot be disallowed, for many of the natives lent themselves to the barbarian revolt.

It was assumed in the white man's world that it was possible to build a civilization on mechanical progress alone, that any violation of the rules of the civilization would be forgiven so long as it resulted in a still greater supply of goods and services. All over the white man's world there grew up people who wanted to hurt this civilization, because it had hurt them unbearably. It had deprived them of faith and of self-respect, turning them loose in a desert of despair. These people will follow any demagogue who preaches hate, any barbarian who wants to use them in his struggle for power.

Our Moral Capital

The forces of civilization are still strong enough to win, but only if they realize that our civilization must rededicate itself to its proper aims. Otherwise the world will have none of it. But the same economic machinery which has been used to put the wealth of the world in the hands of a small minority can be used to put the wealth of the world in the hands of the human race—if the will is there.

Vice-President Wallace is probably right in suggesting that such a change would lead to a great increase in everybody's wealth. If the standard of living of our own South were doubled, if the standard of living of India, China, and South America were doubled or trebled, everybody in the world would probably be better off. But even if the rest of us were not better off physically, we would certainly be better off in our minds and souls. We would be using our resources for a high faith. We would be making our country the hope and help of the world. That is a world fit for men who have been blessed by providence with our American good fortune. And the keynote of that work is the concept of equality.

We must not be frightened by those who say that if we begin to treat the human race as if we were all equal in God, we shall suddenly find ourselves living on a diet of rice and dressed in cotton pants. The evidence is against the theory that if we respect our neighbors and treat them with justice we inevitably go broke. The evidence, in fact, is in favor of the opposite theory: that if we don't respect our neighbors and treat them with justice we inevitably lose our civilization. And the alternative is, literally, the economic system so unpleasantly described by Spengler as "suffering and breeding and tilling the soil."

It may take a long time to kill a civilization; but it is our lot to live at the end of such a long time. Civilization is being killed under our eyes. We can save it, and renew it, but not by behaving as if nothing could weaken civilization sufficiently to make it show a crack. We and our fathers have used up the moral capital that we inherited. A selfishness, a callousness, a denial of equality in God, which would not wreck the world in 1870 would wreck it immediately today. Now we have got to justify the pretensions of our culture—to ourselves, and to our fellow men across the earth. If we succeed, we can build a new supply of moral capital to leave our children. If they, too, choose to dissipate the heritage, the tragedy will be theirs. Our task is to give them a chance to make the choice.

The Common Denominator of Civilization

"An equality that was founded upon God," said Saint Exupéry in his last book, "involved neither contradiction nor disorder. Democracy enters at the moment when, instead of a common denominator, the principle of equality degenerates into a principle of identity."

These words demolish the folly of those who would abandon the concept of equality on the ground that men are obviously unequal—unequal in talents, health, culture, character. The observation is true, but uninteresting. It leaves out the common denominator. Since the common denominator in this case is God, the omission of some importance.

No one who is not daft will deny that men are unequal in their capacities. But no one who accepts the basis of our Christian tradition will deny that men are equal in the most important of common denominators, in that they are all ambassadors of the same God. One does not have to humiliate an ambassador. He may be an unpleasant man, of a distasteful shape or color, and his mind may be disgraceful; yet he demands respect because of what he represents. This is the answer to those who tell us that it is "too much" to expect white men to treat as brothers who are the underprivileged natives of some savage ba-

Either the savage is a member of the human race or he is not. Either the members of the human race partake in some way of a divine principle or they do not. If they do not do so, then, and only then, can the savage be a human being, either because those facts are more important than the education and the habits that divide men, or they are not. And finally, either the white man is capable of disciplining himself to live up to the "common denominator" which his civilization rests, or he is not. If not, his civilization will soon fade into the limbo of all the better creeds and abandoned ideals of the past.

We have stayed too long in the garish world where John Buchan predicted—"when life would be lived in glare of neon lights and the spirit would have no shade." In that bright and ugly place it did not seem reasonable to think about God, or to stress the fact that even neon lights can long be made in a world which has no principles. The fact, however, is now being stressed by history itself. Yet our world is still full of backward men and women who say that to talk of such things today, is to "weaken our will to win," or to "stir disaffection."

What is it that they intend to "win," with this will to theirs that dares not face the facts? A war? But we are not fighting a mere war. We are fighting against a world revolution to kill civilization. It is a fight that we never lose so long as we have a noble civilization to which we honorably adhere; it is a fight that we can never win so long as we are afraid to face the failings that brought the world revolt into being. Hitler's armies may have ground to bits by the Russians; the armies of the Japanese Emperor may drown in the South Seas; but the revolt will go on in some form until we learn to be true to faith or until our civilization is finally downed by the hatred of the men to whom that faith has been a hoax.
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The long arm of the draft reaches down into every city and countryside. In an ever lengthening stream are young men on their way to military and naval training centers which will harden and fit them for war. Almost nightly gray ships move out to sea packed with men.

There are native-born Americans among them, and descendants of immigrants who came to America in search of freedom and opportunity. They include Slavs, Germans, Italians, Jews, Irish, Scandinavians, Chinese and the rest; and American Indians.

Among the native-born Americans are thousands of Negro youth. Like their white fellow-selectees, they come from all over America—from Alabama, Mississippi, New York, Illinois—and their speech is the "American" of the regions from which they hail. The lazy drawl of the South. The vowel distortion of the streets of New York. The broad accents of Boston and lower New England. The tang of the West.

All these young men of such varied racial stocks have many things in common. Likely enough, most of them are baseball fans who have their favorite teams and players, a Joe Di Maggio or Joe Medwick or Rube Feller or Hank Greenberg—stellar players of St. Louis or Brooklyn or Boston or Chicago, Detroit or Cincinnati—of whatever section of the country claims their loyalties.

There's small question they are avid followers of the "comic strips." Tracy and Popeye the Sailor, Orphan Annie, the Gumps, Moon Mullins. And they have their favorites of the screen: Spencer Tracy, Clark Gable, Mickey Rooney, Humphrey Bogart, Dorothy Lamour, Lana Turner, Judy Garland. They respond to the same kind of music, symphonies perhaps, but more often swing. Their feet have danced to the popular radio bands, to Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, Cab Calloway, Sammy Kaye. They are fond of the so-called torch songs: "The White Cliffs of Dover" or whatever has currently usurped the place of "I'll Never Smile Again."

They all have admiration for Joe Louis. The Negroes
among them have cherished Dorie Miller, messman, as an American to be proud of since his exploits at Pearl Harbor. And they have other earlier heroes: Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, Roland Hayes, who have become common possessions for many of their generation outside their race.

They are Americans, these young men, Jew and Christian, black and white. They have been summoned by their country to defend the ideal of a free world for free men, to banish injustice and oppression from the face of the earth. No one could convince them that this is not a high and worthy ideal for which to fight. No hope of mere conquest, of territorial gain, could command their loyalty and sacrifice. They are backers of the four freedoms.

And these young men also have in common a rendezvous somewhere in the world, on the blazing sands of Egypt or in swampy inlands of the Coral Sea. Somewhere, it doesn’t matter much where, they have a rendezvous with death. Among the many other things these young men have in common, surely love of life and liberty are two. But a barrier divides one group from all the others, so that they may not associate—work or even play—together. They may not fight the common enemy together. For between them is the color line—which is America’s tragedy and shame.

Those fortunate enough to return will have a rendezvous, not with death but with life, all over again—life ‘in America. Will they find things in common, too, as they come back; or will color continue to separate them into Americas as different as black and white?

Aftermath

The great majority of Americans are not deliberately hostile to the participation of the Negro in the benefits of democracy, in the right to employment according to his capacity, the right to live in security and in decent surroundings, or the right to education, the right to exercise the franchise, the right to equal protection of the law. What the majority of Americans do not realize is that equality in all these benefits which in a democracy should be the heritage of all men, never can be attained under a system of racial segregation.

For over two thirds of a century American Negroes have attempted to shake off the social maladies of the slave system. The race problem in the United States arises out of the denial to them of equality of opportunity and out of their efforts to level the barriers which shut them off. Hardly a week passes without some reference in the press to isolated manifestations of it as part of a general pattern in America at war:

Negro soldiers beaten up attempting to ride in white buses
Negro clergymen assaulted for passing through a coach reserved for white people on a southern railroad
Negroes excluded from a war industry
Negro and white soldiers clashing in Ireland
Negro women segregated in WAACs; excluded from WAVES.

Red Cross first declines, then segregate blood offered by Negro donors.
Negroes threaten March on Washington.
Southern leaders appeal to President to ease racial tension.

Today it is the considered opinion of a sober-minded white and colored leader that that tension is at a critical stage. In the South the traditional patience and humility of the Negro is wearing thin. In the great wartime industrial centers of the North—Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis—Pittsburgh—the danger of racial antipathies engendered by Negro resentment over persistent discrimination becomes more menacing.

There are many people both in the North and South who honestly believe that racial separation is the best way to approach the problem occasioned by the presence of the Negro in America. They are of the opinion that racial antipathies and conflicts are reduced to a minimum by such separation. And they feel that it is possible for the Negro to obtain equality of opportunity under the so-called bi-racial system which in the 1900's was looked to as a solution. Ther are others whose support of segregation is derived from the fear that social equality and intermarriage will follow, with consequent degeneration of the stock of the white majority in America. These are not concerned with the equities. Their race attitudes are identical with those e
Hitler in committing them to a policy of repression of the Negro minority.

Hence this strange and curious picture, this spectacle of America at war to preserve the ideal of government by free men, yet clinging to the social vestiges of the slave system.

The Impasse in Segregation

Slavery unquestionably was a malignant growth in democracy; the same may be said of racial segregation. One of the characteristics of such growth is metastasis; that is, its tendency to spread to other parts of the body. This has been a characteristic of racial segregation in the American body politic in the years since slavery—so much so that prior to the war it could be said that if the United States had a general policy of race relations, that policy was racial segregation.

It was the policy of the government not only in the army, the navy, the marine corps, the air corps; but the general rule in various civilian departments in Washington. With rare exceptions, the lunchrooms for Negro employees were separate from those for the other employees. Negro clerks are compelled to go from ten to twenty blocks to eat in a Negro restaurant during the lunch hour if they are unwilling to submit to segregation. Since the war, even an order from the President demanding elimination of racial and religious discrimination in governmental departments has been stubbornly resisted and receives only token compliance in some.

In its historic setting in the South, segregation means separate schools for Negroes, separate coaches on railway trains, separate sections on buses. It means separate libraries, hospitals, public parks and, in small communities, complete exclusion from these municipal installations no less than from theaters—except in galleries, once called "Nigger Heaven." In its larger implications it means the denial of citizenship rights to the Negro. For it bars Negroes and whites from working together in the public service—state, municipal, and county. Hence positions become closed to Negro citizens since it is impracticable to divide all departments along lines of race and color. And it limits the exercise of the franchise by Negroes through the poll tax and other undemocratic devices, with the result that the impoverished white, too, has been kept from voting.*

When recently a distinguished southern liberal, Mark Ethridge, general manager of the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal, made an eloquent plea for opportunities for Negroes to work in war industry, he was impelled to speak as follows: "All the armies of the world—both of the United Nations and the Axis—could not force upon the South the abandonment of racial segregation."

The occasion was the first hearing in the South of the Fair Employment Practice Commission, created by executive order of the President to halt flagrant racial and religious discrimination impairing the war effort. Mr. Ethridge is a member of this commission, but a literal application of the viewpoint he quoted would scuttle the very thing he was pleading for—the full inclusion of Negroes in war industry. Only a few industries could lend themselves to division of tasks purely on the basis of race. The cost of duplicating equipment and supervisory personnel for semi-skilled and skilled operations would be prohibitive. The result would be that in line with southern prejudice Negroes would be relegated to menial jobs.

The argument of management and sometimes of organized labor that Negroes and whites cannot work together amicably is disproved in literally thousands of instances. For a quarter of a century, Negroes have worked alongside whites with little or no friction in the great Ford Motor Company plants in Detroit. In Rochester, N.Y., a Negro foreman of the millwright department of a gear manufacturing company has supervised the work of white subordinates for many years. These examples could be multiplied. In the federal government, Negroes and whites work together in the post offices as clerks and it is not uncommon in larger cities in the North for a Negro to rise to a supervisory position. The Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance of the State of New York has Negro managers, senior interviewers, assistant interviewers, clerks, payroll examiners, referees, who work side by side with white in the same occupational categories. A Negro battalion fire chief, also in New York, commands the fire department companies in a large area of the city and maintains the respect of white captains and lieutenants who work under his direction.

*On October 13 a roll call vote of 252 to 84 in the U. S. House of Representa- tives passed the Geyer bill which finally was forced on to the floor by petition. The Senate has still to act. The measure outlaws the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 553)
New Skilled Workers for War Jobs

Aluminum caster

Steel worker

Aircraft worker

Laboratory technician

Photos from FSA and OEM
Negroes and War Production

LESTER B. GRANGER

How and why are we failing to use a tenth of our potential working strength? What is being done by government, management, labor to end costly discrimination in war industry? Urgent questions posed and answered:—by the executive secretary of the National Urban League.

IN THE LAST WORLD WAR THE MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL contribution that Negro labor had to offer consisted of strong bodies and willing hearts ready to answer the call of management. Nine tenths of the Negro population lived in the South, the great majority on farms or confined to domestic work. War production in 1917-18 depended on unskilled labor and required a substitute for the supply of immigrant workers no longer available from European countries.

Today's labor picture is changed. Three out of four war workers hired are required to have some training in machine and technical skills. Fortunately over a million Negro workers now are qualified for skilled, semi-skilled, and white-collar jobs. In 1930 there were 27,000 Negro mechanics and, thanks to defense training, WPA, and NYA, that number has trebled in the last two years. For the manufacture of tanks, planes and guns, there are available 8,000 Negro machinists, millwrights and toolmakers; 5,000 plumbers and steamfitters; 6,000 blacksmiths, forgemen and hammermen; and 25,000 iron and steel workers. In 1941 alone, 56,096 Negro students completed trade and industrial courses in technical schools; and 56,706 more enrolled in defense training courses. Thus, such gains as Negro labor has made in this war are not entirely the result of a changed public opinion. They are due in part to the fact that America has a new Negro worker at her disposal today as compared with twenty-five years ago.

But something else has happened in the past twenty-five years, besides additional training of Negro workers. In those very industrial centers to which they migrated during the last war, there has developed a powerful anti-Negro sentiment which has thus far prevented effective use of the contribution which Negro labor has to offer. This is in part an outgrowth of the Ku Klux Klan movement which swept the country during the 1920's. Other factors are the exclusionist policies of the old craft union organization; the appearance during the depression of Banners, Coughlinites and Black Legionnaires; the reaction of northern cities against the steady increase of their Negro populations; and the centuries of mis-education of white Americans in minority group relationships.

Thus today, in a period of mounting labor shortages, hundreds of thousands of Negro workers are unemployed or under-employed in the war program because of various kinds of racial discrimination. At the opening of the national defense program in the fall of 1940, it was estimated that 90 percent of the holders of defense contracts either used no Negro workers at all, or confined the use of skilled as well as unskilled Negroes to laboring or custodial jobs.

Barriers to Negro Employment

NEVERTHELESS, MANY NEGROES EXPECTED THAT THE 1917 experience would be repeated, enabling them to stream from relief rolls to payrolls. There was, however, a great difference between 1940 conditions and the situation twenty-three years earlier. 1. There was no immediate labor shortage. More than a million Negro unemployed were competing with five million unemployed white workers, many of whom possessed superior industrial training and experience.

2. Job openings began on the highly skilled level, while the great majority of unemployed Negroes were unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

3. Skilled jobs were more generally covered by closed shop agreements than a quarter-century before, and many of these unions rigidly excluded Negroes from membership.

4. Assembly line production demanded previous experience or training for even semi-skilled jobs. It is true that defense training courses, as well as training-within-industry programs, were being set up to train workers in their specific production operations. But most of these opportunities were closed to Negroes.

Few Negroes realized how far industrial management had gone in defining rigid anti-Negro policies. Personnel directors were generally convinced that Negroes were inefficient machine workers. It was almost axiomatic among them that the presence of Negroes in a plant fostered "labor trouble"; that Negro health and moral standards were lower than those of whites on similar income levels; that their employment required separate washroom, recreational, and housing facilities.

Moreover, the rise of a national public employment system had introduced a new set of controls in defense employment, since no private agency could hope to match the facilities of the public service. A considerable proportion of jobs were filled through referrals by public employment offices of WPA officials, and it was the exceptional city where Negroes did not complain of open or secret anti-Negro attitudes among staff members of these agencies.

Throughout 1940 and 1941, therefore, Negro job applicants found their approach to nascent industry blocked at almost every turn. Building contractors, charged with top-speed erection of factories, army cantonments, and other vital defense construction, clamored for skilled construction labor. Yet 75,000 Negroes, experienced as carpenters, painters, plasterers, cement workers, bricklayers and electricians, had the utmost difficulty in finding defense jobs.

When defense production got under way, Negro job
applicants at industrial plants met with the same reception. It was announced that a quarter-million workers would be absorbed immediately by the aircraft industry, but there was no room here for Negroes, regardless of training. The president of North American Aviation set forth the industry's policy when he declared in a press interview in the spring of 1941: "Regardless of their training as aircraft workers, we will not employ Negroes in the North American plant. It is against company policy." But aircraft manufacturers only followed a pattern set by defense industry generally. Standard Steel Corporation told the Urban League of Kansas City, "We have never had a Negro worker in twenty-five years and do not intend to start now." Sperry Gyroscope of New York, Pratt and Whitney of Hartford, Conn., Julius Heil of Milwaukee, Majestic Radio of Chicago, are only a few of the nationally known concerns that helped to build a wall against the Negro job applicant in defense industry.

Some Results of Discrimination

As a result, the percentage of Negroes on WPA rose from 14.2 in February 1939 to 17.6 in February 1942. Between January 1941 and January 1942 the number of unemployed Negroes seeking work dropped to about 640,000, a decrease of 36 percent, while the number of unemployed whites dropped from 6,000,000 to 3,600,000, a decrease of 46 percent. Even at that, the Negroes finding jobs were not placed in defense industry. The U. S. Bureau of Employment Security stated, "During the third quarter of 1941, when Employment Service placements reached their highest peak, placement in twenty selected war industries indicated that non-whites, mainly Negroes, had comprised only 3 percent of the total."

As Negroes discovered these facts, resentment flamed out in bitter protests. In hundreds of cities committees were formed and delegations appointed to interview public officials and employers. Huge mass meetings were held. Conferences were called in Washington to address statements to government heads. Negro church, fraternal, political, labor, and social organizations were supported by the Negro weekly press in protest against racial discrimination in a democracy preparing for war.

The President's Executive Order 8802 was issued in the midst of heated controversy after a committee of Negroes, headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had threatened that thousands of Negroes would march in a mass picket line in Washington on July 2, 1941. Issuance of the order by the President halted these plans, but not the controversy. Many Negroes wished "jobs, not official statements," and called for the "march on Washington," order or no order. Other observers hailed the executive order as a "New Magna Charta for Negro labor." Still a third point of view was expressed by recalcitrant employers, southern congressmen, and certain government officials who characterized the President's action as an obstruction to defense preparations.

As the Fair Employment Practice Committee, created by the order, went into action deliberately and carefully, open criticism died down somewhat. The FEPC held a series of hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Birmingham, which established the existence of racial and other discrimination in defense industry, and evoked considerable support from the liberal daily press. Orders to cease and desist were issued to a few firms under threat of cancellation of contract. This was the committee's big stick. But the very extent of that power was a handicap. That there are no intermediate degrees of punishment, such as fines, available to the committee has proved a handicap. Many employers have taken the risk of ignoring the committee, confident that the President and the War Production Board would hesitate to cancel any important contract for making guns, planes and tanks. As a matter of fact, not a single order has been canceled in more than a year of the committee's existence, though it is an open secret that several of the firms cited for violation have continued to discriminate—at least against Negroes.

Wartime Progress and Prejudice

But, paradoxically, in this period of sharpened discrimination, there also has been important progress in removing barriers against Negro labor. Today, possibly half of our war employers stand committed to the principle of using Negro labor in production jobs according to the workers' training and experience. Some of these employers have made good in heartening fashion.

Between December 1941 and April 1942, according to figures released by the U. S. Bureau of Employment Security, in several large shipbuilding companies working for the government, Negro employment increased from a total of 6,952 to 12,820. Between September 1940 and September 1941, the number of Negroes employed in navy shipyards rose from 6,000 to 14,000. In the aircraft industry, which employed virtually no Negroes in 1940, 5,000 of that race were employed in 49 plants in May 1942. A large aeronautical company has hired Negro personnel representatives in three of its plants. Approximately 6,000 Negroes have jobs in ordinance plants, some as skilled workers, among them chemists, explosive operators, physicians, nurses. Some of this progress has been the result of active intervention by the federal government; some, of patient pioneer work by private agencies, the National Urban League for social service among Negroes, and its forty-six local affiliates; some has been the work of opinion-making organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; some has resulted from new labor leadership; some from the mounting labor shortage.

There have always been a few unions in which the right of the Negro to work has been recognized and enforced, among them the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Congress of Industrial Organizations added new protagonists for the Negro's cause—the National Maritime Workers, the United Auto Workers, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, the United Rubber Workers. Under the pressure of public opinion, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor recently went on record as opposing racial discrimination in war industry, although at its annual convention last month the federation, by an overwhelming vote, refused to revise its traditional policy of non-interference with discriminatory practices in member unions. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in New York City announced cooperation with the War Manpower Commission in placing Negroes in local war jobs. Even the conservative Machinists' Union in several cities accepted a few Negro members or gave them work permits.
But all these programs combined have sufficed to do not more than open by a crack doors formerly barred to Negro workers. A year ago the United States Employment Service polled several hundred holders of defense contracts throughout the country on the number of new jobs to be expected during the next six months and the number for which qualified Negro applicants would be considered. Out of 282,245 prospective job openings, 144,583, or 51 percent, were absolutely barred to Negroes, regardless of their qualifications. This was six months after President Roosevelt had issued an executive order forbidding racial discrimination in defense industry and had established the Fair Employment Practice Committee to administer the provisions of the order.

Here are a few instances which indicate that many Americans are so blinded by racial prejudices that it would almost seem they oppose equally an Axis victory and equal job opportunity for their Negro fellow citizens.

In Wayne County, New York, Negroes sent from New York City to relieve a farm labor shortage found themselves involved in clashes with twenty-five white laborers recruited from Kentucky through interstate Employment Service clearance. Protesting that neither employer nor state troopers furnished protection, the Negroes finally left in disgust.

In Buffalo, N. Y., the National Housing Agency has sought for a year to relieve the housing shortage by erecting a war housing project for Negro war workers, but no site has been secured. There have been protests by Polish congregations, by organized real estate interests, and by political leaders. Meanwhile Negro workers are literally spilling out of the antiquated and overcrowded housing in the present Negro districts.

When Negroes of Seattle, Wash., demanded elimination of the union color line at the Boeing Aircraft Plant, the district organizer for the International Association of Machinists, (AFL) declared: "Labor has been asked to make many sacrifices in this war effort and has made them gladly. But this sacrifice [admission of Negro members] is too great."

White tenants in a Newport, R. I., war housing project demanded that families of Negro war workers be excluded because "in these critical times it is more important than ever to preserve the principle of white supremacy."

The mayor of Shreveport, La., rejected a federal appropriation for a health center because of a provision that Negro skilled workers be given a fair chance at jobs in its construction. Said the mayor, "Of equal importance with winning the war is the necessity for keeping Negroes out of skilled jobs."

When Negroes in Georgia pressed their demands for war jobs, Governor Talmadge warned the state guard to be ready for racial outbreaks, because Negroes were demanding rights "that are not and will never be granted in this state." 

On the Government Front

In government service itself, racial discrimination is still rife, in spite of determined efforts by the Fair Employment Practice Committee to eliminate it. Negro college graduates report that the War Department has denied them jobs as translators for which they were well qualified. The Wage Hour Administration in setting up its offices in Chicago established racial segregation over the protests of both white and Negro citizens. Qualified Negroes who have been on civil service lists for months, or years, find their names passed over while whites with no civil service ratings receive emergency appointments.

Departments of the federal government most closely concerned with war labor supply show real concern over this whole situation, because of the effect on production. Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, in a message to employers stated:

We cannot contribute our full strength to the war effort if we permit preconceived prejudice and artificial hiring standards to interfere with the needed production of tanks, planes and guns. We cannot expect every American to play his part if barriers are maintained against any minority group . . . . Every American must be permitted to play his part in the monumental task which faces us all. And the War Manpower Commission intends to see that this is done . . .

The same attitude was more dramatically stated in a booklet issued by the United States Employment Service in Illinois. This reproduced a poster bearing the President's Executive Order 8802 and reminded American workers:

Your sons, brothers, fathers, husbands—battling to preserve American liberty—will never ask the race, creed, color or (Continued on page 541)
The Right to Fight for Democracy

WALTER WHITE

Not only the few thousand Negro enlistees of pre-war days, but a quarter of a million Negro draftees now are called to help defend the freedom Americans believe in. A challenge to match that faith with works:—by the executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

The pattern of life for the Negro in the armed services of the United States, unhappily, is the familiar one in civilian life. Even more unhappily, this military pattern follows the way of race relations in the most backward states of the Deep South instead of the patterns Negroes know in more enlightened states to the north.

Bombarded by radio and press and poster to give his all to beat the Axis and thus to help preserve democracy, the Negro soldier or sailor encounters treatment of a sort which he is besought (along with his white fellow-American) to become indignant about when meted out by the Nazis or the Japs to minorities in Europe or Asia.

Before it is too late, America needs to realize that the roots of this treatment of her own Negro minority are also the roots of a condition, almost wholly unrelated to the Negro, of deep concern to all of us who see that an Axis victory is far from impossible and that such a victory would mean actual slavery for men and women of all races all over the world.

Let us look at what has been taking place after graduation year after year at the United States Naval and Military Academies. Each class may be called a cross-section of the country, for each congressman can nominate two young men annually to each of these schools. There the are trained for careers in the services. In peacetime, however, a considerable number of graduates have tended to gravitate into other more remunerative and less circumscribed fields—such as engineering and business. This was especially true among northerners—leaving a large proportion of southerners in the armed services, in the navy in particular. Opportunities for interesting and profitable occupations have been more meager in the district
these came from. Having tasted the glamor of military life, life in a Mississippi rivertown or on a Georgia plantation has seemed even drearier than it was when they were tapped by their congressmen for West Point or Annapolis. Life aboard ship or at an army post might not always be exciting but it seemed bound to be less boring than back home. Take army posts—living quarters are either furnished them and their families free or at nominal cost. Though the pay is not large, it is regular and certain.

The Army's Southern Exposure

Though this process of self-selection may have worked out to the satisfaction of the officers concerned, it has formed no wonder in assuring to the armed forces officers with imagination and energy who will keep abreast of the technical advances in their profession.

Meanwhile, too many Americans generally have slept blissfully in a dream of isolation provided by two wide oceans. Even though we heard occasionally that Germany was rearming; that Japan was industriously nursing dreams of conquest and of "Asia for the Asians," we never believed those far-off developments would touch us. When Mussolini invaded helpless Ethiopia, one of the few countries both independent and black, we neither knew nor cared that the act might prove the coup de grace to the creaking machinery of peace erected out of the shambles of World War I. "What does it matter?" most of us said, if we took the trouble to say anything.

Still less, it would seem, did uniformed dreamers of race superiority heed the warnings of the Billy Mitchells and the De Gaulles that airplanes and other war machines were making cavalry and battleships obsolete. The percentage of southerners had risen steadily in the officers' mess. Seniority, as in the Congress, moved them into the top ranks. Under the pressure of wartime, it has been found necessary to retire some older men. This process is lowering slightly the percentage of southerners in the navy. It also is true that southerners now being appointed and promoted in the navy are as a rule of a less prejudiced type than formerly.

To many older officers, Negroes were fit only to groom horses and perform other menial chores. The four famous colored formations—the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments and the 9th and 10th Cavalry, who had rallied to Theodore Roosevelt's hard-pressed Rough Riders at San Juan Hill—were reduced from combat to service units. In World War I, Negroes could serve as petty officers and chief petty officers in the navy. They were permitted to enlist only as messmen when this war broke.

Comparison with the 1860's registers even greater retrogression for the colored man. This was emphasized recently when the Great Lakes Naval Training Base was named for Robert Smalls, Civil War Negro hero who commanded a United States naval vessel with great skill and distinction for three years. A southern-born, front-office "near-admiral," according to a Washington columnist, "hit the ceiling when he discovered that the navy-prepared release featured a Negro as naval officer and captain." He tried to have the story killed but it had already reached the press.

That the Negro's status in the armed forces had thus sunk to new lows when World War II jolted America into action, bears out how far the Old South was in the saddle. So, too, does the determined resistance put up by those generals and admirals whose minds were closed to the vast changes in modern warfare. Not a few of them hailed from the same region. Only the shock of Pearl Harbor set us going hell-for-leather on phenomenal tasks in producing war materials and training men. Too little, however, has yet been done to overcome the drains due to ingrowing professionalism or to racial prejudice.

The New Negro

Only now is official Washington beginning to realize that it has a quite different Negro to deal with than it had in 1917. There were protests then against discrimination and segregation, but they lacked effectiveness because Negroes were not well organized, nor were Americans of both races as aware or as vocal about the ideals for which we are purportedly fighting. Radio was not then as potent in bringing straight to the cardrooms of a Mississippi sharecropper as well as to a Park Avenue executive the hour-by-hour progress of the war. In the interval, more and more Negroes have graduated from schools, colleges, and universities. And few Negro families fail to have at least one member old enough to remember the glowing promises made to them during the last war and the sickening disillusion of post-war days when the Ku Klux Klan instead of democracy was the Negro's reward. Skepticism about the sincerity of our aims in this war was heightened when the government spent more than a million dollars to construct a segregated flying school at Tuskegee, Ala.—sixteen miles from Maxwell Field at Montgomery, one of the largest and finest in the world. In a year of operation only fifty Negro pilots had been graduated from Tuskegee with about 200 more in training—all the Negroes who can be trained to fly as long as Negroes can get training only at Tuskegee.

All these and other factors are responsible for the spread of cynicism among colored Americans. That cynicism has found lusty voice in gatherings of protest numbering from five to twenty thousand Negroes in cities from New York to Los Angeles under the auspices of the March on Washington Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other national and local groups.

The army, nonetheless, has been markedly more liberal and willing to consider new patterns than has the navy. Witness the successful wartime training of white and Negro, northern and southern, men as officers in schools most of which are located in the South. The operation of the selective service under the direction of Major General Lewis B. Hershey has been notably free from discrimination or friction. Much dead wood in the higher army personnel having been quietly weeded out, men like Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, Civilian-Aide-to-the-Secretary William H. Hastie, Major-General Alexander Surles, and Lt. Col. David P. Page of the army Bureau of Public Relations are not alone in manifesting an intelligent receptivity to proposals to reduce James Crow and to widen opportunity for Negro Americans.

But against these hopeful signs is a far more numerous and depressing array of circumstances indicating that the army hesitates to challenge the Talmadge-Dixon-Ku Klux Klan concept that the Negro's place is at the bottom of the heap. Thus Private Charles J. Reo was clubbed and shot by two Texas policemen at Beaumont, Tex., in August—one in a distressingly long series of such assaults in the absence of positive action by the War Department.

"His place," so far as the army goes, is in segregated
units. As I write, more than one hundred thousand Americans have petitioned the War Department, as yet to no avail, to establish at least one mixed division in the army. A separate petition was signed by American white men of draft age, who asked to be assigned to such a division as tangible expression of their desire to practice as well as talk about democracy. Many of these were southerners.

As Others See Us

Negro troops have been included in the American expeditionary force sent to the British Isles. English people, welcoming those who had come to aid them in their gallant fight against the enemy, arranged entertainment for the American soldiers. Such episodes as this occurred.

A southern white soldier, invited to an English home, created a scene when he discovered that a fellow guest was an American Negro soldier. He attacked the Negro in the presence of the other guests and of his host and hostess, ruining the evening for everybody. The War Department, aided by the American Red Cross, sought solution along traditional lines. They set up segregated recreational facilities for Negroes—thus introducing the American pattern in another country. Lieutenant General Eisenhower requested that colored WAACs be sent to England “to provide companionship” for colored soldiers.

So out of joint with the wishes of their English hosts was the attitude of the army high command, that the issue reached debate in the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor, Viscount Simon, attacked a proposal to accept the American segregation pattern with the indignant retort: “I do not suppose Lord Shaftesbury is proposing that any distinction should be drawn between white and colored soldiers. That is the last thing the British Parliament would tolerate for a moment.”

But unhappy as the Negro has been made by army attitudes, treatment accorded him by the navy has been even more unsatisfactory. Here the Negro’s position and opportunity to serve have steadily deteriorated since the Civil War. And here again southern bias enters in the predominance of officers whose racial attitudes fit more snugly into the patterns of the Reconstruction Period than into those of enlightened white southern newspapers today. At a conference in 1940, Secretary Knox readily admitted the injustice towards the Negro, but somewhat helplessly declared, “Men live in such intimate quarters aboard ship there is nothing we can do about it.” But the issue was not to be so easily dismissed.

When Messman Dorie Miller seized a machine gun on the deck of the sinking battleship Arizona at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and fought until his ammunition was exhausted, firing a gun which he had never been permitted to handle because he was a Negro, the navy’s prejudices showed up as ridiculous and dangerous.

Higher and higher rose the protest not only of Negroes but of influential white Americans. Last January, Joe Louis contributed his entire purse to the Navy Relief Fund in his fight with Buddy Baer at Madison Square Garden. The immense crowd roared its approval when Wendell Willkie, speaking from the ring over a nationwide hookup, sharply criticized the barring of Negroes from the navy except as messmen.

Public pressure forced the department to make grudging concessions last April when it announced that Negroes would be permitted to serve in limited capacities in shore establishments. Much of the morale value of this modest concession, however, was lost when Secretary Knox in his press conference on April 7 made it abundantly clear that Negroes would not be permitted to be trained or to serve as officers “for some time to come.”

The difference in attitude of the army and navy crops up in the training of WAACs and WAVES. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby has a Texas background, but on several occasions she has declared that in the army corps colored women will be used both as officers and enlisted personnel in proportion to population. Her counterpart in the navy is Dean Mildred H. McAfee of Wellesley, whose attitude toward colored students at that distinguished school has been most admirable. Yet in line with the navy pattern, Negro women cannot serve as officers in the WAVES.

Prejudice—National Hazard

Thus the story runs of the struggle Negro Americans and intelligent white Americans have made and undoubtedly will be forced to continue to make for the right to fight for democracy. Sheer force of circumstance may come to their aid. The disheartening Nazi advance in Russia last summer, the increasing perilousness of the position of the United Nations, and in particular the repercussions of British action in India are causing intelligent Americans to realize that this war can be lost. They will not indefinitely brook prejudices and practices which threaten the national security. One of the more conservative confidential letters on economic trends recently warned American businessmen that they will soon . . . face another colored problem in this war for freedom. No less than 10 percent of American manpower is black or brown—limited in its contribution to this war for freedom on the one side by the racial prejudice which has kept opportunity closed, and on the other by a lack of enthusiasm for Negro sacrifice to save freedoms that are largely white.

So I foresee that the months immediately ahead are likely to result in a greater expansion of liberty and opportunity for the black people of the United States than any comparable period since the death of Lincoln. And I see this coming, not only because our colored people will exert themselves to bring it about; but because an increasing number of our white citizens have been learning from the course of events that freedom for some is but a continuing cause of war—until it is universalized; and finally, because of the greatly multiplied power and influence of colored peoples outside these borders.

This note of enlightened self-interest is being increasingly echoed in leading magazines, such as Fortune, Harper’s, and Industrial Management. It is being echoed repeatedly in news commentaries. The pressure of necessity is all against the continuation of dominance of national policy by the Talmadges, Dixons, Bilbos and Tom Connallys. They will not yield without a struggle. But if America’s peril becomes great, the luxury of race prejudice will be struck off the list of American priorities.
Colored Soldiers, U. S. A.

EARL BROWN

A swift tally of their status and spirit compared with World War I. Handicaps and gains in the armed forces; their treatment in camp and out—by a first hand Negro observer, staff member of Life Magazine.

They might have stepped out of a bandbox, polished and slicked from head to toe, the 349th Field Artillery stood at attention on the parade ground at Fort Sill, Okla. As their commanding officer walked between plumb-straight lines of black and brown soldiers, I was not alone in the kick it gave me of pride and patriotism.

For the 349th is one of the first regular army regiments of colored troops organized since World War I; it is the first colored regiment of field artillery organized since World War I by the U. S. Army. Its officers are all white and every officer on detail with the regiment had requested duty with it. They were un stinting in declaring that the men of the 349th had been ideal trainees, that their noncoms are as fine as any in the army.

"These soldiers are good," said a captain from the Deep South who had never commanded colored troops before. "They are intelligent, willing to work hard and execute orders—and their enthusiasm is boundless. They are ready and anxious for combat duty right now."

This development must be looked at against the background that Negroes were all but excluded from our armed forces at the time of the outbreak of World War II. In 1940, there was an "authorized strength" of only 13,275 Negro enlisted men and three line officers in the army. Only about 4,000 out of 140,000 enlisted men in the navy at midyear of 1940 were Negroes.

Today there are many hundreds of thousands of Negro enlisted men and several thousand officers in the U. S. Army at home and abroad. These numbers would have long since been doubled had the army inducted Negroes in proportion to their ratio in the population. Even under the handicap of the quota system employed, the War Department has announced that there will be 375,000 colored soldiers in the army by the end of the year, only 25,000 less than the total that served in World War I. By the end of next year, it is estimated that there will be more than a half million.

Officers and Training Schools

One Negro officer commanded a colored regiment in the first World War. In this war there are three: a coast artillery regiment stationed abroad; an infantry outfit guarding New York City; and the 184th Field Artillery at Fort Custer, Mich. The commanding officer of each of these regiments has the rank of colonel.

A quarter of century ago, a separate officers training school for Negroes was organized by the War Department at Des Moines, Ia. Today, colored officer-candidates attend training schools with white candidates. Every month between 250 and 300 of them are awarded their commissions as second lieutenants.

On April 7, the Secretary of the Navy announced that Negro volunteers would be accepted for enlistment as "reservists" in the navy. This ended the navy's policy of admitting Negroes only as messmen and in other menial capacities. Since then, more than 1,000 Negroes have entered the Great Lakes Naval Training School to take their basic training as fighting gobs. The navy has yet to come abreast of the army in providing training for Negro officers. A first step anticipated in that direction is the possible provision of colored officers to command colored enlisted men on separate ships.

In the early part of 1941, the army air corps admitted Negroes for the first time and formed the 99th Pursuit Squadron at Tuskegee, Ala., for the training of Negro combat fliers. The 99th's first group of cadets have won their wings and are standing by ready for foreign service. One of the squadron's commanding officers is Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., a West Point graduate and son of Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., the first and only Negro general in the army.

The highest degree of morale I have seen among any group of colored soldiers was at the Officer-Candidate Infantry School at Fort Benning. Here, white and colored candidates, all of whom are sent to the school from the ranks, march elbow to elbow across the wide expanse of south Georgia soil, sit together in classrooms, eat in the same mess hall, sleep in the same barracks, with no indication of racial prejudice.

In addition to the school at Fort Benning, Negro and white candidates attend officer training schools at Camp Davis, N. C.; Fort Monmouth, N. J.; Camp Lee, Va.; Fort Belvoir, Va.; Fort Knox, Ky.; Fort Sill, Okla.; Aberdeen, Md.; Fort Francis Warren, Wyo.; and Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Commanded and instructed by officers who are as capable and fair as any that ever prepared men for the serious responsibility of military leadership, these black and white candidates comprise little islands of free men in an army where the color of a soldier's skin sets him apart as a different human being.

In the Ranks

Except in officers training schools, the services have maintained a rigid policy of segregation. This is an important reason why the proportion of Negroes in all branches of the services is still small. Thousands of white men have been inducted into the army in the places of Negroes, because the army had neglected to provide for the training and care of colored selectees.

In the first World War, practically all colored troops
Negroes in an English village. Negro troops have been sent to many distant lands—the South Pacific, the Middle East.

were assigned only to infantry and quartermaster regiments. They are now, also, assigned to tank, anti-tank, cavalry, engineer and artillery regiments, as well as to the aviation corps as combat fliers and ground crews. Unfortunately, however, the number of Negro combat troops in any branch of the army is still small. Most of them, such as the engineers, are nothing but common laborers, the same as in World War I when 95 percent of all Negro soldiers were detailed to labor battalions at home and overseas.

The greatest improvement registered in the treatment of troops in World War II over World War I is in their physical care and equipment. In many southern camps in 1917-18, Negro soldiers were poorly and insufficiently fed, clothed and quartered. Many had to sleep on the bare ground in cold weather, often with only one blanket for protection. White American troops of the first World War suffered similar hardships in training, due to insufficient equipment, but in far smaller proportion to their number in the army than Negroes.

Today, in any army camp in the country where Negro troops are stationed, one will find first class fighting men who are well fed, clothed, quartered, and trained. Physically, there are none better in the service. A white commander of a company of Negro troops at Camp Livingston, La., told me that he had learned all he knows about soldiering from his non-commissioned officers.

The USO has also done much to provide wholesome recreation for colored troops; and the Red Cross is now recruiting competent Negro men and women for its services at home and overseas. Both follow, however, the segregation pattern set by the armed forces.

The Climate Outside the Camps

Although there has been definite improvement in the training and treatment of Negro soldiers in the army, this does not hold for their treatment away from their camps.
Most of these have been located in the South. Trouble has begun when Negro soldiers have gone into southern cities and towns in their free time. A few of them were murdered, many more assaulted, and most of them have encountered discrimination at the hands of white citizens. Moreover, white military police often have failed to use judgment in executing their duties where colored troops are involved. This has resulted in serious trouble for them and for the Negro soldiers.

In August, 1941, for example, there was an outbreak of racial friction at Fort Bragg, N. C. The spark which touched off the trouble was the unnecessary brutality of a white military policeman in arresting a drunk and disorderly soldier who was a passenger on a bus running between Fayetteville, N. C., and the camp. Again, last January in Alexandria, La., there was a much more serious outbreak of the same un-American spirit when a series of "incidents" between white city police and Negro soldiers culminated in riot and bloodshed. Here the trouble had its origin in the lack of recreational facilities in the community for the 16,000 Negro soldiers stationed at Camp Livingston and Camp Claiborne. In their free time, these men were expected to crowd into a neighborhood of four drab and dirty blocks with a single movie house. Following both these disturbances, the army assigned Negro soldiers to military police duty in the colored section of the city, a procedure that, taken earlier, probably would have forestalled any group violence. There had been no Negro M.P.'s. at the camps before.

In every southern city there are white elements determined to "keep niggers in their place," war or no war. By this they mean to keep racial caste intact in the south. Every Negro in uniform is a symbol of a break in this tradition, and he is in danger of assault at the slightest provocation. That thousands of Negro soldiers in the South are thus subject to insult if not attack by both local white authorities and citizens is damaging not only to the Negro soldier's morale but to the nation's entire war effort.

The Negro's Military Past

American armed forces have had a long experience with Negro soldiers and sailors. Since colonial times they have always been among the earliest to offer to fight for this country. A Negro, Crispus Attucks, was the first to shed his blood in the Boston Massacre. More than 6,000 colored soldiers fought with the Continental Army. Mark Starlin, a former Negro slave from Virginia, was captain of the Patriot in the Revolution and was said to have rendered valiant and efficient service as commander of a colonial warship. Negroes fought with Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans and won his unstinted praise for their efforts. Commodore Perry praised the Negro sailors who served under him in the War of 1812, stating that while "America has such a race she has little to fear from tyrants of the ocean."

Coming to the Sixties, more than 200,000 Negro soldiers fought for the Union and their own freedom. Lincoln declared:

Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present nor any coming administration can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers and we cannot longer maintain the contest.

Negroes saw service in Cuba in the Spanish-American War. The 9th Cavalry came to the rescue of Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders in their impetuous assault on San Juan Hill. Fifty years ago half of the 400,000 Negro troops recruited in World War I saw service in France. The 369th, a New York National Guard regiment composed of Negro volunteers recruited from Harlem, was the first unit of the Allied armies to reach the Rhine. They had fought with the French instead of their own army and were called "Les Enfants Perdus" by their brothers in arms. The regiment never lost a foot of ground or had a man taken prisoner. The only volunteer regiment raised for the war that got to France, the 369th served 191 (Continued on page 563)
How We Live in South and North

Paintings by
JACOB LAWRENCE

These four paintings were not planned as a unit; yet they flow together like the stanzas of a poem. One does not look to this gifted young Negro for realism so much as for the essence of realism. His records are full of emotion. Lawrence's outstanding work to date—he is only twenty-five—is a series of sixty dynamic paintings which portray the migration of the Negro northward, in 1917-18 and after.
OUT OF THEIR MOUTHS

by STERLING A. BROWN

The author of "Southern Road" draws this "fair sampling of current talk among American Negroes from a store of conversations harvested up and down the Atlantic Seaboard, from Massachusetts to Mississippi, but mainly in the Deep South."

He writes: "Whether in army camps or juke joints or dorms or offices or commissaries or cabins or Jim Crow coaches or bus stations, I naturally found more wartime grousing than beatitudes.

"A few were recorded on the spot at interviews; far more were bootlegged into many small notebooks, which sometimes got me into embarrassing predicaments and occasionally got me out of them. In their rendering, I found no better advice than Chaucer's, written six centuries ago:

"Who-so shall tell a tale after a man,
He must rehearse, as nigh as ever he can
Every word, if it be in his charge,
Although he speak never so rudely and large.
Or else he must tell his tale untrue,
Or feign something, or find words new!"

I. The People Yes...Yes Indeed

Deep South—a Soliloquy:

"Why do you reckon white folks act like they do? I sit home studying them. A cracker is like this. He will cut his own throat just to see a Negro die along with him. Further and more, they're fussing and squabbling among themselves so much that a man can creep up behind them unknownst to 'em and hit 'em on the head.

"Take Talmadge, that narrow-minded rascal. All this trouble, war, soldiers being killed by the thousands, hostages being killed, bombs falling on women and little children—and all he can do is woof about 'coeducation of the races' or 'segregation.' Somebody ought to dump him on his head in some sea or other.

"This war now. It looks like they don't want you in the navy, army, or marines. Just like before the war they didn't want you anywhere you could make a dime out of it. When those Japs first started out in the Pacific, I thought Negroes ought to thank their lucky stars that they weren't on those ships going down with the white folks. Then I got to studying and knew I was wrong. Onliest way we can get anything out of this war is to put all we can in it. That's my best judgment.

"The diffuseness between the northern and the southern Negro is that the northern is a freeborn-minded Negro, but the southern is trained to say Yes-sir and No-sir all the time. That don't mean the southern Negro won't fight, but he's just more kinderhearted. The guvrnment is exchanging them, sending one to the north and one to the south.

"These crackers will chase a Negro like he was a jackrabbit. There ain't no right in their heart or soul.

"Do you think they will elect President Roosevelt for a fourth term?"

They'd better, if they know what's good for the country. I don't wish him no hard luck, but I hope he will wear out in his job. But I hope that won't be for many a long year. Yes-sir, I hope he dies in the White House. But I hope he lives forever. He's the best friend the Negro ever had. Bar none, Lincoln, Washington, Teddy Roosevelt. And Mrs. Roosevelt, she's the greatest woman living today.

"The party—I don't give two cents for party. My question is who's gonna do most for me, my people, all the poor people. I'm a New Dealer.

"It's remarkable how the Negro continues to keep coming on. Right out of slavery, the Negro jumped into teaching college. Course he ain't perfect. Cutting, fighting, laziness. A lot of Negroes have gone to hell and destruction fooling around with numbers and that mess. But you can't fault the Negro for that. Not much diffuseness between a man robbing you in the nighttime with a gun, and robbing you in the daytime with knowledge.

"The Negro's obstacles made a man out of him. Depression, lynching, all like that, the Negro kept coming, smiling and singing. They come on like the Japs before Singapore. You head back the middle, the niggers (I mean Negroes) flow around the edges.

"I'm patriotic. I've got a boy in camp Yessir, some of my blood is in the army. I love my country but I don't like the way they doing us down here in the South.

"I know all the professors. I guess I know more of the fine upstanding Negroes than any man in my field. I have seen 'em go from raggedy students to deans.

"I declare it's so hot today the hairs stick to your neck like flies to glue."

Old Mose had made the best crop of cotton he ever made, but still he came out even. The landlord told him he had done fine, and that he could start the next year out of debt. Old Mose didn't say nothing, just sat there looking. Old Cracker kept on making admiration over the crop and how fine it was to be out of debt. Mose didn't say nothing. Cracker kept throwing out chances for Mose to talk. Finally his curiosity got the best of him. "What you thinking about Mose?" Mose just looked at him. Old Cracker banged his office desk and hollered, "What the hell you thinking about, Mose! If you don't tell me what you thinking, I'm gonna run you off my place." Mose said, "Oh, I was jest thinking, Mr. Landlord, jes thinking that the next time I ever say 'giddap' to a mule, he gonna be setting in my lap."

* * *

Store with newsstand, white operator. Negro neighborhood: "I lost eight sales on that Ladies' Home Journal. I wonder why did so many want that number?"

Magazine circulator: " Didn't you hear the governor's speech?

Storekeeper: "No. Did they have an article on him? I read the Saturday Evening Post article."

Circulator: "No. He made a speech against the Journal."

S.: "What for?"

C.: " Well, they had some pictures in it of colored people. Four or five pages. High-toned colored people getting ahead. When the governor spoke against it, that made all the white people want to see it. And it was already going like hot cakes among the colored."

S.: "Why doesn't nobody tell me these things? I wish . . ."

C.: "We don't know what's in these magazines until we get them. How do
we know which way Governor Tal- 
madge is going to jump? ... I can't 
let you have but two Supermans. We 
can't keep anyone in stock.

A: "Little Orphan Annie has joined 
up, too. Did you see where she dis- 
covered the Negro?"

B: "Indeed I did. Harold Gray got 
around to it at last. At long last, too. 
The Asp, Punjub, that Chinaman and 
now the colored brother."

A: "You're never grateful for any- 
things. He made the little Negro boy a 
sergeant, didn't he? And he showed 
that he was the one who found the car."

B: "Sure. But you never see him any 
more, do you?"

A: "Well, that was as far as he could 
go. Trouble with all you Negroes is 
you want little Annie to fall in love 
with that boy."

B: "Don't you put out that lie. Con- 
dentially I think she's going to marry 
Daddy Warbucks when she grows up. 
Only reason I read the thing is for that."

"Uh-uh. Here it is. I see they have 
arrested Gandhi. He'll be a tough nut 
to crack."

"Used to make salt. Englishmen 
wanted them just to use English salt. 
Gandhi went down to the ocean and 
made salt out of the seawater. The 
English ordered him to stop making it. 
But he went right on making it.

"He's a man all right."

Negro Union Business Agent: "In the 
early 20's, when wages went up to a 
dollar an hour, the clamor went up as 
today for industrial training. The whites 
took over the Booker Washington idea. 
Most of our schools slept through the 
whole thing. The whites learned so 
fast and took over the jobs that had been 
called 'Negro jobs' so fast that the 
Negro workers couldn't believe it. Now 
the white Technical High School and 
Boys High are giving from 25 to 30 
courses in various trades, but over at 
Booker T. Washington they are hardly 
giving any. I blame our educators in 
part for that."

Negro bricklayer: "I know one local 
where whites and colored work together 
on the same scaffold, meet together in 
the same hall. They all kid and joke 
together. As a general rule there is 
brotherliness. Of course when the 
whistle blows, that just about ends. But 
the Negroes do have the whites' respect 
as good bricklayers."

Negro trade unionist: "Lots of white 
people are willing to work on the job 
with you side by side. Others object, 
and sometimes they talk so loud they 
scare the fairminded ones."

"Something about this working 'side by 
side' you ought to know. For in- 
stance, say I'm painting ceilings in here. 
The white man in the next apartment 
will be painting walls. But if I'm paint- 
ing walls, he's painting ceilings. Just 
reverse and vice versa; I've seen it work- 
ing both ways. Crazy ain't it?"

"One trouble with the Negro work- 
er, he doesn't know how to break into 
the union, he doesn't know what the 
labor movement is all about.

"Negroes and white workers just had 
to get together. Had to unite for 
strength. The smart white working 
men agree with that 100 percent. They 
want you on the job because you're en- 
titled to it. They want you to get the 
same amount of pay. They're willing 
to go bargain with you. It's to their 
advantage. They wouldn't go out with 
you if it wasn't good business. But they 
aren't social equality. And most of 
them don't want you working side by 
side with them."

Southern White Editor: "These fel- 
loows come down here and instead of do- 
ing the job with common sense, they go 
at it in a crusading way. They just 
blow open prejudices. So the died-in- 
the-wool traditionalist backs up, god- 
damning this and that to hell. The way 
these crusaders go about they hurt some 
real friends of the Negro."

Negro journalist: "Some of these 
 southern liberals used to want to accel- 
erate Negro progress. Now it seems that 
all they want to do is put on the brakes. 
"A lot of white women are up in 
arms because they have to bring up 
their own children."

Negro newspaper editor (backstage 
Louis Armstrong concert, City Audito- 
rium): "Did you see that? White boy 
said to the Negro 'You go ahead,' and 
then drank out of the same water foun- 
tain. There's the paradoxical South for 
you. He was by himself. When they 
come in threes or fours, they won't do 
that. Scared of being called 'Nigger 
lover.'"

Little redhead girl (Negro): "Ethel 
and I got on the elevator in the depart- 
ment store. You know Ethel is lighter 
than I am, and her hair is straighter. A 
white man got on, looked at me, and 
especially my hair. He was looking at 
me out of the corner of my eyes. He 
wasn't sure, and finally he took off his 
hat. We burst out laughing. Right 
away he put his hat back on his head."

On the train Robert E. Lee, headed 
South. In the Pullman washroom the 
whites had been neither hostile nor po- 
itely, but reserved. On leaving I over- 
heard one say: "The price we have to 
pay for democracy!"

"If it had to happen—"

"Don't finish. That's what I wouldn't 
want to happen to a dog."

"No more would I, but what I'm say- 
ing is this. If it had to happen, it's best 
it happened to a great man like Roland 
Hayes. Shows Europe and the whole 
world how even our greatest, our poten- 
tates, ain't safer than our least ones."

"Them peckerwoods up in Rome 
(Ga.) ain't never heard of Roland 
Hayes or Europe either."

"Well, Europe is gonna hear of them 
peckerwoods."

Young Negro professor, working to- 
ward doctorate in American culture, 
closes his narrative of how he was 
thrown off the train and badly beaten 
at Tupelo, Miss. "He told me that I 
looked like a smart boy, that I ought 
to know better than to sass a white man 
in Mississippi. That he would fine me 
$5 for breaking the peace and $5.40 for 
costs of court, or else he would bind me 
over for the next court session. He ad- 
vised me to pay the fine. After I paid

II. Southern Traditions
it he said to me that he hoped I would profit by my experience.

Dr. P. talking: . . . "The road-cop pulled up and told me I'd been exceeding the speed limit, that he'd been pac- ing me on the whole trip. I told him the car wouldn't go much over 40. It was a red Chrysler with wire wheels, sorta fancy. I knew he didn't like the looks of it with me behind the wheel. Both of us argued back and forth. Finally he said, 'I don't know whether to shoot you or take you to jail.'"

"I said, 'Well, it won't make any differ- ence to me. One's about as bad as the other.'

"He said, 'You don't act like you're scared at all.'

"I spoke right up. 'Why you're the last man in the world I'd be scared of. You're the law. You're supposed to be my protection.'

"Man, that threw him off balance. He finally said, 'Well, Doc, you'd better watch yourself. There's a couple fel- lows in a peeled-up Ford (that's a Ford with a, Frontenac head) on the road that are kinda mean. They'd like to pick you up in a car like this. So you take it easy now.'"

"Then he growled at me, 'But you know damn well you were doing more than 40 miles an hour.'"

White liberal: "This Negro soldier was sitting on a seat opposite to a white man. The bus was not crowded, and he wasn't sitting in front of any white. But the driver came back and told him to move. He refused. The driver shouted, 'I'm gonna move you.' The Negro took his coat off and said, 'Well I'm fixing to go off and fight for de- mocracy. I might as well start right now.' And I want to tell you that bus driver backed down. It did me good to see it."

Lawyer to Negro defendant who vi- olated residential segregation: "You keep talking about the Bill of Rights. Do you know what the Bill of Rights is?"

Negro defendant: "I may not know exactly. All I know is that whatever it is, it's something the Negro ain't got."

FEPC hearings.

Investigator: "You were first em- ployed by the company seventeen years ago?"

Negro shipyard worker: "Yessuh."

Q.: "You were upgraded for the first time within the past three months?"

NSW: "Yessuh. They made me a leaderman. . . ."

Q.: "Why would you say that there has been so little upgrading?"

NSW: "Most of the men do not feel themselves capable."

Negroes in Amen Corner (whispers, low growls): "Why he's just a pimp for the company! Hurry up and get rid of that Negro. Put him off the stand."

Barrer Shop. The day that Life maga- zine appeared with pictures of Paul Robeson as Othello with a white actress as Desdemona:

A: "Some Negro's going to get his head whipped before nightfall on ac- count of that picture."

B: "I'll bet Talmadge is writing his Friday speech for the radio."

A: "Yeah. Gonna make Shakespeare out to be a communist, or a Rosenwald."

III. This Is War

Negro taxi-driver (northern city, early months after Pearl Harbor): "Man, those Japs really do jump, don't they? And it looks like everytime they jump, they land."

Passenger: "More they land, the worse it's going to be for you and me. How's your rubber?"

T-D: "I know its gonna be a long war. But one thing you've got to give those Japs, they showed the white man that a brown hand could handle a plane and a machine gun too."

P: "Yes, Hitler believes that they're fit to be allies of the great Nazis."

T-D: "Well, I reckon one's bad as the other, but they still can fight, and they've already knocked out a lot of the white man's conceit. And that's something."

Harlemite (shortly after Pearl Har- bor): "All these radio announcers talk- ing about yellow this, yellow that. Don't hear them calling the Nazis white this, pink that. What in hell color do they think the Chinese are anyway! And those Filipinos on Bataan? And the British Imperial Army, I suppose they think they're all blondes?"

Negro foreman (big as John Henry), Tuskegee Flying Field, talking about the Negro contractor for the building of the base:

"Have I anything to say about Mr. X? I don't know what to say about him. I just don't have any words to tell you. He's a great man, that's all. Only way he can get shed of me is to fire me."

"I'll tell you something. I'm pastor of a little church. When I heard about this job, got a letter from Mr. X., I asked my church for a leave of absence. If they hadn't give it to me I was going to resign. You know when a preacher is willing to give up his church, he really must have heard a call."

Negro in charge of big government project: "The Negro has kept on saying: 'I can do it, I can do it.' But this is the kind of world where Negroes have got to say: 'Look, see what we've done!'"

First Negro: "They can't win the war that way. And they keep on messeng around, they sure gonna lose it."

Second Negro: "That's all I've been hearing, 'they,' 'they.' We've got to learn how to say 'We.'"

1 N.: "I said it on purpose. When they let us work and fight for the country as much as we are willing and able, I'll stop calling it their war."

2 N.: "You've got a point. They are shortsighted, no getting away from that. But it's still our war right on. They've taken some slow steps: employment, navy, new branches of the service."

1 N.: "Slow steps won't win this war for them."

2 N.: "Nor for us, either."

Civilian defense worker in a southern metropolis: "This was the first black blackout, the rest had been white black- outs. (Only houses of whites got ordered.) Man, guns were going off every place. Airplanes dropping sacks of flour. One Negro said to me, 'They just dropped that flour on white folks' town. Show- ered it on the crackers, dodged the Negro sections. We'll be lucky if that's the way bombs fall.'"

In a small southern town:

Buying bus tickets in drugstore. White

Young woman teacher (Negro): "Well the experiences I had were on the pleasant side. They used to set up a table for you in your space. But the porter came up and said they were going to serve me in the dining car. Had a sign on the table 'Reserved.' The steward pulled out my seat for me. The dinner was full of white people; my table was right square in the midst of the car. As I sat down they put up the little curtain. But I could see the white folks eat, if I had been curious; and they could see me eat, if they were curious. And some of them were curious. The Pullman conductor tipped his hat when he came in the car this morning. Great day!"

Professor: "He must have thought you were Booker Washington's daughter."
boys and colored en route to camp. Warm friendly atmosphere. All were talking about whipping the Japs. One Negro draftee holds spotlight with his badminton. Ask soda clerk for a coke. White boys drinking theirs up. Noise and stir.

Soda Clerk; "Ain't got none."

Out front a truck is unloading cases on cases of coca-cola.

Negro: "You ain’t got none? All that coca-cola I see and you say that? Now, that’s bad stuff."

Clerk: "You want to make something out of it?"

The boy walks out into the street. The screen door slams.

IN A BARBER SHOP:

A: "I see here by the paper that Bob Considine says 'The Little People fight against Hitler tyranny.' All about the Belgian underground."

B: "That's what underground?"

A: "That's the way people get out of slavery. The name came from the Negroes here. A lot of slaves got away from the South by underground."

B: "Under the ground?"

A: "No. But under cover. At night time. Friends helped them. Some white folks, even."

B: "Never heard of it."

C: "That ain't all you never heard of."

B: "What do he mean by little people?"

A: "Frenchmen, Greeks, Jews—all of the little countries Hitler overcame and conquered."

B: "You got to be white to be little people?"

C: "You got to be white to be big people, too. You got to be white to be people. Period."

FOLK TALES

A: "Well, Bob Considine's all right."

B: "Whatcha mean, all right. He's white, ain't he?"

A: "Man, sometimes you sound like a black Talmadge."

B: "Don't you call me Talmadge. And don't call me black."

A: "If you was white, you'd be as hard on the colored as a hound dog is on fleas. Everybody white ain't bad."

B: "I would expect an old handkerchief head like you to say that."

C: "Considine used to be a sports writer, didn't he?"

A: "Yes. He was fair, too. He really wrote good stories about Joe Louis."

B: "It's easy for white folks to write good stories about Joe. What else could they write?"

C: "Yes, even that Pegler can find something good to say about Joe."

A: "Maybe they'll get around to writing something good about Negroes fighting against tyranny."

B: "Maybe they will. Then I'll be for them, same as you."

College Purchasing Agent: "I put a cracker salesman out of my office the other day. I was going to buy some stuff from him, $300 worth of it. He knew I was going to buy it, too. When I was just about ready to order he started getting confidential. He said, 'You know one thing. All this stuff was started by these goddam Jews. We get rid of these Jews everything will be all right.'"

"I said, 'That's just what Hitler is saying. I believe I'm not going to buy anything today.'"

"What do you mean?"

"I mean I don't want anything from you."

"He got to stuttering. 'But—but you' 'I'm busy today.'"

"Well, tomorrow,' he said."

"Today, tomorrow, from then on, far as you're concerned, I'm busy. Now let me get to my work."

A Negro bragging at a gas station:

"I done regist. Expect to be called soon. That Hitler. Think he can whip anybody. I'm gonna capture Hitler. I'm gonna deliver him to President Roosevelt. At the front door of the White House."

The white bystanders applauded.

"Then I'm gonna fight for some rights over here."

The whites froze up.

A: "Yonder goes a Negro knows more about electricity than the man that invented electricity."

B: "Yeah? What ditch is he digging in?"

On a border city trolley, a strapping white sailor, in a spic-and-span white suit, jumped up from the seat when an old Negro woman sat down beside him. He stood scowling, looking around for support.

"Thank you, son," she said. "But I didn't need the whole seat. I spread, but not that much. You know, you sure look cute in that pretty white suit Joe Louis bought you."

Taxi-driver, northern city: "One of the Negro soldiers came back on leave with his eyes blacked and hands all bruised and tore up. He said it was hell down there. You either took it or you fought back. Said a cracker yelled at him, 'You goddam nigger, get off the sidewalk down in the street where you belong.' Said everything, really lowered his mother. The soldier told me, 'I just couldn't take that. So I had to fight.' He could barely see out of his eyes but the skin was off his knuckles."

A: "I heard that the crackers made threats that if a Negro aviator ever lighted in their fields they'd burn the plane and Lynch the pilot. Is there anything to that yarn?"

B: "That's stuff. It's really been just the opposite. They tell the story of a cadet who got lost in Florida. Some of these details may be wrong, but when you meet him he'll vouch for the rest. He lost his way and landed in a Florida field. He says that as soon as he came to a stop, a little white boy stuck his head over his wing and asked 'Are you a Jap?' But he proved to everybody's satisfaction that he was an American Negro.

"Since his orders were to stick by his plane whenever grounded, there he stayed. All of the people of the nearby town, white as well as Negro, looked out for him. The story goes that the next day when the lieutenant and the pilot found him, there was a picnic spread out on the wings of his plane: thermos bottle with lemonade, sandwiches, cake, everything. And some young white ladies were waiting on him. The boys at primary school that the cadet brought back a lot of canned goods in his plane. They say they're still eating them."

Attributed to Joe Louis by a public speaker: "There may be a whole lot wrong with America, but there's nothing that Hitler can fix."

NOVEMBER 1942

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THE SOUTH

32% OF U. S. POPULATION
36% OF U. S. CHILD POPULATION
21% OF NATIONAL INCOME

FAMILY INCOME
WHITE AND NEGRO
1935-36

NORTH CENTRAL CITIES OF 100,000 AND OVER
SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITIES

FARM OWNERSHIP

50.9% OF WHITE FARMERS OWN THEIR FARMS
ONLY 20.8% OF NEGRO FARMERS OWN THEIR FARMS

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES
PER PUPIL, 1936

U. S. AS A WHOLE
10 SOUTHERN STATES:
WHITE CHILDREN
NEGRO CHILDREN

INFANT DEATH RATES, 1940

Note that for both whites and Negroes death rates are highest in the Southern sample.
**New Patterns for Old**

**JONATHAN DANIELS**

Frank talk about the wartime South, revealing the aftermath of an old, frustrated Reconstruction, and also the growing pains of a new, which holds the promise of "a better life" for all southerners, black and white—by a leading southern editor, now Assistant Director of Civilian Defense.

**The South has a way of being white and black in more things than the composition of its people.** Indeed, if there are any real certainties about the southern states, they are the contrasts, the paradoxes—sun and shade, poverty in a rich land, concern and complacency. And the problem of the Negro today presents no exceptions. Not long ago a committee of the disturbed came to Washington from the South to report what it regarded as a sort of carpetbag conspiracy against the Negro and the aims in democratic terms of the United Nations. What it really pointed out was the disturbing climax in crisis made by the meeting of the rising tide of Negro demands in wartime and the old white prejudice rising in new anger out of the region which again recently has been described as the fighting South.

In the situation the Negroes and their friends seemed to talk with the most logic. But old prejudice seemed to exert the most power. More important, perhaps, the situation demonstrated the illogic of humans: friends of the Negro based their demands on the democratic cause of the United Nations even while some Negro leaders were at least seeming to insist that Negroes should not support that cause until a double victory, including absolute democracy for the black man, was won at home. At the same time a large part of the white South indicated that, despite the enlistments and heroism of its sons, it was not giving up its old race notions in terms of amendments to them offered by the more eloquent statements of the cause of the United Nations.

No wonder that in the crisis about color on the home scene some men in the South and out of it seemed to despair. One of the best informed men on this whole question in America and certainly one of the most earnest advocates of the advance of the Negro, wrote me that he could not remember when he had ever been more disturbed about race relationships in the South. There were plenty of things to be disturbed about. There was new crowding with new frictions in the towns with defense activity. There was a new assertion of independence by Negroes aware of a new necessity for their labor and carrying the wages for it in their pockets. Defense drained off farm labor and domestic help and left farmers as angry as housewives were. And beyond these facts, sharpened by press and magazine reports of Negro "Double V" demands, rumor ran in a ridiculous resurrection of such fears as used to run through the slave South about slave uprisings. A whispered story told how the Negroes in the Norfolk area had purchased all the ice picks in southeastern Virginia as a preliminary to a modern mass reproduction of Nat Turner's revolt and massacre of the whites in the same general region. There was the silly story of the "Eleanor Clubs" composed of domestics organized under the motto, "Every white woman in her own kitchen by Christmas." Even a national news magazine accepted it as true without checking. There were other stories. But the important thing about them for my purpose is that they demonstrate the wearing thin of the relationships which for the most part southern white men have made. They raise the question as to how successfully, with how much justice, the South has reconstructed itself so far as the Negro is concerned, since Reconstruction as described (and generally mis-described) in the history books, came to an end.

**Self-Reconstruction in the South**

I have heard the story of the advance of the Negro in the South told by southern white leaders, speaking even to Negroes who could not vote, as a sort of fulfilment of John Brown's dream. I have heard it described by others as a sort of continuing combination in degradation of bloodhound, bloody head, and rope. I have never been satisfied with either description in extreme. I think few southerners are. But I think few northerners are entirely justified in self-righteous condemnation at a distance. If we are going to assume responsibility for Borneo, we must get ready even in Boston to be prepared to admit that we have—and have had—some responsibility for Birmingham.

How well the South has done in self-reconstruction, so far as it involves the Negro, can of course be measured from the withdrawal of the last Yankee soldier in occupation to this difficult hour. But sometimes I think it can be measured better in a more limited period. I would begin this period with the statistical discovery in the 1930's that more people in the Old South were trying to make a living on less land than was under cultivation at the time of the Civil War. The period ends, of course, in this hour when at least part of present anger is expressed by highly vocal southern housewives complaining because they cannot get cooks. The change goes beyond the kitchens. It has meaning beyond this hour. And the meaning is not all disturbing. Those who are most disturbed today may still recognize that in this South of wartime, of war movement, of war wages, the most dangerous friction may be caused where people with new money and new hope are rubbing the wrong way—or the right way—the customs and relationships which were shaped in terms of old poverty.

Not many southerners see hope for the future in present difficulties. The years behind look better to them. They measure southern concern for the Negro against an even darker Negro past. Lynchings have declined.
Once land ownership seemed to be growing. There are more Negro Ph.D.'s between Baltimore and Baton Rouge than Lincoln ever dreamed of there being in the world. Such a Negro as C. C. Spaulding has gotten rich out of insurance in Durham, N. C.; in Nashville, Tenn., Dr. Charles S. Johnson is a leading American scholar. I hope I will not disturb them by referring to them as still details in darkness. The measures for the many are less impressive when compared with the schools and hospitals, advantages and conveniences which southern whites possess. Any honest and observant southerner must admit, I think, that the facilities provided for the Negroes are not equal to those provided for the whites. Also, by the same rule, any honest northerner must admit that the facilities available to southerners, white and black, are not equal to those facilities possessed by Americans in other regions. Indeed, in the matter of schools it becomes a commonplace American paradox that the states in the South with the poorest schools spend more on them in proportion to their wealth than do richer states with the best schools.

Inequalities—White and Black

Perhaps the South should divide what it does possess in absolute equality. That is easier to propose when there is enough to go around. There is a good deal of talk about equality of sacrifice today. It makes sense in the war rationing programs. But I wonder what would be the shortage in good red beef if the South ate its share and did not have to stick to sowsbelly. If southern children, white and Negro, were "reduced" to the minimums of milk they need, they would consume in wartime thousands of gallons more than they have been getting. As a nation we should have new problems of supply if large numbers in the South, white and Negro, were rationed up to what other sections may be rationed down to. Rationing, as now designed, means limitation upon what you may buy and carries no guarantees as to what a man or a family can buy. There is a difference, and in the midst of talk of equality of sacrifice no patriot should forget it either for the present or the future.

The problem is no simpler than the leadership available for dealing with it at home. There is, of course, Gene Talmadge. He shouted "Nigger" in politics until his political galluses snapped. White Georgia itself has turned him down. Also, there is Frank Graham. He, of course, can be dismissed as not representative—as enlightened beyond southern dimensions of enlightenment. The fact remains that he holds, as president of the University of North Carolina, a public position on the public payroll subject to all the pressures for dismissal which public prejudice might possess. Also it is a detail not to be overlooked that in Alabama, shortly after Governor Dixon's charge that efforts of the federal government to assure nondiscrimination in employment were designed to disrupt southern patterns of segregation, Raymond R. Paty, a former executive of the Rosenwald Foundation, which Talmadge undertook to describe as an agency for the attack on white civilization, was chosen as the new president of the University of Alabama.

Recently Elmer Davis, of the Office of War Information, commended four newspapers for their enlightened positions on the present racial frictions. I think they deserved it. But other papers wanted to know why they were neglected since their policies had been the same. Indeed, on the race question the southern white press, dealing with a problem at its door and one charged with the emotions of their readers, seems to me to be entitled to the respect of Americans everywhere in their dealing with this question. This, of course, does not mean that Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, would be found steadily in agreement with Walter White of the NAACP, or that Louis Jaffe of the Norfolk Virginian Pilot would see eye to eye with A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters. James E. Chappell in the Birmingham Age-Herald speaks for Alabama, not for the Urban League. But all these men are earnestly, intelligently, courageously every day concerned for greater security and decency for the Negroes around them. The volume of sound and honest writing about Negroes by southern white authors is enormous. It runs all the way from politically paternalistic William Alexander Percy, who lived, and died in Mississippi, to Pearl Buck, who expanded her concern about race in China after she graduated from a small woman's college in Virginia. The best southern colleges have escaped from southern clichés about color.

It takes all kinds of people to make the South, and the South can never be described accurately by counting only the Ku Kluxers. Actually I myself believe that there are today more able men steadily and courageously concerned about the advance of the Negro in the white South than there are in the white North.

Nevertheless, it should be repeated that, measured in pertinent terms of school houses and school terms, teacher pay, hospital beds, housing, job opportunity, all public facilities, the South has not done anything approaching greatness in what may be called a self-reconstruction to give the Negro all that we wish all Americans to have. No sensible southerner will pretend that it has. But in condemning the South for that, we labor the poor for not playing philanthropist. Some years ago in several southern states there were proposals to divide the tax dollars to give the Negro for his schools and services the taxes he paid and to keep for the whites for their schools and services the taxes they paid. There was a certain perverted logic and idiotic equality about the proposal. Though it is scarcely less idiotic than some accepted revenue divisions in a land which takes much of its youth from the South while dividing available public school funds along state lines which, in ordinary times, the migrants of all colors cross at sixty miles an hour. But white southerners recognized it as a plan to let the dead bury the dead. The courts would probably have held it as such even if the people had not. But in some southern regions it has been, in effect, practiced. It is a fact, however, that prior to the Roosevelt administration the poorest American region was expected to provide practically all the facilities for the great majority of Negroes who constitute the poorest body of Americans.

There was also a twisted logic about that: the South enjoyed the profits of slavery, it should bear the responsibility for its aftermath. The South wanted to keep the Negroes poor, it should pay for that poverty. Actually, as every informed person knows, the great majority of the white South never enjoyed the profits—if any—of slavery. Actually, as every informed person should know, poverty in the South has never been restricted to Negroes. Also the economy of the South was never entirely shaped
in the South itself. Responsibility for southern poverty does not end at the Mason-Dixon line. Certainly a nation concerned about "freedom from want" in Malaya cannot consider that it has no concern or responsibility in Georgia. The man who made "freedom from want" throughout the world one of the four cardinal points of our cause, indicated long before war began that he shared no such limited understanding.

Long before war the roads were full of Negroes moving out of the South to New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh, every part of America. But those were not Jim Crow roads. There were white people on them, moving too. Were the Joads Negroes? Were all the migrants black? And when the white families and the black families on those roads came to the ends of their journey in distant cities and states, did they find an America which in most respects resembled Shangri-La?

Of course not. And, of course, also, the South has not advanced itself—reconstructed itself—into a land where neat bungalows have risen back of the banjo playing, where the piccaninies are well fed and well schooled, where there is security and decency for the black family and the white one. Rickets remain. Old people rot with cancer without the ease of drugs or the hope of surgery. Family life often remains an impermanent informalness where a man cannot alone or long in any one place making a living for a brood. Also and increasingly in the South the old ties of paternalism disappear and welfare does not satisfactorily take their place.

The South at War

Now war makes change—frightening change sometimes. Rumor runs with it. But at worst the basic trouble in the present crisis in the race question in the South seems to rise from the sudden, startling, hardly to be believed fact that there are jobs—jobs at decent pay and, increasingly, jobs in which color does not slam the employment office door. And this is true even though discriminations in employment remain. The more important development is that labor shortages do whittle discrimination down.

"It is hard to get a cook." That may seem a very trivial detail in a world at war. It comes, however, close to the women who staff the battalions of talk. It is easy for a southern woman in a section where a white woman without a cook is almost like a woman without proper clothes, to mistake her inconvenience for a conspiracy. The shortage of cooks, however, is nothing if not an indication that old supply-and-demand is at work in a region where in human terms there seemed until recently to be only unlimited and unwanted supply. It means either that Negro women can get better jobs than those in the kitchens or that their men can make enough money to support their families without their wives working from seven to seven. As a southerner accustomed to their ministrations, I would not be pleased by inability to have them, but I can at least see that less cooks for me means more chance for the cooks.

"The niggers are uppity." I do not doubt that this is so. I expect it is also true of a good many whites. A decent living suddenly secured is heady medicine. It is not necessary to be white or a millionaire to be what the world has called "new rich." At best it means a new crowding of stores, a new pressure on transportation facilities, a new friction where new well paid workers are crowded in old overtaxed towns. It does not always seem necessary to be quite so polite when there is money in the pocket. Also, I can understand how a person who has worn politeness like a livery might mistakenly rejoice in rejecting it before he learns that politeness is not subserviency but sense.

"The Negroes are being put into white men's jobs." There is a fear here not to be disregarded, a fear which requires the responsibility of us all, and a fear which lies at the heart of the pattern of our hopes for the future in America and the world. Evil as have been the barriers set up by labor unions and the big unofficial union of the white poor in the South, those barriers have represented the tragic understanding that there were not enough jobs for all. There actually were not. That was the reason why a sweatshop wage in the South was a wage nevertheless and one to be grabbed at. There are better wages now—more jobs. The employment of Negroes is necessary to fill them. But the white southerner fears the future. He has heard that a People's Century may be ahead for Burma but he is not quite sure that it will include Birmingham. And Birmingham is the part of the peace he contemplates.

Birmingham is a part of the war and the peace. And Birmingham means Valdosta, Ga.; and Washington County, Mississippi; Lowndes County, Alabama; Richmond, New Orleans, both banks of Old Man River, East Texas, North Florida. And Harlem and the black ghettos of Detroit. And the people in all these places are as important in the war and the peace as the Chinese, the inhabitants of the Solomons, the brothers and the fathers of the high breasted ladies of Bali and the wild men of Borneo. Color and want are not problems only of the Pacific.

The South has not done all that it should have done in self-reconstruction. The North withdrew from a Reconstruction largely devoted to loot and declined to continue a Reconstruction which included a sense of responsibility. The result is that the United States contains still what once the President called Economic Problem No. 1, but which now promises inescapably to be a sort of first demonstration area in all our eloquent talk of an acceptable peace.

Changes, Dangers, and New Hopes

Some Negro leaders irritate me to anger, when in the "Double V" language of two victories or none, they discuss conditions precedent upon which full Negro participation for America in this war depends. I know they are not in fact talking for the rank and file of their people who share with all southerners the sort of headlong loyalty upon which a fighting America can always depend. It may seem funny, now, that Lee's army was largely composed of white men who were not only slaveless but almost as degraded as colored men by slavery. They fought. Their descendants make the white South which is now too often too ignorant, very often too poor, and which is generally unable to consider questions of color with the placidity of a philosopher in Manhattan. Years ago, color had become for many of them one poor though cruel weapon in a competition for existence.

The frictions between such men and colored men are sharpened now, so sharpened (Continued on page 561)
Why Should We March?

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The March on Washington Movement has taken a leaf out of labor history in turning from industrial to political action. Its mass campaign is headed by the founder of the outstanding Negro union in the country:—by the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL).

Though I have found no Negroes who want to see the United Nations lose this war, I have found many who, before the war ends, want to see the stuffing knocked out of white supremacy and of empire over subject peoples. American Negroes, involved as we are in the general issues of the conflict, are confronted not with a choice but with the challenge both to win democracy for ourselves at home and to help win the war for democracy the world over.

There is no escape from the horns of this dilemma. There ought not to be escape. For if the war for democracy is not won abroad, the fight for democracy cannot be won at home. If this war cannot be won for the white peoples, it will not be won for the darker races.

Conversely, if freedom and equality are not vouchsafed the peoples of color, the war for democracy will not be won. Unless this double-barreled thesis is accepted and applied, the darker races will never wholeheartedly fight for the victory of the United Nations. That is why those familiar with the thinking of the American Negro have sensed his lack of enthusiasm, whether among the educated or uneducated, rich or poor, professional or non-professional, religious or secular, rural or urban, north, south, east or west.

That is why questions are being raised by Negroes in church, labor union and fraternal society; in poolroom, barbershop, schoolroom, hospital, hair-dressing parlor; on college campus, railroad, and bus. One can hear such questions asked as these: What have Negroes to fight for? What's the difference between Hitler and that "cracker" Talmadge of Georgia? Why has a man got to be Jim-Crowed to die for democracy? If you haven't got democracy yourself, how can you carry it to somebody else?

What are the reasons for this state of mind? The answer is: discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow. Witness the navy, the army, the air corps; and also government
services at Washington. In many parts of the South, Negroes in Uncle Sam's uniform are being put upon, mobbed, sometimes even shot down by civilian and military police, and on occasion lynched. Vested political interests in race prejudice are so deeply entrenched that to them winning the war against Hitler is secondary to preventing Negroes from winning democracy for themselves. This is worth many divisions to Hitler and Hirohito. While labor, business, and farm are subjected to ceilings and floors and not allowed to carry on as usual, these interests trade in the dangerous business of race hate as usual.

When the defense program began and billions of the taxpayers' money were appropriated for guns, ships, tanks and bombs, Negroes presented themselves for work only to be given the cold shoulder. North as well as South, and despite their qualifications, Negroes were denied skilled employment. Not until their wrath and indignation took the form of a proposed protest march on Washington, scheduled for July 1, 1941, did things begin to move in the form of defense jobs for Negroes. The march was postponed by the timely issuance of June 25, 1941) of the famous Executive Order No. 8802 by President Roosevelt. But this order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, established thereunder, have as yet only scratched the surface by way of eliminating discriminations on account of race or color in war industry. Both management and labor unions in too many places and in too many ways are still drawing the color line.

It is to meet this situation squarely with direct action that the March on Washington Movement launched its present program of protest mass meetings. Twenty thousand were in attendance at Madison Square Garden, June 16; sixteen thousand in the Coliseum in Chicago, June 26; nine thousand in the City Auditorium of St. Louis, August 14. Meetings of such magnitude were unprecedented among Negroes. The vast throngs were drawn from all walks and levels of Negro life—businessmen, teachers, laundry workers, Pullman porters, waiters, and red caps; preachers, crapshooters, and social workers; jitterbugs and Ph.D.'s. They came and sat in silence, thinking, applauding only when they considered the truth was told, when they felt strongly that something was going to be done about it.

The March on Washington Movement is essentially a movement of the people. It is all Negro and pro-Negro, but not for that reason anti-white or anti-Semitic, or anti-Catholic, or anti-foreign, or anti-labor. Its major weapon is the non-violent demonstration of Negro mass power. Negro leadership has united back of its drive for jobs and justice. "Whether Negroes should march on Washington, and if so, when?" will be the focus of a forthcoming national conference. For the plan of a protest march has not been abandoned. Its purpose would be to demonstrate that American Negroes are in deadly earnest, and all out for their full rights. No power on earth can cause them today to abandon their fight to wipe out every vestige of second class citizenship and the dual standards that plague them.

A community is democratic only when the humblest and weakest person can enjoy the highest civil, economic, and social rights that the biggest and most powerful possess. To trample on these rights of both Negroes and poor whites is such a commonplace in the South that it takes readily to anti-social, anti-labor, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic propaganda. It was because of laxness in enforcing the Weimar constitution in republican Germany that Nazism made headway. Oppression of the Negroes in the United States, like suppression of the Jews in Germany, may open the way for a fascist dictatorship. By fighting for their rights now, American Negroes are helping to make America a moral and spiritual arsenal of democracy. Their fight against the poll tax, against lynching, for economic, political, and social equality, thus becomes part of the global war for freedom.

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**PROGRAM OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT**

1. We demand, in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic, and political privilege; and especially, we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.

2. We demand legislation to enforce the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.

3. We demand the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.

4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the army, navy, marine corps, air corps, and all other branches of national defense.

5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the FEPC be made a permanent administrative agency of the U.S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.

6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.

7. We demand colored and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.

8. We demand representation for the colored and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post-war settlement.
Only as the quality of Southern Negro life is improved can the new Reconstruction of the South go forward.

The segregation even at the public bubble fountain . . .

The shops of the poor selling hand-me-down clothing . . .

The new generation still growing up in hopeless poverty . . .

The many lives dependent on the fortunes of cotton.

YET there are some houses that a child rightly calls home—

some men who own farms and study how to improve their comm
Negroes and the Commonweal

EDWIN R. EMBREE

Five definite next steps toward democracy that require action by our controlling authorities, chiefly white. Six steps that Negroes, meanwhile, can be taking for themselves—as recommended by the president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

The ills that Negroes suffer are so well known as to be trite. But we keep overlooking them. Surely radical changes would come at once if the great body of people of good will in America once saw in full, alert, consciousness the wrongs we allow to exist. Changes would come even more surely if we recognized that true democracy would benefit our public health, our law and order, our culture, our wealth and our military effectiveness.

Let me cite just a few examples to remind us of the gross discriminations that still exist against one out of ten of our people in a nation publicly devoted to the Christian principle of brotherly love, eager for progress and prosperity, founded on democracy and now engaged in a life and death struggle in its defense throughout the world.

On One Side of the Ledger

A CHANCE FOR EDUCATION is the rock on which America's hope of progress is founded. The boast of our public schools is that they give equal opportunity for learning to all children, regardless of the wealth or standing of their parents, regardless of creed or race or color. Yet a recent census in ten southern states, which have separate schools for the two races, shows average annual expenditures of $17 for each colored pupil compared with an average of $50 for each white child. This pittance for Negro schooling is the more shocking when it is remembered that the average for the nation as a whole is $80 per pupil.

Colored children in these ten states of the Old South, where the bulk of Negroes still live, have only about one fifth of the public schooling that the nation as a whole regards as standard.

A CHANCE FOR LIFE AND HEALTH is another item of basic public concern. The progress of preventive medicine in America is one of our real claims to greatness. Yet the neglect of the health of Negroes and the lack of sanitation in colored districts are so commonplace that they do not even arouse comment. As a result, the Negro deathrate is 32 percent higher than that for the rest of the population, the Negro's life expectancy is eleven years less than that of his white neighbors, his toll of daily sickness (shown by recent sample studies) is 43 percent greater than for white Americans. In certain diseases the Negro loss ranges many times that of whites, many times what it need be with our present medical knowledge. Tuberculosis, in spite of recent improvement, is still a veritable plague among urban Negroes. In forty-eight cities recently studied, Negro deaths from this disease were 238 per hundred thousand, compared to 48 per hundred thou-

sand whites, or almost five to one—interestingly enough just about the differential in school expenditures cited above. In the rural South the scourge is sickness and death of infants and of mothers at childbirth. And throughout the nation the venereal disease rates among Negroes are far higher than among whites, far higher than they need be with the specific cures now known for these social plagues.

The tie that binds together Negro and white welfare is most clearly seen in this matter of health. Disease germs obey no Jim Crow laws. Further progress in the general public health of America waits critically on health improvement among the darker tenth of our population.

A CHANCE FOR LIVELIHOOD, one would think, would gladly be offered to everyone in this nation where work is almost a god. But here again Negroes are restricted—even in the war situation, where production is the life blood of our effort. When the President issues an order forbidding racial discrimination by firms engaged on war contracts, when he appoints a Committee on Fair Employment Practices, when the Manpower Division of the government maintains a special personnel to help find and place workers of the various minority groups—the very presence of this enforcement machinery reveals the shocking national practice. When trade unions exclude Negroes, they prove traitor to the cardinal policy of a united front of all workers.

When Negroes are listed as gainfully employed, over half of them are still the two million in farming and one million in domestic service. The great bulk of the farm workers are southern tenants and sharecroppers caught in the web of a system that does not really benefit the owner and makes of the cropper a serf, in many ways as poor and helpless as a slave.

A CHANCE TO FIGHT, even more, should be open in the armed forces that we are rushing to the defense of democracy. There, discrimination is unthinkable; yet it persists so glaringly that morale is seriously hurt. The enemy has been quick to exploit this weakness. Hitler boasts that he fashioned his treatment of minority groups in Europe on the pattern of our treatment of Negroes in America. The Japanese have carried their jeers at our democracy to thirteen million Negroes in America and to hundreds of millions of colored peoples all over the world.

True, Negroes are drafted into the army just as are whites, but thereafter they are segregated from their white fellows and few have been admitted to officer rank even among their own troops. True, the navy has grudgingly agreed to admit Negroes above the rank of mess
boys; a few even are being advanced to the rank of petty officers. But the naval hierarchy has made it clear that Negroes need not expect to be admitted to real responsibility in what even in wartime is regarded as something of a gentleman's club. On the air service doubtless hangs the outcome of this war, but only one training base for Negro pilots has as yet been accepted—and that after it had been set up at Tuskegee Institute by private resources of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

It is not too much to say that the gross discriminations in the armed forces and the war industries are depriving America of the zest—and the manpower—of one tenth of our total population.

An amusing—and devastating—folkslore is growing daily to show the bitter attitudes cropping out among American Negroes toward this "war for democracy." A sharecropper last winter said, as he accepted his usual watered share of produce from his landlord, "I hear dem Japanese done declare war on you white folks." A little later a bootblack said to Horace Cayton in Chicago, "I see where we done took Singapore from de Japs." Cayton also reports the bitterness of a young Negro who, on being drafted, said, "Just put on my tombstone: 'Here lies a black man, killed fighting a yellow man, for the protection of a white man.'" A jitterbug on Chicago's South Side is quoted as boasting that he was going to get his eyes slanted so that next time a white man shoved him around he could fight back.

The greatest evil of caste in America is that it puts the finest Negro at the mercy of the meanest white man. Even winners of our highest honors face the crass color bar. Roland Hayes, the gifted tenor, one of America's leading artists, was recently attacked and thrown in jail simply for protesting an insult to his wife in a Georgia store. An American congressman was flung out of his Pullman car as he "crossed the line" on his way to Hot Springs, Ark. "What if he is a Representative in the United States Congress? What if he has paid for a first class ticket? He's a nigger, ain't he?" Marian Anderson was refused the use of Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution—descendants of the very men who fought to create this nation of freedom and democracy. It is true that the nation gave these Daughters a stinging rebuke and Marian Anderson a spectacular tribute in the Easter concert which seventy-five thousand people attended in honor of democracy as well as in honor of this beautiful voice and fine personality. It is true that Philadelphia has given Miss Anderson the Bok award as "a most distinguished resident of Philadelphia." But still she cannot be served in many of the public restaurants of her home city even after it has declared her a first citizen.

The Other Side of the Ledger

Even more amazing than the treatment of our darker fellows is the progress this people has made in three brief generations since slavery.

Education: At emancipation, less than 5 percent of the four and a half million slaves and free persons of color could read simple sentences or write their own names. Today the literacy rate among the thirteen million American Negroes is 90 percent, a rate equal to that for the total populations of all but a few of the most enlightened countries of the world. Two and a half million colored children are enrolled in the southern segregated schools, 189,000 of them in high schools, 11,000 in the several state colleges. These pupils are being taught by 61,000 teachers of their own race, 2,700 of whom are instructors in institutions of college grade.

These figures do not include the colored pupils—they must run to nearly a million—who are studying right along with other young Americans in the regular schools and colleges of the North and West. During the past six years twenty-four thousand Negroes were graduated from colleges—more than the number graduated during the entire previous history of the race. About 250 Negroes have received the Ph.D. degree, the highest that can be conferred by an American university. An equal number have been elected to the high scholarship society of Phi Beta Kappa, more than half of them during the past twelve years.

Health: The death rate for Negroes has swooped down during the past half century faster than it has among any other large population in the world. In 1890 the annual death rate for Negroes in the United States was estimated at 33 per-thousand, comparable to the rates in the worst sections of China or India. Heroic improvements in health facilities and living conditions have cut this deathrate more than in half—to an estimated 14 per thousand today. Four thousand Negro doctors and 6,000 colored nurses are helping to maintain the health of their people, using a small but steadily increasing number of accredited hospitals as centers. Steadily increasing, also, are the Negro doctors serving as deputy health officers in southern states and northern cities, over 300 Negro nurses serving as regular members of county public health units.

Liveliness: During slavery, Negroes, far from owning wealth, were themselves regarded as property. While still far less prosperous than their white contemporaries, Negroes since then have assembled property estimated at two and a half billion dollars. The current income of the group is reported in excess of two billion dollars a year. Negroes own some ten million acres of farm land, equal to about a third of the area of Alabama or more than the combined acreage of three New England states: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

During the past twenty-five years over a million Negro workers have poured into manufacturing and mechanical industries, chiefly in the northern cities. Other writers will explore this shift more fully, but let me underscore that over 150,000 of these are skilled workers or foremen; 225,000 are semi-skilled. That the steel mills are teeming with brown workers, estimated at more than 120,000. That among automobile plants, 11 percent of Ford's employees are Negroes, many of them in highly skilled posts or as foremen of sections and divisions. That in slaughtering and meat packing, 29 percent of all employees in the Chicago plant of Swift and Company are Negroes. That in general, as American plants have turned from normal industry to the swelling demands of war production—in spite of persisting odds—Negroes have found well paid employment as never before. And that with the exception of some old-line exclusive craft unions, Negroes are now finding their place shoulder to shoulder in common union with their fellow (Continued on page 494)
Basic Steps Toward Democracy

1. Cease racial discrimination in the armed forces. Open the training facilities and the opportunities for promotion clear up to highest rank to every American in the army, the navy, and the air forces.

Let separate contingents of whites and Negroes continue where this will conserve custom and morale, but organize mixed troops wherever democratic tradition permits.

Northern and western schools and colleges have proved abundantly the acceptability of democratic mingling of our highly diverse population.

2. Protect Negro troops from insult and abuse by stern insistence on respect for the American uniform.

That soldiers in uniform have been allowed to be driven from their seats in public conveyances, attacked by hoodlums, and even killed, is an amazing reflection on army discipline and respect for the flag.

It is true that the U. S. Department of Justice has begun to prosecute attacks on the uniform, but where is national patriotism and the pride of the army that has allowed such insults to stand for a minute?

Unless protection of our soldiers from civilian abuse can be speedily brought about, all Negro training bases and encampments should be moved out of the South. The convenience of quarters and climate is no excuse for quartering Negroes where prejudice and custom are actively against them.

3. Continue to insist that in all war production, employment be given without discrimination as to race, creed, or color. Employment practices set now will in part persist into peacetime industry.

4. Equalize schools and other public facilities, as is strictly ordered in the Constitution of these United States. The increase of school expenditures for colored pupils from the present pittance to at least the average in the states concerned is a minimum legal requirement.

This is perfectly feasible, though it probably will be accomplished only by federal subsidy and by strict enforcement of the equality provisions of such subsidy.

The cost of providing average facilities for colored as well as white pupils in the southern states, while running into a hundred million dollars a year, is but the cost of a battleship or two, or the cost of jails and almshouses that would be less necessary if the schools were better. This rich nation can afford good schools for all its children. It cannot afford anything less.

An immediate step is to see to it—by federal court order if necessary—that public school teachers of equal qualifications receive equal pay. Good God Almighty! What a paradox to have to make such proposals as "recommendations" in the world's greatest democracy!

5. While there are southern states which for many years to come, will probably wish to keep segregation of public facilities, all these must be made equal for both races.

No hideous results seem to have followed the common presence of white and colored people in northern buses, trains or schools. But if southerners still want exclusiveness, they must be willing to pay the price. Extra coaches on trains, duplicate waiting rooms, separate parks and playgrounds, as well as duplicate schools and hospitals—all these cost millions of dollars—and in the regions poorest and most lacking in adequate public facilities.

Meanwhile I suggest (another compromise) that new types of public service follow the economical policy of universality. In air travel, for example, no separate facilities have been provided even in the deepest South. As new methods supplant the old in various fields, let us not hamper the services or penalize ourselves by dragging in the outworn bugaboo of segregation.

Next Steps by Negroes

1. Join labor unions. Insist on the right to join unions wherever there is any question. Join farmers' organizations and tenant unions. In every way identify yourself with the great tidal movements of the common man.

2. Take advantage of training facilities in industry. Then you will be ready to step into higher and higher skills as these are opened. Don't wait for the openings to call and don't say, "What's the use of training for what I can never get." Openings undreamed of a few years ago are coming. Get ready for them—demand them.

3. Take advantage of the regular schools and colleges. I know that much of American schooling is shallow and formal. But modern civilization demands education. The forty-four thousand Negro college graduates today, compared to the few hundred of just a generation ago, are a big part of the swift evolution of Negroes in American life. This increasing number of qualified leaders must be ready to take part not only in race movements but in public life and civic improvement.

4. Patronize your own stores, your own insurance companies, your own doctors and lawyers, your own writers, musicians, and artists. I know that this is in itself a kind of segregation. I know that in a true democracy racial choices of any sort are out of place. This is another of those pragmatic compromises. With discrimination as it is today, Negro business and professions cannot expect success unless they are zealously patronized by their own people.

5. Take pride in your own distinctiveness. Negroes have made notable gifts to American life, especially in music, dance, and folklore, in literature and drama. A few colored snobs—only a few, praise be—seem ashamed of anything distinctly Negro, and want to ape the drab conventionalism of their dullest white neighbors.

Other racial groups in America glorify their background: Scotch thrift, German thoroughness, Irish wit, Latin color and verve. America needs variety, it needs the zest and rhythm of all groups.

Keep on laughing, singing, dancing, making jokes. Make fun of the white ofays if you want to, but anyway keep making fun. Keep on eating good food and wearing gay clothes, and enjoying life. Keep swinging.

6. Keep moving out of the South. There is no decent life for all of you in the southern rural areas as far as the mind of man can see. You'll have a hard time even in the North and West, but at least you'll have some freedom. You'll once in a while be treated as human beings. You'll have decent schools for your children and some public provision for recreation, for reading and listening to music, for rest and play. You'll have some opportunity for work and professional practice in sections that are prosperous and progressive. And as you leave the South you will relive your fellows of that pressure which is always heaviest where the colored masses are densest. At least another million Negroes should move out of the South during this decade. Move North, my colored friends, keep moving North and West.

E. R. E.
workers—the new and powerful CIO reporting a Negro membership of 200,000.

CULTURE: In one phase of American life Negroes have always led: in music, the dance, and other forms of artistic expression. From the beginning of our history, the folk lore and folk music of Negroes have been a lively leaven in countrysides otherwise drab and dull. The exuberance and zest for life, which flowed so richly into their folk art, is now finding expression in all forms of the fine arts: literature, drama, music, painting, sculpture. A movement which was so notable even twenty-five years ago as to earn the name “Negro Renaissance” continues steadily to the distinct enrichment of the national culture.

Turning a New Page

During the past quarter century the Negro has ceased to be a denizen of the rural South. Since the great trek of Negroes to the industrial centers of the North during the first World War—one of the spectacular mass migrations of all history—a steady stream has been moving to every part of the country. Today more than one fourth of all Negroes live outside the states of the Old South. Only about half of the Negroes live in sections classified as rural (farms, and communities of less than 2,500 population). Today New York City alone has more than twice as many Negroes as such southern states as Kentucky and West Virginia. Eleven cities have over 100,000 Negroes each. The new city of Los Angeles has 64,000. With the shift in Mississippi shown in the 1940 census, there is no state in the Union left with a Negro population exceeding that of the white.

This dispersal means progress. It eases from the states of the Deep South some of the old fear of black majorities. It has removed three and a half million Brown Americans from that section, which offers the poorest prospects, has the poorest schools and public services, and is lowest in appreciation of talent and individual merit. While Negroes have not yet fared any too well in the northern cities, they are not bound by the heaviest chains of prejudice. Their recent progress in learning, in art, in the professions, in industry, and in public status is overwhelmingly in the North.

The very purpose of the present world struggle demands that we give to all men at home that liberty and opportunity that we are fighting to preserve throughout the world. Now is a time to press toward the American goal of democracy. On page 493, I suggest a few definite next steps—recognizing that social changes must be gradual if they are to be lasting. Here I risk attack from those who will think I am too radical and those who claim I am too timid in recommending only those changes that seem to me at once basic and feasible.

Sorrow Home

by MARGARET WALKER

My roots are deep in southern life; deeper than John Brown or Nat Turner or Robert Lee. I was sired and weaned in a tropic world. The palm tree and banana leaf, mango and coconut, breadfruit and rubber tree know me.

Warm skies and gulf blue streams are in my blood; I belong with the smell of fresh pine, with the trail of coon, and the spring growth of wild onion.

I am no hot-house bulb to be reared in steam-heated flats with the music of “L” and subway in my ears, walled in by steel and wood and brick far from the sky.

I want the cotton fields, tobacco and the cane. I want to walk along the sacks of seed to drop in fallow ground.

Restless music is in my heart and I am eager to be gone.

O Southland, sorrow home, melody beating in my bone and blood! How long will the Klan of hate, the hounds and the chain gangs keep me from my own?

Dixie Snow

by MARIE BROWN FRAZIER

Cotton brings a cent a pound
Each must pick a hundred
Before the sun goes down
Mother, brother, sister, dad
Cotton needs picking so bad.
On they go, day after day,
To clear the cotton fields away,—
Bobbing up and down
Bags drag the ground—
Mother, brother, sister, dad
Cotton needs picking so bad.

But brother dreamed:
Picking cotton was too slow
Prices too low—
He must go!

Sister dreamed:
The cotton stalks were little brown instruments
With white keys
On which she played weird melodies—
The music crept up through the leaves.

Brother and sister
How could they know
Black dreams get buried
In Dixie snow?
Rhythm and Zest

The democratic value of the Negro's contributions to American culture in dance, theater, art and music are cardinal points in the program of Karamu, Cleveland neighborhood house directed for twenty-five years by Russell and Rowena Jelliffe.

Karamu Dances photographed by GJON MILI

Religious

Ancestral

Folk

Esthetic
Striking the Economic Balance

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

The economic setting of the American race problem—its background in the rural South, its foreground in wartime industry, its outlook—is deftly sketched—by a leading sociologist, director of the department of social sciences at Fisk University.

One of the most powerful elements in the development of the South was black labor. On the sweating backs of Negroes rested, for over two hundred and fifty years, first tobacco cultivation and later a vast cotton kingdom with an elaborate structure of politics, capital, and social ritual. The agricultural pattern of the region kept the cities small and without industries; resisted the influence of technology that has changed the contours of world civilization; and fostered fixed social classes.

Inherent in the southern agricultural system, however, were dangers that could scarcely be averted. The dominant crop was precarious, although an alluring source of wealth; it encouraged exploitation of the soil; and created a vicious circle of credit and debt which kept the region as dependent as a colony upon the capital of the North and East. The system failed to accumulate the capital necessary for the social and cultural development of the South. Out of it came a small, powerful, and possessive upper class, a larger propertyless lower class of whites, and a post-slavery color caste which set itself steadfastly against the theory of a democratic society.

The results of the economic policy have been serious not only for the Negroes at the bottom of the structure, but for the region itself. It has been only recently that these problems have been disentangled sufficiently from the emotions and the nostalgic allure of the past to be considered in their own stark economic right. Ten years of a widespread economic depression brought the first mood for questioning institutions and traditions. In the face of a threatened collapse of the economic base itself, the region came to recognize the extraneous economic burden of many of its most cherished social traditions.

Recent studies have repeatedly pointed out that the cotton tenancy problem, for example, assumed for decades to be purely a Negro problem, is basically a southern problem involving even more white than Negro tenants and sharecroppers. They reveal also that the vast wastage of the soil is not primarily due to Negro ignorance and neglect but is the responsibility of those who own, control and direct the labor on the land; of those who control the facilities for education. They show that poverty wages simply mean little or no purchasing power for the common people, white and Negro alike, on which industries must thrive; and that the undernourishment so prevalent in the area means non-productive illness and costly death. Recognition of this situation, perhaps, has prompted a new approach to the problem of the area and laid the ground for a new order of race relations.

Race problems in the economic system may now be viewed not so much as separate and lamentable race phenomena but as elements in the total economic structure and situation.

Negroes in the Changing South

In 1910, 88 percent of the Negroes of the South were employed as agricultural laborers and domestic servants, the two lowest paid occupational fields. Their agricultural labor was bound up with the archaic traditions of the plantation system with its meager financial returns, frequent exploitation and peonage, stagnant culture and restricted social communication. The introduction of schools and some measure of literacy and the vicissitudes of agriculture itself began to break up these patterns.

The great majority of American Negroes have always lived in the southern states where the denseness of the agricultural population, the deterioration and declining productivity of the soil, together with fading markets, have made poverty chronic for both whites and Negroes. In the past ten years, the Negroes have been virtually forced out of agriculture as the alternative to slow starvation. They have gone where there are prospects of employment or, at least, relief.

Farm workers have been increasingly unnecessary in the southern agricultural system. In the early days of the country, according to the Department of Agriculture analysis, it took 9 families out of 10 to raise enough raw materials for food and clothing for all 10. Today only 3 families out of 10 are needed on farms; the other 7 must find employment in industry and related services. If full use is made of improved farm machinery, 2 families or less, out of 10, can do all the necessary farm work. The traditional movement of manpower, says Carter Goodrich of the International Labor Office, has been from agriculture to manufacture. The limits of possible demand for manufactured goods and other services are more flexible than the demand for agricultural products.

The present problem of Negro workers is twofold. In industry they have only marginal status as recent comers, with barriers of tradition and prejudice to overcome. And in agriculture, too, they have only marginal status, as a result of the decreasing necessity for workers in this field. Since 1920, there has been an addition of nearly two million southern Negroes to the population of the North, and they are today more urban than rural in their distribution.

Of the four major occupational fields in the South—cotton cultivation, cotton fabrication, tobacco growing and manufacturing, and iron and steel—cotton cultivation holds the largest number of Negroes. There are over 700,000 Negro tenant families, representing about 3,500,000
persons. It never has been possible for these families to earn an adequate living. Studies show the average annual earnings before the present war to fall below $200. In 1929, the average income was less than a fourth of the income of farmers in other sections—$186 as compared with $528. For tenants the average annual income was $73, and for sharecroppers $38. The eastern cotton belt, where most of the Negroes live, together with the Appalachian Ozarks, constitute the major economic problem of the South and of the nation.

The Negro Enters Industry

Prior to the present war, the heaviest concentrations of Negro workers were still in unskilled branches of industry, and in agriculture and domestic and personal service, but there had been a fairly significant penetration into industry and into positions above the unskilled level. In 1930, there were 64 general industrial or service groups in a total of 126 in which Negro workers were engaged, and in which 50 percent or more were unskilled and 50 percent or more of the white workers were above the unskilled level. As a matter of fact, the total number of Negro workers in the 64 fields was 3,051,408 or 55.4 percent of the total Negro working population. About two thirds of these workers were in agriculture and domestic and personal service.

There were, however, 38 industrial fields in which 50 percent or more of the Negroes were employed in capacities above unskilled labor. In these industries were 665,834 Negro workers or about 12 percent of the total working force. In seven occupational fields more than 50 percent of the Negro employees were skilled or white collar workers. These fields were: suit, coat and overall factories; automobile repair shops; postal service; insurance; real estate; professional service; recreation and amusement.

The basic industrial situation of the Negro worker in the North can be illustrated in the changing industrial pattern of Chicago. In that city in 1890, of the total gainfully employed Negroes, 53.7 percent were in domestic and personal service and on railroad trains. Only 7.4 percent were in skilled, clerical, managerial, and professional positions. Foreign-born whites, as in most urban and industrial cities of the North, controlled the unskilled positions. By 1910, Negro male workers were in 166 out of 178 occupations, and Negro female workers in 37 of 42 occupational groups. In the intensive competition, foreign-born whites were pushed up and native whites concentrated more and more in the upper brackets. Labor unions as well as employers restricted the number of Negroes in skilled trades. By 1920, after the mass migration of the last war period, the proportion of Chicago Negroes in manufacturing increased from 3 to 11 percent. There were three and one half times as many Negro semi-skilled workers in 1920 as in 1910, although they remained below the foreign-born group in mass occupational levels, and the foreign-born group remained below the native whites. By 1930 the Negroes, while still holding the highest relative proportions in unskilled work, had proportionately as many semi-skilled workers as the foreign-born, and about half as many white collar workers. They, in turn, were followed by the newest group, the Mexicans, who took their places at the bottom.

In the southern urban areas, the average annual wage (white and Negro) is $865 as compared with $1,219 for workers in other sections. However, the Negro earnings represent a differential in the average wages of the South amounting approximately to 30 percent.

In the typical northern industrial city, the average weekly wage for Negro male white collar workers in 1936 was $23; and for female workers, $15.82. The skilled Negro male averaged $18.77 and the skilled female, $13.37. All these figures are considerably below the level necessary for a health-and-decency standard of living.

This economic inadequacy is back of many of the problems of education, health, housing, family life, and general cultural development. It is reflected in high Negro mortality rates from tuberculosis, typhoid, pellagra, influenza, and childbirth, and also in infant mortality. These rates are from two to four times those of whites, and are largely controllable.

Impacts of World War II

It requires a profound crisis to disturb the deepest occupational patterns which regulate our national working habits. The racial stratification of jobs has been one of the national traits. The present war, with its acute demand for industrial manpower, reveals the real strength of the resistance to any change of the pattern of racial stratification in occupations.

Another writer in this issue of Survey Graphic deals in detail with these manpower needs, with their effect on training and placement of Negro workers, with the danger to the war effort in the present failure to make full use of the nation's potential working strength because of undemocratic tradition and prejudice, and with efforts on the part of enlightened leaders in government, industry, and organized labor to break down discrimination. [See page 468.] The present article will deal with wartime employment only as it affects the general economic status of the Negro.

The major minority problem of the war to date has been one of exchanging critically needed manpower for a traditional policy of exclusion. The issue of group competition unquestionably will arise with the cessation of the expanded war program and the return to civilian occupations of the millions of able-bodied men now in military service.

While it is unlikely that all the minority gains in industry can be sustained when the pressures are removed, the exposure of the Negro workers to new areas and levels of industries and skills will leave a deposit of mutual experience for white and Negro workers, and new skills and economic expectations which undoubtedly will add to the ferment of Negro labor. The areas of resistance to the Negro worker which, in the present war crisis, continue to be maintained are those involving racial segregation of workers, the appointment of Negroes to supervisory positions over whites and over other Negro workers, and the use of recreational facilities.

All of this has an important bearing upon the future of Negro labor. First, Negro workers are being geographically distributed where the bulk of the war industries are located. In the first monumental plans for war production in 1941 the value of defense contracts and project orders was $13,287,163,000, and of this total the fourteen southern states received about 7 percent, although they had about a fourth of the population. This means that the vast bulk of these contracts went to states outside the South, and these have drawn labor to them. The war contracts were
awarded to the older industrial areas where there were basic facilities, transportation, and a potential labor force reasonably well adapted to industry. For the period June 1940 to June 1942, 6.3 per cent of the $80,000,000,000 in war contracts awarded went to eleven southern states. Eight northern and western states received over half the awards. This undoubtedly will have permanent effects upon the distribution of the Negro population, despite the incidence of new industries in the South.

Further, Negro workers are being exposed, under pressure, to some measure of training for skills. These skills will remain as one of the valuable educational deposits of the war and will prove useful in further efforts of Negro workers to secure and maintain a footing in industry.

The Outlook in Southern Agriculture

The future economic status of the Negro worker in the rural South is bound up with the economic changes of the area. Although the South is potentially rich in resources, the majority of the Negro population shares a lowly economic status with fully a fourth of the white population. Any change in Negro status anticipates:

A decrease in the population pressure against the present resources of the poorer areas.

A movement and settlement of Negro and white agricultural workers, under conditions guaranteeing security of tenure and income, in better agricultural areas.

A further migration of the Negro rural population to urban industrial areas, preferably in a wider distribution over the United States.

A reconstruction of agricultural practice in the partially depleted areas of the Old South.

The National Resources Planning Board estimates that in the ten principal cotton states there are 84,600,000 acres of land seriously damaged by erosion. This large volume of depleted land in the Old South, together with the lack in the past of substantial crop diversification and the high population density, is sharply reflected in the meager farm incomes of all of the agricultural workers. Southern agriculture could actually prosper with from a fourth to a third fewer cotton farms, which are really no longer needed because of technological improvements and loss of foreign markets. Many of these markets may not return in their old volume of demand after the war.

Sound agricultural strategy dictates an increased emphasis upon dairying and livestock production and upon the development of new uses for non-food agricultural products. This can aid income, but will require fewer agricultural workers. In fact, the section could probably spare as many as two million workers from agricultural production. Already, the Negro rural population has been responding to the pressure of internal changes by moving away. In such a movement there are social as well as economic values in prospect. A substantial decrease in the ratio of Negroes to whites in the southern region would undoubtedly relax traditional racial tensions that under normal conditions would not change appreciably over many decades. Further, the wider geographical distribution of Negro workers will increase their political power, especially in the states in which there is a wider use of the franchise.

The war has revealed a further fact of importance to agriculture in the burden of illiteracy and ill health, from which the Negroes in particular have suffered. The greatest handicap to adaptability and maximum service to both

the military and the economic phases of the war program has been the low level of education of the population and the prevalence of enervating poverty diseases. This lesson will be a powerful argument for better schools and for government aid and control, without discrimination, in providing vocational training and medical care, and in planning for new uses of the region's resources.

The federal government already has set a pattern for essential changes in the regional economy of the South. The report of the Southeastern Regional Planning Commission points out that "there is hardly a current problem vexing the farm population for which there is not a corresponding program of governmental action in operation." The more serious problem is that of making possible the utilization of these programs by increased education, and by the extension of security of tenure and pride of ownership to all farm families, the majority of whom are without these benefits. This means for Negro agricultural workers full and free access to long term credit with low interest rates, improved landlord-tenant relations with the security of written leases, incorporation into programs for cooperative production and marketing, and incorporation into the decentralized industries on past time industrial employment.

The present machinery for agricultural planning consists of county and state agricultural planning committees through which the Department of Agriculture operates, at least theoretically, in a democratic manner. These agencies, together with the National Resources Planning Board and the regional post-war planning committees, have great strategic value to the future of Negro agricultural workers. A first step of importance is to include on these basic planning boards Negro agricultural workers who, in the past, have known little or nothing about program making. It will be only a repetition of the shortsightedness of the past to regard the Negro workers simply as detached and limited auxiliaries of southern agricultural planning. Sound regional development demands their full functional inclusion as the only real basis for raising the economic level of southern agriculture.

The Outlook in Post-War Industry

The prospects for Negro workers in the industrial sphere, as in agriculture, are bound up with the development of post-war industry. There is every indication that the nation will not return to the industrial structure of 1940. The billions invested in war plants alone will be wasted unless this capital investment is turned, at least in large part, to the manufacture of peacetime requirements. It is significant that many of these plants are in new locations, foreshadowing a shift of industry from old and crowded centers. For the first time there seems a real prospect of industrial redistribution that may conceivably contribute immeasurably to population stability.

Officials of the War Manpower Commission have observed that many Negroes who have moved from the South probably will not return because of their experience with higher employment and relief standards, better schools and less direct discrimination. The return to civilian life will inevitably bring problems both for the marginal Negroes and for women workers drawn into the emergency program. But undoubtedly there will be, as in the last war, a residuum of Negro workers in the new industries and on upgraded levels of the old-line jobs. Much of the resistance to (Continued on page 555)
The Negro Outlook Today

JOHN A. DAVIS

How Negro youth sees the traditional American leaders of the race, the upsurge of new leadership in the Thirties, the opportunities of the revolutionary present, the problems and hopes of the post-war world—interpreted by a professor of political science at Lincoln University.

To look out upon the brave new world which is to come for the Negro is an assignment for either a young or an audacious man. The Negro has been quickening his pace ever since 1932, urged on first by the pinch of depression, then by the push of government aid and social experiment; here by racial and national aggression, there by economic competition and class struggle; and now by world war. The young Negro, with the double assertiveness of youth and race revolt, has been searching out a way—repudiating old leadership, accepting new ideas, striking out experimentally in new programs and directions.

All this has come in relays, by decades, and the young rebels of the 1930's are the saddle and dray horses of the 40's, confronted by another generation of critical, questioning youth. The leadership changes, the race struggle goes on.

New Movements and Men

In 1933 in Washington, D. C., young people, goaded to action by joblessness and the new economics, started the New Negro Alliance, an intelligently led “buy-where-you-can-work” movement. A new weapon in the race struggle, they explored the use of consumer power to gain economic objectives, alloying their movement with the budding CIO. They got jobs—several hundred of them—so their tactics were copied by others in Baltimore, Cincinnati, New York, Cleveland, Richmond, St. Louis, and Chicago. In the midst of it all, the Washington group was restrained from picketing by a court injunction; it took a year to win in the U. S. Supreme Court but they won for all groups the right to picket on a consumer racial basis.

About the same time in Washington on a political tack, a young man launched the first important Negro administrative lobby, the Joint Committee on National Recovery, a move that resulted eventually in the National Negro Congress. Other young men of this generation went into the federal administration as “special advisers” on the Negro, seeking to speak for Negro welfare in the New Deal programs. Still other intellectuals at Howard University were wrestling with their problem in terms of historical-political thought, several of them vociferously pointing out the Marxist-labor road for American Negroes.

In New York, a young minister deserted the orthodox path for practical action, forming the Coordinating Committee—a consumer pressure group. Strategic alliances were made with liberal elements, the Communist Party, the American Labor Party, and the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. In Detroit, three young Negroes fought for unionization though opposed by two outstanding Negro clergymen. In Baltimore, a young woman started a Young People’s City-Wide Forum, and went on to organize the first youth division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Young men of both races braved physical violence in the South to organize Negro and white tenant farmers in the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union, the Delta Cooperatives, and the Sharecroppers’ Union.

In this period the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress began to enlist Negro college students. Regardless of political philosophies, Negro youth was discovering the economic and class approaches to the race problem. Much communist activity and sympathy was to be observed among college students particularly.

Many who were part of this depression ferment are accepted leaders now and would be shocked to be considered part of a youth movement. Yet in racial activity they are of the vintage of 1931 or 1932. Today, instead of a group of challenging youth, one will find among these men several public national administrators, the secretary of the National Negro Congress, the first Negro councilman of the city of New York, the recording secretary of a United Automobile Workers local, the president of the Citizen’s Committee for Justice, several lawyers fighting civil rights battles in the courts, several professors, an editor, and a number of citizens active in civil affairs.

Oddly enough, today youth movements among Negroes seem to be disappearing at a time when most important. Organizations like the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA have their youth divisions, and there is a National Council of Negro Youth and the Southern Negro Youth Conference. But the challenging ferment of 1932 has spent itself, and the war crisis has not yet shaped a new movement to succeed that led by the “old men” of the depression. Yet today’s needs have outgrown yesterday’s solutions as a glance at traditional approaches to racial problems will show.

Race Programs Yesterday and Today

A half-generation back, the pendulum swing of Negro effort was between the advocacy of equal rights tradition and the pragmatic economic approach of Booker Washington, the first great racial diplomat. Earlier still, Frederick Douglass, revered for his anti-slavery efforts, had been the great champion of the Negro’s rights.

Accepting the southern caste status, Washington struck out for economic independence, obtainable, he thought, within this social structure. By improved skill, industry,
thrift, and the good will of upper class whites, he hoped to establish a sound economic base for his people. His failure, as we look back, was in believing economic independence could be achieved without attacking a racial pattern whose end objective was the Negro's economic subordination. Also he erred in not allying the Negro's cause with the labor movement. At the very time he was launching his campaign of industrial education, the unions were taking steps to exclude Negroes from the skilled occupations.

Booker Washington also founded the National Negro Business League in 1900, but the organized promotion of Negro business, though persistent since, has been, on the whole, an unsuccessful cause. Some success in insurance, undertaking, and other lines has been achieved, particularly where white enterprise has not cared to compete. But for large scale business, there were insuperable handicaps. Negro banks, for example, existed chiefly as branches of larger white banks on which they had to depend for investment and other services. The Colored Merchants' Association, organized in 1929 by the National Negro Business League, was unable to compete with the great chain stores, even though the association practiced cooperative buying and group advertising. Between the lack of business experience and of large business connections, these movements were not destined for considerable success. Nor at this late date in the development of American corporate capitalism are the chances bright for the large scale development of Negro business. On the whole, Negroes have remained, for the most part, agricultural, domestic, and industrial workers.

Against these economic exclusions, only two other remedies were at hand—consumer pressure through "buy-where-you-can-work" movements, and a movement toward labor organization. Both are being tried, and even a third, thought not yet so extensively—the development of cooperatives. The boycott procedures of the buy-where-you-can-work program were attacked by Marxists and laborites as "black fascism" and as "pitting black workers against white." But it was a justifiable blow at the caste restrictions in the economic field; taught the Negro the use of consumer power, which he has only just begun to use; and paved the way for mass pressure techniques on public legislatures and administrators. Moreover, this movement for upgrading toward skilled, semi-skilled, and white collar employment has now become pro-labor and aligned itself with union organization. The movement has also brought political gains; and as a result several states now have laws against discrimination by public employers, by public utilities, by holders of public contracts, and even by labor unions.

W. E. B. DuBois represents an early divergence from the doctrines of Booker T. Washington. He has fought for full social and political equality for the Negro. His main battlefront and that of the NAACP, which he helped found, has been the struggle for enfranchisement and for civil rights. He has also emphasized the importance of racial dignity and status and has fathered the "talented tenth" movement to foster Negro talent in academic, scientific, and artistic fields as a demonstration of native ability.

The civil rights and enfranchisement fight has today become important to the nation as well as to the Negro, for it is difficult to deny these rights to a minority and safeguard them for the majority; witness the poll tax situation in the South. At first, however, the NAACP lost sight of the fact that the chance to achieve full civil status depends in large measure on alliance with those forces in society, such as labor, which are moving in the same direction. However, under the present leadership of Walter White and Roy Wilkins, it has come to recognize that while society is influenced by the law, the courts, and public administration, the social-economic texture of society nevertheless influences these agencies in turn. The association now sees that a campaign for civil rights and enfranchisement cannot be won solely by fighting in the courts—it is also a social and political struggle.

Negro leadership has increasingly become labor conscious. Negro labor leaders, however, while insisting that the future of the Negro as a worker lies with the American labor movement, fully realize organized labor's racial shortcomings and crusade against them. Such leaders as A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Ferdinand C. Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union; Frank Crosswaith, general organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and William S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees of America—all agitate the race question within the labor movement. In the war industries, the CIO is doing such excellent work on the Negro's behalf that faith in labor as a force for racial justice is encouraged.

The National Urban League has developed a program to meet the need of the Negro for industrial employment by seeking the good will of both employers and unions. At one time, some of the branch leagues, job-cager, were guilty of dangerous anti-union practices, but these no longer appear and, on the whole, this agency is now doing effective work on behalf of urban Negroes. The fact that in many places its program has neglected urban problems other than employment, was recognized by the league's recent national conference.

A further important stream of Negro thought has been concerned with Negro contributions to American culture as Negroes and as Americans. The approach has helped gain recognition for the Negro in many quarters. Alain Locke of Howard University is associated with this movement, although he never has propounded it or any single approach as the "one way out" for the Negro.

Assistance from philanthropic foundations has been extremely important in improving the condition of the Negro. They have spent heavily to offset the handicaps of Negro education in the South, but could do little to challenge the pattern of segregation there. The General Education Board and the Julius Rosenwald Fund have also made grants to white institutions and scholars for the development of educational work and social sciences related to the Negro. The Rosenwald Fund has sponsored not only southern Negro higher, secondary, and elementary education, but Negro housing and health projects in the North as well. Its president, Edwin R. Embree, has pressed for the integration of Negro students and teachers in northern colleges and universities, and he was among the first to recognize the implications for this country of international problems of color. Now the colored people of America are confronted by the gloomy prospect of the liquidation of the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Funds; which raises the question when will government—state and national, take over.
The National Negro Congress set out to develop a collective approach to the problems of the Negro by all organizations including labor. Its first meeting in Chicago in 1936 was truly representative. However, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, noting its inadequate financing, warned the Congress that its capture by a faction or political party would ruin its coordinative function. In 1940, its president resigned on the grounds that the Communist Party had gained control, although the actual split was over the issue of proposed affiliation with John L. Lewis's Labor Non-Partisan League. The congress has never been able to resume its initial role of coordinating Negro organizations and leaders, despite the increasing need for this today.

The Negro's Predicament

Leadership, attacking these problems on several fronts, has made great gains, but without total success on any. Primarily responsible is the situation itself under which for generations the Negro American has lived and still lives. Performance must always be judged in the light of its handicaps.

Particularly is the caste system undermining both the morale and the progress of Negro youth today. An elaborate series of studies and reports by the American Youth Commission have made that clear. The frustrations which colored young people meet lead to misdirected and often criminal aggression, on the one hand; and to avert submission, boredom or irresponsibility on the other. Exclusion and defeat produce the buffoon, the clown, and the boisterous good-for-nothing. Many little "Bigger Thomases" walk the streets of Harlem as "muggers" now.

Basically it is the lack of economic opportunity which remains the Negro's most serious problem, causing the disintegration of his family life, the frustration and warping of his youth, and contributing to his high crime rate. The Negro has consistently formed a proportionately high percentage of relief clients throughout the country. Even today he furnishes approximately 20 percent of the relief load, because war industry still prefers white labor. A study of the Bureau of Employment Security revealed, September 1941, that 51 percent of all war openings investigated were barred to Negroes because of race. Most Negroes work as domestics, industrial laborers, farm laborers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers. Moreover, the security afforded by unemployment insurance, old age and survivor's insurance does not extend to agricultural and household occupations.

The discrimination against Negroes in war industry, and the government's role in combating it, through the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the Negro Manpower service, are described elsewhere in this issue (see page 468). The same writer tells the grim story of anti-Negro attitudes and practices in certain areas of organized labor, and the crusade on behalf of democratic principles within the unions carried on by enlightened labor leadership, which otherwise would be included here.

Nothing is more serious for the colored people in America than disfranchisement and the denial of civil rights and protection in the southern states. Disfranchisement in the South is achieved by the poll tax, by intimidation at registration, by the unequal administration of illiteracy tests and, most effectively, by the white Democratic primary. The Supreme Court (Grovey v. Townsend) has legalized the latter and Negroes vote in the Democratic primaries only in Kentucky, Tennessee, and a few counties in Virginia and North Carolina.

The new Soldier Vote Act eliminates both poll tax and registration restrictions. What this will mean depends much upon the effectiveness of Negro leadership, the thoroughness with which Negro soldiers are informed of their rights and proper procedures under the law. The obstacle of the white Democratic primary remains, but some hope can be seen in the Supreme Court's decision (U. S. v. Patrick B. Classic), where Mr. Justice Stone ruled that fraud in a Democratic primary jeopardized the only effective vote of a citizen in Louisiana. The NAACP has another Texas primary case pending in the federal courts.

The denial of civil rights to Negroes is being fought ably by the NAACP and others where constitutional questions are involved. But far too many northern states are still without civil rights laws and, even where they exist, they are inadequately enforced. Police brutality against Negroes is also a common occurrence. The terror of lynching remains as a pack method of enforcing the caste system, and present possibilities for a federal antilynching law seem remote. There have been five lynchings already this year. Three occurred in Mississippi in one October week, two of the victims fourteen-year-old boys. Legal segregation is still the policy of the South, and in the North and West social segregation exists, often in open violation of state laws.

Numerous inequalities, at the present time, especially harass the Negro's desire for social participation as an American. Many services in the army are closed to Negroes and except for officer training, complete segregation is followed. The navy and marine corps have color bars, not only as to service but also as to rank. The Red Cross segregates the Negro's blood even though the same organization was forced to turn to a Negro scientist to perfect the separation and handling of blood plasma. The Negro is badly in need of housing, health, and social services. The constant brutality of police and citizens against Negro soldiers is an ever-present reminder that increased status in American society is not necessarily...
gained by fighting and, if need be, dying for one's country. With equality of sacrifice demanded of him, it is to be expected that Negro leaders and organization should rise to challenge injustice in these times.

The March on Washington was a specific pressure tactic for the urgent objective of ending discrimination in defense industry. The Fair Employment Practice Committee, established to enforce this order, was only one of its gains. Many states hastened to pass laws along similar lines. Since then, the movement has held mass meetings in important centers where Negroes vote, notably New York, Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis. It has also broadened its program, including in its eight points some concerned with ultimate ends. These are not all steps which specific administrators, or politicians, or even the executive can accomplish. But A. Philip Randolph interprets the present period as being as revolutionary on the race question as was the Civil War, and the course of world events may prove him right.

Walter White of the NAACP, at the Madison Square Garden March on Washington Mass Meeting in June, 1942, rudely awakened many who had put complete faith in the liberalism of the New Deal. A review of the chairmanship and composition of every important congressional committee revealed the predominance and control of anti-Negro and anti-liberal southern Democrats. Mr. White emphasized that because of the seniority rule, the South gains the chairmanship of most legislative committees whenever the Democrats are in power. Despite the fact that many Negroes were disheartened by the speech, it indicated not defeatism, but another impending shift in politics should the Republican Party show a militant concern with civil and economic rights.

The Public Pulse of the Negro Today

In May 1942, Lincoln University called a Conference on the Status of the Negro in a Fighting Democracy, attended by white and Negro leaders. It attempted to chart the demands and strategies of the Negro on the subjects of the armed forces; economic, civic, and political participation; propaganda and public relations. It also emphasized the Negro's stake in world organization and in the causes of India and China.

The 33rd annual convention of the NAACP, at Los Angeles, also identified the Negro's cause with that of all the colored peoples of the world; in addition, it launched at Hollywood, with the help of Wendell Willkie, an important move for a more honest and representative portrayal of the Negro in America's most popular public vehicle—the commercial movies. Some headway has already been made in this.

The Seminar on American Racism of the American Missionary Association, held early in 1942, resulted in some new proposals. Most significant was Edwin R. Embree's proposal to consider the race problem primarily on a worldwide basis. It was also suggested by Hortense Powdermaker that much could be achieved toward the elimination of race prejudice if the basic principles of anthropology were taught in the secondary schools.

Other conferences, that of the Council on African Affairs, Labor Salutes the Armed Forces, both held in New York City, the Trade Union and Negro People Victory Conference, the Negro Labor Victory Committee, the Southern Negro Youth Conference, have been demonstrations of the identification of the Negro's cause either with progressive or radical movements. The communist groups, while pursuing an unrelenting fight for Negro rights in unions and other organizations they dominate, have refrained from embarrassing either the Administration or the war effort. They have been quick to herald any Negro gains through state or federal administration. Thus a reporter for The Daily Worker said to the writer: "The Negro people do not understand what their stake in this war is and what the victory of Nazism would mean to them. We want to show them that something is being done, that there is a promise."

The conferences and organization meetings of the Negro in 1942 have all emphasized the loyalty of the Negro to the United States in spite of the denial of full citizenship. On the whole, the Negro has taken high ground and has made his demands in terms of the Rights of Man, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution.

An analysis of all the many demands made during the current year revealed that the following were urged repeatedly. They might be regarded as the present profile of Negro hopes and expectations:

1. A federal anti-poll tax law.
2. A federal anti-lynching law.
3. Negro representation on the policy-making level in federal administration.

(Continued on page 362)

Postscript on the Blood Controversy

During the controversy raised first by the rejection of Negro blood donations and then by the humiliating compromise of their arbitrary segregation on admittedly unscientific grounds,* a Negro medical scientist was in charge of the experimental perfecting of techniques by which these blood transfusions were being made safer and more practically transportable for the use of our own and the British armies.

Dr. Charles R. Drew, professor of surgery at Howard University Medical School, rated "a recognized authority on the subject of blood preservation and blood substitutes," was called by the Medical Control Board of the Blood Transfusion Betterment Society to come to New York to take charge of the solution of technical difficulties in "the bacteriological and toxicity control" of blood plasma. He was the unanimous choice of the board as "the best qualified of anyone we know to act in this important development." According to an official report, he helped solve "major troubles." Co-author with Dr. John Scudder and others of a dozen papers on blood preservation between 1938-40, Dr. Drew was successively medical supervisor, Blood Plasma Division, Blood Transfusion Association of New York, in charge of collection of blood plasma in the U. S. A. for the British Red Cross and the use of the British Army in 1941, and 1941-42, director Red Cross Blood Bank, New York City, and assistant director of Blood Procurement for the National Research Council, in charge of collection of blood for the use of the U. S. Army and Navy.

*Human blood, according to statements of the American Medical Association and other authorities, "differs in type" but "the presence of any particular blood group or type is not peculiar to any race." "Serological tests have failed to differentiate the bloods of different races so far as the human species is concerned," and "there is nothing to contra-indicate the use of bloods of one race as a means of therapy for another when certain well-defined technical procedures of blood-type selection are carried out."
“WHITE” POPULATION IN GREAT WORLD POWERS

The data here given should be taken only as a rough attempt to break down the world population into groups of similar racial and religious structure. At best, world figures are only estimates; the total is something over two billion people. There is no census in many areas; in others the bias of the dominant group affects the figures given out.

The requirements of this particular presentation made it necessary to take some liberties in definition. For example, white is used of whites of European descent; all the peoples of Asia Minor, India, and North Africa are here classified as brown. In the key to the map above, varying is used to designate areas of the world of 1939 that were color-neutral, since the race of the dominant element played no political role. Figures for religious groups are always subject to "interpretation." How determine the number of Christians in the USSR, for instance?
PERCENTAGE OF "WHITES" IN THE POPULATION

RACES OF THE WORLD

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD
The Challenge of Color

ADOLF A. BERLE, Jr.

Here are offered "certain general denominators" for solving worldwide problems of race prejudice and discrimination, taking account of the difficult truth that "we cannot create individual attitudes by any save spiritual processes"—by an Assistant Secretary of State.

II.

Let us begin by bluntly recognizing that the problems of color will never be solved by purely political or economic measures. Such measures can assist. But at best they cannot do more than effect a recognition of social and moral attitudes which have been generally accepted. Human and social values cannot be imposed by legislation or treaty.

The core of this question lies in a tenacious common emotional attitude, more or less universally held within most race groups of different color. This is the attitude of "kind" which manifests itself when peoples of one color try to maintain that color more or less unchanged. Some groups are happily without it. There is no use in arguing about this emotion; where it exists at all, it is rooted deeply. Yet acceptance of it need not be a barrier to progressive and civilized solutions. Between men of different color there can be, and often is, the highest regard, the greatest cooperation and the completeness of give-and-take on a basis of equality, despite the fact that both generally do not wish to marry into the opposite race and to have children of mixed blood and inheritance.

From this tolerance of accepted difference which is honest and real, there has grown up a long series of discriminations too often justified as means of "defense of the race," which are wholly false. For one color to deny equal education and opportunity to other races on the ground that it is "defending" its integrity, is, of course, plainly absurd. If race purity can only be kept up by discrimination in contact, in education, in economic opportunity, then the doctrine is so weak that it cannot be taken seriously. The distinction lies between frank and honorable recognition of race differences, and the quite different idea of "race discrimination." Perhaps nothing in Abraham Lincoln's intellectual history is more significant than his development of this distinction. He argued for elimination of slavery, for political equality, while insisting that further progress must be a matter of individual choice, resting on the social instincts of the two peoples.

Conversely, the claim sometimes advanced by extremists of any race, that they are entitled to enter fully into the most intimate life of a different race group lest they be "discriminated against," has always seemed to this writer to destroy itself. When one race insists that it is "discriminated against" because it is not accepted into the most complete intimacy with another, the claim is, really, the most deadly acceptance of the doctrine that the other race is "superior"—else the claim would not be advanced.

In any case, there is enough, and more than enough, to do in the vast field of common cooperation among human beings as citizens, neighbors, friends and representatives of political groups and nations. If in our time we can solve
the problems arising in these fields, perhaps the problem of whether color groups should mix can safely be left to the future and the good sense of the race groups involved. For one thing, we have very little definitive scientific knowledge about race differences. Some, like the late Mary Austin, contend that inherent in certain color groups there are profound ineradicable traits. Others believe very sincerely that the differences tend to be relatively superficial, and that they can be solved in a few generations by change of environment. Until we know more about this, it is useless to talk either of race superiority, or of the peril arising from the crossing of color lines.

The problem of race integrity must be left ultimately to the wish of the peoples involved. These wishes will, to some extent, be reflected in their social customs. I hold that such wishes and customs need offer no bar to tackling the greater problem involved under democracy, namely, that of offering to each race opportunity to develop itself, through its own efforts, to the fullest extent of its capacity.

III.

No nation, and no group of nations, has ever attempted to deal with the question of "color" as a general proposition. This is natural, because, fortunately, no nation is faced with all problems of color at once. What do occur are national problems occasioned by the meeting in one area of one or more races of different color.

In modern history, three main avenues of enlightened approach have been tried out:

1. That of protecting the civilization and customs of a race of different color within the national domain—defending its culture and habits from invasion or corrosion by outside forces.

This was best exemplified by the code developed in the great days of the Spanish Empire when Charles V and later Philip II put together a series of laws designed to support and maintain the Indian civilization in the Americas. Thus, laws were made granting to the village Indians four leagues of land about their pueblos, and prohibiting the intrusion of white men within these limits—an exception being made in the case of priest and saerican. This was an attempt to make an enlightened and humane decision. The measure was far more honored in the breach than in the observance, but it had some very important results. Because of these laws, much of the Indian life in Mexico is still intact. By reason of the rights thus created, which are perpetuated to some extent in the southwest part of the United States, it has been possible in our day to defend the lands of the New Mexican pueblos. John Collier, in his dealings as U. S. Indian Commissioner, has largely applied the doctrine in endeavoring to defend Indian civilization from destruction by the singularly pernicious economic civilization with which white men have surrounded it. And in dealing with the native life of Greenland, the Danes have followed a similar policy.

This first approach—which rests of course on the frankest recognition of difference, accompanied by a solid respect for the values inherent in preserving other civilizations—is one great avenue to the main problem.

2. That of gradual and accepted amalgamation, sometimes limited, occasionally unlimited.

An outstanding exponent of this policy is modern Mexico, which is predominantly Indian by race and is proud of it. Accepting the race differences which exist, Mexican doctrine nevertheless sees a value in the blending of certain races, and especially in the blending of their traditions, their aptitudes, and their culture. One result has been to bring into the world of the arts a splendid current which otherwise might have been lost to modern life.

3. That of co-existence of groups of different color, on a basis of non-discrimination.

This, in the main, was Lincoln's policy. It is the approach which we follow today, too often haltingly and without sufficient emphasis, in the United States. A consequence of the slave system in this country before the 60's had been the destruction of purely Negro forms of organization. It followed that when the Negro slaves were freed, there could have been no alternative conception save that of accepting every Negro as a member of the American body politic and of granting to him the fullest opportunity to develop to his full capacity, unhindered by race prejudice or by artificial barriers. We have made some slight progress toward realizing that conception. The progress is not satisfactory. Yet the job can be done.

There are variants in the New World of these three methods—based on particular national situations. One is the little known experiment of Haitian nationality which was a by-product of the French Revolution. Brought about by the genius of Toussaint L'Ouverture it contemplates the co-existence of a Negro group, developing its own national institutions; learning through its own mistakes; fulfilling its own capacity and destiny.

Elsewhere, the colonial policy of some countries has been adapted to give groups of a particular color, experience in the modern methods of government and economic life which Western white civilization has made dominant throughout the world—this with a view to setting them up as autonomous if not independent units.

These are adaptations, in the national field, of co-existence, somewhat as we conceive it individually in the United States. Here our stated ideal is a Negro as an American citizen, with the same rights and equipment and attack on life as any other American citizen. Translated into the family of nations, the ideal is of a free government, as in Haiti, or of an autonomous group which has proved its capacity to work the institutions of modern collective life.

There are of course other variants; but these will serve as illustrations.

When we pass from the field of these three approaches we slide over the edge of the conceptions of free peoples and of enlightened civilization, and enter the darkening shadow of variants of the theory of the "Master Race." From there down, we slip into policies for dealing with groups of other colors by a "dominant" race, running all the way from the conception of the "benevolent master" to the conception of sheer exploited animal slavery.

IV.

Because each nation—and for that matter, each race group—must find its own way and its own approach within the range of free solutions, it is difficult if not impossible to make generalizations. Because we cannot create individual attitudes by any save spiritual processes—and political government has not been conspicuously successful in handling spiritual forces—no single solution can be dreamed of, nor is it easy to find a common method of
action. Because race prejudice and race discrimination are not the property of any one color group—witness the systematized race discriminations in parts of Asia by various groups—there is hardly even a common background.

Nevertheless, certain general denominators can be worked out of the vast and disparate pattern.

So far as history shows, no color group has ever developed itself through the processes of servitude to a different color group. It seems to me equally clear, as one reads the long record, that no attempt at domination over a group of another color has ever failed, ultimately, to weaken the self-proclaimed "superior" race.

This seems to be true even in the field of economic efficiency. Here Western white civilization claims to be far ahead, yet such gains are imperiled by the proximity of an exploited subject race of a different color. Brazil has been notably successful in avoiding the pitfall of the dominant-versus-subject-race-relationship. Brazil has been steadily strengthening its national life in contrast with other countries insisting on the "subject color" relationship.

If these observations are accurate, the first solid conclusion must be acceptance of the principle that in political and economic relationships there must be unreserved recognition of the freedom of all color groups.

Having that freedom, the group as a whole, or any individual as a man, may succeed or may fail, as do all men, groups, and races. But safety for race groups of all colors (whites emphatically included) lies in so arranging matters that the success or the failure of any group shall depend on its own capacity and ability. Success cannot be handed to any man or any race group by any known process of politics or economics. But barriers to success can be removed to liberate innate capacity and give opportunities for development—individual, national, racial.

As in all human relations, any such principle has to be carried out with due regard for the rights and desires of those of other colors—for this is a very crowded world. A race group, in developing its own institutions, cannot be allowed to run amok to the danger of its neighbors, on a large scale or small. The Nazi Volk is precisely such a race group, running very badly amok now.

Finally, there must be clear appreciation of the fact that, at any given time or place, among color groups as among individuals, some particular group may be the stronger—whether through great numbers or because it can use arms, machinery or ideas. There must, consequently, be self-imposed limitations on such color groups. In every community there are men who are stronger or more capable or more cunning than their neighbors; and it is the part of society to see that the community as a whole, and these men as a matter of their own moral life, recognize that this strength or capacity or cunning must not be used to oppress their fellows. So also with races.

Application of this principle calls for an infinite degree of self-examination; for one race can oppress another by using currents of economics as easily as it can by using force of arms. A peon can be coerced by a company which dangles before him a few dollars and entraps him into a life from which he cannot escape. The process enslaves him subtly but no less surely than that of the slave traders who foraged "black ivory" with a gun.

International civilization, like national life, depends on the acceptance by the strong of self-imposed, self-denying ordinances protecting the less strong from oppression. At long last, history will point the moral: The strong race which most rigidly disciplines itself in these matters maintains its strength better and longer than those whose oppression of others sets up processes of social disintegration within themselves.

V.

No one who has reflected on problems of color can escape a sense of his own inadequacy. He can only hope that this will translate itself into humility. The problems even in national life are vast. As air, electricity, far-flung armies, and the gathering of nations bring the world into direct international contact, these national problems are aggregated into a range of human and social issues which stagger imagination.

There are no easy answers. There is no simple solution which decent men will accept. But there is no refuge from an attempt at understanding. One has to be guided by fundamental principles.

These principles appear to be age-old: great freedom, enlightened by great tolerance and disciplined by great self-restraint, great love.

After the capture of Bataan, an American prisoner was herded through the streets of Manila by Japanese soldiers. During a delay in the march he tried to bind to his bloody feet a pair of shoes which were worn to useless fragments. A Filipino civilian came up, took off his own shoes and offered them to the prisoner.

"I can't let you do that," said the soldier. "You'll need them."

"Por favor—please," said the Filipino. And exchanging his own shoes for the fragments of the American prisoner's, walked away.

These were strangers, of different race and color. They had solved the problem. As an illustration of personal adjustment, the incident itself has poignant appeal.

But it should be remembered that this was the climax of four decades of work on an infinite number of fronts. In this swift recognition of equality was crystallized the work of the men who fought imperialism at the close of the Spanish War; the pledge demanded and given, that the Philippine Islands were destined to be not exploited colonies, but a free nation; the policy of making education available without discrimination of race; the patient work of teachers; the struggle against manifestations of oppression; the steady admission of capable people to the fullest rewards of capacity.

These plans and policies, carried out often in discouragement, and sometimes under great difficulties, by the joint effort of Americans and Filipinos, and supported by the steady current of public opinion, culminated in the recognition of Philippine independence—an independence about to become complete when the Japanese armies landed on Luzon. Let it be remembered by skeptics that white men were cooperating in the freedom of a race of different color, at the time when Japanese were enslaving all races within their reach, save their own.

I am convinced that the personal adjustments of individuals of different color express the sum of social relationships which have been pounded out by long and often unrecognized work. As economic differences between the colors are leveled out, economic fears diminish. As recognition is made to correspond to capacity and worth, the complexes of inferiority and insecurity vanish. As equal meet, the insoluble problems of yesterday become the manageable tasks of human relationship.
Cuban Sculpture

by RAMOS BLANCO

President Batista of Cuba paid tribute to three great men of the Western Hemisphere when he recently commissioned Cuban sculptors to make, for the Presidential Palace, busts of Bolivar, Lincoln and Marti. The Lincoln is by Ramos Blanco, professor of sculpture at the School of Fine Arts in Havana, his birthplace. Ramos Blanco’s Memorial to the Maceos is in that city; and the Ministry of Education owns the tender "Eternal," which portrays a universal emotion in a way that needs no translation.

Photographs courtesy of the Pan American Union and Dr. Ben F. Carruthers
Crossways of the Caribbean

ERIC WILLIAMS

A trenchant analysis of the new relationships of the West Indies to the United States and to the economic and political issues of the world crisis—
by a Caribbean scholar, now assistant professor of social science at Howard University.

On September 3, 1940, President Roosevelt announced the conclusion of an executive agreement with the government of Great Britain, by which the United States, in return for fifty small "over-age" destroyers, was given ninety-nine-year leases on air and naval bases in Newfoundland and various islands of the British West Indies.

In recommending the agreement to Congress, the President described it as "the most important action in the reinforcement of our national defense that has been taken since the Louisiana Purchase." A later agreement with the government of the Netherlands committed the United States to the defense of the oil refineries in Curaçao and the bauxite mines of Dutch Guiana. Other negotiations in the French West Indies have, at least on paper, pledged the neutrality of these islands in the event of a complete surrender on the part of Vichy to Hitler. Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, the independent island republics of the Caribbean, have granted the United States special facilities, and all three have declared war on the Axis.

This Caribbean front is one of the most important of the thirty-nine on which American armed forces are, to date, dispersed over the globe. The airplane, shortening distance, has brought the West Indies dangerously close to the Panama Canal. Hostile planes and submarines, based on them, could wreak havoc on the inter-American trade routes and endanger the security even of continental United States. Hostile troops there would threaten the oil wealth of Venezuela. The Guianas in enemy hands would be a dagger in Brazil's back.

These were the realistic factors which dictated the Anglo-American destroyer-base deal. That did not represent, however, a radical departure in policy on the part of the United States. Historically, the United States always has taken great interest in the Caribbean. Close economic relations were maintained between mainland and islands during the colonial period. The Stamp Act was as unpopular in some of the British West Indian islands as it was in the Thirteen Colonies. Colored volunteers from the French colony which is today Haiti fought shoulder to shoulder with colonial troops in the cause of American independence. Later, our southern planters coveted Cuba, and many a filibustering expedition had their support, direct or indirect. In rallying behind Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain, the United States acquired her first colony in 1898—the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico, together with a special status in the new Cuban Republic.

With the construction of the Panama Canal, America's "manifest destiny" was translated from a dream into a reality. The West Indies, even in those days when the naval arm was predominant, were strategically located for the defense of our new vital artery between the two oceans. Useful as coaling and fueling stations for ships on the trade routes between North and South America, they would be still more useful to enemy forces which might attack the United States. Theodore Roosevelt voiced the sentiments of that imperialist school which regarded the war with Spain as a first step in absorbing the several European possessions and transforming the Caribbean into an American lake. In 1915, United States forces landed in Haiti; in 1916 Santo Domingo was occupied (both temporarily); and in 1917 the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark.

The shouldering of new responsibilities in the Caribbean brings the United States face to face with serious problems. The successful solution of them, not without interest for the world at large, will be watched with special concern not only by the independent Caribbean republics but by Latin America generally.

The Racial Spectrum of the Caribbean

The native Indian or Carib population discovered by Columbus was speedily exterminated by the Spanish conquest. The Indian was unadapted for the toil in gold mines and on sugar plantations demanded by his colonial conquerors, who then sought a substitute in the "poor whites" of Europe, servants indentured for a number of years, or convicts. These proved few and expensive and Africa was turned to for a labor force. Far from Negro slavery carrying the stigma of inferiority (which was the result of later rationalization), the advent of the Negro on the stage of the New World was the result of his superiority to any other labor available at the time. With the result that, today, the majority of the Caribbean population is not indigenous. It is of Negro or Negroid origin.

For the descendants of these Negro slaves constitute the chief source of the thirteen or fourteen-odd million people who inhabit the Caribbean islands and the Guiana territory. Haiti is almost literally a "black" republic. In some British areas, like Jamaica and the Windward Islands, the proportion of blacks is around three fourths. Blacks and mulattoes combined make up nearly nine tenths of the population of the Dutch islands. Their percentage is less in the former Spanish areas. In Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, which remained patriarchal economies, the slave importations were relatively few. In Cuba, many slaves died in the wars for independence. In all three, assimilation has taken place on a large scale. Nevertheless, the non-white element in Puerto Rico comprises about half of the total population, and in Cuba about one third.

Conversely, it was always the deliberate policy of the
Elie Lescot (center) receives the salute of the army after taking the oath of office as president of Haiti, May 1941. His country is almost literally a “black” republic. But even in less homogeneous islands the races have lived side by side.

Spanish government to encourage white immigration to counterbalance the ever-increasing hordes of slaves and lessen the dangers of slave rebellion. As a result, more than two thirds of the population of Cuba, half of Puerto Rico’s, one seventh of the Dominican Republic’s, are white— with the reminder that “white” in the Caribbean means white skin and not pure white ancestry. Elsewhere in the Caribbean, where the “plantation” tradition has been stronger, the percentage of whites is negligible—with the exception of Barbados which, for some peculiar reason, has always been more of a real home for English colonists.

Much miscegenation has taken place in the Caribbean, especially in the areas of Latin settlement, where the cruder manifestations of race prejudice are absent. Two thirds of the population of the Dominican Republic is today mulatto; that is, of mixed blood. One of Cuba’s outstanding scholars, the historian Saco, even went so far as to advocate racial intermixture as the solution of...
the race problem. Elsewhere in the Caribbean, the strength of the mulattoes is considerable, varying from 10 to 20 percent.

The labor requirements which introduced the Negro to the Caribbean have similarly contributed to a greater diversity of its racial spectrum. After the abolition of slavery, Negroes, where they could, refused to continue to perform for wages those agricultural tasks which were to their simple minds the badge of slavery. White immigrants were introduced from Portugal, Madeira, and Ireland; brown men from India and the Dutch East Indies; yellow men from China. East Indians today comprise two fifths of the population of British Guiana, one third the population of Trinidad, half the population of Dutch Guiana. The Portuguese operate the rum shops and the retail stores in the British West Indian towns; the Chinese fill the role of the petty bourgeoisie, similar to the Jews in Central Europe.

Such is the racial pattern the United States encounters in the Caribbean. Most homogeneous is Haiti, where the division is simple; a small mulatto group at the top, a mass of blacks at the bottom. Trinidad is the most heterogeneous and humanly complex of all the islands. Two factors of tremendous significance are embedded deep in the traditions of the West Indies. The first is that the different races and colors exist side by side, without the antagonism and hostility which characterize race relations in the United States. White, black, brown, and yellow eat in the same restaurants, worship in the same churches, go to the same schools, ride to work on the same public conveyances, where no special seats are designated for different races. They work in the same rooms in the same offices, are buried side by side in the cemeteries. There is no Harlem, no ghetto, no Chinatown. Second, the simple division in the United States into white and Negro gives way to a traditional division in the islands into white, colored, and black, with the “colored” as a special group and the word “Negro” taboo as synonymous with “nigger,” reminiscent of slavery, and connoting an inferiority which the blacks refuse to acknowledge.

That is not to say there is no prejudice in the Caribbean. There is, but it is social not legal, operating indirectly and not directly. But if it is incorrect to exaggerate the racial question, it is equally incorrect to ignore it.

The difference between capital and labor, between privileged and underprivileged, is fundamentally the difference between white and black, with the mulattoes serving somewhat as a middle caste.

The Color Structure of the Caribbean

The great wealth and the large plantations are owned almost entirely by whites. In the colonial areas, the highest positions are the monopoly of whites from the imperial country. Between them and the local-borne whites, who do not infrequently have a dash of color in their veins, there is some friction, carried to extremes in the contempt felt in the former Spanish areas by “peninsulars” from home toward the local-born. The two groups, however, generally know how to combine to maintain their supremacy.

The “colored” group occupies a peculiar position. It must be understood that they are not a “middle class.” They lack the property for that. The real petty bourgeoisie in the islands are East Indians, Chinese, Portuguese, and in some cases, Negro farmers. The colored...
This Cuban street market presided over by black farm women is a scene characteristic of all the Caribbean islands.

The black farm women are a functional, salaried class. They monopolize the professions—law, medicine, dentistry. They are magistrates; they dominate the municipal councils and the Houses of Assembly; they fill the lower ranks of the civil service, and are slowly and inexorably forcing their way into the higher positions.

Labor, skilled and unskilled, is wholly or largely black—the plantation laborers, the oil workers, the miners, stevedores, and domestics. The druggists, too, are black, occupying an important position in these backward areas. The school teachers are black and, most significant of all, so are the rank and file and non-commissioned officers of the police force.

The race problem in the Caribbean differs from kindred problems in the United States principally in that colored and black signify distinct groups. The near-whites and the fair mulattoes have opportunities which would be denied them in the United States. Their efforts to get near the whites and so to the top, involving an emphasis on their difference from the blacks, might appear ludicrous to the outsider, but they have a distinctly practical aim in a society in which a white skin still carries a high market value. There is some racial intermarriage, especially of the educated classes among the colored and blacks, which only continues on a diminished scale that miscegenation which under slavery was known as "washing their blackamoors white." While this process is on, the various shades of color remain apart, discriminating against those darker than themselves, and so on down the color and social ladder.

As a consequence of this difference in privileges, the blacks are, in the main, illiterate. The colored are generally well educated in secondary schools which compare favorably with the best high schools in the United States, and in European and American universities, or in the local universities, not to be despised, in Puerto Rico and Cuba. The "colored people" are European to the core, loyal in manners...
and ways of thinking to their "mother" countries even after political dependence has been shaken off. The peasant blacks are more attached to soil and local community than to political patriotism, and cling to folkways even partly African.

The colored West Indian gentleman in Trinidad or Martinique prides himself on being an English or French cavalier. To such a degree is this true that the average British West Indian going to Europe finds himself looking at Africans and people of African culture with the same eyes as the Englishman, which has caused sharp divisions between West Indians and Africans. East Indians brought up in the West Indies have often a similar cultural estrangement from their ancestral group.

Colonial governments, which first made large concessions to the mulattoes, are now under increasing political pressure to make them to the blacks, who have become more and more suspicious of representation by a group they know have come closer to the whites from the social experiences of color caste. The black masses accept the domination of the whites as, more or less, the poor accept the domination of the rich. But although the whites still have a great deal of prestige, increasingly it becomes a matter of special pride to the black West Indian not to stand any nonsense from a white man merely because he is white. "That was in slavery time" and "You think I am a slave" are familiar expressions in the Caribbean today.

The totality of these relationships constitutes the system peculiar to the Caribbean, which makes the tolerant visitor smile and the intolerant angry—a system superficially based on color, but fundamentally denoting class.

**American Mores and New Race Tensions**

**The Present Outlook on the Racial Front is Disquieting.** Before the war, visitors from the United States were well known all over the Caribbean as tourists. They established a reputation for generosity; bought knick-knacks at which the islanders turned up their noses, spent lavishly, and helped to keep the islands solvent. Meanwhile, Americans controlled to a large extent the sugar plantations and factories of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and the Virgin Islands. They owned and managed public utilities, steamships, telephones, railroads, urban transportation. They invested heavily in bananas in Jamaica and Haiti. They owned a large share of the oil of Trinidad, figured as drillers in that island, and supervised the refining of Venezuelan oil in the Dutch West Indies. They owned, operated, and supervised the bauxite mines of Guiana which produced raw materials for four out of every five American airplanes.

Thus, economically, socially, to a less obvious extent politically, the "Americans" were familiar figures in every West Indian island. They brought with them their efficiency, their genius for organization; brought their latest techniques and the best machinery, more sensible clothes and more informal manners. They would have proved a charming ingredient had they left behind one vice—their racial prejudices. Thus, in Cuba they referred to Maceo, the great colored general of the revolutionary wars, as the "bronze" soldier. They stared curiously at unfamiliar instances of racial equality. The hotels and bars they frequented soon learned the jargon of discrimination. Colored passengers on their boats were often segregated and generally made to feel unwelcome.

U. S. Censuses in Puerto Rico grossly underestimated the proportion in the population of African descent. But on the whole, Americans were aware of the dangerous repercussions of too blatant professions of superiority among a sensitive people.

Even so, British and French West Indians, who had heard and read of the "peculiar institution," of the American South, were apprehensive. Would closer military ties with the U. S. A. lead to the introduction of its racial attitudes? This was no academic question. These people know only too well, from bitter experience, how fascist theories of racial superiority are held by millions of sincere anti-fascists in the democratic camp. To keep out Germany and enthrone the American South would be to drive out Beelzebub and enthrone Baal. And, in an area where one is as white as one looks, a "grandmother clause" would wreak havoc among thousands who now enjoy the privileges of the white race.

Here we have the problem that is exercises the Caribbean. President Roosevelt has issued a proclamation insisting on the necessity for respecting local customs. Nonetheless, "incidents" have been numerous, such as demands by troops that non-whites withdraw from bars where they are served. On the other hand, the American soldiers are far from home. Often as not a social gulf separates them from the highly selective whites of the islands and they gravitate towards the lower middle class and mulattoes. Some sort of adjustment is certain to be worked out, though the process is likely to cause stresses and strains of a contradictory nature, depending on the sagacity of the leaders of the American contingents in respecting local customs. Otherwise the resulting confusion and disorder will cost indefinitely more than the satisfaction given to emigrant prejudices. No one who knows the islands can have the slightest doubt about this among a people proud of the success of their racial adjustments in the past, and nervous as to what is likely to happen to them now, and in the future.

**America's Part in Caribbean Economies**

**The Economic Problem of the Caribbean Is Basically a Problem of Poverty.** There is a great wealth in the islands and in the Guiana territory. In the most literal sense of the word, many of the islands are sugar islands. Oil in Trinidad, bauxite in the Guianas, copper in Cuba, increase the wealth of those areas. Cotton, coffee, tropical fruits of all sorts are grown everywhere, yet they play no considerable part in the economic structure of the islands because of competition in world markets.

Economic problems arise from low wages, high dividends; from poverty in the midst of plenty; from an economy controlled by absentee interests; from unsound dependence on a single crop liable to the vicissitudes of the world market; from monopoly of the best land by sugar production; and from importation of food. Such they have been for three hundred years; the monotonous refrain of Caribbean history has been that the greater part of the wealth is drained outside of the islands; that insufficient is left behind for the general welfare.

Even the United States has not solved these problems. In Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, spheres of its direct influence and responsibility, American-owned sugar corporations hold the best land. (Continued on page 564)
Mexico's Demonstration of Democracy

EZEQUIEL PADILLA

Thanks to the new attitude toward the Indian and the Mestizo, the "violent contrasts" between "hereditary wealth and an equally hereditary poverty" are on their way out. Back of this finding by the International Labor Office lies the whole epic story of the "recapture of social rights":—
interpreted by Mexico's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

If one wishes to realize the true significance of Mexico's democratic system one must first of all bear in mind that our country was less fortunate than the United States. The American Union was settled by men who had drunk at the founts of English freedom. Many of them were deeply religious in spirit, and came in search of a land where they could practice their own beliefs, free from the hindrances imposed in their native country.

That being so, when they set foot on the northern fringe of the New World the communities founded by them were patterns of the purest democracy. The methods of government established in the early townships set up in New England doubtless constituted the germ of the present mighty American commonwealth. The manner in which those English settlers organized in their new and growing communities the system of responsibility of officials, and above all the paramount rule of the people's assemblies, is a splendid example.

Besides, those who achieved independence were men of the highest standing. Such founders of the American Union as Jefferson, Hamilton, Jay, Madison, were greatly admired not only in the colonial domain but in England itself. Some of them were experts in English constitutional law. This is why the American Constitution has been described rightly as one of the most brilliant manifestations of human intelligence.

One consequence of this was that the United States, from its earliest steps as an independent nation, found itself provided with a system, a democratic procedure which, being based on the experience of several centuries, amply ensured true self-government for England's former colonies. This is evidenced by the fact that the slave-holding system grounded in the South was never able to exercise effective influence on the governmental structure of our neighboring republic.

Mexico's Undemocratic Start

What happened in Mexico stands out in striking contrast with that truly privileged situation. The Conquistadors, led by Cortez, may have shown some few
good qualities, but love of liberty was never one of them. This conception was shut out of New Spain from the very outset. They came in search of wealth. They were possessed by greed and the intention of reducing all the aborigines to slavery. The words of one of the last viceroys, the Marques de Croix, are notorious: "It is desirable that the vassals of the Great Monarch who sits on the Throne of Spain know once for all that they were born to hold their tongues and obey, and not discuss nor express any opinion on the high affairs of State."

The so-called encomiendas consisted in allotting to individual Spaniards not only hereditary tracts of land but also feudal sovereignty over great bodies of Indians, who were forced to work in the fields or mines for their masters. The system of oppression and tyranny set up by the new lords of the Aztec Empire was thus institutionalized. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that under Spain the people of Mexico, so shackled, never had the opportunity to learn what liberty was or how to use it. When independence came, it found them sunk in utter social acquiescence and political unpreparedness.

Hidalgo and several of his comrades who led the movement for independence, it is true, had read Montesquieu and the Encyclopedists. Not one of those leaders, however, had in mind any sound and practical method of procedure that could have served as an enduring foundation for democracy. From this lack came their fumbling attempts, such exotic importations as Iturbide's short-lived Empire, periodic throwbacks to absolutism and the never-ending struggle between advanced doctrinaire ideas which could not assume concrete form, and the despotic spirit of the times. That whole period was filled with disorder, coups d'état and thinly disguised anarchy in which the national pendulum swung back and forth between federalism and centralism. The advocates of change had also to fight ceaselessly against the opposition, either open or veiled according to circumstances, of the Church, which made every effort to retain her former privileged position, one which was so incompatible with a democratic state.

It was not until the Constitution of 1857 was enacted, that an organized doctrine was for the first time evolved with effective guarantees of liberty and self-government by the people. Then real champions of democracy like Otero and Arriaga could arise to establish democracy upon the firm basis of this Magna Charta of liberation, with its declarations of the Rights of Man and its guarantees of political rights as the bulwark of a democratic system. From that time on the struggle consisted in bringing this democracy to pass. For democracy cannot live as long as there are elements incompatible with its exercise, elements that I may describe as its "irreconcilable enemies."

Just as in the United States, it was impossible to speak of real democracy as long as slavery existed—its abolition followed one of the bloodiest civil wars ever fought—so in Mexico it became necessary to destroy the foundations of three of those "irreconcilables" that made impossible the building up of a true democratic State. These were first, clericalism, which upheld the economic domination of the Church and its interference in the nation's political affairs; second, the system of land ownership, which permitted so unfair a distribution that the owners of big haciendas controlled the whole agricultural economy of the nation. The third was militarism, which exposed governments to revolts and coups staged by high army officers, and placed the lives of peaceful citizens at the mercy of these men. This is why in sweeping these three obstacles from the path of the nation's institutional evolution, the work of the three revolutionary governments has been of such enormous benefit to the life of the nation.

Church Reform

To realize the boldness of the measures adopted by the framers of the Constitution with respect to the Church, one must take into account the state of mind of the masses of that day. They were the victims of a fanaticism that confused priests with religion itself, and the properties of monasteries, convents and bishops with the essence of Divinity. This is why the action taken pursuant to constitutional provisions to put an end to clericalism, ranks among the most important developments in the history of Mexico. The clergy had become the biggest landowners in the nation. Secularization of their enormous properties marked the beginning of Mexico's economic redemption. In this we may discern one of the main factors that was, later on, to promote industry and commerce.

Agrarian Reform

Of similar importance is the agrarian reform initiated by various laws and decrees enacted during the course of the revolutionary struggle of our present century. These attained constitutional status and sanction in the Magna Charta of 1917, now in force, the 27th Article of which lays down the fundamental principles for restitution of grants of lands and waters to the peasant masses.

At the present time it may be said that this reform is drawing close to its ultimate goal. Over twenty-five million hectares (sixty-three million acres) have been distributed, either in the form of ejidos or communal lands—for which we find a precedent in the calpulli of pre-Hispanic days—or as small individual holdings. This considerable area amounts to almost a fourth of the total of Mexico's arable acreage. About a million and a half peasants, representing almost half of Mexico's farming population, have thus been given lands. To facilitate the cultivation of this soil by a rural population, largely without the economic means essential to work it efficiently, the National Bank of Ejidal Credit has been established, with many regional branches.

On the results of agrarian reform in Mexico, a well-documented study made by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, in 1937, had this to say:

Both as producers and consumers, the new owners of lands are little by little beginning to constitute a new kind of rural society. In it they are called upon to occupy a position that will enable them to fulfill the ambitions of their individual destinies more freely, as well as to become useful and beneficial members of the community as a whole. Hired help has ceased to play a dominant part in the agricultural life. Emanicipation of the peon has been accomplished in large measure by an evolutionary process which, all told, has been very rapid.

The violent contrasts formerly existing between hereditary wealth and an equally hereditary poverty are on their way to disappearance, thanks to the new attitude adopted towards the Indian and Mestizo elements of the rural population. Their needs are better understood and they receive that attention to which they are entitled as human beings. Thanks to this action by the state, peasant families in the future will know better living conditions and enjoy larger incomes.

(Continued on page 556)
Brazil's Pattern of Democracy

DANTE de LAYTANO

Here is the New World's outstanding instance of the blending both of races and cultures. For 300 years, Negroes have played a significant part in this process. They were again a crucial factor this year when Brazil became the first of our South American neighbors to join the U. S. A. in declaring war on the aggressor nations—by the chief of Historical Archives of Rio Grande do Sul.

By historical good fortune, Brazil is not a country with a color problem in the same sense as that of North America. For as Donald Pierson has well said in "The Negro in Brazil": "In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously or on so extensive a scale." This process has been cultural as well as biological; and Brazil has in consequence become an outstanding example of culture fusion. More, an international intermixture is superimposed upon an interracial one of European, Negro and Indian strains. Indeed, this is all so multilateral that in Brazil it is largely a question of what a man cares to call himself; with what group tradition and society he chooses to associate.

Nevertheless, alongside the many types of mixed-blood groups in the population, there has persisted a quite distinguishably pure or nearly pure group that may be called the true Brazilian Negroes. It is an interesting fact that their group solidarity has persisted and in late years has even been accentuated not so much by the pressure of racial prejudice as by the development of their cultural background and tradition. The color consciousness of the Brazilian Negro is thus in considerable measure the product of group pride rather than of group persecution.

It is interesting to trace this tradition. It stems from over three hundred years of the Negro group's history in colonial, imperial, and republican Brazil, a background one must understand to judge its importance in the affairs of today. Its contemporary expression is the National Union of Men of Color, or the so-called Brazilian Negro Front, a movement for the greater independence and well-being of the Negro elements. When first organized in 1931, it was launched as a political party, socialistically based, but the association's aims were modified in 1937, at the time of the notable Second Afro-Brazilian Congress, to emphasize its cultural and social objectives. Established in the city of São Paulo, it has jurisdiction and influence on a national scale, but, of course, particularly in Bahia, which is the most concentrated center of Negro life.

The Negro Front and Anti-Fascism

From time to time the Negro Front still plays political roles, none more notable than in Brazil's orientation in the present World War. Although individual Negroes are accepted according to ability and attainment in the upper social strata, nonetheless as a heritage of slavery (which was not completely abolished until 1889), the great masses of the black population suffer considerable economic handicaps. Consequently, they have had, throughout their history, a deep-seated drive and passion for freedom and political action.

This found expression in their almost solid reaction to the infiltration of Nazi-Fascist propaganda. Brazilian Negroes became a popular block of opposition to totalitarianism. According to the most reliable estimates, they make up roughly 20 percent of the total population. Another 30 percent or more is colored or mulatto. As manual laborers, and even more as farm cultivators, the Negro element represents a considerable bulk of the ordinary folk of Brazil and exerts substantial force in any situation involving mass opinion. That from the beginning of the world war they stood out against the Axis was partly, of course, because of its racist platform, but also because of their own traditional devotion to liberty and their penchant for revolutionary movements.

It is beyond question that (Continued on page 558)
From handicraft—

—to mechanical skill

From superstition—

—to medical knowledge

Change in Africa

Photographs taken in the Belgian Congo by Mr. and Mrs. Ray Garner for the African Motion Picture Project. Courtesy of the Harmon Foundation, New York
Africa's Hope of Democracy

KINGSLEY OZUMBA MBADIWE

Colonial Africa's stakes in the war and the peace, analyzed in terms of the basic problems and interests of the black native majority, with a postscript for Americans giving the educated African's concept of what is expected from a future world order—by the secretary of the African Students Association in the United States.

Although Africa has had little or no voice in the policy and direction of World War II, we Africans are intimately and vitally concerned with its prosecution and successful outcome. The war's objectives of freedom and democracy we share even more ardently than peoples already masters of their own destiny, since they stand for what Africa has for the most part not yet experienced but all the more desires to achieve. Africans, therefore, accept wholeheartedly and without reservations the cause and ideals of the United Nations and are playing no small part, as a matter of fact, in the contribution of men and resources for the defense of democracy. Already Africa is one of the central and strategic areas of battle, and Negro Africa, the heart core of the Continent, is daily being drawn deeper into the vortex of the war effort.

All of which makes us the more keenly conscious of the ironic fate that has brought us into this struggle not as partners but as vassals of empire. Native Africans know, too, that even in the event of victory for the United Nations, Africa and her hundred-and-sixty odd millions, her vast natural resources, will become a battleground in the peace settlement. That being so, Africans see no really successful and satisfactory outcome of this world struggle which does not offer us a change in political status and in economic relationship to the rest of the world.

We are warranted, we think, in asking Britain and the United States, as leading partners of the democratic effort, what is the plan for the world of tomorrow and what is Africa's share and place in it?

If it be argued that Africa, in great part, had colonial status before the war and that the people who inhabit it should therefore have no expectations beyond that, our answer is unmistakable. Much sacrifice has been expected and required of us, which in itself presupposes both moral and practical obligations. Moreover the willingness of Africans to undergo further hardships in order to help bring freedom to the world at large implies the right and warrant of freedom for ourselves. Otherwise Africa is under no moral obligation to fight. Subjection under present rulers is not sweeter because subjection under Japan or Germany would be even more bitter. Africans today, to the extent that they are informed as well as intelligent, are in a mood of watchful waiting, and stir uneasily after years of vain patience and hope, because of the great disillusionment and doubt which now beset us.

Africa and the War Aims

The disillusionment of native Africa with the results of the first World War has all along been great. We were ourselves the victims as well as the spectators of the first breakdown of that wars' professions of international justice and fair play. The mandate system and its principle of trusteeship, which gradually could have transformed the evils of colonialism, very soon and in clear view of any African, became an obvious sham and hollow pretense. In practice, a mandate became a cloak and nickname for a colony, just as, historically, the word "proctorate" had become a mockery of its own claims. There was a further tragic warning in the conquest of Ethiopia.

Then in the midst of serious doubts as to whether the present war might not turn out to be like the last, the news of the Atlantic Charter reached the peoples of Africa. It read like a passport to liberty for all. It brought an upsurge of hope, especially to the heart of African youth. With the signature of Roosevelt and the guarantee of the United States, we did not stop to compare it with the Fourteen Points of Wilson or the defunct articles of the League of Nations Covenant. This new charter was accepted at face value, and still would be but for some unhappy developments. Major Clement R. Attlee, ranking Labor Member of the Churchill War Cabinet, in an historic interview with a delegation of African students in London, assured them that the Atlantic Charter applied to Africa. Not long after, we Africans were grievously shocked when the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on September 9, 1941, distinguished between the application of the Atlantic Charter as designed "primarily for the restoration of the sovereignty, self government and national life of states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke" and the "separate problem" of the "progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown."

The American interpretations of this Charter on the contrary, we are happy to note, do not fall short in this way. President Roosevelt has applied it to all the peoples of the world, and subsequent statements by high ranking American officials have explicitly strengthened this interpretation. Vice-President Wallace sees a "people's war," and a "people's peace." Under Secretary of State Welles sees in this war the likely "end of imperialism." That, too, is the thinking African's understanding of the Atlantic Charter. He so regards it not alone through self-interest, but in the common interest of all humanity, and of a consistent democracy and a stable and fruitful peace. For rivalry over political and economic spheres of influence—colonial spoils, in short—has been the tap root of Europe's modern wars, including, indirectly, the present one. If it continues, it will be the chief source for
the wars of the future.

On the other hand, an impartial application to the great continent of Africa of the principles of the Atlantic Charter would sever the root of this threat, and go far in itself to ensure world peace. Colonial imperialism may have been in these last centuries one of the chief sources of Western civilization's wealth, power and prestige, but also it has been the cause of vast evils and losses. To outlaw the type of control of which Africa has been the chronic victim would be a service to humanity at large, including Africa.

Colonialism: Africa's Nemesis

Africa, East, South, and West, over 96 percent partitioned among the great European powers in one or another sort of colonial holding, is for all its great variety of peoples, types and levels of culture, basically in the same condition, and little progress is possible until that condition is remedied. The controlling idea, entrenched in the minds and habits of the ruling nations, is the thought of Africa and her peoples as the servants of European industrialism. The colonial economy, accordingly, has not been built on any fair or reciprocal basis of exchange. Other professed colonial policies and programs, be they missionarism, mandate "trusteeship," the "indirect rule" of the British, the "assimilation" program of the French, or the "parallelism" of South Africa, are only palliatives or stalking horses, according to the sincerity of those who profess them. The African has many well-meaning friends, but far too often they fail to see the fundamental injustice and hopelessness of the colonial relationship—one that cannot be remedied except by putting primary emphasis on native interests as over against foreign interests; on human values as over against pounds and dollars.

The Allied Nations failed to learn the lesson of the last World War, not because human wisdom failed but because they wanted resource monopolies, territorial rights, foreign concessions, balance of power, more than they wanted human welfare, freedom and justice. For the future it would seem that the only hope is a forthright reversal of policy such as Vice-President Wallace must have had in mind when he said: "But by our errors we have learned much, and after the war we shall be in a position to utilize our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically and, I hope, spiritually sound."

Such, also, Sumner Welles envisioned when he said: "Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."

Africa's New Position in the War

Apart from reasons of principle, there are many new and practical reasons for asking a clarification of war aims with regard to Africa. Especially is it to be asked of Great Britain, which controls over 60 percent of Africa's black populations and about 50 percent of its strictly Negro area. (Territories conquered to date add 8 percent more land and 14 percent more population.) In the first place, Africa is contributing heavily to the war effort. East and West African troops have played an important role in the Ethiopian and the Somali campaigns. West African native troops have been engaging the Italians and Germans both to the East and the North, not to mention the heroic exploits of the Free French and Congo African contingents. Also, in Nigeria and the Gold Coast alone, twenty-eight voluntary subscription campaigns are receiving general support over and above the war chest contributions. To the latter, with the chief-
recruited the still them now 521 regular before, the few the major liberal To the furnishing why conclusion this for coming because the native the now mines Africa. given lubricants. Extensive transformation to direct about has transport. of should dominant fully troop attitudes to more African in Africa. can Major steel alloys: essential strategic materials of the war. The Japanese capture of Malayan rubber plantations has given Africa a unique importance in rubber production. Extensive rubber cultivation programs are going forward in the Belgian Congo and in French Equatorial Africa. Nigeria is now a major source of palm oil for lubricants. The mines of the Gold Coast and South Africa can supply almost all the Allied needs of the two valuable steel alloys: manganese and vanadium. Tin mines of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo are now the most accessible sources of this indispensable material. The same areas are the world's principal source of cobalt, also essential to the steel industry. Southern Rhodesia has a liberal supply of chrome and the Congo of zinc, iron, cobalt, coal, and radium. An increasing part of the world's cotton supply is coming from Nigeria, the Sudan, Egypt, and South Africa.

Here we have clues to the momentum of Africa's new economic position which a few more years of war will carry to proportions unforeseen and unintentioned. The progressive industrialization of Africa for the war effort cannot be abruptly halted at its conclusion to reharvest her, as before, to the chariot of the old colonial economy. To the pressures for political reform and independence, there now will be added these new economic forces, which will be even more difficult to hold in artificial check, if for no other reason than the competitive rivalry of various colonial powers and interests.

Economic Reconstruction
These economic developments may well shape Africa's political liberation. Nonetheless, if because of them a post-war imperialist coalition is formed, there is still the danger of a large scale economic partition of Africa. This would repeat on an even more tragic scale the political partitioning of this unhappy continent. That is why native interests turn to the Atlantic Charter with its equal access clauses and with its reciprocal guarantee that consideration will be given to native rights in land and mineral resources. Right there, under international agreements and auspices, lies the chance for a constructive reversal of chronic economic bleeding under colonialism. As Africans see it, this must (Continued on page 350)
Felix Eboué and the Fighting French

EGON KASKELINE

Introducing one of the most arresting figures in Equatorial Africa—a Negro governor-general who threw in his lot with the Free French and helped save the French African colonies for the democratic cause—by a European journalist, now a correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.

JUNE 1940. THE BATTLE OF FRANCE HAS BEEN LOST. MARSHAL PÉTAIN and General Weygand, commander-in-chief of the French army, decide that further resistance is useless and that France must capitulate. A new French cabinet, headed by Pétain and Pierre Laval, accepts the incredibly hard-armistice conditions of the conquerer. The French leaders, and with them the majority of the French people, are convinced that Britain is bound to fall in a few weeks, that nobody can resist the Nazi onslaught, and that the French must resign themselves to live in a Nazi-dominated Europe.

Yet, not all Frenchmen are willing to bow their heads to the Nazi yoke. In London, General Charles de Gaulle raises the banner of resistance and organizes the first Free French Committee. They will continue the war side by side with their British comrades. And from afar, from the very depths of Africa, a powerful voice answers General de Gaulle's appeal. There a French colonial governor, administrator of the Chad region, has refused to comply with the order of the new Vichy government and has declared that he will continue to fight. This man, a true Frenchman and a great servant of Africa, is France's first Negro governor: Felix Eboué.

Opportunity Makes a Statesman

Who is this black Frenchman who, unabashed by France's defeat, has decided to cast in his lot with democracy's cause while the official leaders of his nation, at home and abroad, have accepted defeat and submission to Germany? Felix Eboué, this fifty-four-year-old statesman, is a Negro of the Western Hemisphere. Born in the South American French colony of Guiana, his parents sent him to France where he was a brilliant pupil of the Bordeaux high school. Like many other talented colored youths of the Caribbean, he was sent to Paris to complete his studies and to choose a career. He soon entered the School of Colonial Sciences. Eboué had no doubt where he would find the right sphere of activity. Africa, the Dark Continent, the country of his ancestors, attracted him irresistibly. He, the educated Negro, brought up in the best traditions of French civilization, wanted to serve the less fortunate members of his race by contributing to their emancipation from exploitation and poverty.

In 1911, Eboué arrived in Africa as a French civil servant and went to Brazzaville, but he refused to live in the comfortable government offices of the administration. Foraging into the interior of the continent, hundreds of miles into the veldts and virgin forests, far from the African outposts of European civilization, Eboué has for more than twenty-two years studied the real Africa. There are probably few men in the world who have a more profound knowledge of this continent and of its peoples. In addition to his reputation as a
colonial administrator, he is one of France's recognized ethnologists. He was promoted eventually to administrator-in-chief of a large district in French Equatorial Africa. The natives loved him as their father, and his white subalterns, who in the beginning had resented subordination to a colored man, finally came to admire his courage, his competence, and his apparently unlimited working power. George Mandel, French Colonial Minister, knew what he was doing when—a few months before the outbreak of the war—he recalled Eboué from Guadeloupe, where he had been sent as governor in 1936, and appointed him governor of the Chad province in the heart of Africa.

Chad: Pivot of Free French Defense

Chad, geographical link between French and British West African possessions on the West Coast, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, is of the highest strategic importance. Eboué's subsequent decision to join the Free French at one stroke prevented a junction between Marshal Graziani's Libyan Army and the Duke of Aosta's Ethiopian forces, provided fifteen thousand crack colonial troops to threaten the Italian flank, and a base enabling the British to send badly needed planes and air-borne troops to the Egyptian battlefront. In the critical months of June to September, 1940, as many as 150 British planes cleared each day in the Chad.

When news of France's fall reached Fort Lamy, the Chad capital, Governor Eboué never doubted where his duty lay. Yet he debated whether he had the right to draw friends and staff along so dangerous a route. His British colleague, resident in Nigeria, who came to see the French governor, warned him: "We British will fight on, but it may be a suicide fight." And then there was a radiogram from a friend in France, a high Vichy officer: "What can little French Africa do?" and the colonel had added these threatening words, "Think of your children!" He was aware that his decision might endanger the lives of his children in France, where he has three sons and a daughter. He was alive also to his responsibility toward his subalterns. Eboué finally overcame all doubts. On this initiative, August 29th, 1940, the Chad joined the Free French, thus creating a territorial base for General de Gaulle's movement of resistance. Governor Eboué is a deeply religious man. His Bible never leaves his desk. It may be that his faith helped him take the fateful decision and carry on in spite of Vichy's orders.

When, later on, the French Congo, Camerouns and the Ubangi-Shari declared themselves for de Gaulle (only the Gabon region had to be conquered by force) Free France had been recreated in the heart of Africa with who knows what destiny in the history of French democracy. When in September 1940, General de Gaulle came to visit the Free French colonies, there could be no doubt about the personality who should be at the head of the colonial administration. Felix Eboué was appointed governor-general of Free French Africa.

Free French Africa has ever since proved to be an important cornerstone in the United Nation's defense system. A network of modern airports has been established there, and in the days of military crisis in the Middle East the air transport lines through Africa have proved to be of extreme usefulness. Hundreds of British and American-made bombing planes have been ferried across the Atlantic and flown across the continent to the Egyptian battlefront, to the Middle East, and to India. Fort Lamy in the Chad region has become one of the aerial turntables of Africa.

The Free French administration in Africa has also endeavored to shorten the transport lines for heavy war material which cannot be sent by air. With the Mediterranean Sea practically closed for United Nations convoys, war materials and other supplies must be shipped on the 12,000-mile sea route around the Cape of Good Hope. So two trans-African roads constructed by the Free French now cross 1,700 and 2,000 miles respectively of African veldt, forest, swamp and desert, a great deal of it built of stone and operable even during the rainy season. The military critic of the London News Chronicle recently emphasized the increasing importance of land transportation across the African continent, facilitating the delivery of supplies to strategic points in normal or even shorter time. Ships and transports landing at West African ports run only a sixth of the risk involved in rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Thus is Free French Africa playing a major role in the active war effort.

Eboué's administration is also responsible for the large scale public works now being undertaken in French Equatorial Africa. The port of (Continued on page 548)
America and Africa

EMORY ROSS

The ties which make us participants in the fortunes of a continent—from the days of the slave trade to the contributions of American missionaries and educators. The challenge of today and tomorrow—by a long time leader on the Congo; organizer of the American Committee for Aid to Ethiopia; general secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Since December 7 more Americans have been in Africa, through it or over it, than in all the previous years in our history. The bulk and value of American goods sent there during the past ten months is probably not less than five times American shipments in any previous decade. American newspapers have carried thousands of columns of material from Africa as compared with hundreds in any year before. We have received more African news-casts this past six months than in all the previous history of radio. There are wirephoto services which can give us pictures from Cairo and Leopoldville through the ether in half an hour's time. And, with luck, one can fly from Miami to Liberia in a single day. A century ago we were sending ships there, on a two-months' sail with cargoes of embarrassingly freed slaves—to be quite rid of them.

Measured by any scale, America has closer ties with Africa than ever before. And yet Americans remain generally unconcerned about the fortunes of that continent and its people.

Sending 66,000,000 feet of lumber in one consignment does not constitute a real American contribution to Africa's future. It can, we hope, do what it is designed to do: help the United States and the United Nations win their war in Africa against the Axis powers. But that still leaves problems relatively untouched that can embitter Africans and help cause future wars.

In essence, then, our relationship to Africa today is a war relationship; our interest, a war interest. The relationship is not really to Africa; the interest not really in Africa. In our present enterprise Africa is chiefly a base, a field, a terrain. Our major efforts there are to help solve our problems. No one can deny that the first step in solving them is to win the war, and that part of that winning must be done in Africa.

The general and generous help of hundreds of thousands of Africans in the war effort, in ways direct and indirect, is heartening—and perhaps rather unexpected. For they had no voice in framing the policies or in carrying on the political and economic programs which finally got the world into a shooting war. As a matter of fact, Africa had suffered appreciably from some of those policies. Had she been further developed in Western "civilization" she might have pitted herself against the powers which imposed them.

How War Came to Africa
The fighting began in Asia. In 1934, three years after Mukden, it hit at a little, baked Ethiopian frontier post. Ualual was unknown to the world before and has been forgotten since. But there, on African soil, the European phase of the conflict began. Ethiopia, free for 2600 years, fell: airplanes against breechloaders, tanks against horses. Suez shareholders got larger dividends as Italian military cargoes steamed through the canal locks and as shiploads of Italian colonists and materials followed. The pace quickened in Spain; appeasement spread and the totalitarian forces girded themselves for total conquest. That total conquest did not forget Africa which it foresaw as one of the easiest and ripest fruits of victory. With France gone and the Balkans overrun, only the island-based fleet of Britain offered Africa some protection. But the British Isles would soon fall. And Africa would quite easily follow. Thus ran the Axis plan.

But that plan in which Africa had no part except to be conquered, in which its people had no place except to forever serve—Nazism was quite explicit about these things—failed to work out. Instead, Africa has become one of the important elements in strategy, tactics, and logistics. It is a battleground in the north, a maintenance and supply base in the east, an industrial and food production center in many parts; it is a manpower reservoir all over; a transportation line to the Middle East, Russia, India, China, and points beyond. Civilians do not know where all the airfields are being built, where the many new all-weather roads are leading, where all the large army and navy installations are going in; nor where the new assembly plants, munitions works, canning factories are already in full production while more are being built.

East, west, south, and north and at the equator, these changes have come. The war has become Africa's now. No very happy future is likely to be hers unless the United Nations gain military victory. Nonetheless, gaining that military victory does not automatically guarantee Africa a future such as Africa deserves and as Africans will want. In Africa, as in other lands, when victory is once gained an even harder stage begins. It is about this that I especially want to write here.

Divided Africa

Africa is like no other continent on earth. South of the Sahara (I shall deal largely with that great region from this point on), more than eight hundred languages are spoken. Until the last two or three generations, almost none of those languages had been written. This has made unity even more difficult; for if languages are written, sooner or later there begins a spread of literature and a curiosity about foreign tongues and an effort to master them. For centuries, Africa had nothing of that sort.
Africa's prevailing animistic religion also has tended to separate people, for one of its characteristics is uncertainty and fear concerning all things outside one's ken—even as distant as an hour's walk across the swamp where lives a neighboring but wholly unknown tribe. Over the centuries for millions of Africans, "next door" tribes have been strange and fearful.

The coming of European governments—sixty, seventy years, a century or more ago—has only partially overcome this separatism. In some ways it has aggravated it, imposing another half-dozen languages on Africa and by no means promoting interchange between educated Africans speaking the various European tongues—French, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian. While cohesion has developed to some degree within the colonies of a single power, there has been little communication between Africans living under the rule of rival nations.

The result is that Africa remains today about the least cohesive of any great land area. Educational progress, while remarkable in some of its aspects, has nevertheless been inadequate to equip enough Africans to master at once their own incohesiveness, their unfamiliarity with modern economic and political processes, their ignorance of world procedures. Individuals among them have made striking progress; but nevertheless, as a whole, Africans are probably less prepared to assume leadership in domestic affairs and foreign relations than any numerically comparable group. This is by no means wholly the fault of the European powers which have taken Africa and are continuing to rule it. The worst national performances in this regard have been very bad. Even the best could have been better. But underlying handicaps are to be found in the state of African life and the incohesiveness of African peoples.

The Call to the Americas

The revolution now in progress in the world is brusquely contributing to the creation of a series of needs in Africa which are not exactly paralleled in any other country. In meeting them, African stamina and ability will have to show; but in meeting some of them, the Amer-
Progressive missionary work in Africa has learned the importance of fitting education to the people's needs.

Public Health: A native assistant takes a child's temperature, two others examine a suspect for sleeping sickness

African Motion Picture Project

Progressive missionary work in Africa has learned the importance of fitting education to the people's needs.

Public Health: A native assistant takes a child's temperature, two others examine a suspect for sleeping sickness

icas, especially the United States and Canada, are in a position to give assistance which is not to be had from other sources.

Our two countries are relatively detached from pre-commitments in Africa. We have no political responsibilities, no territorial status, comparatively little financial involvement. We are on relatively friendly terms with most of the current governing authorities in Africa. We have a considerable history of philanthropic, religious, and scientific connection with the continent during the past two generations. We have experience, even if a humilitatingly negative one, in learning at home how difficult it is for a society even under favorable conditions to attain racial equality in terms of opportunities, encouragements, and rewards. We have, moreover, self interest in the sense that no longer can any people enjoy freedom and security unless all peoples are assured the basic things we want.

There is a further and unique reason why the United States ought to be willing to assume a much closer and more helpful relation with Africa than it has in the past. The September issue of Fortune carried a two-page spread portraying the United States as "The Nation of Nations." A graphic arrangement of the flags of twenty countries represented by their size the number of immigrants from each country, and by graduated shadows behind each flag the number of their American-born children. The largest group of immigrants is from Italy—1,623,000. The largest total of immigrants plus descendants is from Germany—6,500,000. Yet no flag or shadow or textual reference brought out the 13,000,000 American Negroes, the largest and most distinguishable group with overseas antecedents in our midst, except for the basic Anglo-Saxon element. Negroes number one tenth of the population of the United States. As Americans we cannot divest ourselves of responsibility to Africa for having brought their ancestors to this country under the conditions that we selfishly imposed. It is for us to repay the debt created by the contributions Africans and their descendants have made to our common life.

Missions: Another Link

Yet another tie for more than a century has linked us with Africa, growing stronger and closer each decade—that of the missionary and philanthropic forces of North America. The American colonization societies founded in the early part of the 19th century continue to exist and to administer funds for aid to Liberians. The Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and other philanthropic foundations in the United States have given significant sums and personnel to help improve public health, agriculture, education, and other elements of African life.

Canadian and United States missionary bodies have for more than a century aided the African Christian church to develop, working alongside British, continental and African religious bodies. More than thirteen million persons, Protestant and Catholic, are now counted in the Christian community south of the Sahara. Africans are by no means all of one pattern and one mind. Acceptance of the Christian religion has varied from tribe to tribe and from area to area. But on the whole, the Christian religion has made very substantial progress, not only in changing individual lives but also in tempering the social, cultural and economic changes that Africa is undergoing.

It would be quite incorrect to ascribe all the developments in Africa which are rapidly taking place to any one foreign influence. True, there are those who now and then speak as if the withdrawal of Christian missions would promptly and desirably stop Africans from leaving the presumably happy, simple, primitive, animistic life which these critics regard as the natural and best obtainable position for Africans. They seem to be unaware of politics, industry, commerce, transportation, labor, money, radio, films, war, as foreign importations which singly and collectively are affecting the old African life. Their position really is that all these elements are disruptive, including Christianity. Christianity has, in truth, aided in the disruption of much which is false or weak or bad in the old order of Africa. Moreover it is almost the only foreign element introduced in the past century which has tended constructively to unify the African people as well as to help them lift themselves into better relations with the new world that has swept in on them.

Christianity has helped to unify and to lift largely through education. There were millions of people in
Africa in great arrears culturally, and in great diversity. They had hundreds of languages—most of them with minimal historical and cultural treasure trove. They were set in a barter economy and in a pre-machine age. Upon them came with great suddenness a descent of other peoples of whom the missionaries were only a fragment. They brought quite foreign tongues, skin, economy, political and cultural background, and educational methods.

Even after the laborious work of reducing an African language to writing was accomplished, the production of school texts was difficult because the teachers themselves knew almost nothing of the experiential background of their pupils. Ludicrous but serious mistakes were made in introducing translations of texts which may have been fairly suitable elsewhere but which were less than good for elementary African pupils. Nevertheless, education made progress, even though it added too much of a fourth "R" to the original three—Reading 'Ritín', 'Rithmetic—by Rote. Greek and Hebrew were introduced from schools in lands 5,000 miles to the north, and the classical tradition in education was brought into thatched school houses.

As a result, there developed hundreds of barristers and thousands of clerks. Where a white collar was not worn it was nevertheless felt in hundreds of African communities. Meanwhile, Africans were not generally improving their agricultural methods. There were almost no African doctors, few African nurses; blacksmiths were scarce, and good carpenters and masons were hard to come by.

The American Contribution

It was in this situation that Americans slowly began to make their basic impress on Africa. They began by emphasizing education for living—for living right in the circumstances in which the people were and in the fashion that would help them to advance most rapidly to next stages. World War I did hard things to Africa, as it did to other countries; but in its aftermath came a contribution of significance to African life. Certain American educational and philanthropic organizations, and particularly some of the Protestant Churches of North America which had sent missionaries to Africa, combined in organizing two commissions to study education in various parts of the continent under the chairmanship of Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. As the years march, I have a notion the changes introduced by the commissions will look clearer and larger. The genius of those changes was the utilization by progressive governmental and missionary groups of methods largely developed in the United States, north and south, in educating for living in rural communities. Principles worked out at Hampton, Tuskegee, Penn School and elsewhere, proved susceptible to adaptation to African conditions. And the turn-out of elementary education in Africa has reached new levels.

Advances have been made in higher education in this same period. Out of a number of possible examples, perhaps the Prince of Wales College at Achimota in the Gold Coast might be mentioned. The Gold Coast has been touched by the outside (Continued on page 574)

FINDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE ON AFRICA, THE WAR, AND PEACE AIDS

(condensed)

... That the lessons of the recent military defeats in Malaya, Singapore, Java, and Burma, emphasize the vital importance of prompt steps to give colonial peoples a larger and more responsible share in the government of their country ... that it may not be said that measures adopted to meet legitimate native aspirations have been "too little and too late."

... That although the Atlantic Charter is inadequate in certain respects ... it represents a substantial step forward, and that the "Eight Points" of the Charter should all be applied to Africa ... That the goal of ultimate self-government should be definitely accepted in every colony, and that the controlling governments should show themselves both willing and eager to fit the African people for larger and larger participation in their own affairs ...

... That in every colony, steps should immediately be taken to provide adequate native representation in the legislative council (or what corresponds to it) ... and that such membership should steadily increase with the years.

... That immediate steps should be taken to throw open more positions in the civil service in every colony to competitive examinations ...

... That the mandate ideal of the vital importance of native rights, welfare, and development should be applied in all African territory controlled by European powers and should be adopted by the independent African states.

... That all European colonies in Africa should be willing to submit to international inspection and report.

... That all forms of industrial color-bars are indefensible in Africa as they are in the United States ...

... That special attention should be given to the fundamental problem of land ... so that this land is not alienated from Africans in the interest of Europeans, Americans, or privileged Africans ... As agriculture is the primary occupation of the overwhelming majority of Africans ... everything possible should be done to improve methods and practices of land management ...

... That the principles of self-development and of cooperation are both highly important, so that everything should be done to encourage the African to develop his own capacities through various forms of interracial cooperation ...

... That in view of many serious defects in our treatment of the Negro in the United States, we should approach the problems of race relations in Africa with humility, but with the confident belief that they have been and are being steadily improved here and in some parts of Africa ...

... That the Government of the United States, being already a party to many treaties and conventions dealing particularly with Africa and the protection of its native people, has assumed certain responsibilities which it cannot escape ...

... That our government should stand ready to unite with other nations in some world organization ... to protect the interests of Africans, who should be given some form of representation in connection with the Peace Conference.

NOVEMBER 1942
At an Indian Congress meeting. White caps: party members; black caps: government officials; turbans: Moslems.
India and America

SYUD HOSSAIN

The British-Indian deadlock is understandable only in the light of ancient alignments. Its solution has become a matter of vital concern to the United States and to China and others of the United Nations engaged in a crusade for world democracy and human freedom—an analysis by the former editor of The Bombay Chronicle, and one of three delegates elected both by Hindus and Moslems to present the case of India at the Near Eastern Peace Settlement in London and Paris, 1920.

For the first time since the founding of the American Republic, the United States has been in direct diplomatic contact with India. Last April Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy, echoed old watchwords of America's own struggle for independence in a broadcast from New Delhi asking for India's help in winning the war:

There is no goal for us and for you except victory, and in that victory may I say on behalf of the President of the United States that we propose to bring to the problem of eventual peace, no less than to the battlefield of the immediate war, our aroused conscience, our highest resolves, and our loftiest ideals. To those ends we have dedicated our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The coming together of America and India in this fateful hour of history—the youngest and the oldest of living civilizations—is a fact of first significance. The practical problem before any such collaboration is how to enable India to pull her full weight in the crusade against the Axis menace—how to mobilize not only her enormous manpower and natural resources but also her vast spiritual energies without which mere material force cannot count.

China has given a magnificent account of herself, but that is because China is a free agent fighting veritably for her own freedom with a real stake in victory. India would do no less if, psychologically and spiritually, she had the same certitude that she would be fighting for her own freedom no less than for a free world. There is all the difference in the world between the morale of a free people (as in the United States) fighting for home, hearth, and principle and all that makes life worth living; and that of a repressed and demoralized people (as in India), balked in their internal hopes and rallied to fight half-heartedly for a distant cause.

India: United or Disunited

There are things in common, on the other hand, between the United States and India. Both preempt great segments of a continent; both have peoples of widely different origins. For that very reason we hear much of the dissensions of India. Undoubtedly there is dissension, and on vital questions. How else, when it is remembered that India is nearly as extensive as the whole of Europe minus Russia, with a population greatly in excess of that of Europe. But disagreements among her peoples should be viewed in honest focus, and not exploited for extraneous purposes.

India, first of all, is a geographic unit. Not only is it a subcontinent, but for all practical purposes it is an island—surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the north by the all but impassable Himalayan ranges. These natural barriers gave her long spans of immunity from attack, enabling her to build up her great culture over a vast area. India was never attacked from the sea. Only in comparatively recent times did she come under the control of a European naval power which first came to her shores for trade.

Most of the so-called invasions by land—all of them from the northwest—were in the nature of raids, including that of Alexander the Great, leaving no permanent impress on her life or thought. Only two became part and parcel of her national, racial, and cultural existence. First, the Aryans who came from central Asia in successive waves from 1800 B.C. on. Then, the Mohammedans, who began settling there in 1000 A.D. Both Aryans and Mohammedans made India their home permanently. They were not birds of prey or passage.

India, of course, represents the indelible Aryan tradition of more than three millennia. But for nearly a thousand years there has been fused with it the contrasting, challenging, and no less virile spirit of Islam. Hardly more than two percent of the people in India (that means, strictly, the English-speaking proportion) use or understand the word "India." But Aryavarta or Hindustan (more colloquially Bharat or Hind) are still names with a dynamic import for millions of men and women. In Mohammedan times, there were no discriminations along religious or racial lines at the court of Akbar the Great, who not only unified India politically but created among the people what may be described as a sense of modern nationalism.

Despite all the diversities among its 389,000,000 people, India today is essentially an economic unit with broad cultural and spiritual unity. It also represents increasing political unity in the sense that all sections and factions desire Swaraj (self-rule). The Cripps proposals were rejected last spring not only by the Indian National Congress but by the Moslem League; and by the so-called "untouchables" as well as by the latter's ancient adversaries, the orthodox Hindu groups represented by the Mahasabha. Each section is naturally playing for the maximum concessions in any devolution of political power to
a new regime; but none desires the perpetuation of an alien domination superimposed by force, without roots in the soil, without community of culture or tradition, and with economic interests demonstrably at variance with those of the people of India.

Every civilized country in the world has had its minority problems. Those of India are neither unique nor less susceptible of statesmanlike solution, the essential prerequisites being a good faith and integrity of purpose. Towards this, no motivation could be stronger than the common wish to attain full stature of free nationhood. There can be little doubt that with this prospect firmly assured, India would iron out her internal differences, and constitutional guarantees would dispel such misgivings as now assail any of her constituent elements.

Hindus and Moslems

There is ample evidence to show that Hindu-Moslem differences have been exploited and exaggerated for political purposes. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, British governor of the Eastern Bengal province, once said in a burst of candor: "The British government in India has two wives, one Hindu and the other Moslem. Sometimes it courts the one, sometimes the other.

Harold Laski, London analyst, has thus summed up the matter:

There is not one popular leader in India to whom we can appeal for support for the continuance of our Paramountcy ... The main interest we support in India apart from our own financial interest, is a mass of feudal Princes ... So long as every vested interest in India is, like the Moslem interest, encouraged openly or secretly to believe that it will get better terms from dependence upon us than from a real attempt at accommodation with other Indian interests, of course agreement between them is not forthcoming...

As recently as September 10 last in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill still was saying: "Outside that party (the Congress Party), and fundamentally opposed to it, are the 90,000,000 Moslems in British India who have their rights of self-expression..." Yet the picture drawn in 1940 by his recent emissary to India, Sir Stafford Cripps was this:

We must ask ourselves whether 250,000,000 Hindus are to be denied self-government in a United India because 80,000,000 Moslems either are afraid of it or put forward an unpractical suggestion for the division of India in order to prevent the Indian peasants and workers from obtaining the control of their own country. In truth, if the 80,000,000 Moslems were left to make their own political decisions without any injection of communal animosity, the great majority of them would support the Congress Party's program. In fact many of them do today...

As a Moslem I can testify that the persistent representation that Hindus and Moslems are irreconcilably opposed to each other is not true. Nor is it true that the Moslems constitute a separate nation within India. More than 80 percent of them are of the same race as the Hindus. They have gotten along together for the better part of a thousand years and India's modern civilization is a synthesis of the ideals and cultures of Aryan, Vara and Islam. Tagore, the most representative Hindu...
of our times, acknowledged Islam's contribution in these words:

To our music, our architecture, our pictorial art, our literature, the Mohammedans have made their permanent and precious contribution. Those who have studied the lives and writings of our medieval saints, and all the great religious movements that sprang up in the time of the Mohammedan rule, know how deep is our debt to this foreign current that has so intimately mingled with our life.

Today Hindus and Moslems are living side by side in every town, village and hamlet of India, sharing a common life and heritage, and linked in a common destiny. A few fanatics or political partitionists can no more alter that historic reality than they can bring about the artificial separation and segregation of Catholics and Protestants in the United States of America. Nor, if they could, would it be a desirable consummation.

Not fragmentation but federation must increasingly be the key to human affairs. Republican China, a far larger numerical unity even than India, points the way to the type of national unity which India must and will attain. Even now, notwithstanding political feuds and communal bickerings, India has a greater sense of essential national solidarity than she ever had known before.

Indians and British

INDIANS ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE TIES OF blood and speech, of common law and common ideals, which unite the British Commonwealth of Nations of today. Conscious, also, that these things of the spirit infuse the British-American alignment against Axis aggression the world over.

Not only may India become the pivot of that struggle in Asia; but her people, in turn, are linked by ties of race, culture, religions, to peoples throughout the Near East and the Far East.

These are some of the wider bearings of the British-Indian dispute; and if the United States is to play an important, perhaps even a decisive part in composing it, then Americans should be well informed about its elements, about India's past, and her present situation—of which Hindu-Moslem relations are but one facet.

This is bound to be a tremendous adventure in friendship for the United States, reaching back on the one hand to its earlier Anglo-Saxon origins, and on the other, half way round the world to approximately one sixth of the human race. Huge as India's population, and unique as her record of continuous survival, India has still greater claim to consideration. Namely, her contribution to civilization.

In common with Egypt, Assyria and Persia, India appeared in the earliest records of history as in a high state of progress in terms of arts, crafts, social organization, religion and philosophy. The scriptures of India, known as the Vedas, are the oldest religious documents of the human race; and are still today the inspiration for the living faith of millions of human beings.

Wrote C. F. Andrews:

It is no empty phrase to call India the mother among the civilizations of the world. She gave liberally to China and the Far East out of her own spiritual wealth. She implanted seeds of thought, of philosophy, and religion, in the soil of Persia and Greece. Egypt has perished; Babylon has perished; but India, which was their contemporary, has not perished. She is still producing men of genius in religion, philosophy and art. This vast antiquity and perpetual youth of India is
a phenomenon almost unique in the history of mankind.

With India spanning five or six thousand years, the British connection in any shape or form barely exceeds three hundred. During the first of these three centuries the East India Company carried on a very profitable but legitimate trade. Let me turn the next pages of British-Indian history so that you can see them through Indian eyes. I can only sketch them in brief strokes.

From Moguls to Viceroys: During the second of those centuries, as the great Mogul Empire began to crumble and a period of civil strife followed, the British and the French fished in troubled waters. At the end of a long drawn out conflict, with the Indians exhausted and their resources depleted, the British emerged with a dominant margin of military strength. Diplomatically and politically, too, they had outstripped any other rival for power, whether Indian or European; and gradually consolidated their position through a series of alliances with Indian princes, as well as through some outright annexations. Says Professor Herbert Adams Gibbons, in his "The New Map of Asia": "The title of no people to rule over another is more questionable in its origin and its development than that of the British to rule over the Indians."

The Sepoy Mutiny: By the close of the Napoleonic Wars the British control of India was for the most part complete; but beneath the surface, there was smoldering resentment and discontent. These flared up in 1857 in what British historians describe as the Sepoy Mutiny, but what to the Indians was their last organized, militant attempt at independence. Before the uprising was crushed, as Sir George Otto Trevelyan, the British historian, put it in his book "Cawnpoore," "British soldiers in India had killed more of the Indian people in a single year than missionaries had converted in a century."

The year following (1858), the sovereignty of India was vested in the British Crown. But it was in 1871 that Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress—the British imperial title derives exclusively from India.

Relapse: For a whole generation after the mutiny, India lay stunned and inert. Retribution took the form of eliminating, as with a fine comb, the elite of the patriotic leadership of the nation—all the way from Delhi, the imperial capital in the north, to the Bay of Bengal. The people were systematically disarmed, and every semblance of national life seemed to have departed from the country.

Gradually, however, a few farsighted and devoted men realized the plight of the country and saw that India would die as an entity if it were not roused from its coma of shock and despair. These men had no alternative but to accept the fait accompli of British rule, but, within that iron limitation, they did what they could to restore the morale and constructive functioning of the people. In this task they were supported by some English friends of liberal and humane instincts.

Revival: From these beginnings sprang the Indian National Congress—an organization that for more than fifty years has been the champion and the spokesman of the Indian national cause. To it have belonged most of the ablest sons of India of our time.

On the Indian side, the struggle for the most part has been carried on by constitutional processes and procedures; sometimes by passive resistance, civil disobedience, economic boycott, and non-cooperation; occasionally, by resort to homicidal violence on the part of desperate young revolutionists. On the British side, the technique for coping with the agitation for national rights consisted in alternating between coercion and concession. When a particular movement could not be crushed, the British sought to conciliate it by constitutional reforms or by the offer of public office to the nationalists.

Time and again the Indian National Congress has been penalized by proscription and suppression by the British government; but, phoenix-like it has always risen from its ashes. It has again now (as I write) been outlawed and its leaders branded as "seditionists," but it is true to say that probably never before has its influence been so widespread and strong as it is today.

World War I: A turning point was reached with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914. The British government proclaimed that this was a war for the vindication of democracy, and called upon the people of India to cooperate. Indians responded, withholding neither life nor treasure in what they conceived to be a crusade for human freedom in the results of which they, naturally, expected to share. India sent 800,000 combatant and 400,000 non-combatant troops overseas. Tens of thousands of Indians laid down their lives on European and other battle fronts. The loyalty of Indians was so dependable that during this crisis English garrisons in India were at one time reduced to only 15,000 troops.

Five days before the armistice was signed, Major General Sir Frederick Maurice, one time chief of staff of the British Army, wrote in The New York Times: "It is to India that our recent victory was due." His statement had reference to the fact that when war was declared, an Indian army of 200,000 men was the only trained reserve available in the Empire. Lord Harding, then Viceroy of India, said: "They filled a gap that could not otherwise have been filled. And there are few survivors."

Amritsar and after: The war over, victory won, the British authorities went back on their promises and clamped down even more rigorously. That is how Indians regarded the response to their wartime spending of themselves and to their growing demand for putting the principle of self-determination to work in India. Agitation on the one hand, repression on the other, culminated in the gruesome massacre of Amritsar in the spring of 1919, when, in the words of the English author, Edward Thompson, "General Dyer shot down nearly two thousand people... and the wounded were left all night to crawl and cry out."

Gandhi re-emerged from his retirement (he had practically dropped out of public life a year or two earlier) to head the "non-violent non-cooperation movement," as it was called, to compel recognition of India's right to Swaraj, or self-rule. The British authorities retaliated by drastic attempts to crush the movement. In a debate in India in the House of Commons on June 15, 1922, following Gandhi's first imprisonment, Ben Spoor, M.P. for Durham (afterwards a member of Ramsey MacDonald's government) said:

"At the present moment, over 20,000 political prisoners are in jail. They include men of high culture, men whose character has never been questioned... The crime of these 20,000 people is not that they are anti-British, it is simply that they are pro-Indian... The policy of blood and iron can no more bring peace in India than it brought peace in Ireland... India simply wants to be master in her own house, and until she is master in her own house there will be no peace."

Spoor's warning was not heeded. Repression was in full blast during all the decade that followed. By September 1932, political prisoners in British jails in India had reached the staggering total of 191,858.

India Enters World War II by Fiat

The attempt to crush the national movement for freedom failed. Constitutional (Continued on page 545)
East and West Must Meet

LIN YUTANG

Not warrior to warrior—as Kipling saw it—but man to man, sharing a robust faith in moral values, the meeting is seen:—by a distinguished Chinese scholar and writer.

Jules Romains has called his series of novels dealing with the World War epoch, “Men of Good Will.” It is far too good a phrase to be used just for a novel or even a series of novels. In that series he describes the struggles and chaos and confusion and hopes and dreams of this generation of Europeans. But those same struggles and confusion and chaos and hopes and dreams are reaching the entire world with the present world shake-up. “Men of good will” should be the central problem not only of this war, but of the world which the present war will leave behind.

Now the tragedy of the modern civilization, as revealed fully in the first years of this war, is that there is plenty of good will lying about and plenty of such men, but that this good will toward one’s fellowmen is not shaped into a doctrine, clearly enunciated and organized into a power to influence the conduct of our governments. This war looks to me like a dead war, dead in the sense of lacking spiritual dynamite. It gives more and more the impression of a savage war for survival, and less and less the impression of a crusade. Somehow the great driving force of a great faith and great vision for a better future is lacking. Such moral principles as we say we are defending are painted in pale colors and woolly outlines. It is like a picture with the objects intended to be portrayed all there, but somehow the picture does not come out alive. The wording of the Atlantic Charter is a little nebulous, and the contradictory interpretations of its scope of application by English and American government leaders are left without further definition or even an effort to come to an agreement. But it is not the American habit to fight for anything except moral or spiritual principles.

There is a tremendous good will lying about, a tremendous spiritual force in the American heart waiting to be mobilized and transformed into dynamite to destroy the enemy forces of evil. The Nazi conquerors and the Japanese army-builders are equipped with a great faith, but we arm our soldiers with a pale, lukewarm, diluted faith that looks now like a war for world democracy and now like a war for empire, or even just a war for the status quo.

II

The reason why this has happened is perhaps to our credit. It merely proves that we did not want this war and were not prepared for it, ideologically as well as militarily. There is a time-lag in our spiritual mobilization as in our war production to catch up with Hitler’s. Our war production is rapidly catching up, but our spiritual mobilization still lags behind. It isn’t a question of publicity technique and organization; it is the substance of our publicity which will provide men with a little hope and a little dream for something worth shedding our blood for. That hope must be a new hope and that dream, a new dream; it is incredible that Americans will accept stale versions of old platitudes about “our way of life” as a sufficient incentive for war. The reason this has happened is that we are like peaceful citizens fighting robbers and gangsters breaking into our homes and destroying our property. Hitler is destroying our way of life like a robber, granted. But those fighting robbers who break into their houses can at best regard the whole fight as a nuisance. And it happens those who regard the war merely as a nuisance and therefore hate it cannot win the war. I have seen the war in China and know that the morale of the Chinese people is not sustained merely by hatred of the invaders, but by something new and constructive that we are building in the great continental inland of Free China. For besides hatred there is pride.

I assert that the common man in America, England, and elsewhere has plenty of good will towards his neighbors. It is the natural attitude of happy men. It stems from the natural heart of man and is found to exist more among the poor and simple folks than among the rich, the scholarly, and the worried. The taxidriver in London has plenty of good will towards the Indians’ aspirations toward liberty; but the bondholders do not feel the same way because their minds are more complicated and have more worries. The taxidriver then is told that the problem of India is terribly complicated, that there are a hundred reasons why India must not be given liberty. In other words, he is told that his innate good will is foolish, ignorant and uninformed, and in the face of the learning of the bondholders he accepts the toll of his ignorance. But what is the result? The result is that the whole complexion of the war is altered, that millions of Asians and Africans and South Americans begin to entertain doubts in their minds whether or not we are fighting for a new and better world. So the good will of millions of men is of no avail.

III

I have seen enough of this war in Malaya and Burma to know that racial prejudice and racial discrimination are back of the seething discontent among the subjected races and paralyze and delimit the war efforts of the Allied commanders. But these are mere episodes as compared with the problems the war will leave behind us. We are all moving in the midst of forces which we cannot yet recognize or comprehend. The era of white man’s control over the Asiatic races is ended. This has happened for the simple reason that Asia is awakening. The prestige of the white man is gone. What the Japanese have destroyed by their bayonets cannot be restored by white bayonets, simply because the spirit of independence of the Asiatic peoples cannot be broken by bayonets. In the long range view of things, it is hard to realize how the East and West
can cooperate and live together in the future world except by mutual good will and respect.

Racial prejudice is a left-over from our savage days, when every tribe was suspicious of strangers. It is hard to see how the future world, brought so closely together by airplanes and economic ties, can survive without a new doctrine and new faith in the essential equality of all races. No nation that I know is exempt from this prejudice. The Chinese, of course, regarded themselves as superior to the surrounding barbarian races. The Japanese and the Germans have their peculiar racial doctrine. But what amuses me most is the idea that

(Continued on page 500)
Round the Rim of the Pacific

EDWARD C. CARTER

Rare insight, wide contacts over the years, research as firsthand as it has been farflung, all these enter into this analysis of the colonial color schemes that are thrown into new relief by the flares of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Manila:—by the secretary-general of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Twenty years ago I traveled from Rangoon to Ahmedabad in the hope of seeing Gandhi. Arriving at the Ashram, Mrs. Gandhi regretted that, unfortunately, her husband had left for a quick trip through the villages of Gujarat. After a delicious Indian breakfast, she told me that if I made a five-hour journey to a small wayside station in the desert, I could still make contact with Gandhi for he would be reaching there, too, for the return trip to Ahmedabad. This called for quick work in the timetables of the Bombay-Baroda and Central India railroad, because I was to leave the next day for Europe. If all the trains were on time I could make the detour interval.

Once at my desert destination, the station master and the head man of the village said there must be some mistake. They would have known if Gandhi was anywhere in the district. There was an hour's uncertain wait before the next freight and passenger train lumbered into the little station. The first gong struck and no sight of Gandhi. As I boarded the train, out of the dust of the desert a little cavalcade of five camels emerged into the station compound. Just as the second gong struck, Gandhi and his aides stepped from camelback into a third-class compartment and the train pulled out.

At the next station I changed to Gandhi's compartment and had four hours talk with him, interrupted at the many wayside stations. For at each stop great crowds emerged as if by magic from the surrounding country—just to catch sight of the Mahatma. Every station master had wired ahead to the next, so that through a combination of the modern telegraph and the old Asiatic grapevine, the slow accommodation train plowed through throngs of peasants as it puffed in and out of each station.

One after another, Gandhi addressed these milling crowds for a couple of minutes. He spoke in Gujarati, which I could not understand, but it was soon borne in on me that what he was saying to these hard-bitten, practical and mostly illiterate farmers was: YOU MATTER.

He did not say "The Kingdom of God is within you." He did say, a free, educated, progressive, self-reliant India lies within you. "There is no need for you to remain serfs and illiterates." The effect, of course, was miraculous. Time and again I stood just behind Gandhi in the compartment door. From there I could not see his face, but I could see the light that came into the faces of the encircling throngs. The little people of India were being told that they mattered.

Heretofore, for the most part, the message of leadership in India had come mostly from Indian rajahs with fabulous bank accounts, from sometimes pompous and sometimes saintly viceroys, but always with a back-drop of palatial government houses or viceregal lodges, or from the platform of great durbars where the speaker was flanked with the serried ranks of fully armed Indian and British troops. English rulers and American missionaries had, it is true, pledged democracy; but too often what the peasants saw, was the display of power, of economic superiority. Even simple bungalows of the most sacrificial missionaries were of substantial bricks and mortar, in stark economic contrast to the mud huts from which the people fared forth before daybreak each day to win their bread in an unequal struggle against nature.

Perplexing though Gandhi's recent moves are to his friends abroad, it must be remembered that no Indian, not even Ambedkar, has done as much as Gandhi for the "untouchables" (India's own most grievous race problem). Nor must it be forgotten that in the dark days of the first World War, Gandhi set aside his pacifist faith and at the request of the Viceroy traveled hundreds of miles and addressed tens of thousands of peasants, pleading with them to enlist in the Indian Army to fight against Great Britain's enemies.

The Test of Global War

Color and colonies certainly stand for unfinished business on the agenda of the United Nations. Here the Americans and English have to make immense strides if they are to attain the level reached by the Soviet Union. In their desire for full participation in the war, American Negroes find themselves under grievous handicaps similar to those which have been faced by the Chinese and the Indian nationalists. Even the "fighting races" in India were long denied equal opportunity for rising high in the officer scale. As recently as September, 1942, a spokesman for the Viceroy in Delhi stated that in the Indian Army there were four and a half European officers to one Indian. Americans, who had been assured by Lord Halifax and Sir Stafford Cripps that there was nothing that the British government so much desired as to offer India full participation in the war, were shocked by this revelation. But too few of these Americans were willing to admit that American fighting services and American industry have had an equally lamentable record in giving the American Negro a stake in the war effort. Powerful indeed is the radio propaganda from Berlin and Tokyo to the American Negro, to the Chinese
in British colonies, and to the Indian nationalists: "Why fight for white folks?"

Happily, President Quezon's invitation a few years ago to General Douglas MacArthur to come to the Philippines as chief of staff and train a Filipino army was one of the overriding factors in giving the Filipinos a stake not in the defense of an American Empire but in their own beloved islands. Here was a white man of great military eminence—formerly chief of staff of the United States Army—employed and directed by an Oriental. The epic fighting of Filipino officers and men in resisting Japanese conquest was supreme justification of Quezon's policy and MacArthur's course.

If the Chinese were not as generous as they are in forgetting past injustices, they would long hold in deep suspicion the British authorities in Hong Kong, Malaya and Burma, who way before their own debacle delayed accepting—and in some cases refused—offers of Chinese military assistance. And only a highly civilized people could so quickly forget American hypocrisy in sending words of encouragement to China and at the same time shipping loads of scrap iron and oil to Japan.

As recently as six years ago, the average Western officer in China was parroting the same condemnation of the fighting qualities of Chinese officers and men as were made by Americans regarding the Filipinos prior to MacArthur's coming; and as are continued by the British today in India with reference to the "non-fighting races."

The Chinese for five years now have given the lie to the Western military mind. Chiang Kai-shek and Quezon have given millions of Orientals a stake in the war effort. Only as the Americans give the Negro and the British the Indian nationalist a similar incentive, can a global peace flow from global war. Neither the United States, Great Britain or the British Dominions can create it out of a Jim Crow war.

The Peoples of the Pacific Basin

The military mind is in truth largely prisoner of color prejudice widely held among the peoples concerned. My belief is that much of that prejudice itself derives from fallacious concepts of the economic motivation of society in the world today.

As long as production for private gain rather than for public welfare drives the wheels of our modern economy, some groups will see the easiest way of advancing their own well-being in the subordination of other groups. Consciously or unconsciously, they will seek to make use of differences in race or color to emphasize the distance that separates them and their kind from those others. They will tend to create and to perpetuate intricate patterns of social discrimination that ensure the dominance of their own class; and a dissemination of prejudice that will be a means ready to their hands.

Japanese and American forces are struggling for control of the Aleutians. There in the Arctic, these islands are the connecting links between the Americas and the huge land mass of Asia. Let us begin there and run down in turn the coasts that on either hand stretch to the South Pacific where the conflict is again joined in the Solomons. Our Alaskan territory puts us at the top of the eastern shore line:

The Westward Outlook

United States of America: In the early fall, I was in the Berkshire Hills in Massachusetts, a leading abolitionist state, and had the privilege of being host in my home to a distinguished American Negro soprano. She had been unable to find shelter for the night at either of the two leading hotels, though she was received with great acclaim by the thousands at the Berkshire Music Festival. What right had I, born and reared in Massachusetts, to write of color prejudice in the far Pacific?

No American need wander to African or Asiatic areas for instances of color discrimination. We have our own "colonial" attitudes, and these express themselves right here in our own continental realm. Nor do New Yorkers and Californians have to fare forth to the state of Georgia to see race discrimination enforced to the point of cruelty. In spite of outward sophistication, in spite of many generous tokens of racial liberalism, its ugly features show themselves up and down our land.

In the minds of Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, and others whom I have met, these features of our national life are, indeed, so visible that they would refuse to give any credentials to Americans to throw stones at our European allies in the colonial areas of Asia and Oceania.

In some respects, our European allies are perhaps more advanced than we are on the road to justice and decency. At least I have never heard of any riots in the English cities against Asiatic subjects of the King, such as we had not so long ago against Filipinos. Nor when they looked for lodgings were Indonesian students discriminated against in Holland in ways which Oriental students often experience when they come to attend our own universities.

Some people think that we are entitled to be just a little proud because of our liberal stand on Philippine independence. They seem to have forgotten that two of the strongest motives back of that policy on the part of financial, agricultural, and labor groups were to shut off vegetable oils and sugar from the islands, and to
Another historic scene—1935: Manuel Quezon takes the oath of office as president of the new Philippine Commonwealth

get rid of Filipino residents in the United States. With the liquidation of American sovereignty they would be automatically excluded as Oriental aliens.

The Dominion of Canada: The Canadians have handled the problem of Asiatic exclusion less irritantly than the United States, but many Canadians and many Asiatics think there is ample room for improvement.

The Latin American Littoral of the Pacific: Liberal policies prevailed here for many years toward Oriental emigrants. In the last decade, there has been a reverse tendency; but in general their record has been far more tolerant than among Anglo-Saxon nations. There seems to be more prejudice in prevailing Protestant areas than where the dominant groups have been nurtured in the Roman Catholic faith.

New Zealand: New Zealanders are justly proud of their relationship to the native Maoris. These are the largest racial minority, constituting roughly 5 percent of the population. The Maoris have full and equal civil rights and liberties and New Zealand travelers extol their courage and speak with pride of the contributions to science and education made by outstanding Maoris. When it comes to Chinese there are still handicaps, and to all intents and purposes Indians, though theoretically citizens of the British Empire, are not wanted.

Australia: Like New Zealand, the southernmost continent is progressive in economic and political matters but is committed to the white Australia policy. Its immigration procedures, though more tactful, are as "dog in the manger" as those practiced toward Asiatics in the United States. The government has not had much success in facilitating the inflow even of European settlers. Fairness requires the observation that Australia could never absorb the number of emigrants, whether European or Asiatic, that her mere geographical size would suggest. But even with this reservation, the habitable areas could provide footholds for a much larger population.

With the stimulus to industry and the shortage of manpower that the war has brought, increasing immigration after the war may be regarded as more necessary by the Australian and New Zealand authorities than has hitherto been the case.

The Eastward Outlook

U.S.S.R.: In 1937 I was invited by the Institute of Pacific Relations in the U.S.S.R. to visit the Soviet Far East. Just before leaving Peiping for Vladivostok I was asked by the American Ambassador to discover what the attitude of the Russians was toward the colored races in Siberia; to what degree was there race prejudice. Wherever I went I tried to get an answer to this question. This was difficult because the Russians whom I met, whether in the Maritime Provinces, in the Red Army or in factories, or on the great collective farms, could with difficulty understand the point of the question.

In the oil cracking plant at Khabarovsk, the manager said: "If a Korean has had four years in a chemical technicum he is naturally more useful than a Russian from Leningrad who has only had two years of such training."

On an Amur steamer, the chief engineer said that a Chinese navigating officer who had had fifteen years on the Amur was to be preferred to a man from Kronstadt who had had only five years navigating experience.

And so it went everywhere. Training and experience rather than racial or color background was the determinant. Here was an example of a society where there was a blending of two fundamental social concepts—first, the maximum economic advantage for all; and second, that given education and opportunity, no group of Soviet citizens was permanently incapacitated by reason of color or racial background.
**India and China:** These countries are taken up by other authors in this number. Let me add that American engineers recently in India bring back reports of the enormous technical potential of Indian workmen. Given opportunity, trust, and the prospect of equality in wages and living conditions, there seems to be no objective reason why the Tamil or Kanarese in the airplane plant in Mysore or the man from Bengal or Bihar in the steel works at Jamshedpur, should remain throughout his working life economically and socially subordinate to the technician from Manchester or Pittsburgh.

**British Malaya:** Like Netherlands India, this in theory was administered in behalf of the indigenous people. But these have made up only a minority since the influx of millions of Chinese and Indians, first introduced to work under contract on the large estates and in the mines. The Malays have an understood, though not legally exclusive, right to employment in many of the lower branches of the civil service. But in every other respect, they have been given very little help to rise socially or economically above the peasant level. Prior to the war, no responsible British statesman held out prospects that citizenship for the Malayans was thought of as even remotely possible.

**Indo-China:** The French, here, never pretended to administer the country in the interest of the natives; but circumstances forced them—and the intellectual talents of the Annamites have made it easy for them—to place a great deal of administrative responsibility on native shoulders. Both in Africa and in Asia, they developed colonial economies that were grievously subordinate to a few of the giant vested interests in metropolitan France.

In matters of social intercourse, on the other hand, color prejudice has been conspicuously lacking. The French have shown the same racial liberalism in the colonies that they have at home. For Africans have been heroes both in the Chamber of Deputies and on Montmartre. At a Pan-African Congress in Brussels, a generation ago, I remember that American and British Negroes said, "We Negroes..."; whereas French Negroes said, "We French...".

**The Netherlands Indies:** This was the only admittedly paternalistic regime in the Pacific, carried on by an administration instructed by its home government to give native welfare precedence over all other considerations. It may have kept undue economic advantages in the hands of the white man, but it built into the fabric of law and social custom a more enlightened racial attitude than can be found among the Englishmen and Americans in their major contacts with the colored races.

The Dutch at the Far Ends of the Earth

**since Netherlands Indies illustrates how a measure of inter-racial justice can be achieved without waiting to reconstruct the whole economic life, let me mention a few of its salient features. From the start, the religious character and common sense of the Hollanders expressed itself in their dislike for the make-believe of complete social segregation.**

In sailing-ship days, young men were obliged to stay away from home and family for many years, some of them for the rest of their lives. Under these circumstances they sought the company of native women, and in all the colonies there was much concubinage. But these temporary unions are always to the disadvantage of the subject people—at least to the extent that they express a certain disdain or lack of respect. The Dutch preferred and insisted upon racial intermarriage. The children of Dutch fathers were regarded as European and shared in every privilege accorded to whites. The result is that today there are some 150,000 persons of mixed blood. With the small number of white women in the tropics, there has been little opportunity for Indonesian men to marry into white circles—and with every generation these "Europeans" come to look a little less like Hollanders and a little more like Malays. Partly, perhaps, because of this, the social equality of the mixed bloods is not quite as uncontested today as it used to be. In business and politics, however, the official policy continues and shows some rather interesting results.

Instead of being malcontents, easily influenced by propaganda, as half-castes are in most countries of the Pacific, these Indonesian-Europeans are among Queen Wilhemina's most loyal subjects. Most of the civil servants are of this mixed group—the only Eurasian group in Southeast Asia to form a non-immigrant middle class.

There is not, then, that sharp distinction between a master race and a subject race that we find in most dependencies. When the world economic depression hit that part of the world, the colonial administrations as a matter of course shipped home most of their unemployed Europeans. But in the Netherlands Indies not only the mixed bloods but also the pure whites stayed on because they had no other home. And I do not believe that European prestige suffered because they were at times as badly off as the natives and the natives knew it. Indonesians were already accustomed to seeing Europeans engage in manual work, and to seeing white and yellow and brown men compete in business and in public employment. As in the Philippines, so in the Indies also, white men in orals broke through the sense of a complete class segregation on racial lines.

Above all, the Hollanders have shown themselves scrupulous in their respect for native law and custom. In other dependencies, too often this was a deep gulf between the law enforced by the public authorities, and that administered by the village elders, the native ruler and his courts, and the religious authorities. In the Netherlands Indies all were integrated and enforced as part of a unified system. In everyday life, native traditions were respected to an (Continued on page 566)
The Spirit Behind the Weapon

PEARL S. BUCK

The defeat we may suffer through our race prejudices, and the victory we can win if we overcome them; a warning and a splendid promise for free peoples—by a distinguished interpreter of the East to the West, winner of the Nobel Prize in literature.

The divisions among and between peoples of the world is always a curious criss-cross pattern. There is no one way of dividing us. We are different races, and that is a division. We are different nations, and that is a division. Religion is a division, and wealth is a division and education is a division. Climate and geography and food have their dividing effects, and so has history.

But war is the great simplifier. In times of war people put aside their lesser differences and return to their primary divisions. From these, as from fortresses, they wage war.

Yet the fortresses from which men fight are not the same from war to war. In the last World War, the primary division among people was still the old one of nations. The dying words of Edith Cavell, "Patriotism is not enough," were a prophecy of this greater war in which we are today involved. But patriotism was almost enough in that World War. We fought it as an international struggle and after the truce was declared we retired again into our nations and built the walls high between.

Nevertheless, all through the too brief years of the truce, great heaving changes took place. Nations became less and less important, and peoples more and more important. The revolution in Russia destroyed a nation and hewed out, by the crudest and sometimes the most cruel means, a people. The revolution in China destroyed another nation and built upon the ancient foundations another people. That the revolution in China was mainly political and certainly disturbed the foundations less severely than in Russia, was evidence of the already fundamentally democratic character of the Chinese.

But it is always true that when great changes occur among human beings, there is an instant strengthening, too, of the old. Thus old Japan awoke and laid its hard hand upon the new people there. It was inevitable that the awakening of the life of the people in Japan was more slow than either in Russia or China, for nationalism was more deeply established in Japan than in these other two countries. The people in Japan were long integrated into a nation, as they were in France yesterday and are in England today. Had the Japanese new people been allowed a little longer to live, had the last war been revolutionary rather than reactionary in its effects, this second war might never have followed. But since the last war reestablished the nation-unit, only the countries relatively untouched by the war escaped the reaction. The fact that in Europe and America peoples retired into their nations gave strength to old Japan to emerge and to crush the rising of her own new people. Japan is fighting this present war as a nation, and as a nation she will lose it. Whether she will lose it as a people remains to be seen.

China is fighting this war as a people, and so is Russia, and these two peoples will win this war.

The United States is both a nation and a people. It is our deepest division. There are those who insist that we must fight this war as a nation, and these refuse to see the war except as an encroachment upon our soil and trade. There are also those who know that we can only hope to win if we fight it as a people, and these know that it is necessary that freedom live in the atmosphere of the world if our own freedom is to be assured.

But this strange awful war is little enough understood by any of us. Why are we fighting? What brought us into this mortal combat? It was not merely that Japan attacked us at Pearl Harbor, for why did Japan attack us? It was not merely that Hitler rose to threaten the world in Europe. Why did Hitler rise and why was he able to rise? Those who would attribute the war to such superficial occasions as an attack and an uprising are romantically inclined. Realism compels us to seek further. The real roots of this war, I believe, are deep in the essential difference between those who cling to the old concept of the nation as the division unit of mankind and those who see the new concept of the peoples. Or put it otherwise, this war is the result of the necessity, at this period in man's development, for changing our nation-unit for mankind into a larger people-unit.

What compels the change? Primarily, perhaps, the discovery of the universalities of science. Science has, more than any other thing, taught us to think in terms of the universe. The very business of working with scientific methods, of thinking in scientific terms, as well as the fruits of science, have led us to universality. The scientifically mechanical means which have brought nations close together physically have at the same time destroyed the mental and spiritual boundaries of those nations, so that today there are people in many nations who are closer together, through their ideas and their feelings and desires—through their temperaments, in a word—that they are to other persons of their own nation and race. The passing of physical barriers has enabled these persons to find each other. They are not limited, any more, to one nation. If today, therefore, we seek to make nationhood the chief division of man and the chief cause for which we fight this war, we are doomed to fail, for too many have found a larger cause.

What then? Are we to do away with nations? Certainly not. All of us need a physical home to love and cherish, to improve and beautify. All of us, for conveniences in daily life, if for nothing else, need a sound and useful local political organization. There would be chaos if there
were no nations and no national governments. But to insist that nations must be the chief groups of mankind is today to insist that a small province ought to have been the limit of a man's thought yesterday, when already he thought in nations. Today, man's thought includes the globe. 

And yet as in every change, there are some whose minds belong to yesterday, and these will try with all their strength to force us back. It is a very stubborn strength, since stubbornness and lack of perceptive imagination are almost invariably teammates. The mind that only knows what it has seen is the mind that arrogates to itself, too, the valuable attribute of realism. But realism is not to be found in the reactionary mind, which lives in a dream of the past. The old gospels, who sing of the religion that was good enough for their fathers and therefore good enough for them, are, whatever their religion, simply not good enough for today and certainly not good enough for victory. If arms could win any war, they might be able to win this war, for yesterday's men can handle a gun and shoot it off as well as anybody. Unfortunately it takes wit and wisdom as well as a gun to win this war. 

**For this war, as has often been said, is revolution as well as war.** We can recognize this fact today to our advantage or we can recognize it tomorrow to our cost. The word revolution has taken on evil accumulations because it has been so often accompanied by hateful acts. But stripped of those hateful acts, it means simply a great change. A revolution of people means a great change in and among people. 

How can we use this fact about the present war to our advantage today? First by recognizing it, and this recognition implies that we recognize that our enemies are not certain nations, but certain people and that our allies, too, are certain people. Our enemies are those who refuse to allow freedom to be the atmosphere of the world, and who would instead set up one nation or one race over another. Our allies are those who demand the atmosphere of freedom and human equality for all. This is the way of life that the American people have chosen as theirs, the way which believes in the right of people to be born free and to be treated equally. A century and a half ago certain Americans expressed this way of life in words, and by and large, faltering and evading and staggering forward slowly and yet sometimes moving swiftly forward, too, we have held to that ideal as our own. It is not the way of life of our nation. A great many of our national laws and habits deny it. Many persons within our nation refuse to follow it, and do not accept it as their way of life, but still enough of the people believe it and try to follow it, so that it remains our chosen way. 

But it is not only the American way. It is also the Chinese way. Long before any American put the way into word, Chinese had put it into words. Today there are people in many nations who have chosen this way of life and who have put it into words. Russia with bloodshed and contradiction, has put it into practice, imperfect but actual. Indians in India are trying to put it into practice. In England there is the same division that there is in us between those who believe in freedom for all and those who try to put national and geographical boundaries to it. Churchill put such boundaries when he declared the Atlantic Charter did not apply to the British colonial possessions. Those words must be unsaid before we can hope to win this war, for if we cling to them we shall be fighting in yesterday and not today. 

Men's minds cannot fight in yesterday and win, however modern the weapon in their hands. Hitler has proved that to us, if we needed proof. For Hitler's great weakness is that he has led his people into narrow nationhood at a moment when the peoples of the world are ready to move forward out of nationhood. There are peculiar reasons for Germany's backwardness. Her nationhood was not achieved at a time when it should have been achieved, so that now she has not had the experience of nationalism which the other nations have had, and which a people must experience, it seems, before they can find the liberation of passing beyond nationality. 

The United States, on the other hand, went through a forcing process. The necessity for national unity in a new and dangerous land compelled us early to be a nation. Then, too, there was enough land for all of us and we could build our nation free of the competition of cramped space and old and conflicting history. We had the chance to make a nation out of whole cloth, and to cut and fit it to our own shape. Germany has been long building a nation out of bits and scraps of used stuffs. But indeed the problems of Germany have been the problems of Europe. Europe has been frozen into nations. Peoples have never been able to pass beyond those units, and it may be that their eternal conflicts are basically due to that fact, and their struggle to develop beyond it. Mentally and spiritually the peoples of Europe have long been far beyond the boundaries of jealous nations, but physically they have been forced to remain in them, new wine continually being poured into old vessels. 

**Our own history is not so much like that of Europe as it is like that of Asia.** The peoples of Asia have had wide lands, free spaces, and few national conflicts. The peoples of Asia are thinking in terms of people. Nation is not important to any of them. China is the Chinese people, India is the people of India, Russia is the people of Russia. That India and Russia have great variety among their peoples is of no significance today when nationhood increasingly means simply a political and organizational convenience. 

We differ in one important regard, however, from the peoples of Asia. Race has never been a cause for any division among those peoples. But race prejudice divides us deeply, and hampers more than anything else our development toward a free people in a free world. 

For there is a solid part of our own American people who will not sacrifice, even for the sake of victory in this war, their prejudices against color. They had rather yield to Hitler than to give up their belief in the necessity for the white man to be supreme. We had better know this and speak it out clearly; for Hitler is already counting on the argument that all white men ought to join together against Japan in order to maintain white supremacy in the world, and we have those who will betray us all when Hitler dares to come forward with his proposals, which would spare him defeat at our hands. In that day those among us who would sacrifice our victory rather than their race prejudices will be those who will speak, not openly for Hitler, it is true, but for the old nation-unit. They will talk as patriots, but they will be Hitler's henchmen. If Hitler is counting on our race prejudice to help him, Japan also counts on it to help her persuade the peoples
of Asia that we are still thinking in terms of nationhood and that we do not care for peoples. She is persuading the people of Burma and Malaya, and she is trying to persuade the people of India.

For fascism, hiding behind color prejudice, now threatens America; and what today threatens America, threatens the world. I can therefore see nothing but acute danger in the mental isolationist who insists that it is not our business what happens to the people of China or the people of India, or that what we do about the Negro here is not the business of the peoples abroad. The way we behave to our own colored people, as the way England behaves toward India, is the criterion by which we are judged by foe and ally alike.

And yet it is not too late for America to come forth by her own strength, if we can face with determination the true meaning of today's war. This war is the primary conflict between the concept of national supremacy, and this includes racial supremacy, and the concept of the equality of peoples in a free world.

If this seems simplification, let us not be afraid of simplicity. It is only the strong who dare to be simple, who dare to reduce great problems to essentials. Let us not be deceived by complexity. Too many escape into simplicity these days. For it is an escape for persons to cry, when this question of the equality of peoples is raised in India or in our own South, "Ah, but the situation is not so simple."

Why are we afraid of simplicity? Simple questions go deep and the answers, if they are honest, go deeper still. With history as our guide and life as our experience, we ought by now to know that no great stride forward is ever made for the individual or for the human race unless the complex situation is reduced to one simple question and its simple answer. In our own history when the time came for us to declare our freedom, there were complexities as grave in proportion to the age and the population as ours are now. Had we listened to those persons who in 1776 were afraid of simplicity—and there were many—we should never have become a nation. In those days a few men gathered up the tangles of fearfulness and doubt into their clenched right fists and asked the simple question, "Shall we endure injustice, or shall we be free?" There were enough people who could answer as simply, "We will be free." And we were free.

There was another moment in our history, again in proportion to the times as complex as now, when the whole economic and social structure of the South and in a measure of the country was dependent upon slave labor. The Union rocked in division. But again there were those who stood up amid all the complexities and put the simple question, "Can our Union be worthy of free men when we hold human beings as slaves?" And there were enough Americans then to answer as simply, "We cannot have slavery in America." And the Union was saved.

The time has come for simplicity again. Can our people continue a free people in a world of peoples not free? The answer is inevitably, No.

How shall we win this war then for the freedom of peoples? We can win it only by sacrificing everything we have which denies that for which we fight. This sacrifice we have not yet been willing to make. Yet spiritually we are still in the phase in which we were materially a few months ago, when we were trying to keep our creature comforts and fight the war, too. We have found out that it cannot be done. We know now that most of the money we make and the food we eat and the clothes we wear and the furniture we would like to buy and the pleasure trips we would like to take have to be given up, and we have given them up. Materially we are ready for an all-out war effort.

But spiritually we are not. We still want to win this war, keeping all the spiritual clutter to which we have clung in times past. We want to let the muddle in our minds stand while we fight. We want to freeze our souls until after the war.

It cannot be done. No great war can be won without the spirit behind the weapons. The mind must be clear and the soul free before men can fight a war for freedom and win it. It is now time, therefore, and high time to see what we are willing to give up to win this war for the freedom of our people in a free world. First of all there must be the sacrifice of race prejudice. To harbor race prejudice in our own people automatically puts us on the wrong side. We fall in our leadership today, both at home and abroad, because of the contradiction our race prejudice puts upon freedom of peoples. I have it from as widely differing sources as Yale and the University of California that the contradiction is resulting in apathy toward the war on the part of young men now going drafted. It is producing doubt and apathy in millions abroad who would otherwise be our willing allies.

And yet it is obvious that the sacrifice of prejudice will be far more difficult than any material sacrifice. The government was able to help us make the material sacrifices by simply taking things away from us. But no democratic government can forbid a man his own will, or what he thinks, as it can forbid him his share of sugar and gas and rubber. A man's will remains his own and his feelings remain his own and his thoughts and his speech remain his own—at least in a democracy. Government may, by passing laws against discrimination and by urging us to remember that our allies are mostly colored, try to help us control our prejudices, but that is all it can do. It cannot dig into us and force out of us the traitorous will and the determination not to yield up those prejudices, even to win the war. Whether that is done depends upon individual loyalty. Soul by soul only the individual soul can do it.

And yet, I say again, there are such souls. They live in England and they live here. Somehow we must make them known to the doubting peoples of the East, to our own discouraged colored people in the United States, to our apathetic young men. I do not believe much in the possibility of change in the individual human heart. Those who will not give up their prejudices which endanger our war effort far more than hoarding and bootlegging forbidden materials, will probably not change. The mind that doggedly insists on prejudice often has not intelligence enough to change. Then let us marshal the other minds and prove to our allies in India and China and everywhere in the world that at least there is a sufficient number of other white people, who will no longer tolerate imperialism and human inequality, to warrant the colored peoples throwing in their lot with the democracies now. It is the only hope left to bring these peoples to our side, and without them we cannot win this war. There may be another truce, but without them there can be no victory.
It is time for us to remember that today Japan is master of more of the world than we are, and that Japan is not white. Whether we like it or not, race has ceased to be a human division, and it is the realist’s duty to proclaim the truth. All the stubbornness of the minds that live in the past will not remove the truth from the earth. They may spend their lives in struggle against it, but the truth goes marching on. The world now belongs no more to a nation or to a race. The war is between two kinds of people. As yet we people of America are fighting on both sides and against each other. How can we win a war for freedom until we mend this division?

No man, it is true, can cut himself off clean and instantly from his past. No change among people comes in a moment’s time. There are those who must die and those who must be born. They die and they are born. If there were no war, we might wait for the process of time to do its work—teaching the generations as they appear, allowing nature to destroy prejudice by her secret slow intermingling.

Yet there is a special plea to be made now for a swifter process. Many valuable young lives will be lost unneces-

sarily if those who lead us do not understand what sort of a war this is. If they fight this war as they fought the war yesterday, we may lose our whole generation of young men. For it is now apparent that it is our young men who must bear the brunt of the fighting. It is a war in which we are using our youth in our battle line. They are reckless and strong; they are easily trained. And so they make very good soldiers. But still it would be well for our na-
tion that they are not all lost, and the only hope that they will not all be lost in a prolonged war is in this one pos-sibility—that those who lead us will see this war for what it is and will fight it for what it is—a war of one kind of people against another.

There is the real war. We fight it in every nation and on every soil. While our armies and navies and air fleets swarm over the world, we Americans at home must not for one moment lose sight of the real war, lest our youth be killed uselessly in Europe and England, in Burma and Australia, in China and the South Seas, in the Middle East and in Africa.

This is a war between peoples and the battlefield is everywhere.

**Boy in the Ghetto**

_by D. HERCULES ARMSTRONG_

"Men are moving!"—Native Son

Negro boy:
You with the well-worn windbreaker,
The six-inch blade in your pocket;
Tonight’s robberies planned,
Murder hesitant in your tattered mind—
Flip memory’s penny for the smashed
Dreams in your head.

Here on this ghetto corner—
What do you remember?
The gilded ghosts of toys,
The cheated childhood,
The dreams popping like balloons?
What do you remember?
Stark terror rides your brain;
Your fists clenched, the arm rises
Making a desperate swing.

Boy burning with anger—
Shake the violence from your eyes;
Throw that knife in the gutter!
Step where men fight to free
Your world, your dreams.
Go where men smash their ghettos
With knowing hands;
Walk where men ask no color,
Understand the heartbeat of brother:
Move where men are moving—
Your sun has not set;
Place your sun in the sky!
national origin of those building the ships, tanks, planes and guns needed to win. The man at the next bench from you may differ from you in race, color or religion . . . but he is working for victory just as you are . . . America cannot afford the loss of a single worker's skill and willingness to help the country which has helped him . . ."

Such statements cannot be called wishful idealism. They are simply a grim admission that racial discrimination hampers war production and that democracy, engaged in a fight for survival, cannot afford this handicap. Government officials are beginning to recognize, with the President, that unless the United States can find a way to use all loyal, capable labor in an efficient war effort, we may lose our democratic freedom and our independence as a nation as well. And the bitter truth is that some Negro Americans are developing an indifferent attitude toward both possibilities. Discrimination in important ranges of defense and war planning has caused widespread disillusionment among thirteen million members of our population. Negroes now know that even in a life and death struggle there are thousands of American employers and millions of workmen who do not wish the full and free cooperation of Negroes in war production.

And this is in face of the fact that there are not enough available workers in the United States to fill the needs of war industry and match the vast slave resources of the Axis powers. Including the men in the armed forces, we have in the United States today about fifty-five million employables. Close to six million of these are Negroes, more than one tenth of the potential working strength. By January 1943, seventeen million men and women will be employed in war industries, and at least five million more enrolled in the armed forces. Another year will see fully thirty million persons absorbed by war industry and the armed forces. No other figures are needed to emphasize the danger of ignoring or neglecting nearly six million workers solely because of ancient racial prejudices and stereotyped community attitudes. And yet these prejudices and attitudes persist.

The Kick Back

Even the limited effectiveness of the FEPC has stirred resentment, principally in the South. The committee's arrival for the Birmingham hearing provided a field day for demagogues of the section. Mark Ethridge, member of the FEPC and managing editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, attempted to stave off attack by placatory remarks at the opening session. He described Executive Order 8802 as an emergency war measure which was "not a social document and which had no concern with racial segregation." It was then that Mr. Ethridge added: "All the armies of the world, both of the United Nations and the Axis, could not force upon the South the abandonment of racial segregation." [See page 467.] This statement played directly into the hands of southern Negro-haters. An Alabama lawyer-politician announced that he would organize a League to Maintain White Supremacy. Governor Dixon followed with his public condemnation of the FEPC. Georgia newspapers that supported Talmadge fairly slathered with excitement as they printed pictures of the committee hearing, with Negro members sitting with whites, and actually questioning white witnesses.

It is reported on good authority that members of the powerful southern congressional bloc will try to cut coming appropriations, not only of the FEPC but also of any federal department that shows too much zeal in opposing racial discrimination in the war program. This will not be a new maneuver. Thus, in May 1941, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations took to task Arthur J. Altmeier, director of the Social Security Board and Martin Carpenter, then head of the Bureau of Employment Security, for a plan to eliminate flagrant racial discrimination in the Washington office of the Employment Service. The minutes of the hearing on the Social Security Board's appropriation (Part II, pp. 917-919) show that, in the course of a long discussion, Congressman Tarver of Georgia finally forced Mr. Altmeyer and Mr. Carpenter to abandon their defense of the new practices in the Washington office of the USES in favor of its earlier Jim Crow policies.

On July 30 the President announced that the FEPC had been transferred from the executive department to the War Manpower Commission. The President explained subsequently that the change was made to provide the Committee with increased efficiency and strength. There were those who saw in this transfer another sign of the Old South's strength. Once removed from the safety of the executive budget, the FEPC can be strangled by reduced congressional appropriations. Stripped of sufficient staff, deprived of facilities for investigating complaints, the committee can be made little more than an administrative gesture which recognizes the existence of discrimination but which is left powerless to attack it.

The past two years have proved many of the admonitions long addressed to Negro labor to be hollow mockery. Training, it has been said, solves the Negro's job problem. Yet the aspirant black worker has found many doors to training closed. When Congress appropriated funds to train workers for defense industry, it provided that "the benefits of this training shall not be denied to any person because of race, color or creed." The Office of Education was made responsible for carrying out the provisions of this legislation. Last winter the Office of Education reported to the Fair Employment Practice Committee that in eighteen southern and border states where Negroes comprise 22 percent of the total population, only 2,315 Negroes (4 percent of the trainable) were enrolled in January 1942 in pre-employment and refresher courses. Out of 4,630 training courses in southern states, only 194 were open to Negroes. In Florida, Negroes constitute 27 percent of the population, but only 206 Negroes out of a total enrollment of 12,472 were being trained in that state last February.

A similar problem has been encountered by the United States Employment Service in attempting to put into operation through regional and state administrations a policy formulated by the Bureau of Employment Security at Washington. When the public employment service was federalized in December, 1941, staff members and administrators, many of them thoroughly impregnated with anti-Negro prejudice, were "taken over" from the various states. Georgia, for instance, had several years before dismissed every Negro clerk and interviewer in the employment service, and had instituted a policy of referring Negroes only to domestic and laboring jobs. Negro job applicants had entrance to state employment offices only through littered back alleys. They waited in dark, dirty "reception rooms." They were called by their first names when interviewed. Many of the officials and interviewers responsible for these policies under state administration are now charged with making effective the President's executive order of non-discrimination in war industry.

The Labor Front

But it would be a mistake to ignore or belittle the role played by the federal government in expanding the use of Negro workers in war industry. That role has been significant from the inception of the national defense program. The Negro Manpower Service of the War Manpower Commission is headed by an able Negro economist and experienced New Deal official. A capable field staff assists him in the task of
integrating Negro labor into war production by conferences with management, labor leaders, and key government officials. It is largely due to the work of this Service that much of the progress recorded has been made.

A staff of Negro field representatives is attached to the United States Employment Service. They work through regional offices of the Social Security Board, scrutinizing service procedures in placing Negro workers and investigating complaints of racial discrimination. A consultant on minority group problems assists the director of the Bureau of Employment Security and acts as liaison between that office and the field staff of racial representatives. Handicapped by limited authority and inadequate field staff, the Fair Employment Practice Committee has been directly responsible for the employment of thousands of Negro workers in jobs previously barred to them.

But even the successes marked up by the government agencies show that the real responsibility for removing racial discrimination in war production rests with private industry, rather than with Washington. At best the government can act only as a policeman, detecting a malefactor here and there. Negro workers will find the doors to war industry open when employers make up their minds to use qualified labor, regardless of race, and when white workers decide that victory is more important than any racial prejudices they hold. For this reason the example set by the more enlightened leaders of industry and labor are all the more heartening.

The United Automobile Workers of America (CIO) have shown how racial prejudice within organized labor can be handled by courageous leadership. Twice within a year the UAW officials have faced strikes by white union members over the employment or promotion of Negro members. One strike was at the Wright Aeronautical plant in Columbus, Ohio; the other was in the Packard plant in Detroit. The outcome of the work stoppage was of more than local importance. The automobile industry employs approximately 475,000 workers, with an additional 300,000 employed in subsidiary plants. About 30,000 Negroes are employed in the auto industry proper, distributed from Baltimore to Kansas City and from Atlanta to Detroit and Chicago. The success or failure of this union in winning Negro membership and insuring equal security and seniority rights on the job will have considerable effect on the policies of other unions with respect to their Negro memberships. Prior to the defense program, all organizing campaigns of the UAW had included Negro workers. However, little effort had been made to improve the job level of the Negro membership, 75 percent of whom were employed in foundries.

With the outbreak of war and conversion of the automobile industry, much of this old work disappeared. The UAW had established an interracial committee with a veteran Negro official, Walter Hardin, as its chairman. This committee examined the racial problems developing from the conversion program and planned safeguards for retraining and upgrading Negro workers. When the first Negroes were placed on machines previously manned by white operators, a work stoppage shut down a whole section of the Packard plant.

Fortunately there was no hesitation on the part of the union leadership. R. J. Thomas, UAW president, immediately ordered the white strikers to return to work or suffer loss of union membership and employment. Within a few hours the strikers were back, with the recently promoted Negroes still at their machines. The ringleaders of the disturbance were dismissed. Similar action was taken by Mr. Thomas in the Columbus, Ohio, incident, when southern-born whites walked out of the Wright Aeronautical plant in protest against the hiring of several hundred Negroes. Again the union ruled "return to work or lose membership and jobs." After only a short delay every striker returned, and today more than two thousand Negroes are employed in that plant.

The Management Side

Management, too, in some quarters, is beginning to accept responsibility for changing undemocratic employment policies. Last year the National Industrial Conference Board circulated a questionnaire on experience with Negro workers. One hundred and two employers replied. Eighty-five stated that Negro workers produced as satisfactorily as whites; five, that the production of Negro workers was higher; twelve, that the production of Negro workers was lower. Actually, it is open to question whether there is any real difference between comparable Negroes and whites, given equal working conditions and supervision. The most authoritative studies show that the efficiency of Negro workers, like that of whites, simply reflects the efficiency of management.

Unfortunately, many personnel directors have not learned this elementary lesson and in recent months management has offered many elaborate procedures for "painless use" of Negro labor. The Sun Shipbuilding Corporation of Wilmington, Del., announced last spring that it would build a new shipyard to be manned throughout by Negroes. When it was protested that the Sun plan was merely a northern application of southern racial segregation, the company modified its original scheme in certain details. In Detroit, a group of "personnel experts" has proposed that racial segregation be established throughout war plants of that city, with separate entrances, washrooms, and working areas for Negro employees.

Obviously it is impossible in a brief article to explore thoroughly the question of Negro labor in war production. The role of government and of organized labor, the policies of management, the current disorganization of the Negro community—all these are complex subjects with many facets and profound implications. Within the limits of this article it is possible only to emphasize the grave fact that Negro labor is not being used to anything like its full capacity and that it is questionable whether the Axis can be defeated if present practices continue to hamper this nation's production drive.

The issue goes far beyond the employing of one million (or one thousand) capable Negro workers. The question at stake is whether the United States has really made up its mind that this is a war for democracy and that the war must be won. Racial discrimination against the Negro is a shameful injustice to one tenth of the population. Beyond this, however, it is evidence of a dangerous weakness, of an unwillingness to make the united effort that alone can bring victory.
concessions including the grant of provincial autonomy, went into effect on April 1, 1937. An interlude of peaceful but tentative cooperation followed. Then came the present war, and the British Imperial Government, without consulting any of the Indian Provincial Governments or the Indian Legislative Assembly, which Britain had itself created—let alone the Indian National Congress or the Moslem League—committed India to war. Francis Williams, former editor of the London Daily Herald, makes this comment in his book "Democracy's Battle":

The consent of the 310,000,000 people of British India was neither sought nor obtained... The fact that most of those able to speak for the people of India hate Nazidom and would in fact at that time have been ready to support Britain in war against it makes no difference. They were not consulted. Any talk of a "large-measure of Indian self-government" becomes in face of that stupendous fact a blatant hypocrisy which rightly damages our moral position in the world.

Most of the provincial governments resigned in protest; non-cooperation came back into the picture. Political imprisonments, including those of many who until recently had been responsible ministers, were resumed. Nehru himself was let out of jail only a few days before Pearl Harbor.

Such was the background of Sir Stafford Cripps' recent mission to India. It failed. In its farewell broadcast from India, Cripps, accounting for that failure, said: "Past distrust has proved too strong to allow of present agreement." Some of the proposals of the British War Cabinet brought to India by Cripps were no doubt unacceptable in principle to Indian leaders, but the element of distrust to which he referred was also a powerful factor in the ultimate results.

Did the Indian leaders have any legitimate cause for distrust? This question raises the bona fides of British promises and promises in respect to India. The Charter of 1833 set down pledges of equal status for all British subjects in India; and these were repeated in the Queen's proclamation of 1858. However, we find Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India in 1876-80, writing a "confidential" letter to the Secretary of State in London:

We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have the choice between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course... I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they have uttered to the ear.

The Role of the British Premier

In the two generations which have elapsed since, there have been other protestations of high-sounding principles which have been broken "to the heart." Only in part can this charge be leveled against Winston Churchill who has been characteristically outspoken in his public life.

The War Premier will go down in history as one of the supremely great and gifted leaders England has ever produced. Moreover, when Chamberlain went down with appeasement, and England, turned island fortress, fought for her life against the Nazi blitz, Churchill broke with the tight minds of his own class and drew British labor into the war cabinet in recruiting national strength to the utmost. Again, when the Nazis invaded Russia, he broke with even deeper-seated Tory prejudices in the political and industrial life of England. He encouraged, engaged, and backed Soviet resistance as kin to England's cause.

Churchill's approach to India is something else—it, too, is rooted deep in the years. But how far has his traditional imperialism been transmuted into an espousal of democracy? His final stature as a leader in war and peace must hinge on an equivalent flexibility in dealing with situations where British, rather than fascist or Japanese dominion, is at stake.

Go back ten years, and we find these recordings of Mr. Churchill's mind on India:

Most of the leading public men—of whom I was one in those days—made speeches—I certainly did—about dominion status, but I did not contemplate India having the same constitutional rights and system as Canada in any period which we could foresee... Dec. 3, 1931.

Of course, we have always contemplated it as an ultimate goal, but no one has supposed that, except in a purely ceremonial sense in the way in which representatives of India attended conferences during the war, that the principle and policy for India would be carried into effect in any time which it is reasonable or useful for us to foresee... Jan. 26, 1931.

We prescribe no theoretical limits to the ultimate potential progress of India and self-government. On the other hand we hold that the responsibility for the well-being of the India masses rests here, with this Parliament, and that it is for all practical purposes inalienable...—March 12, 1931 (drawn from "India Today," February 1941).

An equally candid reference to India was made by Mr. Churchill the following year:

The British nation has no intentions whatever of relinquishing effectual control of Indian life and liberty. We have no intentions of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the Crown of the King, which, more than all our other dominions and dependencies, constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire.

Alas, that "brightest jewel" has been increasingly wobbly in its imperial setting. A quarter of a century before, Andrew Carnegie had remarked that it then seemed to be the fashion to speak of India in that same figure of speech. "God grant that this gem," he wrote, "may not one day glow blood-red."

General Smuts, who unlike Mr. Churchill happens to know Mahatma Gandhi, said of him in 1939:

It is curious how in these days of European confusion and decline, Asia is steadily moving to the fore. Among the greatest men on the public stage of the world today are two Asians—Gandhi and Chiang Kai-shek—both moving immense masses of men along noble lines to a destiny which in essence is one with a high Christian ideal which the West has received but no longer seriously practices.

In the early 30's Mr. Churchill was calling the Indian leader "a malignant subversive fanatic" and "a seditious Middle Temple lawyer." He was saying (out of office) that "Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they stand for." That last is rather a large order, but recent events would seem to show it up as the underlying objective aimed at by official policy in India today—by means of imprisonment, whipping-post, shooting.

The moral idealism of Gandhi is shared by large numbers of civilized people outside India. The Indian National Congress stands for the principle and the hope of freedom for 350,000,000 people. Are their hopes and aspirations to be crushed? This is why Indians are asking: "What is the moral stand of the people of the United States on this issue—or do you intend to take one?" The dead hand of the past is lying heavy on relations between India and England. What is needed is a fresh approach in terms of principle and not expediency. The United States has shouldered the heavy end of material and moral responsibility for this war. Do you not owe it to yourselves, and to the great cause you champion, to bring your full influence to bear to the end that an equitable and honorable solution may be found?

(Continued on page 546)
The Economic Side

To this end realism and candor, no less than sympathetic insight, are necessary. I have already referred to the deep political distrust that divides Britain and India. There is also an economic cleavage. To what extent does this mitigate against honest efforts to do justice to India which have been made from time to time by enlightened British statesmen and by publicists of all parties?

In an address at the Town Hall in New York this year, an American leading British diplomat maintained that for all the material benefits which India has so quietly received, India "pays not a cent to England except the interest earned by British loans and a dozen ordinary commercial investments, and the cost of the small British Army in India." This statement has a familiar ring to me, for a dozen years ago, in the course of a debate at the Institute of Politics at Williamsport, I was confronted with a similar claim from a similar source. Fortunately enough, I could cite the current analyses of two American writers in sweeping refutation.*

In "India Without Fable," Kate L. Mitchell recently called attention to other aspects of the financial situation: the "inordinate expensiveness of British Indian administration"; the "military expenditures which consumed half of the entire budget"; and to—

"... the profits accruing to Britain through her control of Indian currency and banking, the manipulation of the exchange value of the rupee, the administration of the Indian tariff for the benefit of British interests, and the many other hidden profits which are derived from British control over Indian industry, trade, shipping, insurance, etc. It is no mere coincidence that... the India Act of 1935 effectively prevents any Indian interference with British control over Indian finance."

The Moral Issue

One can very well understand the political and economic sacrifices, the racial and psychological concessions involved in any voluntary relinquishment of such "glory and strength" of Empire. But in the last analysis the whole of the present struggle gets down to an issue between democracy and domination, between freedom and subjection. Political disagreements or economic conflicts can be harmonized, if first the moral ground is cleared.

No one has seen this more clearly than Gandhi; and no one has put a more sustained and unvarying emphasis upon it through the years than he. His essential plea has been, in his own words, for "a change of heart" on the part of the British rulers of India. Fantastic as it may seem to hard-boiled practitioners of power-politics, Gandhi actually believes in the principle of spiritual conversion for nations as well as for individuals. Thus on February 8, 1940, after a two-hour interview with the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, Gandhi sent a message to the London Daily Herald with the following characteristic appeal:

"Britain's moral victory will be assured when she decides upon a mighty effort to abandon her immoral hold on India. Then her other victory will follow as day follows night. For then the conscience of the world will be on her side. No

* "When the Crown took over in 1858, it charged the East India Company's $68,000,000 of capital stock and $143,000,000 of working credit forthwith to the Indian people, as a national debt under which to begin a happy existence (and interest paying) as an imperial domain. For an analogy one would have to imagine the inhabitants of the Louisiana territory charged with the price of the purchase. The debt was made an insuperable item by adding $260,000,000 to cover costs and damages of the Indian Mutiny.

The Indian government gave England the opportunity to demand the highest interest on the liability by declining to guarantee India's national debt, although every leader knew she would never be allowed to default. The debt has gone up in a succession of bonds, with no sinking fund to reduce it: today it is $3,750,000,000 or $12.50 per capita. One billion dollars were added to help in the World War." (£153,000,000-

Upton Close in Worlds Work (July, 1920).

Endpapers show that England is taking £150,000,000 every year out of India with no commercial or material return. This has been going on so long that India has become the most impoverished country in the world."—Herbert A. Gibbons in his "New Map of Asia."

makeshift such as is now being offered can stir India's heart or the world's conscience."

Since then the pendulum has swung forward and then far back in reaction.

On September 25, 1942, an Associated Press dispatch from New Delhi reported:

"Indian mobs have been machine-gunned five times from the air since the independence movement broke into violence last month, General Sir Alan F. Hartley, deputy British Commander-in-Chief in India disclosed today."

So we have Britain simultaneously claiming the role of champion of world democracy and human freedom, and seemingly denying both in India—and before the world. Upon the margin of difference between a familiar and an unfamiliar tyranny it is presumably sought to enlist the full moral and material support of the people of India, and evoke a spirit of sacrifice in behalf of the most fateful struggle for human freedom the world has ever known.

China, India, Britain

Surely this can no longer be regarded as an issue of concern to Britain and India alone: for it has a vital immediate bearing upon the cause not only of the British Commonwealth of Nations but of the United Nations as a whole. None of the United Nations perhaps has realized the peril of the Anglo-Indian impasse more clearly or sought to resolve it more courageously than China. On his special visit to India last February, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had interviews with the British Viceroy, with military and civil officers, as well as with Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, and other Indian leaders. On the last day of his visit he issued a message from which I quote two passages addressed respectively:

To India

"I venture to suggest to my brethren, the Indian people, that in this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind. For only in a free world will the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. . . . The vast majority of the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. . . ."

To Britain

"I sincerely hope and I confidently believe that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them..."
real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for the securing of victory, but also a turning point in their struggle for India's freedom.

Regardless of the temporary blackout of General Chiang's hopes and expectations, it is a fact of happy augury that India and China, which from time immemorial have been the natural leaders of Asia (and which between them comprise approximately one half of mankind), have after a long interval achieved active relations—side by side for democracy and freedom, and for the rehabilitation of international morality in a world engulfed in brutality and threatened with chaos.

Spiritually India and China confront this grim struggle with kindred attitudes. For more than six years China, single-handed, inadequately armed and equipped, and still to be effectively supported by her new Allies, uncompromisingly gave battle to Japanese aggression and withstood it. She continues today to do so effectively; showing a stamina, a morale, a fortitude and resilience which only a people of great inner maturity and adherence to principles could have displayed. Because of her peculiar political situation, India, so far, has played no such active part in the common struggle. But from the very beginning she has made it clear by word and deed that she could have no part or lot in the axis ideology with its gospel of violence and systematic cruelty, its denial of human rights and its negation of human values. It would have been strange indeed otherwise, for India is the acknowledged mother of spiritual idealism, and her greatest son—The Buddha—is still known and acclaimed over the larger part of Asia as the "Lord of Compassion."

Against Japan's aggression and brutality, in China and elsewhere, the Indian leaders have taken and maintained an unequivocal stand. Back in 1931, the Indian National Congress denounced the Japanese attack on Manchuria, and called for an economic boycott of Japan. India's great poet, Tagore, scathingly denounced Japan for having betrayed the spiritual tradition of Asia, and said a Pan-Asia created by Japan could only be "built upon a mountain of skulls." Nehru's indignation has found repeated expression. Gandhi said in an interview that he would rather be shot than cooperate with Japan in its scheme of conquest. Such is the real sentiment and temper of the authentic leaders—and of thinking Indians. But what chance have they of effective functioning?

Surely the time has come to end the long drawn out agony of India—for her own sake, for the sake of England, and for the sake of victory against the Axis—and to help make possible the birth of a better world after the war. For India has become the acid test of the integrity of the professions of the United Nations regarding their war and their peace aims. Japan's fraudulent slogan of "Asia for the Asians" derives a spurious plausibility from the unhappy case of India. The Burmese, the Malaysians, the Indo-Chinese, the Dutch East Indians—all temporarily submerged—are waiting and watching. So also are the Arabs, the Syrians, the Egyptians and the Persians—caught between the cross-fires of a titanic duel. A liberated India would strengthen and sustain their morale as nothing else.

The old alleged antithesis of Eastern spirituality and Western materialism has been knocked into a cocked hat by the partnership of Germany and Japan. What is needed today is a real synthesis of the authentic spiritual and humanistic tradition represented by India and China, with the democratic tradition and scientific techniques of the West—for the common good of a redeemed humanity.

* For a clarification of what might have been construed as conflicting statements on Gandhi's part, see "A Week with Gandhi" by Louis Fischer, Survey Graphic for October.—Ed.
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European influence on native society when it shatters the native tribal tradition and folkways. Therefore the colonial reforms he is carrying on aim at conserving native political institutions as a means for preserving their cultural and moral traditions. If the liberation of the native is to succeed, he thinks, the Negro must become conscious of the intrinsic value of both his traditions and institutions, which should be developed and not destroyed. "The native," Eboué writes, "must be considered as a human being, godchild of his historical tradition, member of his family and of his tribe, capable of progress in the framework of his natural institutions, and probably lost if he is detached from this background. We must preserve his institutions, and develop his sense of dignity and responsibility."

Eboué stands for the full emancipation of the African Negro. To him, however, political self-determination is the last and not the first step in the pursuit of this goal. Nor can emancipation come by government action alone. The native must emancipate himself by becoming increasingly aware of his responsibility toward himself and toward his fellows. A spiritual as well as a material progress is necessary before he can make the most of political independence. The most advanced white race has the moral duty to help spread higher standards of civilization and better material conditions. This partnership should be the fundamental basis of interracial relations in Africa. Eboué's practical proposals for the reform of French colonial policy are not likely to satisfy the proponents of radical political emancipation. Eboué has always been a moderate. In his study on "Native Policy in Equatorial Africa," which contains the quintessence of his thought, Eboué did not even mention the possibility that French sovereignty over her colonies should be abolished. What he proposed was not political independence, but a progressive development of native participation in local self-administration.

Eboué's first decree as governor of Free French Africa aimed at establishing a new status for the educated natives, the upper class with which the French administration is bound to collaborate in the interest of the native population. The administration should strictly refrain from destroying native institutions, or direct interference in tribal affairs, indeed should supervise the population through the intermediary of their native leaders. But this group should expand to comprise not only the tribal chiefs but the educated, professional, and business elements of the population. These should increasingly participate in the administration of urban communities as well as furnish leaders for the villages. Another decree provides for the establishment of native courts composed exclusively of native judges.

Eboué, above all, is anxious to improve the living conditions of the natives. He is decisively opposed to the recruitment of native peasants and craftsmen for plantation and factory industrial work. The bulk of the population should remain on the soil, living in the framework of their natural institutions. If agricultural products, such as cotton, are grown on plantations, the work must be done by native cooperative societies as well as corporations. Where recruitment of native labor for work in mines and public enterprises is unavoidable, entire native families must be settled and established in the new communities. The new administration seeks to defend the social interests of the native population and protect them from the ruthless exploitation either of individual white capitalists or colonial corporations.

The Free French are thus stressing, even in wartime, this important civil side of their responsibilities. Aiming at the long term reconstruction of native society, they have created new native schools for general, technical, and professional instruction. Eboué has undertaken this program in collaboration with the missionary societies, which receive moral and financial support from the government. Government and missionary schools together endeavor to create a native middle

(Continued on page 550)
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EBOUÉ AND THE FIGHTING FRENCH
(Continued from page 549)

class composed of teachers, foremen, and skilled workers trained in this field. He also believes that the moral progress of native society is linked to the wholesome Christianization of its membership, but deprecates, however, any wholesale and superficial campaigns of proselytism, since he knows from experience that the product is neither a good Christian nor a healthy pagan.

Eboué's colonial "Revolution" is a tedious work which will not be accomplished in a few months or a few years. It is, however, carried on by a man who not only knows the country and the natives by long experience, but who loves Africa and its dark inhabitants with all his soul. Eboué's program is aimed at protecting them against exploitation, at humanizing the methods of colonial administration, at improving interracial relations, and at setting up a new moral and material standard for the black man. The same forces which saved half the continent from Axis conquest—British and Belgian as well as French possessions in East and Central Africa—are by a happy turn of fate simultaneously fore-shadowing a new Africa for Africans.

AFRICA'S HOPE OF DEMOCRACY
(Continued from page 521)

be accomplished not only for the good of the African but for a sound, stable, world economy. The new emphasis must be productivity, with a fair share of profits distributed locally to raise both government revenues and the native standard of living. And to the extent that this is done, two of the worst problems of the colonial regime will be on their way to solution—the problems of land and labor.

In the last twenty years, sustained effort, particularly by the League of Nation's Mandates Commission and the International Labor Office, has resulted in considerable improvement on both counts. Nonetheless, conditions are still almost incredibly bad in both these basic matters. They vary, of course, from colony to colony, but everywhere there prevails that objectionable practice of the color differential in wages. Not only is the native restricted to certain levels of employment, but even where he performs the same work, he is paid on a widely different wage scale; as are also the few native white collar civil servants as over against the white civil servants.

Wherever there is a considerable resident white population, the natives tend to be crowded off the most productive lands, and restricted to areas disproportionate to their relative numbers. This situation is particularly flagrant in East and South Africa, and is at its worst in Southern Rhodesia. There, 95 percent of the population is allowed only 18 percent of the poorest land for sustenance.

In many areas, including even mandated territories, taxes amount in practice far too often to indirect forced labor and natives must work weeks to secure enough currency to pay them. Meanwhile the segregation of the natives, culminating in the color bar and pass laws of the Union of South Africa, work other hardships and spiritual damage. Minimum wage regulation is recent and in general set too low; minimum hours, and child labor controls are practically non-existent. Without aid of group or individual credit, most natives are hopelessly excluded from any chance of investment in land or tools or small scale manufacturing. Such things are today regarded as the basic economic rights of man, and some provision must be made to guarantee their extension to the bulk of the African population.
The Issue of Self-Government

Then there are the vexed and vexing political aspects of the situation. Let us examine briefly the background of African political aspirations. Progressive native opinion everywhere aspires to self-control. For a number of reasons, West Africa has been the seat of the strongest and most sustained efforts toward political independence. British West Africa, comprising four territories—Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone—has a total area of 496,711 square miles, a population of approximately 25,000,000, an annual revenue estimated at over twelve million pounds and that estimated at over fifty million. To appreciate what this means, compare British West Africa with the ten remaining British holdings in Africa: Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, N. Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Somaliland, Zanzibar, Bechuanaland, Basuto and Swazi lands. Their combined area is nearly three times as large. But their combined population is less by over a third—16,500,000, with revenue and trade respectively of 10,000,000 and 40,000,000 pounds. Moreover, West Africa, as Dr. Rita Hinden points out in "A Plan for Africa" (prepared for the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society), is the section of the continent least overshadowed by extensive white settlement. Its "racial progress, therefore, has been least halted by racial conflict." As the most productive and assertive section, it naturally has taken on a certain leadership in African self-expression.

The West African National Congress is the first organized movement (1922) to propose a federation of colonies, direct electoral representation, and eventual popular self-government. "War," the West African Students' Congress, founded in London also in 1922, has gradually come to include students from all over Africa, and has become representative of progressive African thought. More and more this body of native opinion takes issue with official and even liberal European views as to a political program for Africa.

Theoretically, most colonial statesmen and writers agree on the desirability of ultimate self-government of the colonies; indeed, the colonial governments themselves have not dissented from this point of view. There was a time when Bentham frankly said that "colonies were a burden rather than an asset"; and James Mills said that "colonies cause war and in time of war are an additional expense." But in contrast, liberal opinion today, as Africans sense it, sticks too closely to the familiar tune of gradualism and stays too much within the restricted orbit of colonial paternalism. Instances in point are "A Plan for Africa" (1941), already mentioned, and an even more recent and exhaustive product of liberal thought about African colonial policy—"The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint," a study of the Committee on Africa sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. [See page 527.] They are laudable attempts to stimulate thinking on the importance of Africa and its people in the present-day world, but African critics feel that they both defer too much to the currently accepted formula of tutelage and the policy of waiting till the "colonies are ready for self-direction." This ignores the lessons of history that nations and peoples have found their way to self-direction and control only through having the freedom to make their own mistakes and to learn from them. The African progressives believe that, in the final analysis, Africa also must find her way as England and America found theirs.

A full democratic program for Africa has nowhere been evolved and there is no sign of it in the future under paternalistic control. Nigeria, for instance, is the largest British dependency, with a native population of 21,000,000. It has a large contingent of professionally educated men trained in England and America. But, with fewer than 4,000 resident Europeans, its Legislative Council has four Europeans to each African member. Only four out of the ten

(Continued on page 352)
native representatives are elected, and to vote for these an annual income of £100 is necessary. The Executive Council has no elected African representative whatever. Political representation in other colonies, where it exists at all, is similarly inequitable.

In spite of all the placations of token recognition on legislative councils here and handpicked native councils there—and even in spite of the laudable quarter-step of the recognition of native chieftain’s authority by “indirect rule” — the African’s share in self-government remains little more than nominal. The most vocal of all our current grievances, therefore, is a rising demand for more political participation. Native movements for political independence have been sporadic but deep-seated since 1929. Many African leaders, the counsel of their liberal European friends notwithstanding, regard political recognition as the first, rather than the last, step in any program of African reform. They regard Africa, from intimate historical knowledge, as a country, by and large, not inexperienced in local self-government, and they see no reason why the modern educated African cannot participate skillfully in legislation and self-direction.

Moreover, no effective utilization of the growing number of educated Africans is possible except by way of their substantial admission to the higher administrative civil service as well as to the inner ranks of the governing circles. Even war diversions and censorship have not been able to stifle completely this growing native movement for political participation. Its more positive reappearance may be confidently predicted as an after-war phenomenon. Indeed, the wise anticipation of such inevitable demands would serve the double purpose of generating a more effective war morale among the African masses and of securing much needed active cooperation of the educated elite in post-war reconstruction.

Africa’s Three Best Hopes

Public education, along with public health and the conservation of natural resources, are Africa’s three best hopes for the future. The meager provisions available for education, even if we combine the resources of the missionary schools with the few government institutions, must give all concerned with Africa’s welfare and progress grave concern. The war has stopped African students from proceeding abroad. This makes all the more imperative the speedy augmentation of colonial facilities for professional, technical, and vocational training. Yet except in Free French Africa, this is being left largely for after-war consideration. Greater rather than less educational contact is needed between central governments and their colonies, and must take place, unless grave alienation of the educated native classes is to be risked.

For while the educated African is turning with greatly increased respect toward his native traditions and seeks from them constructive values for the sound guidance of the masses of the people, he is no less certain of his share in the modern sciences; in the techniques of Western civilization, and in the common cultural heritage of mankind. He is jealous, therefore, of any restriction placed on his access to them. In the years just before the war, largely because of interest in scientific and technical education, but also in preference for an atmosphere free from direct colonial tutelage, a growing number of African students turned to the United States for their training. Even with war restrictions, over sixty such students from all parts of Africa are still in this country. They look to America for a democratic understanding of the African case. Particularly they look to their racial brothers, the American Negroes, for sympathetic interest and cooperative help in the happy solution of Africa’s rightful destiny.

Nnamdi Azikiwe, native Nigerian and alumnus of Lincoln and Columbia Universities, has become, as editor of the influential West African Pilot, one of the leading spokesmen of the New Africa. He has enunciated a five-point program of reform needed for Africa’s regeneration from a land of political bondage and economic serfdom into an Africa with a merited and recognized place in the family of nations:

1. **Governmental Reorganization**, to ensure effective native political participation toward the ends of popular self-government and political independence.

2. **Labor Reform**, to ensure the protection of the native from exploitation either by the state or private industry, and, for his benefit, fundamental worker’s rights and security as in other countries.

3. **Land Reform**, to guarantee its proper use for the benefit of the whole community, the proper conservation of its natural resources, and the prevention of its misuse either by expropriation or excessive foreign profits.

4. **Mass Education**, to elevate the standard of living and ensure the proper induction of the native into the modern world.

5. **Spiritual Freedom**, to reassert the values of Africa’s own cultures in fruitful but unforced combination with the civilization and culture of Western Europe.

Stated in 1937, in his book “Renascent Africa,” these constructive points seem almost a direct anticipation of the Atlantic Charter which, it is to be hoped, will implement Africa’s freedom for her own sake and that of the world democracy.

Thoughtful Africans, though conscious of the obvious benefits of the intrusion of Western civilization into Africa, and of such recent reforms as the ILO labor conventions and the 1940 Colonial and Development Act, are, nevertheless, more and more critical of the balance sheet. They find it unfavorable: first, because Africa through exploitation and expropriation has been forced in years past to pay a terrifically disproportionate cost; and second, because the benefits not yet having reached in any considerable measure the bulk of the population have scarcely scratched the surface. They also see little prospect of realizing professed objectives of African self-development under the continuance of colonial paternalism. They think the present crisis, properly utilized, holds the key to a constructive and beneficial revision of colonial policy and program, especially if administered and guaranteed internationally. They hold, too, that:

1. There cannot be that physical and spiritual cohesion of the United Nations necessary to prosecute a total war when some of its members are free and others slaves.

2. The war aims of the United Nations will remain confused, even to themselves, until the outlines of a definite colonial policy have been worked out and adopted.

3. The United States, as signatory of the Atlantic Charter, cannot escape responsibility in matters of colonial policy and settlements.

4. Africa has a definite world position to assume above that of being merely an exploited vineyard of the world’s raw materials.

In dedicating, then, our hopes and energies to these goals, African leaders are convinced that the good intentions, good faith, and long term interests of the democracies rest on an acceptance of such a policy and its consistent fulfillment.
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(Continued from page 467)

A Roof Over the Head

The Detroit riots which occurred when Negroes attempted to move into the Sojourner Truth houses, a federal housing project built expressly for Negroes, demonstrates the unreasonable antipathy which racial segregation engenders. All the more acute when, as there, this is aggravated by a housing shortage in a great war production center.

It must be borne in mind that both in the North and South, Negroes must be segregated when it comes to living accommodations. In every large city in America there is a black ghetto. As a rule it is an overcrowded area, the limits of which are more or less rigidly fixed. It is usually an area where deterioration and decay have set in, and which has been abandoned by progressively lower income groups of white people. Negroes are thus handicapped as tenants by their lack of mobility, the power when dissatisfied to move from one neighborhood to another. As a result, the areas in which they have to live are subject to vicious rent exploitation.

Even in the low cost housing projects of the federal government, the pattern of segregation has been followed save in those northern cities where enlightened citizens of both races have entered vigorous protest. The FHA, designed to aid citizens in acquiring homes, has refused loans to Negroes who desired to purchase houses, except in areas where Negroes constituted more than 50 percent of the residents.

Moving is an American phenomenon. It is one of the symbols of change in economic and cultural status. From shantytown across the railroad tracks or the gas house district, the Irish have moved to safer and better neighborhoods, the Italians from "little Italy," the Jew from the East Side. This "getting ahead" process has at times met with resistance, but no group has been so securely penned in as the Negro. Neither cultural attainment, educational achievement, nor economic independence has availed him. The badge of color condemns him to live in an area neglected by municipal authorities, lacking educational and recreational facilities, poorly lighted, inadequately policed and, often as not, the playground of degenerate whites who find there an anonymity impossible in the white world.

It is the presence of the black ghetto which is responsible for the myth that the Negro depreciates property. As a rule, property has reached a high degree of depreciation before the Negro is permitted to occupy it. Nearly every study of rent in American cities has shown that Negroes are paying more than the previous white occupants of the same dwellings, and a rate higher than that charged for similar housing in other sections of the same cities. In war industry areas, special housing for Negroes also serves to limit the employment of Negroes in some cases and in others to exclude them from employment altogether.

The ghetto, wherever it is permitted or established, whether in Warsaw or Chicago, is designed to accomplish the same purpose—to perpetuate the inferior status of its dwellers, to place them outside the pale. The stigma which segregation attaches to the Negro makes escape a hazardous undertaking. Attempts by individuals to move into less crowded and more desirable neighborhoods have met with violent opposition leading in some instances to bloodshed.

New York is one of the cities where, after much agitation, low cost federal houses have been open to both races. The New York experience indicates that the apprehensions of those who oppose such an innovation are groundless. In the great low cost housing projects there, Negroes and whites live together peaceably with no more friction than would occur if the occupants were all of the same race and color.

(Continued on page 554)
The Bankruptcy of the Dual System

If World War I brought its vast trek of migrant workers to the northern industrial districts, World War II has seen the importation of segregation by many war production centers. This must be looked at against the background of social history—especially the bitter struggle over the years against its spread to the North.

Segregation had been resorted to in the South in sequence to slavery when war and reconstruction had run their course. As northbound migration filtered in from the cotton lands, the tendency was to accept segregation as the most likely solution for problems of housing, employment, recreation, health, hospitalization, and so on, which were aggravated by the Negro’s arrival in northern urban districts. Other motivations were at work in the early 1900’s when, as we have seen, bi-racialism was accepted as a compromise which looked like a solution. It was endorsed by many Negro leaders who despaired of ever attaining complete integration in American life. They honestly felt that it offered opportunities in the various fields of social and civic endeavor. This pattern still holds widely among some churches, and (the exceptions proving the rule) among the Y’s, Boy Scouts, and so on. Moreover, with vast reaches of untouched neglect, philanthropists and educators saw in specialized institutions the chance to break ground and get something done. So long as these have been regarded as demonstrations, setting the pace, their contribution has been a cumulative one; but as a general social program, bi-racialism had turned out to be a dead-end alley by the 1920’s.

In a democracy, segregation on the basis of race and color is the social façade of repression and exploitation. It has no other raison d’être. Equality of treatment is unattainable under a system of racial segregation, no matter how conscientiously it is attempted. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the public schools, from the elementary grades to the state universities and colleges.

There is no American public school system where separation of the races is maintained which insures facilities for the education of Negroes equal to those of whites. Not even in the Capital City of Washington, where the separation up to the administrative post of assistant superintendent is complete and there are colored members of the Board of Education.

The public school system is maintained largely by taxation on real property and there are definite legal limitations on the amount of tax monies which may be allotted for that purpose. To build, equip, staff and maintain duplicate high schools on the basis of race and color, including technical high schools, high schools of commerce and of music and art, together with trade schools of various types would create an intolerable tax burden. Not the most ardent segregationist would propose such a thing. As a result, educational opportunities for Negro children are inevitably inferior to those provided for white children.

It is not that Negroes cannot acquire an education under the segregated system. The quality of the personnel of the Negro schools in Washington is not surpassed in any public school system in America. From these schools have come brilliant young men and women. But the very fact of separation creates a spiritual hiatus between the races, fostering in the one a feeling of inferiority, and in the other an equally insidious superiority complex. It breeds resentment, suspicion and humiliation, and undermines the Negro’s faith in democratic government itself.

There was a widespread protest the country over when some years ago the D.A.R. refused Constitution Hall as a place for Marian Anderson to give a concert. It was not so generally known that the reason she had turned to Constitution Hall was the existence of a rule against admitting Negroes to the auditorium of a public white high school—the only one large enough for her concert.

In rural schools and consolidated county schools, segregation means too often no schools for colored children or inferior schools with inferior equipment. In the South it is common to see little colored children trudging along the road to school, wastefully watching white children from the same community riding by in buses.

When it comes to education on the college and university level, our base line is the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Gaines case, which declared that the exclusion of a Negro from the law school maintained by the state of Missouri was in violation of the equal rights provision of the Constitution. Hitherto, a Negro could not receive professional training in law, medicine, engineering, architecture, social work, in any state university in the South. Since that decision, courses in law and social work have been provided in a few state colleges for Negroes. But the question arises: What will happen if a qualified Negro youth in Mississippi or Georgia or Arkansas or Louisiana or Texas or any southern state applies for admission to his state university for graduate training in engineering, architecture or medicine? Will the state legislature establish engineering schools or medical schools or schools of architecture or graduate schools of applied science for one or two or possibly five or ten Negroes? And the answer is “No.” It would be a criminal waste of money.

Several southern states, recognizing the palpable injustice of this situation, have attempted to meet it by creating a fund to pay the tuition and travel expenses of Negro graduate students in some non-segregated university outside the state. These funds are pitifully small; hardly sufficient to meet the current demand. What will these states do when hundreds of qualified Negroes seek graduate training? The increasing costliness of Negro institutions as they approach equality is the impasse of segregation.

Even war, in which the very existence of the nation is at stake, has not been sufficient to effect any substantial change in the pattern, although adherence to the policy of racial segregation is a source of constant embarrassment abroad, and strife, misunderstanding, and violence at home. Recently Negroes were admitted to training for the navy, but their service must await the building of ships for all-Negro crews, because it is the belief of the navy, if it is not its wish, that Negro boys and white boys cannot get along together. Only after a bitter fight by the National Maritime Union were Negroes permitted to serve above a menial capacity with white crews on freighters, tankers, and merchant ships. These mixed crews have done a magnificent job, without friction, in carrying needed supplies to all parts of the world. Of more than two thousand merchant seamen lost with their ships, over two hundred have been Negroes.

Wherever racial segregation is the accepted practice, not only the Negro but the nation suffers. To provide equal but separate opportunities for Negro youth in every branch of the armed services would entail staggering costs. No such plan is contemplated. There is no intention of giving the Negro equality of opportunity. And yet the cry is for men—and more men—to defend democracy against its enemies.

The policy of segregation when followed to its logical end sometimes has weird results. Take the predicament in which the Red Cross Society found itself a few months ago. Following the pattern of the armed services in segregating Negroes, but in defiance of every scientific pronouncement, it ordered the segregation of plasma from the blood of Negro donors.

Racial segregation in the modern world is an anachronism. It is not in keeping with the spirit of the times, nor is it consonant with the purposes for which this war is being waged throughout the world. The increasing racial tension in this
country is due primarily to the growing consciousness of new world forces everywhere which are moving against customs, traditions, and laws that fetter the fundamental rights of men.

Not all Americans have been oblivious to our inconsistency and our danger. An important section of the press, leaders in the labor movement, particularly in the CIO, various organizations dedicated to the preservation of democracy, and influential individuals, have sought to erase the color line in America’s war effort. With singular unanimity Negro leadership has protested against restrictions which prevent the Negro from rendering his full measure of devotion to his country.

There has been adjustment—but no renunciation of the principle of segregation. America has defiled color and has been unable or is as yet unwilling to accept the implications of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. And in this epochal struggle for a free world for free men, the shadow of the slave tradition still hangs over us and dims our way.

STRIKING THE ECONOMIC BALANCE
(Continued from page 498)

use of Negro workers in the past has been based upon lack of acquaintance with their abilities on the part of employers, and a sense of group competition on the part of entrenched white labor. Already both of these have been considerably modified by the exigencies of the war. In the first instance, the acute demand for labor itself has brought its lesson, even though slowly and grudgingly, to the new employers of Negroes. In the second instance, labor has been finding Negro workers increasingly important assets in the maintenance of their position in our economic structure. It is obviously a sounder economy to include and protect Negro workers in an equitable distribution of jobs than to lose the benefits to labor generally of an effective bargaining power. From the point of view of employers it also can be a sounder economy to include Negro workers in a normal industrial program than to have to divert increasing amounts of their profits to taxation to provide unemployment relief. As for Negro workers themselves, the wisest strategy would be to insist upon more and more opportunities for improving their skills, and to develop their relations with labor.

If we are enlightened as a nation, many of the dangers of the last post-war readjustment can be avoided. It probably will require the strong, regulatory hand of government to engineer the transition, but economists are pointing out that a sound, balanced industrial economy is possible with the resources at hand. The post-war need for civilian goods and services; the expansion of such new industries as airplane construction; the public works reserve; the vast shortage of housing and general construction will create demands that can keep industry vitally engaged.

It is estimated by one authority that by 1945 one fourth of all the dwellings in the United States will be more than fifty years old. Mass production probably will be applied to housing; and the southern cities, if they are wise, will share in this vast industry.

The future of the Negro in industry will be influenced by significant changes in the structure of the Negro population and in the changing structure and philosophy of labor itself. Once the Negro population was very largely an undifferentiated labor group with what appeared to be a fixed and limited relationship to the American economy. Better schooling, and the movement from farm to city, from field and kitchen to industry and business have speeded social and economic class differentiation within the group, with the result that class relationships cutting across racial lines are increasingly important.

Since war needs have given labor itself a new dignity, there is less apology for this class identification and a larger sense
STRIKING THE ECONOMIC BALANCE
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of responsibility for the ends of production. In thus escaping some of the former exploitation, labor also has escaped a paternalism which usually was beneficial at least in intention. The result has been a larger burden of responsibility on labor for its own destiny as a group, and for individual workers.

The ends of labor, as an equal partner in the production of goods and wealth, cannot be served without the cooperation of all workers. This is in sharp contrast to the old craft union philosophy based, like the old industrial monopoly, upon the economy of scarcity. The new philosophy, as a part of its own inherent logic, takes in Negro workers, and this logic has been fortified in some of the powerful new labor organizations by penalties for failure to enforce the policy of non-discrimination, and by a growing political solidarity.

Negro workers are now recognizing in the new unions the most strategic weapon for their own advance. Even in the South the disposition of labor has been increasingly to give greater value to class than to race, as evidenced in the Birmingham area where there are more than one hundred racially mixed locals, and in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union with its mixed membership.

ALONG WITH THESE INTERNAL CHANGES THERE IS, FINALLY, another factor that will affect Negro labor and white labor alike. This is the post-war structure of world economics. The competition of labor in areas of the world with lower living standards than ours, the freedom of exchange of goods, the creation of new markets, the disappearance of old ones—all these will have their repercussions here. There can be no final success, however, for the nation's war effort if it leaves any class of labor enslaved, or exploited, or rejected. In this lies the hope of the Negro for a status consistent with the principles of American democracy.

MEXICO'S DEMONSTRATION OF DEMOCRACY
(Continued from page 516)

Labor Reform

SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH AGRARIAN REFORM IT WAS ALSO INDISPENSABLE TO SOLVE, WITH LIKE JUSTICE AND EQUITY, THE LABOR QUESTION. THE BASIS FOR THIS WAS ALSO LAID DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1917 (ARTICLE 123), LATER IMPLEMENTED BY THE GENERAL LABOR LAW, WHICH IS DESIGNED TO COVER EVERY ASPECT OF THE SUBJECT.

Thanks to these measures, Mexico now has a labor legislation which can gradually be put into full operation and which may warrantably be classed among the most equitable and progressive of any in the world. It respects the legitimate rights of capital, but also protects those of the workers. It prescribes eight hours as a maximum work-day, and sets a fair minimum wage. It institutes compulsory collective bargaining; it recognizes the right to associate in labor unions and to strike under stated conditions. It protects women and children by regulating their working conditions; establishes compulsory vacations and holidays as well as workman's compensation. It has also set up Labor Tribunals, boards of consolidation and arbitration, to adjudicate all conflicts arising between employers and workers.

When adopting this stand in defense of the rights of the workers, so exploited by employers, Mexico has necessarily had to meet with the opposition of certain big international trusts. But the fair and impartial attitude of the Mexican government which granted the foreigner identical rights with its nationals, demanding only respect for the laws, has finally prevailed and has met with the approval of many prominent
leaders in the Americas. Not in vain was the recent declaration of Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles on the subject of the gigantic struggle for the furtherance of human dignity and democracy in which all the free peoples of the earth are now engaged: "The age of imperialism is ended. . . . This is in very truth a people's war. It is a war which cannot be regarded as won until the fundamental rights of the peoples of the earth are secured."

Social Reform

Furthermore, it was necessary to overthrow militarism, which constituted an insurmountable barrier to democratic life. The gains and advances on the path of progress, so hardly achieved, had to be safeguarded against military coup or the attack of armed factions, in order that the conduct of the nation's affairs might rest solely on the free expression of the will of the majority. To this end, the army, which formerly constituted a special caste within the state, has been made democratic. It has been converted into the self-effacing supporter of our national institutions, and at the same time its mission of guarding the nation's integrity and dignity has been emphasized. An attempt has been made to bring to the consciousness of all the citizens of the country the necessity that "Effective Suffrage," the slogan of the Revolution, become daily a more certain reality. The introduction of compulsory military service, soon to become an accomplished fact, will contribute to strengthening Mexico's spirit and system, and help to sweep away the last vestiges of old militarism.

Mexico has set up democratic institutions to protect the rights of the citizens, outstanding among them the guarantee of Amparo. Although it derives from habeas corpus, this guarantee possesses features which have been considered worthy of being copied by other nations, for instance, Republican Spain. Amparo is a shield against abuses of power. The citizen feels protected, even when face to face with powerful public officials, because he has open to him a remedy by which a judge, with only the petitioner's appeal and a pen before him, can afford him protection against any attempt at oppression.

Mexico's Democratic Contribution

These three campaigns which I have sketched and which form the substance of the revolutionary progressive reforms of Mexico are, then:

1. The crusade of liberalism against the overmastering spirit of a Church which, because of its intervention in politics, endeavored to keep the nation on a semi-feudal level.

2. The agrarian and labor reforms which satisfied the hunger for lands and thirst for justice of the dispossessed and enslaved masses.

3. The fight against militarism and "bossism" so that citizens may live under no dread other than the wholesome fear inspired by transgression of the laws.

These constitute our country's real contribution to democracy.

It is Latin America, called upon to face problems similar to our Mexican situation and that has, too, its tradition of irreconcilable elements hostile to the full development of the democratic way of life, that will find the gains achieved by Mexico of special significance.

Mexico, in this sense, is considered an example, a storehouse of experience, whose efforts and achievements, as embodied in laws, should save many of our American nations from the painful trials which Mexico has had to undergo. We ought to add that even the United States itself has unquestionably felt the influence of the Mexican movement in behalf of social justice. That nation should acknowledge, in turn, that in the upbuilding of the democratic movement and the recapture of social rights in the Americas, Mexico's attitude has been consistently constructive and that she has helped to develop confidence in the world's democracies.
the Negro Front was one of the first organized groups to combat the Nazi-Fascists in Brazil. There was a time in the early stages of the issue when the Negro's was a loud voice, almost alone, raised against the peril and menace of Berlin. No one can deny that the Negro Front was the precursor of the anti-Nazi-Fascist campaign, pioneering Brazil's active alignment with the United Nations in the cause of democracy.

Three Pages of Brazilian History

Glance back over the pages of Brazilian history, and we can see two outstanding roles of the darker groups in the national development. The one better known is manifested in the Afro-Brazilian elements in our cultural life—our music, language and folklore, the dance, folk customs, cuisine. The other, not nearly so well known, is the equally or even more important influence upon the political life of Brazil. Consider three earlier periods in which the latter was crucial:

The colonial struggle for the Portuguese control of Brazil (1641-1661).

The independent slave settlements of the Palmares (1630-1697), a black republic organized in northeast Brazil which was one of the first citadels of liberty and independence in this part of the Americas.

The Bandeiras (17th and 18th centuries)—frontier expeditions which transformed Brazilian life.

The Birth of a Nation. Today it is agreed that the spirit of nationalism in Brazil sprang from the wars to expel the Dutch, who threatened the disintegration of the Portuguese holdings in South America, no less than in Africa. The struggle for a Brazil on which the Portuguese had so slender a hold has many aspects. What is important is to recognize that there was a critical moment when the outcome was in doubt. The time came when the Negros, enslaved but numerous, joined the Portuguese cause, and aided materially in returning the colony to Portugal.

This ancient colonial alignment is not to be minimized, for it furnishes the historical basis of the complex of Brazilian culture today. Why didn't the Negros join the Dutch? The Dutch had promised the abolition of slavery but not total emancipation, and resorted to many devices to forestall it. By making no positive moves to liberate the Negros, the Dutch threw them into union with the Portuguese. But did the Portuguese hold out freedom to the Negros if they fought with them? Not at all. The Negros were still slaves even though they fought beside their masters. The campaigns, however, were of such a character that it was easily possible for them to flee. Some of the Dutch Negroes deserted; some of the Portuguese Negros went over to the Dutch.

The central historic fact was the participation of Negro troops under the leadership of a Negro commandant, Henrique Dias, who organized them into battalions which fought valiantly side by side with the Portuguese troops. Not only did Brazilian historians agree that the Negroes were important collaborators in the task of reconquering Brazil, but what is quite as important, both tradition and history preserve the name of, and glorify this Negro hero. In that way the role of the Negro transcended that of a slave, and became in Brazil that of the patriot and soldier. That reputation has persisted in all subsequent wars. In the nineteenth century it was taken for granted. Nicholas Dreis, a French visitor, said: "The Negro is so good a soldier that it is the profession for which he is naturally suited." Whether from inner disposition or as consequence of their ancestral life of the hunt and chase, Negroes have proved their skill as fighters in the many South American wars and campaigns. They deserve the
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BRAZIL’s PATTERN OF DEMOCRACY
(Continued from page 559)

publicists and abolitionists like Andre Aguiar, Jose de Patrocínio, Evaristo de Moraes, Luiz Gama, and two of Brazil's most constructive statesmen—Antonio and Andre Rebecoues. The collaboration widens with the years to the fields of art, letters, and science; indeed Brazilian literature owes a special debt to its Negro strain. There was Laurindo Rebelo, one of the most prominent early poets; Cruz e Sousa, well-known for his symbolist poetry; Machado de Assis, founder of modern Brazilian realism; and Mario de Andrade, whom many consider Brazil's leading contemporary novelist. The field of science, too, has a noteworthy roll of honor: among others, de Moraes, pioneer criminologist, Theodoro Sampaio, notable ethnologist and folklorist, and Juliano Moreira, internationally known psychiatrist. Afro-Brazilian music, like its Afro-Cuban counterpart, is an influence too well known for more than passing comment. So, throughout Brazil's cultural history, the Negro elements have had a considerable and recognized share, as have also, to some degree, and now in recent years increasingly, the elements of the Indian cultures.

Brazil's distinctive social and cultural history and her exceptional racial liberalism have, therefore, the same roots—and one perhaps explains the other.

EAST AND WEST MUST MEET
(Continued from page 534)

Americans haven't got, and the English haven't got, race prejudices like the Germans. What shocked me as a traveler is the existence of caste in a land dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Americans laugh at the hopeless ignorance of Hindus in their attitude toward untouchables. But if the white treatment of Negroes in America is not caste, I do not know what caste is.

IV

China's whole history and her peculiar position in the present world war give her, or rather compel her, into a definite, unalterable stand for racial equality as the new approach towards the solving of post-war problems. "Racial equality" as a doctrine in the Anglo-American democratic world can come only from a touch of idealism and some common sense; for, in concrete terms, it means the surrender of the whole concept of the white man's mastery of the world, which we inherit from the nineteenth century. On the other hand, to the Chinese, "racial equality" is something immensely real; it embodies one half of what we are fighting for—the other half being China's own full sovereignty and national independence. China's own interests are tied up with the interests of the Asiatic and other nations that used to be dominated over by the white races. Her position among the United Nations breaks through the color or race line and enables the war to assume the appearance, if not yet the substance, of a war for freedom instead of a war for the white man's status quo. The events in India merely bring this inner conflict in our war aims into a sharper focus, and the conflict is not yet resolved, nor has clarity of purpose even begun to take the place of confusion of our war aims. Nor do I believe that until there is what amounts to a social revolution in England can a society built upon imperialistic needs and requirements commit suicide and destroy itself by relinquishing the empire, or such of it as is left over by the Axis onslaughts.
new patterns for old
(continued from page 487)

that I have been—as other southern men have been—frightened in fear of bloodshed. Such bloodshed might not only mean dead white men and dead Negroes. It might easily serve as a handle for fascists at home. Indeed, some speak carelessly of the South as fascist now. It is not. But it is a region where change and dangers can be seen in disturbingly dramatic terms. But a promise can be seen there too, not so easily perhaps but better than in Burma. What goes on in the South, now where white men and black men can get jobs and get big in them maybe, is reconstruction—the reconstruction of a region. It is not self-reconstruction by southerners. It is no reconstruction by Yankees. The world makes what happens in the South; and the world itself may be changed, hideously or happily by what happens there. I may reduce the present frictions to too great simplicity when I consider them as the first angels of an adolescent and precarious security. It is the security of war wages and war jobs. It has happened before like a Saturday night drunk between parts of peace which were only equal parts of poverty. That may happen again. If it does, talk of a People's Century in the world will be another nasty joke in a repetitiously disillusioned world. But what looks like a crisis now, what seems to hold threat to racial peace now, may contain the promise of escape from the poverty which has so long been almost a synonym for the South—the black South, but the white South also. The South could welcome a brash season including the uprightness of anybody if that meant up from old customs shaped as much by a struggle over scarcity as by any antagonisms of race.

Such an advance would really be Reconstruction. And no other reconstruction, self-made or alien-created, can really remake the South into the altogether pleasant land which it ought to be—which it must be if America is to have meaning in example to the earth in terms of promises of better life on the earth for all men everywhere.

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South Today is published quarterly at Clayton, Georgia. $1.00 a year . . . 50c a copy.

(In answering advertisements please mention Survey Graphic)
4. *Democracy in the armed forces,* including elimination of segregation so far as possible with separate white and Negro units in brigades and divisions where segregation cannot be overcome; interracial athletic and recreational activities in all camps; protection of Negro soldiers, sailors and marines from civilian or police attacks; establishment of a mixed division of the army.

5. *Democracy in employment,* including equality in war industry training and placement; extension of wages and hours legislation, unemployment insurance, old age and survivor's insurance to cover agricultural and domestic employment; elimination of discrimination by labor organizations; enforcement powers for the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

6. *Democracy in social services,* including increased federal leadership and funds for Negro problems of child welfare, delinquency, nutrition, health; federal grants-in-aid for improving southern elementary and secondary education; low cost public housing; rent control for traditionally high Negro rents; Negro representation in Red Cross central planning groups, state and national, and the discontinuance of Red Cross segregated blood banks; Negro representation throughout the country in administering civilian defense and price control; end of segregation in USO activities in all northern cities and in military establishments everywhere.

7. *International democracy,* including independence for India; release of loyal Japanese citizens and aliens from American concentration camps; extension of the Atlantic Charter to Africa and the nations of the East; Negro representation on all missions, political and technical, sent to the peace conference, or organized to prepare to make agreements preliminary to the peace conference.

The Outlook Ahead

The outlook for the Negro naturally depends upon the outlook for the world. Should the Axis nations win the war, the Negro faces complete subordination and perhaps steady but sure extermination. The Nazis have put on record their view of the American Negro and their "plan" for him.

If the United Nations win, the outlook for the American Negro depends on several factors. A long and exhausting war would bring in its train such social upheaval as to have revolutionary effects on both race and class barriers. That eventually might even see a close knit world state which, with India and China independent, would be able to reach into all nations with guarantees as to their treatment of minorities. The status of the Negro would in that case be policed as the rights of minorities were supposed to be in Eastern Europe under the League of Nations.

On the other hand, assuming a United Nations victory within a shorter span, it seems clear that except for a short period of dislocation after the war, a not radically modified American capitalism would have an opportunity for tremendous expansion in an enlightened world. We are discovering that we can produce far more than we ever dreamed. The release of vast consumer purchasing power now being accumulated in war bonds will help prevent a swing to a scarcity economy. The home market, the development of China and India, and the reconstruction of Europe, would provide adequate outlets for accumulated capital and increased productive capacity.

In such a post-war world the American Negro would have to strive for advancement in a society much like the present. His most powerful weapon would be his vote. The migration of the Negro in World War I took him into those states which in the past usually have decided the outcome of national elections. Since 1933, the Negro has heavily supported the Democratic Party because of the New Deal and his desperate need of economic security. He must maintain this flexibility and continue to seek political alignments which will enable him to achieve increased economic security plus full citizenship status, including the franchise, in the South.

The soldier anti-poll tax law nullifies for the time being disfranchisement by registration tricks, but the passage of a general anti-poll tax law would only achieve genuine advances for the Negro if the closed white primary was also abolished. The poor whites are at present largely excluded from voting by the poll tax. With Negroes still disfranchised by registration tricks and by the Democratic white primary, an anti-poll tax law would strengthen the Negro's enemies. What is really needed, therefore, is a political reconstruction and rebirth of real democracy in the South.

Economically, the Negro must ally himself with the progressive forces of the labor movement, not only in the United States but in the world. As a matter of fact, the colored American should establish cultural, economic, and political relations with the colored peoples in India, China, the South Seas, and Africa. The continued peace and prosperity of the world depend upon the cooperative development of these people with the white race. Britain, France, Russia, and the United States must admit them, once free, to full equality in the cooperative development of the world. To do otherwise would be to repeat the tragic blunder of creating racially aggressive nations even as the Italy and Germany of today were created.

Finally, the Negro must learn to plead his case in America vigorously and with intelligence, enlisting in his cause schools, churches, radio, labor, liberal groups, learned societies, colleges, movies, and the press. Here a start has been made. There are Negroes attached to ten leading dailies in large cities and several write for leading magazines. Many white propaganda organizations have taken up the Negro's cause, among them the Common Council for Unity, the Council for Democracy, and the Council Against Intolerance. Five Negroes are now permanent members of the faculties of white colleges or universities.

The church has worked quietly, promoting small social experiments and developing sounder relationships within the local community, and in the long run the process of racial adjustment must be accomplished in this fashion. But this is the time when great pulpits should take up the fight against injustice to the Negro in terms of the enduring moral and religious principles. So far, there are no indications that the church is ready to lead off as it did in fighting the injustices of slavery.

At this time, what is needed more than anything else are statements by the President and other national leaders directed to all the people in behalf of the Negro. Speeches to Negro organizations and conferences are of little value. Negroes know their injustices and their rights. More and more, powerful voices should speak to the American people about the Negro in terms of democracy as well as in terms of manpower needs.

The leaders of the United Nations must take here and now an unequivocal stand on full democracy for all races. Hitler's theories on class and race were chosen not only in order to develop the pack spirit within Germany, but also to make capital of disension within enemy nations. Nazi class theories split apart wavering France, and Hitler's theories of race have weakened the British Empire. They can hamper America. Russia, the one nation which stands firm against all race dis-
crimination and has an accepted class philosophy of its own, has been able to fight grimly and effectively. The two great democracies have given a better answer to the class challenge, but the race threat still remains.

The outlook for the Negro in America is one of slow but steady advancement toward democracy. The rate of the advance depends on consolidation of leadership, a shrewd public relations program, political flexibility, the achievement of the franchise in the South, allegiance to progressive labor movements and making common cause with the colored peoples of the world.

There is particular need in all this for a vigorous youth movement such as appeared in the depression year of 1932. It would galvanize new leadership, shove aside or overshadow old outworn leaders, cement new economic and political alliances. Such a movement would not only speed the progress of the Negro in America; it would serve to strengthen the nation for the task ahead of clearing away from the path of democracy the hampering debris of racialism.

COLORED SOLDIERS, U. S. A. (Continued from page 477)

days under fire, more than any other unit of the A.E.F.

Today, the opportunity for Negro soldiers in the army is considerably greater than in 1917-18. They are better trained and better cared for than in World War I. The ability of Negro officers to lead American soldiers into battle was recognized by the army when it sent a colored anti-aircraft regiment abroad under command of a Negro colonel. The right of Negro citizens to have a voice in the administration of the selective service act was recognized when Lt. Col. Campbell Johnson was named as assistant to the director. Their right to a spokesman to state their problems at the War Department itself was recognized when Judge William H. Hastie was made civilian aide to the Secretary of War. Both are Negroes.

These are clear gains. Others are called for to improve conditions of colored troops as well as to lift the morale of the entire army. Here are five of them:
1. Negro soldiers must be protected against intimidation and molestation away from army camps, especially by citizens and local authorities in the southern towns where soldiers go for recreation. Forthright measures will have to be taken to see that the uniform is respected by whites.
2. More Negroes should be trained as officers. The present training program for Negro officers should be continued and accelerated as the general training program moves forward. The bars in the air corps should be removed.
3. The army should train and appoint far more colored military police. This would aid greatly in preventing riots and other serious outbreaks.
4. The army must treat its colored troops aboard the same as it treats its white troops. This means that it must not carry American prejudices to Australia, England, and other countries to which Negro soldiers have been sent. The effect is bound to be bad if Chinese, Indian, and other colored people see colored American troops discriminated against, segregated, and otherwise treated as inferiors.
5. Now that the navy has cracked its door for a limited number of Negroes to enlist as reservists, it should set up a permanent policy for the enlistment of Negroes. They are accepted at West Point. They should be accepted freely at Annapolis. If Negroes were acceptable to the navy in the War of 1812 and in the Civil War, why not now?

If these things are done, and they are elementary, there will be immediate improvement in the morale of both Negro soldiers and civilians. Only free men can carry the Four Freedoms to the far corners of the earth.
In Puerto Rico, they control a disproportionate share of the island's total wealth, and earn big dividends while the laborer gets 60 cents a day. For forty years a law has lain on the statute book prohibiting plantations in excess of five hundred acres. The first conviction under it was in 1942. The new Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration has purchased a model sugar plantation, which it runs on a cooperative basis. The standards even on this model plantation leave much to be desired. The changes required involve a tremendous reorganization of which there is as yet little hint. For these problems cannot be solved in Congress, or by model farms. Their solution depends on the future of the world, the outlook for sugar, and the future of investments—American ones in particular.

There is still another point. Puerto Rico's total wealth under American rule has been enormously increased. This, too, is a story of sugar. A tribute to the genius of American capital, it is nonetheless the result primarily of the inclusion of Puerto Rico within the American tariff wall. Cuba and the Dominican Republic are excluded in the interests of American beet sugar. The Cuban sugar economy has almost been ruined as a result. The Dominican Republic had to look to Europe for a market. In the course of the present war, American beet acreage has been increased by one third. The military friend of the Caribbean has by a tragic paradox become its economic enemy.

The British Share

In 1939, the British Government sent out a Royal Commission of distinguished men and women to investigate the British West Indian problem. This commission followed a Commission to Trinidad in 1937, a general West Indian Commission in 1929, the visit of Lord Halifax in 1921, and another Royal Commission in 1897. Each commission repeated the basic recommendations of its predecessor. The report of the 1939 Commission was not published and the United States recently has set up a joint Caribbean Commission in conjunction with the British Government. Fortunately, the United States recognizes that the problem of defense goes further than bases and airfields and troops, and involves also the good will of its neighbors and the improvement of their standards of living.

Affirmative beginnings have been made all over the Caribbean towards the good life. The rural rehabilitation program in Puerto Rico, the allocation of part of the Colonial Welfare Development Fund to the British West Indies; Cuba’s Three-Year Plan; Haiti’s rural education program centering around the Damien Institute; an Export-Import Bank Loan to the Dominican Republic to develop the meat industry; Haiti’s interest in sisal and rubber. These are encouraging signs, but as yet they touch only the surface of the problem. The basic difficulties remain for the Anglo-American Commission. They are the same difficulties which faced the British Royal Commission of 1939—aggravated, but not created, by the war. They will be hard to solve, and probably will require joint action by Britain and America. Their difficulties will be enormously increased, however, if the racial attitudes characteristic of large sections of the United States are forcibly imposed on the West Indies, where hitherto they have not existed.

Political Portents

The political problem in the Caribbean is more acute in British and French areas, since politics are more complicated there by racial factors. In Cuba, the political problem to date has been less one of race prejudice than of bias against “Yankee imperialism.” Similar resentment of political interference and economic intrusion served to hasten the departure of United States troops from Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The quarrel in Puerto Rico is openly a nationalistic quarrel, with the conservatives demanding statehood and the radicals complete independence.

The situation in the British islands is different. Here, the openly colonial nature of the regime means high property qualifications which disfranchise all but the handful of whites and a few colored voters. A wave of revolts marked the years 1935-1940. These disturbances showed the emergence of the working class demanding universal suffrage, trade unions, higher wages, shorter hours, more equitable distribution of wealth; demanding the extension of social services, more educational facilities, and a political federation of the British islands. In these revolts, the colored group was, on the whole, out of joint with the aspirations of the blacks. The political situation is complicated in Trinidad and British Guiana by the East Indian whose political activity threatens to follow the line of the nationalist movement in India. Indeed, significantly enough, the organizing brains of the Trinidad working class movement in 1937 was an East Indian lawyer. In recent years, a further complication has been introduced by demands in Trinidad for the repatriation of the Chinese, who, it is claimed, produce nothing and are merely middlemen.

The political situation in the French possessions differs from the British in that, in pre-war days, they enjoyed universal suffrage, belonged to the “assimilated” and therefore privileged group of French colonies, and were represented in the French Parliament. There has been no evidence that the masses of the population will follow Vichy—in fact there is reason to believe they would favor independence in a Pan-American federation.

The political problem in the Caribbean is thus a serious one. The nationalist movements in the larger independent areas and in Puerto Rico are paralleled by similar aspirations in the French and British colonies. In the British areas, greater autonomy will surely result in political federation and the abandonment of the absurd and costly policy of several scattered governments, each with its own administrative services. The world drive to larger units is reflected in the Caribbean, and constructive statesmanship should look beyond a federation along national political lines to an economic federation of these areas so similar in climate, history, racial composition, and economy.

In the last analysis, however, the outcome depends on what develops in world economy and reorganization, for there is no answer to the problem of the Caribbeans in isolation from the rest of the world. Yet this much must be said: the solution of the economic problems there, as well as the maintenance and improvement of wholesome race relations, must depend ultimately less upon imposition from above and more on the education and enlightenment of the masses of the people. They are the best guardians of their own interests and the best judges of where the shoe pinches. As long as there is truly democratic government, there will be little or no race prejudice. Unduly emphasized, race will create more difficulties in the economic sphere. Only the extension of democratic rights and constitutions, by which the masses can increasingly control their own destiny, promises to improve peacefully conditions in the Caribbean. Just now, it is an important area, for though not so prosperous, it has a rich contribution to make to democracy as an example of how many different races can live amicably side by side.
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ROUND THE RIM OF THE PACIFIC
(Continued from page 538)

extent that would drive frantic the much less patient English-
man or American.
In drawing attention to these policies, I do not wish to
belittle the serious economic and political inequalities that
spring from imperial rule anywhere. The difference is that
in the Indies a method of exploitation has been found that
does not altogether destroy the self-respect of the people but
rather tends to build up the recognition of common human
rights. Up to the Japanese invasion, participation by the
Indonesians in the government of their own country was
advancing by slow steps, but it was advancing. The Queen's
announcement last year, again emphasized in her recent
speech to the American Congress, promises that after the war
this cautious progress will go on. This, however, is not a
matter merely of political decisions. The crux of the prob-
lems of independence lies in the school system. In the Neth-
erlands Indies this is much less true, despite the infinite
cautions with which the authorities have opened the doors of
opportunity never more than an inch at a time. There is a
dual school system which gives the Eurasians and a few
other favored groups access to the full range of European
school subjects, including a fluent use of the Dutch language,
while the rest of the people are educated for a more or less
self-sufficient Indonesian civilization.

White Man's Prejudice
Some British, French, even Dutch colonials were criti-
cal of the American effort to prepare the Filipino for self-
government. At first, they did not believe it could be more
than a gag. When they saw what actually happened, they
charged Americans with helping to undermine the whole
Western stake in the Pacific. And I might add that there
was just as much raving in certain American circles. Later
the denunciation of all these groups focused on what was
going forward in the Netherlands Indies under the so-called
"ethical" policy of the Dutch. The word "ethical" itself, as
it was hissed from their mouths, grew to have a connotation
as adverse as that of the word "democracy" when it comes
from the lips of Doctor Goebbels.

One need only go through a parcel of travel books and
novels about the Pacific to recognize how deeply rooted are
the racial prejudices which still so largely figure among peo-
ple who are fairly rational on other matters. The passages I
have in mind are interesting, too, because they are old
acquaintances in a new environment. Almost everything de-
famatory that is being printed about the South Sea Islanders,
or the Dyaks of Borneo, about Burmans or Thais, about
Filipinos or Javanese, has at one time or other also been
brought against some minority group in our own midst.
Arabs, Indians, and Chinese, because of the part they play
as minor capitalists, may be called "the Jews" of this or that
country. Improvidence and idleness are practically always
among the charges made against the Moi, the Bataks, the
Shans, or whatever people, in tropical countries. Literacy,
indeed, we are told, is a great mistake. "It only makes them
discontented."

The charge of laziness has been made against many peoples,
among them—those who, from one cause or another, could
not be persuaded to work for the Occidental plantation or
mine owner under the conditions he was willing to offer.
Millions of peasants from overpopulated southern India and
southern China have been recruited and shipped all over
the Pacific to destinations where they are employed at tasks
which local native people refused to do.

The Malay and Oceanic peoples, as a matter of fact, were
busy enough within the frame of their own pre-capitalist
economy. Money did not at first mean much to them, be-
cause most of their satisfactions came from the labor of their own hands or from the bartering of the fruit of that labor with their neighbors. The same Islander who stubbornly refuses to work for the white man, or who goes home again when he has cashed his earnings for a few days' work, is busy enough, most of the time, on his own garden, rice field, cocoanut grove, fish pond, or whatever he may have—not only he, but his whole family from the grandmother who pounds the rice, to the smallest boy whose job it is to shoo away birds with an intricate scare-arrangement made of bamboo, twine, and leaves.

It is quite true that the efficiency of millions of workers is lowered by malnutrition, by intestinal parasites, by malaria, and by other physical ills. There is a vicious circle between low production and a low standard of living. But it operates alike on all racial groups that find themselves under the same conditions. The only way out is public health work and, above all, a larger share for the native grower in the wealth which he produces—higher wages, lower rents, credit on easier terms.

White Man's Prestige

These days, we often hear it said that the success of the Japanese forces in the Pacific has undermined the white man's prestige. This view arises from an old mistaken idea as to its nature. Technical devices employed by white men, from battle fleets to dynamos, certainly enter in; but the Asiatics, most of them, have a sense of humor. While they are impressed with superior weapons and tools, they have never been really intimidated by a white man merely because he bellowed and roared and gave exaggerated signs of a high blood pressure.

In the early days of foreign enterprise it was customary to compensate for a complete lack of understanding of the Asiatic language, much less of his point of view, with a blustering swagger occasionally backed up with use of force. But intelligent men, both public officials and labor managers, have long since given this up. Great foreign enterprises, public or private, are nowadays so intricate and require so many delicate procedures that an informed, cooperative labor force is needed—not a "dumb, driven herd."

So, too, modern relations between colonial governments and native peoples. The "good" native is no longer one who pays his taxes and obeys the laws; he is also expected to help in preventing disease, in the conservation of resources, in building up means of communication, in increasing the productivity of the soil, and in many other tasks. Foremost among them, just now, is defending or liberating his country.

It was not, then, militancy that was responsible for the white man's prestige. It was his practical ability so far as the native could see and appreciate it. They like our sewing machines, our bicycles, our clocks, our electric lights. Sometimes they like our faculty for organization, for getting results. They admire the skill of Occidentals with their fine tools; but they do not believe that Occidentals have a more highly developed insight into the nature of things.

Portents of Change

Generally speaking, there is a slight improvement in the race relations of the Pacific area—not because the white man's prestige is falling and that of the colored peoples rising, but because some of the artificial barriers between them are melting away. The war and the long economic depression which preceded it are accelerating a change that has been under way for a generation or more.

On the one hand, the white man's reputation in the East is enhanced by the greater knowledge which so many members of the colored races have acquired of what it is that distinguishes his civilization from others. No master craftsman ever has lost the respect of his apprentices by letting them

(Continued on page 569)

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work with him on some common task.

On the other hand, circumstances have forced the whites to share both their responsibilities and their opportunities with races technically far less advanced. Through such channels of education, training, and experience as were open to them, thousands of Indians, Malays, Polynesians, Melanesians—or almost any group you might name—have come to take part in the processes of modern society. Thousands of people of every shade of yellow and brown are engaged in professions, public services, trades, which but a generation ago even sympathetic Occidentals would have thought out of their reach.

Thus the mystery of the white man's power is dissolving. The faith in a rational universe, reliance on ascertained fact, on reason, on precision, are no longer his exclusive possession—if ever they were. And as appreciation for the same values spreads, we get the extremely important reverse effect that the young educated European or American in the colonial world of the Pacific no longer wishes to stand aloof from his contemporaries of different color. On the contrary, he desires their friendship on a basis of that real equality which springs from similarity of interests and attainments. And only through such intimate association with equals of other races can the white man really share in the older traditional cultures and help preserve and develop them to the enhancement of the modern world.

The main causes of inequality still exist. Nothing can remove them but a complete transformation of the imperial system. But much can be done all the time to remove friction which results simply from ignorance and bad manners. Occidentals who fail to behave decorously in a mosque, who trample with heavy shoes over the delicate bamboo floors of Malay homes, who talk with natives in an insulting "pidgin" language that assumes their ignorance—such people are prone to offend even more seriously against the self-respect of those whom they hold to be inferior because of their color or race. We need a Pacific Charter; but the world of the Pacific needs also its "etiquette of race relations." That etiquette will not prevent trouble if it is merely a veneer laid on a situation shot through with injustice. But it can get rid of quite unnecessary obstacles to mutual understanding.

Let me come back to the progressive attitude of our Dutch allies. At Edinburgh on August 15, Dr. Hubertus J. Van Mook, Netherlands Colonial Minister, said:

"It is vitally important to the world that after victory has been won and peace restored, the Far East shall cease to be a distant and more or less accessory part of the world.

"I have not touched on its significance as a source of raw materials nor on its importance as a link in world transport. But even apart from these economic factors, it must be clear that the future greatly depends on the possibility of admitting as partners at the round table, where that future must be discussed, those peacefully-inclined Far Eastern peoples who comprise about half of mankind."

In saying this Dr. Van Mook, who has spent the greater part of his life in the Netherlands Indies, is not looking forward to the restoration of the Netherlands Indies as a colony of Holland. He has been so long in Asia that he knows that colonies and colonial-mindedness are outmoded. Farseeing statesman that he is, he assumes that Asiaties shall be equal partners with the peoples of the Western world in the coming century.

At Arlington on May 30, our own Under Secretary of State, Sumner R. Welles, said:

"If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world, as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples... The age of imperialism is ended. The right of a people to their freedom must be recognized."

(Continued from page 567)

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world for 400 years. It has vigorous and capable peoples, as do many other parts of Africa. It has had a number of able British administrators, an outstanding one being Sir Gordon Guggisberg in the 1920's. These favorable circumstances were reinforced by another, unique in colonial Africa at the time: a surplus in the public funds of several million dollars, due to the fact that the Gold Coast produced about two thirds of the cocoa of the world on thousands of little peasant-owned farms. Under government buying and exporting regulations, this export gave the African producers and the Gold Coast government more than usual income. Achimota has demonstrated how higher education can be related to nutrition; to the farm, the herd, the shop, the home; to law, industry, trade, political administration, recreation, to the church, and to lower schools where educational preparation is begun for all these things.

Looking Ahead

African will have to lift its sights once military victory is gained. Once more America will be challenged to undertake a thorough-going canvass of possibilities. Now, to a much greater degree than in 1920, there are trained and competent Africans to participate in it. A group to implement such a study is now being formed under the leadership of North American missionary and philanthropic agencies interested in Africa. Advances will be made as promptly as circumstances permit to the governments concerned, to European educators, and to leading Africans, to work out the right approach and then to determine the most efficient means for carrying the projects through jointly. American aid in this should be wide and generous. For, by proper education, real progress toward the unity of Africans and the cohesion of Africa can be made. Without this, Africa will remain belated in a world that must achieve greater unity within its parts and among its parts if it is to prosper.

But education is not alone in this adventure. There is need for economic action and political action. Both must be had, and in both America should participate.

America is already tied with Africa by economic cords which cannot be quickly broken when fighting ceases. On the one hand, a large percentage of African production is now coming to the United States; on the other hand, almost all of Africa's outside supplies come from here. America is providing machinery, and materials for creating new industries in Africa, just as she is in Latin America, India, China, Australia, and elsewhere. That process should go on after war, if some of the hardest problems of a retarded continent are to be met. There will be many forces marshalled to stop this process after the war, for some of the easiest living which the industrialized countries have had has been at the expense of backward countries. The colonial areas have been generally held to the production of raw materials. They have not been allowed to manufacture. Buying raw materials at low prices, the industrial nations have manufactured and then distributed them at relatively high prices, thus bettering their own economies at the expense of the colonial economies. Once the pressure of war is lifted, it may be no easier to convince America that backward peoples must share more evenly in goods and tools and services than it will be to convince the more imperialistic countries which rule the colonies.

Citizens of Africa

Then there is political action. Because of our population-link and because of the rather inarticulate state of Africa, it would seem of especial importance that America should interest itself in this.

There are notable differences between different areas. In the

Union of South Africa, the native has almost no direct political part or influence. In the Belgian Congo he has little if any more, though his economic participation is a great deal more important than that allowed him in the Union. In the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, the African has a measure of political participation. In French Equatorial Africa, a Negro from French Guiana in our own hemisphere, is the governor-general [see page 522], but the native African has as yet small part in political matters.

One general statement in this connection seems to me wholly well founded: That everywhere in Africa trained and competent Africans—they can be found—should in much larger numbers be given experience in political matters, and should more rapidly than at present be accorded political responsibilities as their experience grows.

Two basic realities are to be faced: (1) In no considerable area south of the Sahara have Africans gained as yet or been allowed to gain the knowledge, ability, and experience required to govern themselves today in a world as complex as ours. (2) Within a measurable time Africa must be prepared for and induced into self-government.

Between those two solid realities lies the political problem of the continent for the years immediately ahead. I see no quick solution. I see no single steps. A whole people, who have aptitude and character and, in my judgment, high potential, have yet to be brought forward a very great way along a road that still has not been clearly laid out. There are two things which I believe would hearten and strengthen African leaders at this time beyond any others. They are:

1. To map clearly the general line and terminal of the road section along which they are now to march to acknowledged eventual self-government under any form of internal and external association with other peoples which they shall eventually choose.

2. To attain the clear honesty and sincerity of purpose in the principal foreign groups controlling Africa which will convince Africa's leading men and women of the possibility of working out plans for actual progress along that road.

Without the road surveyed, and without conviction of foreign honesty and sincerity, Africans will have no peace of mind or pull of spirit which alone can bring mutual understanding and solid, united accomplishment.

We have recently seen, even through the smoked glasses of war, some evidence of this principle in the contrast between the cave-in in Malaya-Burma, for example, and the indigenous resistance to military invasion put up in the Philippines.

More specifically, the honesty and sincerity of our white relationships with Ethiopia will be gauged keenly by Africans on the basis of actual deeds. It is by no means enough for the British and Belgians to drive the Italians out and usher the Emperor Haile Selassie back. We are apt to feel the Ethiopians should be very grateful for that, and it is quite certain they are. But when battle is ended, life and the future continue, and what of them? A dispatch from London (N. Y. Times, Sept. 1, 1942) would indicate that progress is being made in satisfactorily answering this question by the withdrawal of British troops from Addis Ababa except for a small legation guard; by the exchange of ministers between London and Addis; and by other scheduled observances of provisions of the convention entered into at the beginning of this year.

Prior to this announcement, there appeared to be months of hesitation as to what should be done. Repeated questions in Parliament and in London papers brought no straight answer. Questions of sincerity and honesty of purpose inevitably entered many minds outside Ethiopia, and it is to be supposed they likewise did inside the country, although the foreign
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State of New York
County of New York 88.

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Walter F. Grueninger, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the SURVEY GRAPHIC and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the upper right-hand corner of this page, as required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in sections 337, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor, Paul Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., 30 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, Walter F. Grueninger, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

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(Signed)

WALTER F. GRUENINGER, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 7th day of October, 1942.

The Survey Graphic, Deeds, City of New York
New York County Clerk’s No. 69.
Commission expires April 5, 1943.

AMERICA AND AFRICA
(Continued from page 574)

censorship so guards Addis Ababa that little news of any sort comes out. That interlude of uncertainty, caused apparently by military and bureaucratic thinking, points up the need for a break with the past.

At the other end of the continent, we must reckon with the further development in South Africa of a drive to turn the lower half of the continent into a white man’s country—a situation in which very considerable British influence is cast not on the side of white imperialism but on that of racial justice and adequate provision for native African needs and development.

The Christian Challenge

AMERICA, CANADA, BRITAIN, AND A SCORE OF NATIONS have given verbal assent to the Atlantic Charter. The Four Freedoms are accepted by Americans as their goal. Assurance of those freedoms and application of that Charter to Africa present difficulties, it is true. But their very formulation has been brought about by the greatest coincidence of difficulties that the world has ever faced. However, those difficulties are not to be conquered by mere formulations. Those which Africa faces and which the world faces concerning Africa must be conquered in part by physical battle, but in greater part by straight thinking, realistic planning, and honest action. In many ways this last is the harder task. And in it America’s part can be of highest significance.

The most thorough-going and competent study of Africa’s position today and its problems tomorrow that I know of, viewed from the American angle, is the report by the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims published in June under the chairmanship of Anson Phelps Stokes. In compact form but with a world-assembly of fact and exposition, that report registers Africa today and projects an Africa of tomorrow. Its summary of major findings and recommendations constitutes an unusually succinct action program, in which America is urged to join. Thirteen of the twenty-eight recommendations are briefed on page 572 and give some indication of the scope of the report. Its whole presentation deserves careful study by all who are interested in America’s future relations with Europe and with Africa.*

Another volume just published in New York also deals in a comprehensive way with African matters—"Christian Action in Africa." This reports the Church Conference on African Affairs held in June at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio. The report includes the full set of recommendations adopted for desired action in concurrence with the African church, missions and governments. One of these which should by no means be overlooked in America is that ways should be found for more qualified American Negroes to give Christian service in Africa.

Africa is certain to keep on changing, perhaps in even quicker tempo than in the past three decades. It holds out a large contribution and puts a large problem to the world. It needs much help still from without, not only for its own sake but for the peace and security of the world. Americans have given effective help in the past. But in future, when uncertainty and dislocation and disillusion are likely to be worse than ever before, Americans, white and black, are called to greater thought and action for Africa.

Study of Africa is required. Education of Africans is necessary. Economic action is inescapable. Political action must occur. But we shall be off the mark from the viewpoint of the African and from the viewpoint of a secure America and a stable world, if all this fails to be informed and motivated by the Christian ethic and directive.

* Published in full in "The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint." Price 75 cents, African Bureau, 135 Fifth Avenue, New York. Or $1, with the supplement: "Events in African History."
REFUSAL to submit to tyranny has made thousands of persons homeless wanderers on the earth this Christmas time. Some of them have already found their way to our shores, and the Committee is giving them the advice, help and friendship which they need.

Among them are physicians, nurses, skilled mechanics, artisans, whose services will mean much in our national effort. Many of them are physically and financially exhausted. They must be rehabilitated before they can become useful members of American society.

Will you not put the refugees on your Christmas List and send a SPECIAL CHRISTMAS CONTRIBUTION? This work is officially endorsed by the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals of the Federal Council of Churches, and gifts sent by you will be credited to your own church denomination if you so designate.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR CHRISTIAN REFUGEES, INC.
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Address ................................

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REFUSAL to submit to tyranny has made thousands of persons homeless wanderers on the earth this Christmas time. Some of them have already found their way to our shores, and the Committee is giving them the advice, help and friendship which they need.

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needs the wires
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War can’t wait—not even for Christmas.
So please don’t make Long Distance
calls to war-busy centers this Christmas
unless they’re vital... BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM
The Gist of It

WHILE THE COUNTRY ADJUSTS ITSELF TO INCREASING SACRIFICES IN A WAR JUST A YEAR OLD, IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE TO REMEMBER CHINA, WHICH HAS BEEN PUTTING UP STIFF RESISTANCE FOR FIVE YEARS (PAGE 592); THE SUFFERINGS OF FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES (PAGE 601); AND PARTICULARLY CZECHOSLOVAKIA, UNDER THE HEELS OF THE DESTROYER. ON THE COVER OF THIS DECEMBER ISSUE IS A STATUE BY THE NOTED SCULPTOR, JO DAVISON, A TRIBUTE TO THE MARTYRS OF THE CZECH VILLAGE OF LIDICE, WhOSE PEOPLE WERE Wiped OUT BY THE NAZIS.

DON'T LOOK UP STEEL HARBOR IN YOUR Atlas; YOU WILL KNOW OTHER TOWNS LIKE IT. PAGE 581. A GRADUATE OF OBERLIN COLLEGE, E. W. KENworthy teaches literature in the extension division of Indiana University. After hours he is an active citizen. He believes in practicing democracy (all the way down to local government) as well as talking about it.

MARJORIE R. CLARK HAS BEEN IN PUERTO RICO FOR SOME TIME AS CONSULTANT TO THE FEDERAL PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY THERE. PAGE 585. SHE WAS FORMERLY WITH THE FEDERAL HOUSING AUTHORITY IN WASHINGTON, AND WITH THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. MISS CLARK HAS WRITTEN BOOKS ON THE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

AS READERS OF WEB WALDRON'S FREQUENT ARTICLES IN SURVEY GRAPHIC WILL KNOW, THAT ABLE JOURNALIST SEES THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN BEINGS IN EVERY SITUATION HE TAKES UP. PAGE 590.

ELIZABETH BRANDES, LIKE HER DISTINGUISHED FATHER, THE LATE JUSTICE BRANDES, AS BUT ONE GOAL FOR AMERICA—a TRULY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. BECAUSE SHE BELIEVES THAT SOCIAL REFORM MUST BE EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF THIS GOAL—WILL IT HELP TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY—SHE OFFERS THE CHALLENGING PAGE ON PAGE 593. MISS BRANDES IS ON THE ECONOMICS FACULTY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN; HER HUSBAND, PAUL KUSHENBUSCH, IS STATE ADMINISTRATOR OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.

A VITAL PIECE OF WORK THAT DID NOT END WITH THE NAZI OCCUPATION OF VICHY FRANCE IS DESCRIBED ON PAGE 596 BY DR. WINFRED OVERHOLSER, SUPERINTENDENT OF ST. ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL, WASHINGTON, AND A MEMBER OF THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE.

GOOD NEIGHBORliness BEGINS AT HOME

TO THE EDITOR: IT IS SURPRISING THAT OUR GOOD NEIGHBORS IN LATIN AMERICA ARE SOMEWHAT INCREDULOUS OF OUR GOOD WILL WHEN THEY KNOW HOW WE TREAT THEIR RACIAL BROTHERS WITHIN OUR BORDERS? IF A DESIRE TO BE NEIGHBORLY REALLY EXISTS, WE OUGHT TO EXTEND IT TO THOSE OF MEXICAN EXTRACTION WHO INHABIT OUR SOUTHWEST IN SUCH LARGE NUMBERS.

WHEN OUR RAILROADS AND FARMS NEEDED CHEAP LABOR, MEXICANS WERE INTRODUCED INTO THE COUNTRY IN CARLOAD LOTS BY LABOR CONTRACTORS, WHO PROMISED MANY ATTRACTIONAL REWARDS. THE RAILROADS PROVIDED VERY POOR LIVING QUARTERS FOR THOSE WORKERS AND ALLOWED THEM TO BE EXPLOITED BY STORES WHOSE OWNERS WERE ENRAGED MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN BOARD OF DIRECTORS. HOUSING IN THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS WAS AND IS NOTORIOUSLY POOR. IN CITIES MEXICANS ARE GIVEN THEIR OWN DISTRICT, WHERE THE HOUSING IS DEFINITELY DEFICIENT. OftEN THE SCHOOLS PROVIDED HAVE BEEN VERY MUCH POORER THAN THOSE ESTABLISHED FOR THE OTHER CHILDREN. EVEN SOME MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, GREATLY IN NEED OF WORKERS, REFUSE TO EMPLOY MEXICAN WORKERS IN SKILLED CLASSIFICATIONS. THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES FALL IN LINE AND DISCOURAGE MEXICAN APPLICANTS. THEY ARE LOOKED UPON AS A CLASS OF INFERIOR PEOPLE, FIT ONLY FOR MENIAL TASKS, FROM WHOM IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPECT ANY WORTHY ACCOMPLISHMENT—IN SHORT, LIKE THE SLAVES IN THE RESTRICTED DEMOCRACY OF ANCIENT GREECE, THOSE WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO SUPPORT THE FREE SOCIETY OF THEIR SUPERIORS.

DUE TO THE LAWS OF HEREDITY, EVEN FROM THE LOWER SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATA OF SOCIETY THERE COME MEN OF INTELLIGENCE AND GREAT SOCIAL WORTH. AMONG OUR MEXICAN POPULATION THERE ARE SUCH, BUT THE CHANCES ARE AGAINST THEIR EMERGENCE, WHATEVER THEIR NATURAL ENDOWMENT, BECAUSE OUR SOCIETY DOES NOT ACCORD THEM THE SAME OPPORTUNITY THAT IT DOES ANGLO-SAXONS. IT WOULD SEEM STRANGE THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE RESERVOIRS OF POTENTIAL ACHIEVEMENT AMONG THE DESCENDANTS OF SUCH A MIGHTY RACE AS THE AZTECS, WHO BUILT A CIVILIZATION WHICH RIVALLED ANYTHING UP TO THE MACHINE AGE. FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF OPPRESSION IN PEONAGE MAY CREATE A HOPELESSNESS WHICH IS MISAPPROPRIATED FOR STUPIDITY AND LACK OF AMBITION. HOW QUICKLY THE SPARK FLICKERS AGAIN IS ATTENDED BY THE EAGERNESS WITH WHICH THE PEON TRIED TO BETTER HIS LOT BY COMING TO THE LAND OF THE FREE, ONLY ONCE MORE TO LAPSE INTO TRADITIONAL HABITS OF THOUGHT, DUE TO THE OLD PEONAGE IN NEW GUISE.

IT IS NOT ONLY A KNOWLEDGE OF THE OTHER AMERICAS THAT WE NEED. IT IS, RATHER, A GENUINE CHANGE OF HEART. THAT MEANS THAT WE MUST BE CONVERTED TO A REAL BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY. IT MEANS THAT EACH PERSON AMONG US MUST BE GIVEN AN EQUAL CHANCE FOR SELF-DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-REALIZATION, THE CHANCE THAT MOST CITIZENS VIEW AS AN INalienable RIGHT.

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIF. JOHN H. MOLOR

DECEMBER 1942

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Editorial and Business Office: 112 East 15 Street, New York, N. Y.

Chairman of the Board, JULIAN W. MACE; President, RICHARD B. SCANDRETT, Jr.; Vice-Presidents, JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN PALMER GAVIT; Secretary, ANN REED BRENNER.


Editor: PAUL KELLOGG.


Business Manager, Walter F. Greening; Circulation Manager, Mollie Condon; Advertising Manager, Mary R. Anderson.

Survey Graphic published on the 1st of the month. Price of single copies of this issue, 50c a copy. By subscription—Domestic: year $1; 2 years $2.50; Additional postpaid per year—Foreign: 50c Canadian $1. Indexed in Reader's Guide, Book Review Great, Index to Labor Articles. Public Affairs Information Service, Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicine.

Survey Midmonth published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 30c. By subscription—Domestic: year $1; 2 years $2.50. Additional postpaid per year—Foreign: 50c Canadian $1.50.

Joint subscription to Survey Graphic and Survey Midmonth: Year, $5.

Cooperative Membership in Survey Associates, Inc., including a joint subscription: Year, $10.
SECURITY OF THE FAMILY

THE WEALTH OF THE NATION

Murals by Seymour Fogel in the Social Security Building, Washington. (From Section of Fine Arts, FWA)
This Town Lost the Election

by E. W. KENWORTHY

Steel Harbor lost, and Bunny the Boss won, on Election Day, 1942. A candid picture of American government at the grass roots, and how it falls short of our ideals of freedom and democracy, and the aims for which we fight a global war.

The democracy that American soldiers are fighting and dying for today is ultimately no better than the democracy that is lived in their own hometown. That democracy has no future other than the faith of its citizens that it will work, and the will of its citizens to make it work.

Let's look at Steel Harbor.

Along the riverfront and on the broad flats of Steel Harbor is concentrated a good slice of the country's heavy industry—steel mills, oil refineries, tank and car works, chemical plants, lead and tin mills. These factories are working round the clock. Out of the docks and freight yards of Steel Harbor pours an unending stream of vital materials for the United Nations.

Steel Harbor has a population of 50,000. Almost 23 percent are foreign born; 12 percent are Negroes. First and second generation foreign stock, together with the Negroes, make up over half the population. Older German, Scotch, Irish, and English immigrants comprise the city's "upper crust." Americans from Kentucky, West Virginia, and Tennessee, who have deserted their hard-scrabble hill farms for the high wages in the mills, occupy a social position midway between foreigners and "the best people."

Steel Harbor is a fairly representative industrial community in democratic America. In 1942, in the midst of a worldwide war against the enemies of democracy, how is democracy faring in Steel Harbor?

A few weeks ago Steel Harbor, like the rest of the country, held an election. Almost 1,700 candidates had their names on the voting machines. Tons of scarce card-board were used for voting cards and window signs. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent for advertising. Meetings were held by the score. (The churches ran bingo parties and hi-jacked the candidates from two to five dollars for the privilege of showing their faces.) Candidates for the choice places at the public trough rolled out hundreds of barrels of beer. All those on the city payroll shelled out half their previous month's salary—in addition to the annual ante of two percent—for the machine kitty. Hundreds of precinct workers were engaged at $5 a day—without discrimination because of race, creed or color. To any casual observer, rough and tumble American democracy was flourishing like the green bay tree.

The money and the beer were not poured out in vain. When the vote was taken off the machines, the candidates put up by the vice and gambling rackets were back in the City Hall and the County Courthouse. The numbers peddlers, the pony parlor, and the madames were ready to do business at the old stands. Less than one half of the registered vote of Steel Harbor had gone to the polls.

That month sons of Steel Harbor gave their lives in the Pacific, in North Africa, over Germany, France and the Low Countries for Steel Harbor's democracy.

II

What is this democracy of Steel Harbor like, for which its sons are giving their last full measure of devotion? Who runs it? Who benefits by it?

Politically Steel Harbor is controlled by the money of the so-called "Syndicate." The Syndicate runs the houses
of prostitution, the gambling casino, horse rooms, pin ball machines, juke boxes, and even reaches its hand into the small dice games on the pool tables in the Negro sections.

The boss man of the Syndicate is a former suburban lieutenant of a notorious bootlegger and gangster. A soft-spoken, quietly dressed gentleman, "Bunny" never frequents even the flossiest of his own joints. Bunny is a genial host, and highly regarded as a philanthropic citizen. He donates generously to all worthy charities; has a Christmas tree for the poor kiddies; throws a New Year's Eve party to which it is a local honor to be invited; and, with a fine flare for the dramatically incongruous, proudly exhibits his collection of Irish and Italian linens to visiting ladies. The son of a country parson, Bunny modestly admits that he is "just a small town boy who came to the big city and made bad."

The Syndicate always issues its own slate for the four key offices—prosecuting attorney and sheriff for the county, mayor and city judge for Steel Harbor. Syndicate men in these offices assure the racketeers a congenial atmosphere. The prosecuting attorney never prosecutes; the sheriff never raids or arrests; the mayor tells the chief of police whom he can pinch; and if any of the boys and girls on the Syndicate payroll do anything untoward and land in pokey by mistake, a benign city judge gives a suspended sentence. The Syndicate never fails to nominate and elect these key officials.

Actually, however, the Syndicate insures itself by seeing to it that a majority of the Common Council are also on the payroll or amenable to bribes. At least two, and preferably three, of the three-man school board must also be Syndicate appointees.

So efficient is the Syndicate's organization that there is rarely any need for rough stuff. Councilmen get the Syndicate's okay before allowing a colored boy to open a game or peddle numbers in their wards. The stable hands are tipped off before the police raid the horse parlors for publicity purposes. Occasionally a metropolitan daily may have to be bought up before it reaches the stands in Steel Harbor. Occasionally a talkative councilman may have to be rolled, or his wife threatened. But such crude measures are the exception rather than the rule.

Money makes everything smooth. The monthly payroll for the Syndicate is steep, but not exorbitant. The mayor gets from $500 to $1,000 a month, depending on the times. The sheriff and prosecuting attorney are rewarded for their faithful negligence with like sums. The city judge is remembered with $500 at holiday time.

So long as the city and county officials let the Syndicate operate its own planned economy, the Syndicate has no objection to the politicians running all the usual political sidelines. Most of the materials for the city—pipe, cement, gravel, and so on—are purchased through the mayor's brother-in-law, who runs a bowling alley. Loyal councilmen are permitted to name police and firemen, and get a kick-back from their salaries of $500 to $1,000 a job. For the school board there are numerous contracts to be let.

III

What kind of government does the Syndicate and its political subsidiary give the citizens of Steel Harbor in return for their money and their votes?

Last month the councilmen elected a member to the Steel Harbor school board. There were four candidates: a former member of the board, an anti-Syndicate man, with an excellent record; an electrician from the electrical workers' union; the business agent of the teamsters' union; and the Syndicate candidate, a publisher of a local throwaway named Gleason.

Gleason is the virulent, slimy kind of native fascist, the stand-'em-up-against-the-wall-and-shoot-'em-down-or-send-'em-back-where-they-came-from hundred percent American. "We made two mistakes with the niggers," said Gleason in attacking the proposal for a slab clearance project for Steel Harbor's Negroes. "We should sent 'em back to Africa in the first place. And we ought not to a-give 'em the vote in the second."

Roundly hated and abjectly feared for a column he writes largely for personal revenge and political blackmail, Gleason is a one-time Republican, part-time Democrat, all-time opportunist. During the first year of the present administration's tenure he blasted the city and county officials for taking graft from the racketeers. The racketeers bought his silence by making the politicians give him the city and county "legals" he was after. In order to shut him up for four more years, the Syndicate decided to hand him the school board appointment he had unsuccessfully coveted for twelve years. The pay-off men visited the councilmen.

The councilmen had no scruples about the bribe, for that is established custom in school board elections. But as usual the councilmen had promised labor a representative on the board. Gleason, the labor-baiter, went into his back shop and informed his printers that they had just joined the CIO Construction Workers' Union, a catch-all outfit often used for internecine labor war. The councilmen drew straws for the dirty work of nominating the publisher in public, filed into the chamber, and elected him. The Syndicate now has three men on the school board. The school children have none. No voice was raised in public protest. Don't get yourself out on a limb.

IV

For years an inadequate sewage disposal plant has menaced the health of Steel Harbor. Finally, after repeated warnings, the state and federal governments ordered the city to build a new plant. The city was given a PWA grant of $1,350,000 to help pay for the new system. The mayor and council refused the federal grant, and went out and launched a bond issue of $1,750,000.

The reason for this municipal rugged individualism was obvious. With government engineers and accountants snooping around a PWA project, there would be no gravy from fat engineering fees and contracts. But no one knows how the money raised by the bond issue is being spent.

Steel Harbor has always afforded the luxury of slums out of all proportion to its size and income. Housing is sorely needed to safeguard the physical and social health of the community. The city has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country, a condition due largely to the living conditions of the Negroes, Mexicans, and poor whites. Hundreds of cases of Tb walk the streets, without the money for private hospitalization, or the political pull to get into the overcrowded county sanatorium. As a result whole families become tubercular. Steel Harbor's slums have started many of its boys on their way to the reformatory and the state prison, and many of its girls on their way to the red light district. The cost of these slums in social services and added police and fire protection far exceeds their taxing value.
Three years ago the United States Housing Authority allocated one million dollars to Steel Harbor to begin the eradication of its slums. Citizens who had never before bothered their heads about the disease and delinquency on the other side of the tracks, at this alarming interference with local autonomy suddenly developed a "social" consciousness of their own. Brought together by the fear of losing their income from the lucrative hovels in the "Badlands," the leading banker and realtors and the Polish banker and realtors went to work on the City Hall and the foreign land owners.

The transplanted Polish peasant, land-hungry for generations, has an acute property sense, and stubbornly fights any new tax assessment. The Polish banker and realtors told the small home owners that the housing project would lower property values in adjoining areas. Those who rented apartments would lose their tenants. And all this so that colored people could have cheap rents and think themselves as good as other people! In this way the Polish banker and realtors brought the full weight of the Polish National Alliance and the foreign Democratic clubs against the housing program of their own political party.

It was not difficult to persuade Sapulski, the Polish mayor, to repudiate the social program of his party leader. A former sweatshop owner, a political creation of the Syndicate because he could pull the Polish vote and did as he was told, this social illiterate lost all interest in the housing project he had formerly endorsed when he discovered that the local housing authority, appointed under a Republican mayor, had already chosen an architect, and there was no possible chance of a take.

To the Negro deputations that begged him to accept the grant, the mayor said: "Them government houses ain't fit for dogs to live in. They got cement floors. Why, you would die of pneumonia in them houses. I want you colored people to go right on living in your cozy little cottages."

As usual the "better class of citizens" was indifferent. They did not actively oppose the project because that would have meant social and political effort. Their total contribution to the discussion was: "The Negroes would just go on keeping the coal in the bathtub like they do now."

A handful of influential citizens—two or three social-minded businessmen, two or three political-minded Republicans, three or four labor organizers and shop stewards with no power, half a dozen school teachers who braved the wrath of the school board, all the social workers, and half a dozen courageous Protestant ministers both white and colored—these formed a Citizens' Action Committee to try to save the grant. The committee held mass meetings, distributed pamphlets, imported officials from the USHA to explain the project.

In vain did the committee prove that the tax rate would not be raised; that rentals would not go begging; that real estate values would be raised and not depressed. The ministers' pleas for "the least of My children" fell on deaf Christian ears. The committee could not even get an audience with the mayor.

Finally, as the deadline neared, the Citizens' Action Committee organized a picket line, and for one half day the school teachers, the social workers, the clergymen picketed their own government. The total effect was publicity in the Republican press. Afraid to face his constitu-

ts, the mayor hid in his cellar. Two days later the government grant went by default to another city.

Today Steel Harbor still has its slums with their vice, disease, and crime. Tomorrow the boys from colored and poor white families will return from the battle for democracy to a city so grateful for their sacrifice that it would not provide decent homes for them to live in.

Simple people, when confronted with evidence of how local democracy actually works, always ask, "But why doesn't somebody do something?"

Why don't the citizens of Steel Harbor turn out the Democratic machine with its gangster support and its legal front of white collar criminals?

In the first place they don't care. It is an effort to register and vote, and an effort is what they never, never make. Second, they see nothing to be gained by reinstating seasoned Republicans who taught the upright Democrats how to line their pockets with protection money. Third, the Syndicate carefully plays both sides of the fence. Fourth, no reform group can afford to pay $50,000 to elect an "honest" mayor. Negroes and poor whites who have been shoved around all their lives are not going to vote for an ideal bird in the bush when one day in four years they can get an actual five dollar bill and a pint of whiskey in the hand by voting for the machine. The attitude of Steel Harbor is: "You gotta be realistic. This is the way things are run, and there is nothing you can do about it."

The best people are quick to resent any criticism of Bunny. Vice they are against. But Syndicated vice is a good thing. The Syndicate keeps vice where it belongs—down among the Negroes and the foreigners—and keeps it clean. (The incidence of syphilis shows that it isn't too clean.) "If it wasn't for Bunny," the argument goes, "our girls wouldn't be safe on the streets. You would be surprised if you knew the good things Bunny does—the money he gives the churches and charity."

Recently in a factitious clean-up Bunny was hailed before the City Court. Steel Harbor's leading citizen and banker to all the industries was called to identify him.

"Do you know this man?" asked the judge.

"I do," said the banker, and named the gangster.

"What is his occupation?" asked the judge.

"He is a farmer," replied the banker without batting an eye.

The case was dismissed. The banker is the principal stockholder in the local wire service that feeds the Syndicate's horse rooms.

A current grand jury investigation was mysteriously postponed during the primary campaign so as not to embarrass the mayor who had been subpoenaed. The grand jurors have tried without success to get the criminal court judge, a friend and neighbor of Bunny, to assign a disinterested prosecuting attorney to the investigation.

But why doesn't the clergy do something? The Protestant Ministerial Association has "gone on record" against the Syndicate and its political affiliations. But the ministers have lacked the courage for sterner action. They, too, are afraid to stick their necks out. And, unfortunately, the Protestant clergy are more interested in ridding the city of prostitution and gambling than they are in providing psychological substitutes for them in community centers.

The one religious force with the influence and power
to bring pressure on the mayor and council is the Catholic church of the foreign born. But the priests do nothing about the rackets because of a misplaced fear that any clean-up would force bingo and bendo out of the church basements.

Steel Harbor is a union town. At least 95 percent of the steel and oil workers are organized in the CIO. Labor leaders are always professing their love for democracy. The CIO has written social reform into its legislative program. Why doesn’t organized labor do something?

Partly the answer is that in Steel Harbor religious, racial, and national ties cut across union loyalty. But mainly the answer is that organized labor in Steel Harbor suffers from “dollar a day” unionism. The rank and file of the steel and oil unions, unlike the membership of such mature and politically educated unions as the garment workers and coal miners, are good union men only while the union can get periodic raises for them. Maintenance of membership, dues collection, and wage raises are necessary to a vigorous trade unionism. But interest in government is also necessary to a vigorous democracy that makes trade unionism possible.

In the fight for slum clearance in Steel Harbor, the leadership of the steel workers’ and of the oil workers’ unions did not raise its voice. That voice could have forced the adoption of the program. Except for a handful of shop stewards, one lone organizer, and the interested AFL building trades unions, the leadership of organized labor did not care how its workers were housed. That leadership did raise its voice, however, to endorse the political candidates of the Syndicate.

The final easy answer to local corruption is always: “Call in the Treasury agents. The income tax returns are sure to be vulnerable.”

The Syndicate pays up. Patriotic madames list their bawdy houses as boarding houses, and annually pay thousands to the Treasury out of their room rent. It is true that the politicians, not so astute as Bunny’s henchmen, might be tripped up on their income tax returns. But after you have tossed a Mose Annenberg or a Boss Pendergast in the clink, you still cannot prosecute or convict citizens for their indifference. Conviction of crooked public officials is really an indictment of democracy.

VI

“Which only goes to prove what we have always maintained,” I can hear the impatient lovers of a strenuous democracy saying to this apathy of Steel Harbor’s citizens. “If the people are to have democracy, then you have got to ladle it out to them forcibly from a central kitchen.”

There is only one thing wrong with this kind of democracy. It isn’t democracy. The brew cooked up in quantities lacks the local seasoning that has always given democracy its distinctive flavor. Democracy means an active interest in government by the people, or it means nothing. I am all for the social program of the New Deal. I think it should be expanded in a peaceful world. I am all for centralized economic planning and control. But these highly necessary centralized controls in an age of concentrated economic power still do not relieve the people of concern and obligation in local government.

It may be that America needs some kind of collectivism. But I very much doubt whether the American people are aware of any deep communal feeling. Such a feeling implies a consciousness of community and a concern for its welfare. How many Americans look down the Tennessee Valley and say to themselves: “There, by God, is what we Americans can do when we put our heads together and set our hands to work!” More likely they groused at having to foot the bill so that crackers can have cheap electricity.

If Americans don’t take communal pride in Boulder Dam and Grand Coulee, I doubt whether, without a revolution in outlook, they will take pride in new collective “political and economic forms.” For impersonal collectivism, like democracy, must have at its core a deep personal faith in the community, a profound sense of belonging to that community, a sustaining conviction of personally sharing in, and contributing to, its welfare. If we lack this interest and this conviction under the name and form of democracy, I doubt that we should have it under the name and form of socialism.

No, what is urgently needed is a rebirth of interest in political and social democracy, a re-awakening of the will to make it work. Americans had this will and faith once, and bragged of their political and social miracle as the Russians have bragged of their subway and Dnieperstroy Dam. Political democracy was bought with lives in the American Revolution—in spite of the economic determinists. We repurchased it with lives at Gettysburg. We thought to have revitalized it with human sacrifice in the first World War.

Unless Americans regain that faith and will, this war is lost. Too many Americans still think this war involves a sacrifice of zippers and the Sunday joyride. This war is not being fought, and men are not dying, that their children may have fancier refrigerators than they have ever known. This war is being waged to decide whether men shall continue to enjoy those political rights and duties that we once fought so hard to get and have tossed so carelessly aside.

We can’t fight and win a war for democracy while we are indifferent to democracy in our own city hall. We may win a military victory. We may even get back our tires and our sugar. But the age-long battle of free men to govern themselves we will have lost.
Puerto Rico in Turmoil

by MARJORIE R. CLARK

With its chronic hunger and poverty made acute by the shipping crisis: with its demand for more self-government—economic and political—arousing opposition from many quarters, this troubled island territory of the United States erupts into the news.

SHUT OFF FROM THE MAINLAND BY THE SUBMARINE BLOCKADE and the diversion of ships to carry troops and munitions to far-flung fronts, Puerto Rico finds itself farther into the realities of global war than any other American area except, possibly, Hawaii and Alaska.

The president of the island's Chamber of Commerce said recently in Washington, "Puerto Rico's 2,000,000 people now face greater hardships as a result of the war than any other section of the United States." Acute shortages of nearly fifty vital food items, and of such other basic necessities as matches, laundry soap, dairy feed, fertilizers, fuel oil, and gasoline are bearing heavily on these island Americans, whose normal standard of living allows scant margin for war deprivations. Added to the hardships of war, Puerto Rico finds itself in a second conflict of its own, over its own economic and political problems.

Many of these center in Puerto Rico's position as an American colony, and in its dependence (dramatized today in food shortages and demoralized trade) on the far-off mainland.

Perhaps the island could choose no better time than the present to demand a change in its relationship to the United States and a clarification of its political and economic status. If the United States looks for the liberalization of colonial policy throughout the world, to which it is committed by the Atlantic Charter, it must take the lead in liberalizing its own colonial policy. For this change, Puerto Rico, our only Latin American colony, is a logical starting place. Nazi propaganda has been persistent in pointing out to Latin America the mistakes of the United States in the island. Fortified as the principal point of defense in the Caribbean, the United Nations need the sympathetic loyalty of the Puerto Rican population behind the army and navy. Falangist sentiment flourished openly before the United States entered the war, and still exists in some quarters. With the establishment of the Good Neighbor Policy, Puerto Rico found itself in a strategic place between the two Americas. For the first time there was a reversal in dependence, and the island became highly important to the mainland.

As a first step in recognizing this new relationship, Governor Rexford G. Tugwell, appointed by the President, has recommended that Puerto Rico be given the right to elect its own governor in 1944. The suggestion has been well received both in the island and on the mainland. Of course, it will not satisfy Puerto Ricans, who want ultimate statehood. However, it is doubtful whether the drive for independence—the major political issue in the past—will be revived if the island gains a more dignified and a more clearly defined status. Puerto Ricans want effective voting representation in Congress, more control over sugar quotas, protection from the high freight rates they now must pay because they are forced to ship in American bottoms, freedom from the political pressures and administrative whims which, in the past, have resulted in a constant shift in federal policy, with highly unfavorable results to the island.

Meantime Governor Tugwell and the Popular Democratic Party, under the leadership of Luis Muñoz Marín, are proceeding with a program of economic and social reform. Two years ago the Popular Democratic Party defeated a coalition of Republican and equally reactionary Socialists, who had long controlled the island. Unfortunately for its program, the Popular Democratic Party did not secure a clear majority in the lower house of the insular legislature, and has been able to act only with the support of the Liberal Party. The Liberals, however, have recently joined in the current attacks upon Governor Tugwell and the Popular Party.

Unfortunately, too, the Popular Party was not successful in electing one of its members as resident commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington. In the United States, the spearhead of the attack has been the resident commissioner, Bolívar Pagán, leader of the Socialists. Certain sections of the mainland press have now joined in the sniping, which is oddly reminiscent of the criticism leveled at Dr. Tugwell in early New Deal days when he headed the Resettlement Administration. Then, as now, much of the criticism originated in "big business" circles, notably in large scale agriculture and public utilities corporations, which saw their own interests threatened by a program directed to the welfare of "the forgotten man." Both the governor and the Popular Party have wide support in the island, but because press and radio are controlled by the opposition, this is not obvious even in Puerto Rico. When it was rumored recently that Governor Tugwell was about to resign, thousands of Puerto Ricans signed a petition asking that he remain.

Food and Ships

The war, of course, not only shapes the program of the government but affects the entire life of the island. So far the people have responded generously to every demand made by the war. Enlistments in the army have made the draft unnecessary. Civilian defense is at least as well organized as on the continent, except for the almost complete lack of fire-fighting equipment. Practice blackouts are scrupulously observed. Those who have seen Puerto Ricans in hurricanes say there will be no panic if bombing or attempted invasion occurs. Actually it is doubtful whether the people have a clear realization of what is at stake in the war, or believe that they have much
Puerto Rico’s great problem is shipping. Everything else is relatively unimportant. Despite vigorous attempts in the past year to grow more food in the island itself, nearly half of all food is still shipped in; the percentage of basic foods imported is much greater. For medical supplies, clothing, and other essentials, Puerto Rico also depends on shipping. These imports are paid for by exports, principally sugar and rum. It is as important to the economic life of the island that these exports flow out as that imports come in. During the first six months of 1942 when commercial shipping was supplemented by the use of army transports, only about 40 percent of the sugar crop was moved. Generally, 60 percent of the crop is shipped in this period. Up to early fall, the problem of getting sugar out was not serious. But now with insufficient shipping to meet the civilian supply needs of the island, this situation grows more acute, week by week.

The lack of refrigeration facilities complicates the problem. Fresh meat, butter and eggs are only occasionally available. Even rice and beans have limited storage possibilities, because of dampness and insects. Last summer (1942) at the recommendation of Governor Tugwell, the President asked Congress to appropriate $15,000,000 for food production in the island. The proposal was based upon use of the most productive land in the island, that is, sugar cane land. It has met with vigorous opposition from the sugar producers, who fear that the result will be a reduction in cane acreage after the war. Even with this program, however, there would be no possibility of a material reduction in the shipping needs of the island within the months ahead.

More than a year ago, an Insular Food and General Supplies Commission was set up. This has been supplanted by a general supplies administrator, who has sweeping powers to buy food and other essentials and ship them to the island for sale to merchants, to fix prices, build up and control food reserves, lend money for food production, and take any other action necessary to improve the food supply of the island. Working closely with the Agricultural Marketing Administration and other federal agencies, the administrator is trying to build up a three months stock of food, medicine, fertilizer, and other essentials.

Prices, Wages, and Jobs

As supplies on the island have decreased, prices have risen. A marked increase in purchasing power, due to good wages for work on new military and naval installations, has intensified the problem of price control. Puerto Rico has always paid high prices for inferior goods. It lives on seconds, imperfects, end-of-season, out-of-style merchandise. Even this is harder to get as the continental market expands. Rice, high a year ago at 5 cents a pound, now sells for 10 and 11 cents. The price of codfish, a Puerto Rican staple, has gone up over 200 percent since July 1939. The prices of other basic foods have increased correspondingly. In July, the retail food price index was approximately 100 percent higher than in the same month in
1939. Protests over the price fixing regulations, establishing the March maximum, led the Office of Price Administration to change the base period to that between April 10 and May 10. The increase in prices which merchants had to meet because of the delay between order and delivery, and the rise in shipping costs, in part justified the change. It is no less a serious hardship upon the people.

Wages in general have increased a little. Unskilled construction workers, the highest paid common labor in the island, still get from 16 to 20 cents an hour. A survey of 1,500 families made by the Work Projects Administration in late 1941 showed an annual average income of $330. Incomes in the three principal agricultural crops were considerably lower. In sugar, the average family income was $277; in tobacco, $180; and in coffee, $185. Few workers have space to grow even a portion of their own food. The result is malnutrition and disease among the majority of the people. One of the standing provisions in the union agreement between the Free Federation of Labor and the Sugar Producers Association is that workers will be allotted land for home gardens, a provision which, in the past, the union has never been able to enforce.

Workers in Puerto Rico are not strongly organized. Estimates indicate that for the past several years at least 50 percent of the manpower of the island has been idle. This widespread unemployment has made it impossible to increase wages, and exceedingly difficult to hold members in any organization. Agricultural work is highly seasonal, and part time work is customary throughout the island. Few workers are skilled, and labor turnover is high. For these reasons, and because the labor organization is split three ways, there is little to expect from it in the near future.

The Free Federation of Labor, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is the oldest and most effective of the three labor groups. Until 1940 it was tied up with the Socialist Party. When a split occurred in that party, Bolívar Págán, leader of the Socialists, set up the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor. The third organization, the General Confederation of Labor, came into existence recently. Although believed to be in close alliance with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, it is not affiliated with that organization. It has the support of the Popular Party, and is generally considered the labor arm of that Party. The Free Federation of Labor, on the contrary, has steadily opposed the present governor and the Popular Party. Since the Liberals withdrew their support from the Popular Party the Free Federation of Labor and the votes it controls in the legislature have become very important to Muñoz Marin. Some kind of working arrangement, if not amalgamation, between the Free Federation of Labor and the General Confederation of Labor, is now under discussion.

The past two years were the most prosperous Puerto Rico ever has known. Although unemployment remained high, war construction put many men to work. The income of the island doubled, both because of direct federal spending and because of the high price of sugar and the lifting of the sugar quota. The San Juan Chamber of Commerce estimated that in the spring of 1942 between 100,000 and 120,000 men were at work on federal construction. Sugar production in 1941-42 was the largest in the island's history. In this connection sale of tickets in the lottery owned by the insular government is revealing. For some time prior to February 1941, the number of 10 cent tickets on sale every ten days remained at 1,320,000. By February 1942, the number had risen to 1,620,000. Income from the lottery totaled almost a million dollars more in 1940-41 than in the previous year, and
a further increase is expected this year.

But the situation is changing. Construction has slowed down, and unemployment is increasing. Restrictions on building and the difficulties of getting materials have checked the slum clearance and low rent housing project. Insular government construction is held up. Anticipating more difficult times ahead, the governor seeks an exemption from wartime restrictions to permit construction using only materials available on the island, and he urges that the Work Projects Administration not only maintain but expand its program.

Sugar and Land

Puerto Rico has one of the most serious population problems in the world. There are now almost 2,000,000 people on the island, more than twice the number in 1900. In the ten years between 1930 and 1940, the population increased 21 percent. This tremendous increase has occurred in the face of a relatively stationary agriculture, upon which the island continues to depend. The total land area of Puerto Rico is only 2,198,400 acres. Land suitable for agriculture does not exceed 1,000,000 acres. If every acre of productive land in the island were turned to food crops, import of great quantities of food still would be necessary to maintain even the present very low standard of living.

Puerto Rico is a one-crop country—sugar. Coffee and tobacco, once important crops, still are cultivated, but they grow relatively less important each year. Puerto Rican coffee was sold in European markets which now are lost. The last two hurricanes destroyed many of the coffee trees. Puerto Rican tobacco does not make good ciga-

rettes, and erosion has destroyed much of the best tobacco land. Sugar is grown under competitive disadvantages and political influences which make its place in the world market extremely precarious. Cost of production is high. A large proportion of the income goes to absentee owners, and capital has not been put back into the industry as in Hawaii, for example, either to improve the cane or the methods of cultivation. Labor in the fields and in the mills is very poorly paid, miserably housed, and generally exploited.

The break-up of the sugar plantations and the redistribution of the income from this land, are logically and emotionally at the base of the Popular Democratic reforms. When the Party came into office it found the means at hand in the federal law of 1900, which provided that no partnership or corporation might own or control more than 500 acres of land in the island. In 1940 the United States Supreme Court decided that the insular legislature had authority to implement this law. Dr. Tugwell made a study of the potential effects of the federal law on the island, largely as a result of which he became governor. Adoption of a Land Law, outlining the method of land distribution, was one of the first acts of the Popular Party legislature. This year the Land Law was reinforced by a law making sugar mills public utilities, subject to licensing by the Public Service Commission. The purpose of this measure is to forestall refusal by the large producers to process sugar grown independently on the smaller acreages.

The theory of the Popular Democratic Party is that the land problem can be solved by the creation of a large group of land owning farmers, on small farms and sub-

Press Association, Inc.

A one-crop country—sugar. Since Puerto Rico depends on imports for nearly half its food and most of the other essentials, inability to export the sugar crop leaves the island flat on its back. The average family income of the sugar worker is $277
sistence holdings. This is in effect merely a breaking up of large estates. It overlooks the vital problem of maintaining the highest possible income from the land. Politically and sentimentally, of course, the importance of returning the land to popular ownership far overshadows this problem. But with tillable land so scarce in relation to population, interference with the most efficient use of the land strikes at the basic economy of the island. Governor Tugwell has consistently pointed out the fact that division, not of ownership but of management, is the threat to the effective use of the land. Cooperative management has been suggested, but the Land Authority does not favor any type of cooperative action. Recent appointment of a new executive director may modify this attitude. The question of cooperatives seems likely to become not only an economic but a political issue within the next few years.

The Land Act provides three different methods of distribution. First, land in parcels of from ten to one hundred acres may be sold or leased to individuals, without restriction as to use. Second, land may be divided into farms of from 100 to 500 acres and leased as "proportional profit farms" to persons experienced in farm management, for operation on a limited profit basis. Profits above those specified in the lease go to the laborers on the farm. Under the third type of land distribution, any agricultural laborer is entitled to one quarter of an acre of land free, and may buy three quarters of an acre more at a very nominal cost. Acreage acquired by the Land Authority for distribution, either by purchase or expropriation, is to be paid for by the government at a fair price.

The Land Authority has been in existence more than a year. It has distributed several hundred small plots of land to laborers who, for the most part, were displaced from land taken by the government for military purposes. This forced the Authority to act before it had established policies with regard to housing, sanitation, schools, or community organization. Probably every agricultural laborer in the island can be given his own quarter of an acre of land without impairing production, as the better lands will not be included in these small holdings. So far, no other kind of distribution has been made.

Broader distribution of income from agriculture, without reduction in the return from the land, will very definitely better the island, especially if, at the same time, dependence upon sugar can be broken. Experiments now under way indicate that several crops can be produced with profit enough to afford some diversification. Among the most hopeful are vanilla, quinine, grapes, and various oil bearing trees. Long staple cotton already has passed the experimental stage, with considerably increased acreage this year because of the war.

Island Industry—Needs and Possibilities

The land alone, however, cannot give the people of Puerto Rico a living. Industries are needed. Because of the difficulties and risks involved, industries can be established only by the government. Private capital can be expected to show interest once the experimental stage is passed. Undoubtedly one of the (Continued on page 604)
Much of Daumier's adroit satire was directed against a mercenary legal profession; he identified money as one of the "symbols of justice." But these days, in 134 legal organizations throughout the United States, the client is important—not the fee.

Marie, aged twenty, comes to the Society in distress and fright. She has been fired from her job in a war plant because she cannot prove her citizenship. Her father brought her to America when she was a baby, but disappeared when she was in her teens. Since then she has been on her own. Is she a citizen or not? Her livelihood is at stake. A Legal Aid Society attorney tracks down Marie's father, finds that he became a citizen when Marie was thirteen, which automatically made her a citizen, too. So the Society promptly gets her a certificate of derivative citizenship; thankfully Marie goes back to her job.

Investigation shows that in the United States more than half of all claims under $100 are abandoned because the claimant fears a lawyer's fee would eat up the whole sum. Last year the Society collected $58,318.23 for its clients. Broken down into items of a few dollars each for thousands of poor people, this becomes a significant symbol of justice confirmed.

No case is too trivial for the Legal Aid Society. Susie, a domestic, worked five days and should have been paid $5.80. Instead she received only $5. The Society wrote several letters to the employer and finally got the 80 cents. Naturally Susie was not asked to pay even the 50-cent retainer fee.

Many more Legal Aid Society cases are settled over the phone or by letter than before a judge. The ability and disinterestedness of the attorneys are so well known that defendants often prefer to settle rather than fight them in court.

Tom, a dishwasher, was bilked of $1.25—a day's pay. A phone call to the employer got the money and a few days later Tom sent in his 50-cent fee with a letter of thanks. "We didn't want to take it," says Louis Fabrick, Legal Aid Society attorney-in-chief, "but he didn't give us his return address. Yet realizing that he felt impelled to send it was a rich reward for us all."

Recently the Society received a touching appeal from a thirteen-year-old girl who was being graduated from grammar school. Her parents were on relief—a fact she had managed to conceal from her classmates—and they could not afford to buy her a white dress for graduation. The girl knew that in the city treasury to be held until she became of age was a little money awarded her years before as damages in an accident case. She wrote to the Society, asking what could be done.

At the suggestion of a Legal Aid Society lawyer with a daughter of his own, the Surrogate's Court gravely decided that the purchase of a white dress, shoes, slip and hair-bow was an eminently justifiable demand on the
funds in the treasury of the City of New York. A good deal of trouble to save a girl's pride, perhaps, but the Society felt it was well worth the effort.

No Personal Axe to Grind

In taking care not to accept clients who really can afford a lawyer, a rather flexible dividing line is employed. This line is a weekly income of $25 for a single person, or $40 for a family. Men in uniform, free service always. Registration cards of applicants usually read: Property—none; Wages—$10, $15, $18 a week; Rent—$12, $15, $20 a month. Sometimes the Society is imposed on by people who falsify this information, but the occasions are rare.

Lately the Legal Aid Society has been of immense help to men in the armed forces. Under the terms of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940, the man in uniform was endlessly harassed by landlords, merchants and loan companies unless his debts dated from before October 17, 1940. A new amendment to the act—drawn up in part by the Society's lawyers—now gives the service man a moratorium on debts incurred right up to the date of induction. But there still are many technical steps through which soldiers and sailors need guidance.

A Legal Aid Society attorney never promotes a trial when there is no convincing defense. Instead, in criminal cases, he does his best to get a confession; by throwing himself on the mercy of the court the defendant almost always gets a much lighter sentence than if he had been tried and found guilty. "And furthermore," says Edward R. Tighe, head of the Society's criminal branch, "confession is the first step toward rectitude. All sorts of helping hands stretch out to the man who admits his guilt."

There have been numerous cases of convicted innocent men freed through the efforts of the Society. Recently a man, accused of swindling a Johns Hopkins professor, swore that he had been staying in a Detroit rooming house on the day of the crime. The Society attorney got photostatic copies of the rooming house register showing the defendant's signature, yet the jury chose to believe the professor's testimony and found the accused man guilty. The judge and district attorney in the case were so impressed by the Society's defense, however, that each sent a detective to Detroit to investigate further. Both came back with affidavits that the man actually had been seen at the rooming house on the date in question. The verdict was set aside.

Courts treat Legal Aid lawyers with special respect. They know that these men have no personal axe to grind, that their sole interest is in defending the legitimate rights of their clients.

Nationwide Legal Aid

The Society's fight for equal justice runs back to 1876, when a handful of public-spirited German-American citizens banded together to provide free legal advice for immigrant fellow-countrymen who often were cheated or jailed through their ignorance of our language and laws. Soon this group made its facilities available to all poor people. Carl Schurz, Elihu Root, and Theodore Roosevelt were among the early directors of what, in 1896, became the present Society. Its growing success spread the idea nationwide.

The 133 similar legal aid organizations throughout the United States last year handled 295,251 cases and collected $61,844 for their clients. These far-flung units frequently cooperate. A few years ago a man in Utah was killed crossing railroad tracks outside the plant where he worked. The Utah Industrial Commission awarded his widow damages, but the company appealed to the state Supreme Court. The Salt Lake City Legal Aid Society won the case for the widow. The company then appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. The Salt Lake City group wired a lawyer in the Boston Legal Aid Society who was especially skilled in workmen's compensation cases. He went to Washington, found the papers from Utah waiting for him, worked night and day for three days preparing his case, then presented it before the Supreme Court. The Court sustained the widow's claim.

The New York Society is constantly striving to prevent evils by campaigning for new and better laws. The Small Claims Court, first established in New York in 1934 and widely copied since then, was sponsored by the Legal Aid Society. The New York State installment legislation of 1942, eliminating weasel-worded small-print clauses in selling contracts, was another clearcut victory for the Society, which enlisted the cooperation of the leading installment merchants. The Society has also been behind various laws against loan sharks.

Legal Aid Society lawyers keep urging their clients: "Consult us before you borrow money, sign papers, or take any other legal step. Our advice is free and it may save you trouble later."

The Legal Aid Society is the only law office in New York where business never falls off. The slack summer months of the ordinary barrister's office are unknown, for the Society's twenty-two lawyers are busier than ever handling the flow of about 150 new applicants every day. For these little men with big problems, the Legal Aid Society is turning "Equal Justice for All" from a copybook phrase into reality.

"It's absolutely impossible to take your case," says the scornful lawyer in this Daumier cartoon. "You haven't got the most important papers . . . (aside) paper bills."
The War in China
Paintings by Chinese Artists

These scroll paintings in water color are from an exhibit of over eighty paintings and woodcuts by Chinese artists showing China at war. They were brought to the United States by Wendell Willkie from the All China Fine Arts Association, to be shown on behalf of United China Relief. After the current show at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, they will be sent on a tour of the country. The All China Fine Arts Association is a branch of the Central Political Institute in Chungking, which includes training in art and in music in its four-year course for political administrative officials. At the bottom of the original scroll at the left of this page, the artist has written in English a warm tribute to General Chennault's Flying Tigers: "... this group has achieved a record of aerial combats which will remain a marvel in military history .... This picture is a meager attempt to express my admiration of the heroic deeds of the American Volunteer Group."
Wisconsin state high demand the government might the old was would briefly, slow long strong steady leading the our to 1929 an necessitates should grams, and must be musted up and may undoubted nationalized were undoubtedly nationalized the whole there has a steady accretion of powers and responsibilities in Washington. But, until recently, the movement was a slow one. It was immensely accelerated in the New Deal period by two circumstances, both related to constitutional law.

When the unprecedented economic collapse of 1929 brought insistent demands for government aid from all classes, state governments could give financial relief only to the extent to which money could be raised by taxation. Constitutional barriers severely limited deficit financing in almost all states, but the national government can borrow without any such limit. Since increased taxes come very hard in a depression, the demand for national action became irresistible. The national relief programs were many and various; not to exhaust the list, we may mention RFC, AAA, FERA, WPA; plus the many housing programs and the categorical assistance provided under the Social Security Act. Nearly all of these were financed by borrowing. In addition, the Social Security Act created a national old age and survivors’ insurance system and made possible the federal-state cooperative program for unemployment compensation. In all these new activities, except the last, the national government played the sole or clearly the dominant role.

Of course these various relief measures were necessary and highly desirable in the face of economic conditions in the thirties, and the permanent social security program marked a tremendous advance in protection for American wage earners. But approval of these measures should not blind us to certain important though indirect consequences. For good or ill, these new laws immensely enhanced the power and prestige of the national government. Many citizens learned, perhaps too well, to look to Washington for help, and even for decision as to the kind of help they were to receive. Since these new programs were largely financed from Washington, the states were either out of the picture entirely or virtually relegated to the role of signing on the dotted line. Though citizens in all states pay the piper, Washington has increasingly called the tune. To an extent little realized at the time, state and local governments sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. Because the pottage was provided by deficit financing, taxpayers forgot the eventual repayment and thought of the borrowed money as “manna from heaven.”

Another recent event has greatly changed the relation-
ship between national and state governments. Until 1937 the Constitution seemed to bar the wide extension of national activity. Repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States kept alive the doctrine that the national government was one of limited powers. Beyond definite limits a large field of action remained the sole province of the states.

In 1937 the constitutional barrier to national action was virtually leveled. First the Supreme Court upheld the National Labor Relations Act (and later the Fair Labor Standards Act) as a proper exercise of the power to regulate interstate commerce. Then it upheld the old age insurance provisions of the Social Security Act as a proper exercise of the power to tax and spend for the public welfare. The effect of these two decisions is to give Congress power to do almost everything a state legislature can do. And of course it always has been recognized that where Congress can and does act it supersedes the states.

Liberal public opinion applauds these recent Supreme Court decisions. It sees pressing problems which can be handled only nationally and approves a reading of the Constitution which gives the national government freedom to act. But we should remember that freedom always entails responsibility. In the decisions which so greatly widened the scope of national power the Supreme Court shifted to Congress and to those who promote national laws a very grave responsibility. It has now become possible under the Constitution to reduce the states to insignificance as governing units. But the question remains: Is that a wise thing to do? Are we sure that the states have so far outlived their usefulness? Or is the United States so large a country that democratic government and centralized government may be incompatible?

In this article I shall try to explain why I, for one, believe state government should continue to function in unemployment compensation and in as many other fields as practicable. The argument falls under four heads:

The need to go slow in further increasing the jobs to be done in Washington, for the responsibilities now concentrated there already outrun the capacity of human beings.

The need for diversity in government, to meet the diversity in the people and things to be governed.

The need for pioneering and experimentation in the use of government to solve our problems.

The need to retain the states as governmental units, in order to make and keep government truly democratic.

The Question of Sheer Size

As David Lilienthal, director of the TVA, has well said, everything in our country is getting bigger; only men continue to come about the same size. That is highly relevant here, for governing must be done by men. All the miracles of science will not devise a substitute. Machines can replace clerks, but they cannot save labor for presidents, congressmen, cabinet officers, or the top officials in all the new governmental agencies. Machines can enable a man's voice to be heard all over the world, but they cannot tell him what to say. Governing is basically a matter of human judgment, of making decisions between alternative courses of action. It takes time to learn the facts, and to listen to the diverse views necessary for sound decisions.

Those who insist that large scale government has the same possibilities and advantages as large scale operation of industry are misled by a false analogy. The advantages of large scale industry depend on the use of mass production, which in turn depends on complete standardization—the interchangeability of identical parts.

But human beings and human situations are not "identical parts." No two are exactly alike. Since they are the stuff with which government deals, it must take differences into account, must study the facts of the specific case. General rules and procedures can be used, of course; but they will continue to have limited application as long as we recognize the inherent quality of the material with which government deals. For that reason, the unit of greatest efficiency in government will always remain relatively small. It should not outrun the capacity of those who govern to give attention to the specific instance; it must allow them time to learn the facts and make a judgment.

If all our laws were passed in Washington, the job of the congressman or senator would exceed human capacity; it has nearly reached that point already. The problems put up to Congress should be limited rigorously to those in which action can be effective only if it is on a national scale. Where there is doubt about that, the problem should be left to the states.

When it comes to actual administration, the case against centralization is perhaps even stronger. Congress can somewhat reduce its load by delegating to administrative agencies. But proliferation of administrative agencies puts an overwhelming burden on the Chief Executive who must accept final responsibility for their actions. Moreover, each national agency or bureau is apt to exceed the unit of greatest efficiency, for a multitude of policy questions have to be decided by top officials who do not have time enough to make wise decisions. The "centralizers," of course, talk about delegation of responsibility to subordinates in Washington or in regional offices—but such delegation has very definite limits. Responsibility must lodge somewhere. The responsible official must make the final decisions. He must not only hire and fire subordinates, but he must also know enough to determine whether or not they are doing a good job. We hear repeatedly today of top officials in Washington who do not know what is going on "down the line." They give orders which are not carried out or are even directly disobeyed. But the subordinates are irresponsible—it is hard to find out who really made the decision. Far better, where at all possible, to retain administration on a state basis where the unit is small enough for normal human capacity. There are few supermen.

This argument against national action on the ground of sheer size is particularly applicable to a field like unemployment compensation, which touches hundreds of thousands of employers big and little, tens of millions of workers, and a great variety of situations. And "decentralized" administration is often a fiction, where authority and policy-making are centralized in Washington.

The Need for Diversity

We have a very large country in area and population, with tremendous differences in climate, density of population, per capita wealth, and degree of industrialization; with great diversity in standards of living, levels of education, and kinds of economic activity; with wide variety in history, culture, and forms of local and voluntary
organization. Very simple kinds of government activity perhaps can and should be uniform despite such diversity. Law and order should be maintained everywhere; basic civil rights should be protected everywhere. But many things government tries to do today are exceedingly complicated. They interweave with every aspect of life. As government increasingly penetrates into the activities of the family, the business, the association of farmers, laborers, or businessmen, it must increasingly take account of local conditions and customs. An excellent law for the industrialized East might easily do more harm than good in the Deep South or the Great Plains.

It may be urged that a national law need not be absolutely uniform, that it can be devised so as to provide differential treatment to suit diverse conditions. But such adaptation is difficult, at best. Diversities are not easy to measure with sufficient statistical exactness. The danger that the differential treatment will be arbitrary—will mean special privileges for some areas at the expense of others—is very real. Take, for example, the attempt to formulate a basis for differentiating in federal aid for state old age pensions. Because Congress has been suspicious of complicated formulas for giving more aid to some states than to others, it has so far stuck to the present simple matching basis.

Those favoring national action will no doubt declare that our present pension program is unsatisfactory just because it is not truly national. Their solution in this particular field would be a uniform national pension. Here we are back to the dangers of applying uniform action to very diverse conditions. The difference in prevailing wages or per capita income between different parts of the country would inevitably make a uniform pension too high in some regions and too low in others. Surely an old age pension should bear some proper relation to prevailing standards of living and average earnings.

Most officials in Washington aim to equalize economic conditions (as well as legislation) throughout the country. They wish, of course, to level up rather than down. But geographic and economic facts are apt to prove somewhat stubborn. Even a totalitarian government could scarcely obliterate the differences between metropolitan New York and the state of Nevada. I, for one, see no reason to try. Government has a role to play in both such areas, but it should be adapted to local needs.

Perhaps, after all, government can fit diverse local needs best if it is the government of the locality by its own people. The state is probably the best-sized unit for many functions—of which I believe unemployment compensation is one. Moreover, the state is a going concern. It has a common history, it can invoke loyalties, and it is the basis for many voluntary organizations. It is well worth preserving in our governmental system.

Pioneers and Experiments

We should remember that complete reliance on national action would mean the sacrifice of pioneering advances in one state or another. We tend to forget the state origins of virtually every item of New Deal accomplishment, such as minimum wage, maximum hours, child-labor protection, old age pensions, and aid to dependent children. (Even the National Labor Relations Act is based largely on a special law for railroad workers passed by Congress in 1926. Railroad labor would hardly have received special treatment if all labor legislation had been national.) If Wisconsin had not passed an unemployment compensation law in 1932, that reform might well have remained outside the realm of practical politics for many years more.

True, the standards in many of these early state laws look very low now, and there were many states which did not act at all; but in each field some states were pioneers. If the states lose responsibility for the welfare of their citizens, it is clear that individual states will no longer take the initiative in social pioneering. Yet spearheads of advance are as much needed on the legislative as on the military front.

Related to this need for pioneering is the great value of experiment. We are steering a difficult course in this country, trying to preserve the good features of private enterprise while using government to mitigate its evils and fill in its gaps. Never did we so need to experiment. We should try out many different devices for utilizing the powers and agencies of government, and watch their progress.

Of course some experiments cannot be made by a single state. Transportation and communication, for example, are inevitably interstate and hence must be regulated nationally. But experiments in such fields as social security can be undertaken on a state basis, and are especially suited to the smaller administrative unit, in view of their direct effect on large numbers of individuals. The alleged danger of creating unfair competitive conditions for business enterprise in different states need not be taken too seriously in view of the great diversity between states in many other conditions affecting business. There is little evidence that employers in the "advanced" states have been badly handicapped in the past.

Our great jurists have pointed out that the federal form of government is ideally suited for small scale experiments in government action, and have insisted that the Constitution should not be used to prevent such experiments. In his classic dissent in Triax v. Corrigan, Justice Holmes declared:

There is nothing I more deprecate than the use of the Fourteenth Amendment beyond the absolute compulsion of its words to prevent the making of social experiments that an important part of the community desires, in the insulated chambers afforded by the several states, even though the experiments may seem futile or even noxious to me and to those whose judgment I most respect.

Today's Supreme Court has to a large extent accepted this philosophy of Justice Holmes. But, ironically, the very removal of the old barrier to legislative experiment may result in the erection of a new one. For if national action, now given virtually unlimited scope, were to cover one field after another, it would blanket out the chance for the state experiments which we sorely need. If citizens looked only to Washington to solve their problems, the likelihood of state experiments would dwindle to the vanishing point. For men with vision or creative ability would no longer run for state office or the state legislature or stay in state jobs. Already, centralization has drained much first class capacity from the states.

Looking back, we can see many state experiments that have proved immensely valuable. For example, when accident compensation laws were first passed, government insurance was virtually un-

(Continued on page 607)
Rescue from Starvation

by WINFRED OVERHOLSER, M.D.

An American experiment in scientific rescue of the most undernourished people in undernourished France—the population of the eleven internment camps. A preview of the aid that must be rushed to a delivered Europe.

"Forty-two kilos," said the doctor. "Another one—height one meter seventy-five and weight forty-two kilos!" Height five feet ten and weight ninety-two pounds.

This is a full-grown man—one of the thousands of men, women, and children who have been living in the internment camps of unoccupied France for anything up to three and a half years. In a Europe where malnutrition of the entire civilian population is about the only common factor left to occupied, unoccupied, and neutral countries alike, it is not surprising that the population of the eleven internment camps should represent one of the most acutely undernourished groups of human beings ever found in the Western world—at least, since medieval times, when the forces of nature managed to provide famine conditions from time to time without the help of man.

Conditions have varied somewhat from camp to camp, but some months ago in one of them the caloric content of the actual daily rations consumed was 950. Towards the end of the last war, urban Germans living on from 1,400 to 1,800 calories a day were regarded as being in a critical condition—as indeed they were.

According to figures published by the Institute of Hygienic Research, Marseilles, for the last quarter of 1941, the average daily caloric intake of the civilian population of Marseilles was 1,764, 1,509 and 1,611 for men, women and children respectively. In the spring of this year, a foreign observer reported on the dinner menu in a good hotel in unoccupied France. It consisted of a soup made of green leaves boiled in water, followed by braised lettuce with tomato sauce, asparagus with vinegar and water for dressing, green salad, and three or four small crackers for dessert. This was the menu on four consecutive evenings, with once, a minute piece of meat, once, a puree of cow-peas, and twice, macaroni. There were no carrots, turnips or other substantial vegetables and "of course no potatoes. There are not enough potatoes in southern France even for seed," he stated.

An American citizen, who had been in unoccupied France for a few days in the early autumn, wrote about the wonderful lunch to which he had been invited: "It was rabbit or cat—I don't know which and I don't care! It was marvelous anyway!"

The camp dweller got no cat and no rabbit, though he too would have devoured either with gratitude. Out of his 950 calories, 625 came from his daily bread ration of slightly over half-a-pound (about four slices of the size in an American sandwich). The rest of the "camp ordinary" consisted of one sixth of an ounce of fat, one fifth of an ounce of sugar, a very small portion of tomatoes or jam or dates, just over four ounces of potatoes (if he were lucky) and mornings and evenings a soup made of

The results of underfeeding, week after week, year after year
pumpkin or cabbage (weeks of pumpkin without a break, followed by weeks of cabbage). Very occasionally there would be a small piece of meat or cheese.

No wonder that men living on this diet week in, week out for more than a year (the medical report describes some of the Italian and Spanish internees as people who have been half-starved for years—"or even for centuries") now weigh only eighty or ninety pounds and look like living skeletons. No wonder that death from starvation swept through the camps like an epidemic.

The doctors who have endeavored to cope with this situation were those sent into the camps by the Unitarian Service Committee’s Marseilles center, with the consent of the French government, to study conditions as a whole and work out the best methods of treatment. Their first step, begun in February 1942, was to make a thorough medical examination of nine thousand patients—the great majority of the camp population—recording height, weight, state of skin and underlying tissues, condition of the heart, blood, and so forth.

Starting from the basis of a height-weight coefficient regarded as the "physiological weight," they classified patients into three groups: the starving (cachectics), who numbered 331, the near-starving (839) and the threatened (4,000). Curative treatment was started on the first two groups after they had been isolated in special huts.

Dr. Charles R. Joy, the European commissioner of the Unitarian Service Committee, described the scene in such a hut, where there were two rows of cots down the room: "There were men lying in most of them, men with staring eyes, watching us with embarrassing intentness. It was as if invisible fingers were plucking at us, trying to snatch some bit of comfort, some assurance that the fate of the dying man behind us should not be theirs. Yet there was hopelessness on every face, and fear on some. This was the home of the doomed. They were dying of starvation... A man came creeping along on all fours. He could not walk. He climbed on his bed like an animal, and lay there exhausted. As we left the barracks at the other end, we saw a man huddled in the far corner, as if he had shrunk into his shabby clothing. He was saying to himself over and over again: 'J’ai froid! J’ai froid!' He was not speaking to us. It was like a moan."

The relief agencies obtained the use of a section of the camp kitchens, and the camp wardens turned over to them the rations normally allotted to the persons under treatment. The agencies themselves provided what supplements they could, particularly in protective foods, and a special menu was worked out, providing for an additional 1,500 calories each day for the first group, 800 for the second and 400 for the third.

The supplementary food was supplied by the Secours Suisse, the American Friends, and the Jewish Children’s Aid Society (OSE). The special medicines, vitamins, liver extract, yeast, and so on, came from the Unitarian Service Committee, which last summer was able to obtain what were in some cases the only available supplies left in Europe, largely through the Joint Committee of the International Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, and generous gifts from other sources in Switzerland.

Hundreds Snatched from Death

The situation was desperate when the work was started. Out of a first group of forty transferred in a month to the special hut, not one survived. In January 1942, the average death rate was two or more a day, but by March this had fallen by 70 percent, and it continued to fall throughout the summer. At the end of six months’ activity, the Commission of Hygiene, composed of Dr. René Zimmer, head doctor of the Unitarian Service Committee, Maurice Dubois, of the Swiss Red Cross Children’s Aid, and Dr. Joseph Weill, of the Jewish Children’s Aid Society, presented a detailed report to the Coordinating Committee of all the relief agencies operating in unoccupied France. This report showed almost universal gains in weight and improvement in health, with hundreds of people literally "snatched from death."

The purely medical side of the enterprise was in the hands of the Service Committee’s doctors, because this agency had specialized in the medical field and was recognized as the centralizing organization for this work. Its earliest activities were to get vitrex panes put into the windowless huts in the Gurs camp, to supply picks and shovels for digging latrines and trenches, and to install drinking water pumps in the Argeles camp, where typhoid was rampant. Delousing apparatus was provided here and in other camps, and derailing carried out.

In July 1941, the Unitarian Service Committee’s clinic was opened in Marseilles, to provide free medical, dental.
surgical and orthopedic treatment for any refugee, regardless of race, creed or nationality, referred by any of the twenty relief agencies represented on the Coordinating Committee. During the first month, 495 persons came for medical and dental treatment; for the month of March 1942, the number of consults was 2,560, and the premises later had to be enlarged.

Hungry, Hurt and Orphaned Children

One of the most important departments, with outstanding achievements to its credit, was that devoted to the care of children. Twelve-year-old René, for example, was suffering from concussion of the brain after being buried under the ruins of his home during a bombardment of Dunkirk, and his young sister was killed at his side during another bombardment. A second sister had already died of tuberculosis and when he was brought to the clinic he found to be suffering from tuberculosis and extreme nervousness. He was given immediate treatment, under which he showed great improvement, and was then placed in a Swiss preventorium.

A girl of thirteen had a terrible leg ulcer, brought on by thyroid deficiency, undernourishment, and frost-bite. A month's treatment of rest, ultra-violet rays, and gland extracts cured her.

Rickets is widely prevalent. Numbers of children benefited from the ultra-violet ray lamp, and from the classes in remedial gymnastics, where, the teacher remarked, "We have to be very careful not to do any strenuous exercises, as the children are not strong enough."

The pharmacy attached to the clinic filled all prescriptions and also sent supplies to the camps and foreign labor companies. After the Unitarian Service Committee became the recognized agent of the International Red Cross for the distribution of medical supplies in unoccupied France, the director, Noel H. Field, reported with delight the precious medical and pharmaceutical supplies he received. Many gifts in kind also were received from Swiss drug manufacturers, including tonics and vitamin concentrates obtainable nowhere in France.

One extremely moving letter of thanks for a consignment of medical supplies sent out by the Marseilles center came from a British detachment interned near the town, and another from the leader of a group of mixed nationalities working near Colombe-Bechar on the Trans-Saharan railroad, who expressed special thanks for the "toothbrushes and toothpaste. We now have one toothbrush for every fifth man."

Some time after the establishment of the Marseilles center, a clinic was opened in Toulouse in an old school loaned rent-free by the French government. This had about forty beds and was used for the hospitalization and surgical treatment of internees from the neighboring camps. It had a fully-equipped operating theater, X-ray department, and biological laboratory, and the woman doctor who directed it and her devoted staff did yeoman service. Later, the building was requisitioned by the French government for its own war wounded, but the staff and all the equipment were transferred to the nearby camp of Rechebedou, which was transformed, with the active cooperation of the Unitarian Service Committee, into a hospital camp intended to house refugees suffering from acute or chronic illness.

Other medical activities included the establishment of dental workshops, bacteriological laboratories, and X-ray apparatus in various camps, the collection of used eyeglasses, false teeth, and hernia appliances in Switzerland (unobtainable in France), and the provision of artificial limbs and wheelchairs for armless and legless internees. In addition, kindergartens for four hundred pre-school age children were set up and staffed in the Rivolais camp and the transit camp of Bompard.

The Marseilles office of the Unitarian Service Committee, like its European headquarters in Lisbon, has helped hundreds of people to emigrate, and has provided relief while they were forced to wait for a visa or a sailing.

After the mass deportations from the camps, many of the "vacancies" were filled at once, especially by the thousands of children whom the deportations have for all practical purposes orphaned.

New Areas of Need

The door which has been closed to the Unitarian Service Committee by the Nazi occupation of southern France is just a little peephole compared with the mighty gateway to increased opportunities which the forward drive of the United Nations' forces opens up.

Current developments will prevent the continuation of these projects in France. American direction and support for the enterprise are out of the question, and it is against the policy of the Unitarian Service Committee to operate in "enemy territory." However, in North Africa there are at least 50,000 refugees of all nationalities, most of them employed in forced labor on the Trans-Saharan railroad. For more than two years the Service Committee has been working to get individuals out and to help those that remain; its social worker had headquarters in Casablanca. Communications were at all times difficult, and recently the difficulties had increased. Now it should be immeasurably easier to survey the situation and bring much needed relief to these friendless men.

In Switzerland, where the Unitarian Service Committee has an office and a strong supporting committee, there are 12,000 refugees, plus several additional thousands who crossed the frontier when mass deportations took place in France. Dr. Robert C. Dexter, executive director of the Service Committee, who recently visited Switzerland as well as France, already has reported on the opportunities which await workers there.

From its Boston headquarters and from its European headquarters in Lisbon, the Unitarian Service Committee is surveying opportunities for service in other areas of need, and announcement of its plans will be made in the near future.

The value of the special medical study made this year will increase steadily as the time for its wider application draws near. In his report, Dr. Zimmer referred to the fact that "the scientific study of starvation is a relatively new and untried field in western Europe," and to the utility of the results obtained "in order to combat the same symptoms now starting to appear among the population of France." We must unfortunately add: Greece, Belgium, Poland, Norway, Holland, Italy—the list is as long as Nazism's black record itself. Any solid preparatory work done now, in the light of recent discoveries in the nutritional field, towards compiling objective data on the most efficient and rapid way of remediating starvation is certain to be of incalculable importance when the job of reviving a semi-inanimate Europe can be started in real earnest.

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LETTERS AND LIFE

Songs for a Journey

by LEON WHIPPLE


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

Chant and ballad, ode and elegy and hymn—we stand in need of such communal poetry, of songs that will release our emotions and voice our hope for the union of peoples, after war. We do not mean battle-songs or panegyrs of victory, but the poems that become our common prayer. The poetry we seek—and know not where to find—is that of the true maker who can, by the power of his feeling and the glory of his word, sum up the national ethos, and the national suffering, and bestow upon the heroic event a universal and timeless meaning. The communal poets of the Bible created a people and a faith. Whitman and Walt Whitman and Lincoln, the poet, spoke a vision for America. Today, the occasions for poetry are supreme and worldwide, not in the deeds, but in the spirit of men: in the men of Dunkirk and the people of Russia, in all the Expendables, in the tragedy of refugee and guerilla. Is not the dream of the four freedoms worth celebration? Do not the very words, United Nations, challenge an ode of a poet of the inter-nation, from China, or India?

Prose will not do—even though Mr. Churchill, not as war-leader, but as voice of the British people in peril, spoke with magnificent eloquence, and Vice-President Wallace proclaimed the noble creed within many hearts. The journalist has recorded better than ever before the courage and sacrifice of plain men, but his words fade with the day. The advertiser, publicity man, and propagandist, rouse our emotions, but for small or ephemeral ends. We distrust them, and the politician, even when they speak truth.

The people now discipline themselves to endure in silence, with the stoic courage that is ever their glory. Men go to war, into silence, and silence fills their homes. What man or woman can say what each suffers? The poet can, and can offer catharsis for the emotions that endanger the spirit. We need the comfort of sharing in communal hymns that may soften loss and endow senseless death with meaning. The poet can restore our faith and vision. Poets are the final creators of morale.

They, too, are voices for our wrath and despair at the worldwide torture and murder and uprooting of simple folk. Our tongues cannot express our hatred of such betrayals of our common humanity. The poet can try; witness Edna Millay’s verse-drama, “The Murder of Lidice.” Her endeavor failed, partly because the Writers’ War Board was concerned with propaganda; partly, because the agony is too close. She is mastered by her emotions, not master of them. The communal poet must transform his emotions through long suffering. To his imagination is strained toward artifice—the clairoyance of Byeta, the pitiful bride, and the blood-hunger of Heydrich, for whose assassination Lidice was razed, all its men and fifty women murdered, and other women and children sent to brutal exile. So her lines, touched often with beauty and compassion, are often forced and over-colored.

She does sense, as her we-re-wolf devil Heydler figure reveals, that the murder of Lidice was subhuman, a deed of malevolent nihilism against the race, against life. In that lies the terror that even Miss Millay cannot translate. But some day there will come a poet who will record this infamy for all men for all time.

The Negro has known many Lidices, and now speaks. The poems of Margaret Walker of Alabama are communal singing, distilled from the long suffering of her race, that holds in memory the bitter past—and questions today. This is American poetry for Americans, and beyond, for all races that suffer in bonds, the dispossessed of the earth who seek now their heritage. What modern lines hold deeper meaning than these?

The struggle staggers us for bread, for pride, for simple dignity. And this is more than fighting to exist; more than revolt and war and human odds. There is a journey from the me to you. There is a journey from the you to me. A union of the two strange worlds must be.

That is universal poetry—Asia and Africa echo this plea. What a proof of the miraculous power of impassioned language! What a mystery of Providence that this young girl can speak for millions! Because she does not speak for herself.

This wisdom has deep roots, deeper in southern life than the roots of its people, she declares, because of her communion through blood and bone with sun and earth. From the Delta the blood-line runs back “to the tropical lands of my birth that, on return to Mobile, may reconcile the pride and pain in me.” With this emotion she composed the title poem, “For My People,” an epitome of Negro sufferings and weakness, both a history, and an indictment. Again she speaks for many Peoples: “trying to fashion a world that will hold all people, all the faces, all the adamas and eyes and their countless generations.”

The verse form is compressed, yet free. This poet returns to the Bible. “The controlled intensity of emotion and the language have something of the surge of biblical poetry,” says Stephen Vincent Benét, in his fine introduction to this volume in the Yale Series of Younger Poets. The spirituals, too, have lessened her tongue, and the personal ballad and work song to which she gives a sardonic moral twist in the odd characters of Molly Means or Bad-Man Stagolce. She has confronted life in streets and fields, and by her genius enlarges experience into universal symbols that arouse emotion. Such poems can help save the future from the past.

The singers render many services: one is to lighten the darkness with gayety, humor, and the play of fancy. The survival of the comic spirit is proof we can keep sane and civilized. That spirit refreshes the soul so we are mighty glad to enjoy innocent merriment in the light verse gathered by anthologist Adams. FPA gives us just what he likes—generous helpings of the classic favorites, and of less well known modern pieces. These pages of wit, parody, paradox, lifting rhythms, and mad rimes will cheer you up. Read ‘em and laugh.

Then remember that our need will not summon communal poets at command. What have we done between World Wars to nourish singers of faith and vision? Alfred Noyes, poet, turns to prose to picture the waste land of those years. In government, false leaders destroyed faith in the pledged word, elevated liars to power, denied the worth
of the single soul, overthrew the distinction between right and wrong, preached worship of the State in place of worship of God. In literature, the “pseudo-intellectuals and neo-pagans” have, he charges, celebrated base emotions, a barren rationalism, and an irrational materialism often disguised as humanitarianism and love for the proletariat. The doctrines of Wells and Mencken, Proust and Joyce, mislead or debased, the cynic age. This is an angry book, and so not always wise or understanding of the general guilt in which we all shared.

The abyss that may engulf us is not only that democracy may perish, but that we shall lose faith in man in the image of God—the origin of democracy. Religion can save us; so Mr. Noyes repeats at the end a Christian credo. It establishes a God to whom reason is reconciled, and a rule of conscience that will restore spiritual values. As members of the Civitas Dei we can rediscover the unity, the hope and the true end of human life. The angry zeal of this challenge is one more English testimony of our hunger for religion. Its psalms are in the Bible.

Shall our modern psalms come from the church? Shall we hear them over the air, as we did Miss Millay’s tale, or the poems of Archibald MacLeish? The promise is there, not yet great singing. Noble opportunity awaits the sovereign genius who can find behind our new kind of engineers war the themes of democracy. It is a strange time—the “E” goes to the plant and workers, the Victoria Cross of service. The crew in the shop and the crew in the stratosphere are somehow members one of another. The donor of blood is likewise kin to the man whose life is preserved by that gift. Our songs of democracy are finally the songs of peace—the sharing of work, our dependence on our unknown fellow-men, the carrying of our common blood to the ends of the earth. In patience we await the coming of singers who will chant the marching hymns of “the journey from the me to you... the journey from the you to me.”

A Man’s Name


In this book Louis Adamic makes a notable addition to his already impressive galaxy of writings expressive of his self-imposed ministry of interpretation and human understanding; his con amore job of turning “foreigners” into “folks”; into individual fellow citizens; neighbors, “people.” Among all those, native and adopted, who with varying degrees of knowledge, sympathy, and intelligence write and talk about the ineffable, heartening, and often heartrending operations of the much mentioned but little-comprehended “American Melting-Pot,” whose stewings and boilings have made and are making us, as Whitman said, not so much a nation as a “nation of nations.” I personally reckon Louis Adamic as “tops.” This because, beside being himself an immigrant, he has become in every sound sense “American” to his toes, and comprehends from both points of view the problems and the prejudices involved. He can write in the vernacular, not merely of perfect, easy and convincing American-English, but of the universal human mind and heart. Every American, whether by the accident of birthplace native or adopted, may well make his books required reading. Most especially if he be of that heterogeneous anthropological and racial agglomeration miscalled Anglo-Saxon, “old-stock,” priding himself, as I do myself, upon “Mayflower ancestry,” as if we had personally selected not only that ancestry but that very ship, and with our own feet stepped off on Plymouth Rock 322 years ago.

“Remember that a man’s name is to him the sweetest and most important sound in the English language,” aptly quotes Adamic from Dale Carnegie’s “How to Make Friends and Influence People.” English only? It is so in any language; from babhood it identifies himself; it is the first spoken sound that gave him status as a person. His family name—however outlandish it may seem to others—embodies his lineage, his own pride of ancestry; all the associations of his home and childhood.

This book, largely a collection of individual instances, case histories, short stories, and brief essays published in Sunday periodicals, with little preaching but much profound philosophy and common sense, deals with one of the most fundamental, poignant, even tragic—though sometimes in the narrative highly amusing—of the obstacles confronting the immigrant in his aspiration to “belong” to his adopted country... that of his name. In the community of its origin it was all right; nobody objected to it or made fun of it. Here his neighbors, his employer, the parents of the girl he wants to marry, the teachers and schoolmates of his children, find it grotesque, ridiculous, unspeakable and unpronounceable. So he faces the question of changing it. Adamic himself faced that and refused to call himself “Adams,” as well he might since since it was his and his use. He is perhaps more justified in finding that the “bumpkins” had difficulty with the pronunciation of his name; hence (so Adamic says) his son comes down to us as Paul Revere.

It is difficult in narrow space to indicate—one may only assert—the scholarly quality of Adamic’s work; the bulk of research which underlies and buttresses it. Impressive are the discrimination and human understanding which characterize it. As a whole, like most of Adamic’s writings, it is an appeal for intelligent tolerance—both ways—in the face of deep-rooted naive prejudices and emotions; comprehension of the psychological factors involved in one of the most human and personal aspects of that vast intricate nexus of problems constituting “the Melting-Pot.”

Winter Park, Fla.

John Palmer Gavit

Post-War Goals


Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

These are the first two of six volumes in a series on the general theme of “When the War Ends” to be written for the Twentieth Century Fund by Stuart Chase. The introductory book explores the terrain which the series will cover; poses the problems and whets your appetite for more. The study of “Goals” gets at once to business and delivers in the pungent, vigorous strokes we have come to expect from this author.

Three important points should be made about it. One: it gives economically defensible body and substance to a vital aspect of our war aims—namely the freedom from want objective. Two: it takes the socially valid idea of a “national minimum” as to living standards, which the Webb’s in England first popularized, ties it up with the various technological studies of potential productivity issued in the last ten years, and shows the practicability in physical terms of assuring that our “national family” shall get an adequate material basis for its life. Three: it is a gratifying and heartening instance of a foundation encouraging an individual to formulate “program” ideas and social aims without restrictive editorial oversight and without such a labored body of documentation and “proof” that no one can afford the time and the price to read the results.

The Twentieth Century Fund is to be congratulated on its hardihood in sponsoring this individualized pronouncement which is not bogged down in the apparatus of “scholarship,” which can be read in a couple of hours, which is unequivocal in its message, which gives a sense that the writer has red blood corpuscles, and knows the world in terms of economic realities and human aspirations.

Mr. Chase has here set himself a high standard to equal
in his subsequent studies. He has contributed importantly to that unofficial discussion of war aims which must surely lead on to greater definiteness in official pronouncements once the public mind is fertilized by such excellent studies as this.

Every citizen in every club or study group where war aims and post-war problems are the focus of attention should certainly read this book.

New York

ORDWAY TEAD

Poet-Historian on the Civil War


The high priest of the democratic faith in people has condensed in this book the history of the war between the states into amazingly small compass. The poet's faculty of compressing an event into one glowing line, is a talent too rarely given historians; but Sandburg chisels historical cameos from painstakingly collected source material. The two Bull Runs, Harpers Ferry, Antietam, Gettysburg resurrect themselves to a companionship with Dunkirk and Stalingrad.

Both the need and difficulty of setting up a centralized and coordinated Union command and plan of campaign is strikingly similar to the problem of the United Nations in the present war. Not until 1863 did Lincoln put Grant in command of all the Union forces pursuant to action by Congress authorizing the appointment of a lieutenant general. Thereafter the Union forces proceeded with a coordinated strategy, drove steadily forward, and ultimately achieved a decisive victory.

Parallel to the military campaigns, Sandburg draws the sordid picture of civilian morale and political maneuverings and the disheartening effect upon the progress of the war. The author does not resort as frequently as in the "War Years" to quotations from which the reader can reach his own conclusions. But occasionally he shortens the narrative by using a revealing contemporary summary. From Harper's

Death leads the panic-stricken crowds endeavoring to escape the conqueror of Europe; Death, Europe's real master, uses his final weapon, hunger: These two drawings by the great Belgian artist, Franz Mazereel, are from a series of 25 drawings made during the European tragedy of 1940. Mazereel himself left Paris on foot, walked 300 miles under bombing and machine fire. His powerful interpretation of total war has just been brought out as a book, "Dance Macabre," by the new publishing firm, Pantheon Books Inc., New York. Price $6.

contrasts the heartbreaking relations between Lincoln and the bumptious McClellan with the "reciprocal functioning of Lee with Davis." "Lee," he says, "had two rare gifts, patience with men and patience with unforeseen circumstances," and a "training in handling and understanding men." Then in a few short paragraphs is given the poetry and drama of the Gettysburg address at ceremonies to which Lincoln had come without invitation except that contained in a printed circular. In that address Sandburg sees Lincoln expressing, for the first time during his Presidency, an essential kinship with Thomas Jefferson.

There is obviously much in the history of our Civil War which can be appropriately contemplated as germane to the problems which face the United Nations today. Whether or not the author intends such a comparison, the inescapable
reflex to his history of the war which drastically amended our concept of human freedom, is to focus attention on the circumstance that we are again fighting what is essentially the same war, growing out of much the same primary causes. It is almost eighty years (four score minus the seven which Lincoln referred to), since he epitomized the American creed at Gettysburg. Reliving those days again with Sandburg will emphasize that another generation of Americans, with hearts and minds nourished by Lincoln’s rededication, are more united now than were Lincoln’s own contemporaries in their determination to see it to freedom “shall not perish.”

CORNWALL, N. Y.

RICHARD B. SCANDRETT, JR.

Novels for Christmas


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At least one of this diverse group of fall novels ought to please almost anyone. There’s one historical, one family portrait, one social problems story, one on what James Thurber calls the “War Between Men and Women,” and one new G. B. Stern story of the famous Rakonitz family, with flashbacks of the original Matriarch in some of her most original moments.

Western Pennsylvania is the setting for the first two. “The Day Must Dawn” is of Hannastown, a stockade and a scattering of houses not far from Pittsburgh, which, during the years 1777-1792, wasn’t much bigger. In the east, Washington is at Valley Forge as the tale begins, and before it is over an obscure general named Cornwallis has surrendered at a vague place called Yorktown, and nobody in Hannastown is quite sure whether that is important or not, because they never heard of either the general or the place before. This book gives a full picture of frontier life, bubbling over with exhaustive research on the part of the author: the day by day and the year by year household routine, the hard work, danger and cold.

Marcia Davenport’s “The Valley of Decision” is also about Pittsburgh: the steel tradition, the building of the steel unions, the strikes, the slums, the floods of river water and the floods of immigrants. First the Irish and then the central Europeans that Pittsburgh called Hunkies and didn’t understand. Here are the Czechs and the Slovaks and Thomas Masaryk creating Czechoslovakia on the banks of the Allegheny. Mrs. Davenport has caught it all and made it a fine and real book.

The moral of “River Bottom Boy” is that plantation Negroes shouldn’t go to the big city. Burden is sixteen when his father and mother decide to leave the plantation. To the cotton cropper and his family New Orleans is a strange place where everything in life costs money and you can’t make any money; or if you do, there are fifty people there to get it away from you. The family disintegrates; there seems to be only one way for a colored boy to get enough to live on and that’s by working for racketeers of his own race. Mr. Matthews, the author, is a social worker and this is a moving and tragic social document.

“The Prodigal Women” is 280,000 words of very able and precise clinical details about the personal difficulties of some well-to-do eastern boys and girls. All the men in this book are rats, and all the women, having plenty of money and being quite untouched by what goes on in the world, can devote their entire time to their suffering. It’s very accurately pictured suffering, but unfortunately they are pretty dull women.

G. B. Stern tells of young Babette Goddard, great-granddaughter of the immortal Anastasia, and how, under pressure of war and family misfortune and by the accidental inheriting of a house, she takes her great grandmother’s place and becomes “The Young Matriarch.” There’s nobody in this book but Rakonitzes and their kin. Though it is mostly for “Matriarch” fans, others will find it rich, entertaining, and full-bodied.

NEW YORK

ALDEN STEVENS

Through Negro Eyes


White men have established certain stereotypes about the Negro in their minds. A principal result of these stereotypes is to make the burden of exploitation rest more lightly upon the conscience of the exploiter. By speech and writing, by movies, novels, plays, songs, and nursery rhymes, we can stantely repeat and reinforce these stereotyped ideas and thus assuage our feelings of guilt; for the majority of whites these notions contain all that they know or want to know concerning the Negro.

If we are ever to learn to know the Negro as he is, and not as we have imagined him to be, we must turn to Negro writers. The pictures that we get from them do not fit into any of our comforting stereotypes. Many of us learned this from the effective artistry of “Native Son.”

“The Negro Caravan” is a thorough, extensive, well-documented picture of Negro life as seen through Negro eyes and described by Negro writers. It covers many different kinds of writing and represents many points of view. The range of materials is great, all the way from folk-sayings to the advanced sociological thought of such writers as Johnson and Frazier. Like the dictionary, the book changes the subject quite frequently, but it has its own kind of unity, and it leaves one with a thirst to know more about every subject that it touches.

Like other studies, that of literature does not teach its own use. In spite of the excellent essays with which the editors introduce and explain their selections, “The Negro Caravan” will mean more to the careful student of Negro life than to the dilettante. It is a book for serious study, a book to be digested. A fine graduate course could be based upon these selections. Nevertheless, there are plenty of things in the book which speak directly and simply in language no tyro could misunderstand, such as Richard Wright’s “The Ethics of Living Jim Crow,” Rayford Logan’s “The Confessions of an Unwilling Nordic,” and Walter White’s “I Investigate Lynching.”

For those who want to learn about Negro life, and for those who want to learn more, “The Negro Caravan” will prove a most useful volume. It is, by the way, an excellent job of book-making.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Frost’s Americanism


The excellence of this book lies in the clear image it gives of Frost, rather than in its arrangement or writing. Lt. Thompson fuses along the way, but always gets to his objective—the riches under the poet’s laconicism. Justice Holmes once wrote William James, “My only promising activity is to make my universe coherent and liveable, not to babble about the universe.” When Frost’s books first appeared it was clear that this bracing union of faith, skepticism and practicality, one characteristic of New England thought, was at last to have its poet. None then could foresee the successful ordeals which the country was to go through. As result of them, Frost, because of his preoccupation with geological
ting meaning into life through resourcefulness and neighborliness—always on the part of the individual, not on the part of committees or Congress—has become the poet of this day. This fine analysis of Frost's Americanism in this book's final chapters on the poet as individualist and social thinker. 

Santa Fe, N. M. Haniel Long

New Books Received

O UR LAND OF SONG—A SINGING SCHOOL. Edited by Theresa Armatige and others. C. C. Birchard & Co. 208 pp. Price $2.95.


(Continued on page 604)

(For answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)
most important laws ever passed by the insular legislature was that adopted in the spring of 1942, creating an Industrial Development Corporation in accordance with a recommendation made by Governor Tugwell. A firm of industrial engineers already has made a preliminary report on possible industries.

While the natural resources of the island are meager, certain industries could be developed. The manufacture of tile, brick, cement, and other building materials would be a logical undertaking, since raw materials are available in large quantities. At present, one of the most prosperous industries in the island is a government owned and managed cement plant. A composition board which, treated with asphalt, is suitable for use in the tropics, can be made from bagasse, a by-product of the sugar-cane mills. Rum bottles, as well as other glass and clay products, can be made locally. The manufacture of furniture offers possibilities, especially in view of the recent development of termite proof bamboo. A textile industry, and the commercial canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables, would be feasible. Coconuts could be turned into copra; and soaps and oils made on the island, rather than imported. The manufacture of rum is increasing very rapidly, and much larger quantities of molasses could be turned into industrial alcohol, needed in the war effort.

Needlework, at one time a leading industry, declined when the Fair Labor Standards Act was passed. The industry was based almost wholly upon the exploitation of labor, and it is doubtful whether it was ever anything but a drain on the island. Men's handkerchiefs, for example, one of the principal items of manufacture, were shipped from New York and parcelled out to homeworkers for hemstitching at a wage as low as 75 cents or $1 a dozen—perhaps 20 to 25 cents a day. Before the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect, a wage of 30 cents a day was considered good. Puerto Rican women are very skilled in needlework. A legitimate industry could be based on that skill.

Industrial development requires not only raw materials, but labor and power. There is labor in great quantity in Puerto Rico, though it is for the most part untrained and in poor physical condition. The few experiments which have been made, however, show that Puerto Ricans have an aptitude for delicate and exact operations. A skilled labor force can be trained when industrial development demands it.

Power, too, is available. The insular government now controls all Puerto Rico's power resources. The Water Resources Authority, created a year ago as one of the first official acts of the Popular Party, can develop power for the entire island.

The resources, though limited, are adequate for many small industries in addition to domestic and other needs. Fuel oil now supplies much of the power; but engineers agree that the water power could be developed by impounding and harnessing the rainfall, which in certain regions is almost continuous, and that wind power is another very practical possibility. The Water Resources Authority, empowered by the last
lature to acquire water systems in the island, will attempt to supply the people with good water, beginning with San Juan and Ponce, the two largest cities.

Until the most urgent economic questions are solved, social legislation must wait. Illiteracy remains shockingly high. Elementary schools still provide space for only half the children of school age. Teachers are poorly paid and inadequately trained. The University of Puerto Rico has failed to afford leadership to develop a sound educational system. The university recently was reorganized, and it may establish closer touch with the life of the island. Governor Tugwell came to the island as chancellor of the university, as well as governor. Early this fall he appointed to the chancellorship Dr. Jaime Benitez, a Puerto Rican scholar and educator.

One important development promises to go far toward solving many of the educational problems of the island—the vocational schools, called second unit schools, now being established in rural areas. Wherever they exist, these schools are in every sense community centers. Agricultural laborers gather in the school on Sunday to talk with the teachers about their problems. They come to the school for seed and for advice as to how to use it. Their wives come for instruction in child care and cooking. The schools teach poultry and pig raising by helping pupils obtain, raise and breed livestock. Men and women are taught to use available materials for handicrafts. They make hats or purses from grasses and reeds, furniture from local woods and bamboo, bracelets and other simple jewelry from brightly colored seeds and shells. There are fewer than a hundred of these schools, but the number is increasing each year.

Language remains one of the serious problems of the schools. The majority of the people still know no English, and this shuts them out of jobs in the States and narrows understanding and sympathy between the island and the continent.

The war has improved public health. Around the military camps intensive work in malaria and hookworm control is going forward. Life in army camps, with better food, clothing, medical care, and living conditions for thousands of Puerto Ricans, will have lasting health benefits. Work is under way to control venereal disease, not only in the camps but in the localities frequented by soldiers and sailors. The health and sanitation problem is so great, however, that it can be solved only when the standard of living is raised, when at least a majority of the people have enough to eat, safe water to drink, and decent shelter.

Obviously to try to secure for Puerto Rico today a standard of living which would be considered adequate for even the lowest income group on the continent is out of the question. The present program, however, if it can go on for several years, will rescue the people from the slow starvation in which they now exist. New crops, broader distribution of sugar income, expanded food production, better housing, good water, work in new industries, schools fitted to the needs of the people, better internal government, higher wages and lower prices, all will help. All are included in the plans outlined by Governor Tugwell and the Popular Party. If the program is not unduly curtailed by the war, and if the opposition does not succeed in its efforts to discredit the Popular Democratic Party and its undertakings, it seems probable that the worst conditions of this American colony can be corrected. But no progress will be possible unless the United States is ready to begin at home its application of the Atlantic Charter. The solution of Puerto Rican problems calls for sustained federal interest, sympathy, and active aid. Even under the best local government, Puerto Rico cannot emerge from its poverty and hunger without the help of the continent.

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known in this country. Most states assumed that insurance companies would carry the risk. If accident compensation had started as a national program, it almost surely would have been an insurance company proposition, and this might well have set the pattern for later social insurances. But a few states, notably Washington and Ohio, set up "exclusive state funds" and maintained them despite the opposition of insurance companies. I believe these experiments were very important in providing a pattern for use in the Social Security Act.

It may be argued that national action need not preclude state action above nationally set minima. But if the line of advance were nationally determined, there would be little freedom for the states to choose different or untried routes. Rather naturally, Washington officialdom tends to be sure that it knows the right lines for advance, and it demands that Congress lay down those routes and permit no others. Unemployment compensation is a case in point. Various divergent methods and objectives exist here. The whole program is very new in this country. Yet Washington officials now demand a uniform national system; they are ready to prescribe in detail for the whole country.

Strangely enough, a majority of liberals seem to support them. These are the people who applauded when the Supreme Court adopted Justice Holmes' self-denying ordinance which leaves freedom for experimentation. But they fail to see that other departments of the national government should counsel the Court in exercising self-restraint.

To be specific, experience rating may seem "a little or even noxious experiment" to the Social Security Board, but ought the board to be so much surer of its ultimate wisdom than was Mr. Justice Holmes? And should liberals be so ready to accept the board's opinion?

The States and Democratic Government

Most important of all, we must preserve the states because they are indispensable to a democratic system of government. We dare not transfer too many functions of government to Washington for fear of destroying the roots of democracy without which the whole tree will wither and die. This is far more than a mere figure of speech. For after all, what is a democratic system of government? Universal suffrage is not enough; not even when coupled with protection to civil and political liberty. Democratic government means government by the people, not just on Election Day, but all the year round. It requires real participation in government by private citizens—not by all of them perhaps, for that would be Utopia, but by a really substantial number.

In a democracy, private citizens must function, must take an active part in the governing process, and so their opportunities to do this must be guarded and strengthened, not weakened or destroyed.

What has this to do with the importance of state government? The answer is simple. Average citizens can function in government only when it is near enough to be accessible, and small enough so they can make a dent. Anyone who has worked for legislation in a state capital and in Washington knows the difference. In a state, public spirited citizens can really make themselves felt, for a state legislator takes a call from two constituents seriously; he has no secretary, so he reads his own mail. In Washington, you can do little without extensive and expensive organization.

The work of the League of Women Voters well exemplifies the difference in the character of citizen participation in government on the state and national scene. On the state and local level, League members are active citizens. They really function effectively. Housewives actually can and do find the time to study issues, arouse their neighbors, attend hearings, and interview their legislators or administrative officials. They can get away from home long enough to get to the state capital. But most of them cannot get to Washington; so on the national level the work of the League must be carried on for the most part by full time national officers.

The situation is the same for other groups. Take farmers, for instance. In Wisconsin when a measure affecting agriculture is up for hearing, real "dirt farmers" can and do throng the capital. They can get as far as Madison to tell their legislators what they want; and get home again to most parts of the state "in time," as they frequently say, "to milk the cows." But they can't get to Washington; so congressmen have mostly federal officials and professional lobbyists to listen to. On the national level, working for legislation is necessarily a large scale business, possible only for well organized and well-financed pressure groups. In the states, individuals and small groups can still function and make a dent. In short, participation in government on the state and local level is open to amateurs; nationally it is limited practically to professionals.

Citizen participation is needed in the administrative as well as the legislative process. Vast powers are now delegated to administrative agencies, remote from popular control. Top officials frequently are appointed for terms of years, and even a new chief executive cannot effect a change in the policy of the agency before his own term expires. There is real danger that the heads of such agencies may become our masters instead of our servants. Our forefathers sought to prevent bureaucracy by rotating government jobs. We realize that this is not the solution. Technical training and experience are too valuable in the complicated task that governmental agencies must perform. Instead, we must give private citizens a place in the administrative process. They have long had a place in the judicial process—as members of the jury. The British use them in a variety of ways in many fields of administration, on advisory committees and quasi-judicial tribunals of many kinds. Advisory committees made up of employer, labor and public representatives are used in many states in the administration of labor laws. This kind of citizen activity needs extending.

The participation of private citizens in the administration of specific laws which directly affect them does not encounter the inertia or indifference which often keep citizens from

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(Continued from page 607)

exercising the general powers which they possess. Members of such advisory committees really give time and thought to the work, well recognizing the importance of what they are asked to do. Thus the committees constitute a school for citizenship in which the pupils (in accord with modern educational principles) "learn by doing." Through these committees, too, the administrator is brought face to face with his constituents, that is, with that segment of the public directly affected by what he is doing. Such committees operate to protect him from conflicting pressures by the affected groups. For in such committees the groups resolve their conflicts through conference and compromise—a kind of collective bargaining, if you will; and administrative government is thus democratized by their active participation.

Citizen participation in government through the use of advisory committees cannot be very effective on a national scale. If local committees are set up, but matters of policy are all decided in Washington, committee members soon sense that they are only local window dressing. Then they usually lose interest; for grown-ups do not care to play at governing. On the other hand, a national advisory committee suffers from the difficulties of size and geography. It is too far for rank-and-file individuals to go to frequent meetings. Labor, at least, is usually represented by its national officers, its own bureaucracy. And the committees get large and formalized and frequently they are steered to save time. The advisory committee is a plant which flourishes best in the home environment.

Unemployment compensation is one of the fields where administration especially benefits from the participation of employers and labor; their watchful interest helps to prevent abuses or inefficient operation. Such participation, through direct contacts and through advisory committees, can best be secured when unemployment compensation is administered as a state function.

Of course, participation by private citizens in the governing process slows things up. The democratic way always takes more time. It is quicker to give a command than to reach agreement in a conference. It takes much less time to issue an executive order than to put a bill through two houses of a legislative body with public hearings in both houses. And it may take longer to get a given type of law passed in all forty-eight states than in one national Congress. On the other hand, it should be remembered that such a law may not be needed in all the states, or a different law might be much better in some of them. And some states could probably pass a much better law than any which could be passed in Congress. In any event, speed is not the main criterion. There are many short-cuts in government that we cannot afford—the price is too high.

IN THE YEARS AHEAD, THOUGH WE CANNOT SEE THE PATTERN plainly, we know that government in this country will have to carry a greatly increased load. Our government can carry it, of course. The governments of Germany and Russia have carried even heavier ones. The question is: can government carry that load and remain democratic government? That question is still unanswered in any large country. Success in the Scandinavian countries is not relevant, because their size makes them more analogous to our states. And Great Britain with a population less than 45,000,000 is divided for many governmental purposes into England, Scotland, and Wales.

Democracy is not merely a form of government. It is a faith. In this country we believe profoundly that government by the people, though it will never be perfect, is better than any other form of government. But faith alone is not enough. To maintain democratic government, we must take care to preserve and develop arrangements by which private citizen can function effectively in the governing process. That means above all, keeping as much government as possible "back home" in the forty-eight states where private citizens live.