

Twenty-Four Years of the Soviet Union

NEW MASSES

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WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE USSR

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Between Ourselves

IN the course of planning this issue, which celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of the November Revolution, members of the NM staff took a half hour from the business of layout and articles to indulge in the great human diversion of reminiscence. All of us, it turned out, had been born some years before that historic November 7 which saw the storming and capture of the Winter Palace. Almost none, however, had been old enough to grasp more than the bare fact of its occurrence. Yet we remembered: there were the scraps of adult conversation, the pervading excitement—things which mean little at the time but become vivid in retrospect because one has discovered their meaning in history. A brief, flat statement like "It won't last"—what an ironic significance that has now, has had for many years since the mighty "experiment" developed in all its reality. In his article on page 11, Joseph North traces one person's experience in the process of learning the truth about America's tremendous ally in the anti-Hitler fight. It is an experience which many of our readers will recognize as similar to their own. Today, to do justice to the meaning of the Soviet Union is not easy. The daily news dispatches from abroad compete with the most eloquent writer. We have tried in this issue to write about the Soviet Union, each of us feeling, in a choked kind of way, how little we have said, how little we have done compared with what had to be done these last four months. And we have tried, as we do each week, to shout out loud what we know are the stakes of our own country in this bitter and terrible struggle.

CARL BRISTEL, NM's business manager, is on a tour through the country, conferring with readers of the magazine, newsdealers, distributors, etc., with the purpose of extending the NM audience to many people whom the magazine has not yet reached. Bristel has already held conferences on the West Coast, in Seattle and Los Angeles. On his return trip he will stop in Denver, Nov. 6-8; St. Louis, Nov. 9-10; Cincinnati, Nov. 10-11; and Pittsburgh, Nov. 12-13.

We will tell you more in forthcoming issues about our plans this year for that annual, never-to-be-missed institution, the NM Writers and Artists Ball. All we have space for this week is to give the date—Saturday night, December 6—and the place, the familiar Webster Hall.

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WHAT AMERICANS ARE LEARNING

Corliss Lamont tells why the Soviets are able to wage a brilliant fight. "Popular notions" people are unlearning. What Harriman and Beaverbrook discovered. Today's prime need: cooperation.

"**WE DISCOVERED,**" said W. Averell Harriman, head of the American mission to the Soviet Union, "that a lot of popular notions about these Russians were wrong." Mr. Harriman was broadcasting to the United States on October 12 from London, where he and Lord Beaverbrook, head of the British mission to Russia, had just arrived from Moscow.

"The Russian," Mr. Harriman went on to state, "has become a first-class mechanic in this last generation. . . . Out on the airfields, where much has to be done with little equipment, our American officers report—and I quote from one of them—that they have never seen such skill, ingenuity, resourcefulness and morale. The Russian mechanics work without shelter in sleet, rain, and wind an average of fourteen hours a day. Their pilots learn to fly American aircraft as quickly, as skillfully, as our own pilots or the British. And so we have our answer to why Hitler's time schedule has been dislocated. The clumsy Russian mujik has become a skilled mechanic."

In a radio address the same evening Lord Beaverbrook, an English press magnate formerly most hostile to Soviet Russia, stressed the efficiency of Soviet aircraft and engine factories and repeated Mr. Harriman's praise of Soviet pilots and mechanics. "Their pilots are of the very best," asserted Beaverbrook, "just as much experienced as any pilots anywhere. And the mechanics who service their aircraft compare in all respects with the mechanics of Great Britain and the United States. Indeed, the Russians have a genius for mechanization."

These remarks on the part of Mr. Harriman and Lord Beaverbrook, as official representatives of the American and British governments, serve to high-light the profound revision in American and English public opinion that has been going on in regard to the Soviet Union during the more than four months since the Nazi invasion of the USSR. I believe that there has been a favorable turn in public opinion concerning Russia much more far-reaching and fundamental than the unfavorable one that took place subsequent to the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact. And I venture to suggest that on this twenty-fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution there exists a greater friendliness among the English-speaking peoples toward the Soviet Union than ever before in its history.

It is not simply individuals like Harriman

and Beaverbrook, with the advantage of a recent trip to the USSR, who are aware that the Russians have first-class factories, airplanes, pilots, and mechanics. It is also anyone and everyone who has followed the news of the Nazi-Soviet war, even in such conservative papers as the *New York Times* and the *New York Sun*, and who has thought through some of the more obvious implications of the situation. And no doubt many alert and intelligent Germans, reading between the lines of the Nazi High Command's communiques—not to mention hearing Hitler's own admissions of Russian strength—have reached similar conclusions about the industrial and technical accomplishments of the Soviet people.

To quote Lord Beaverbrook again, "Russia faces the greatest gathering of savage powers the world has ever known—Finland, Rumania, Hungary, Italy, and Germany over all, all banded together in murder, theft, and arson." Yet month after month the Soviet Union has waged against this unprecedented aggregation of aggression a strong and brilliant defensive battle that has left the most hard-boiled military men abroad agape with admiration. However, you can't stand off Hitler's Luftwaffe and panzer divisions merely with stout hearts and shotguns. And everyone knows, therefore, that from the first Nazi onslaught the Soviet armies have possessed up-to-date and mechanized equipment, in large

quantity and of excellent quality, with which to combat the most highly mechanized attacking force ever assembled in history.

But where did these hard-hitting Soviet tanks, artillery, airplanes, machine guns, trucks, and warships come from? Where, indeed, if not from those very factories so long described by ninety-nine percent of the American press as hopelessly inefficient and bogged down in general confusion? And what does the mass production of such equipment imply about the Russian workers if not that they are well trained and thoroughly competent in modern industrial techniques? And what does the effective operation and servicing of such equipment under the terrific stress of war demonstrate if not that Soviet tank drivers, gunners, plane pilots, mechanics, and the rest have mastered their jobs in practice as well as theory? So we are back, having followed our own route of common-sense reasoning, to where we started with Mr. Harriman and Lord Beaverbrook.

The logical implications of Soviet resistance during the campaign of 1941 go even further and deeper than I have indicated. Soviet defense industries and defense workers cannot and do not function in a vacuum. They must be integrated with the entire economic system of the USSR; the health and progress of one sector in that system is necessarily bound up with the successful functioning of the whole. And in fact it is the general achievements of the great Five-Year Plans starting in 1928 that provide the key to Soviet economic and military power today. Socialist planning in Soviet Russia was not, after all, just a lot of Red smoke. It had ample substance and solidity, as Hitler has been finding out at the cost of millions of men in casualties and billions of dollars in materiel.

For both the creation of socialism and the purposes of defense the most important accomplishments of the Five Year Plans have been the building of a heavy industrial base, the improvement of transportation, the mechanization and collectivization of agriculture, the distribution of economic developments throughout the country, and the technical education of the population. The stress on heavy industry was essential for the manufacture of armaments and for making the country largely independent of the capitalist world in case of attack. It necessitated enormous sacrifices on the part of the Soviet people and a deliberate foregoing of the maximum returns possible in the field of consumption





goods—things like shoes, clothing, furniture, kitchen utensils, and the thousand and one other articles that make up the pattern of everyday living. By the middle of the Second Five Year Plan, however, these consumers' goods were pouring out of the factories in vastly increased quantities. At the same time, as full collectivization of the farms was achieved, the best harvests in Russian history proceeded to take place and scores of millions of Soviet peasants learned how to handle modern machinery. The all-round standard of living rose immensely.

But as the danger of war became more intense from 1939 on, the Soviets again concentrated on heavy industry and particularly on the defense production sector. Huge material reserves of everything from food to coal were piled up at strategic points throughout the land. In the summer of 1940 the working day, by recommendation of the trade unions, was lengthened in general from the usual six or seven hours to eight; whereupon certain liberals abroad raised their usual howl about the principles of socialism being betrayed. They might just as well have claimed that Premier Stalin's placing the Moscow area in a state of siege during the recent all-out Nazi offensive was a violation of democracy. It is now plain for all to see that the various internal measures of the past few years to step up production and tighten discipline in the USSR were fully justified.

As for transportation, everyone remembers how often it was said that this was the irreparably "weak link" in the Soviet economic order and how often it was predicted that it would break down disastrously under the strain of war conditions. Yet Soviet transport, both by railway and otherwise, has made a brilliant record for itself during the last four months. Competent observers everywhere have admitted that the remarkable Soviet defensive effort could not have been maintained without an efficiently functioning transportation system behind the lines. Just now comes the significant news that the Russians have completed, along the northwestern shore of the Caspian Sea, a new railroad that links the great oil center of Baku with northern Russia through the city of Astrakhan. Thus even if the Nazis capture Rostov and cut the main trunk line from Baku, there remains a railroad route—as well as Soviet shipping in the Caspian itself—by which the oil of the Caucasus can be sent north.

Since Hitler's October attack on Moscow most American commentators have discovered for the first time that the Soviet Union possesses vast economic reserves to the east of European Russia and are acknowledging that in all probability the Russian armies will be able to keep on fighting even if Moscow, Leningrad, and the Ukraine fall to the invaders. The fact is, of course, that for the past fifteen years the Soviet planners have been effecting a tremendous redistribution of economic life in the USSR and have succeeded in doing away with the top-heavy concentration of industry in western Russia that existed

under the czarist regime. And today it is generally recognized that Siberia, which most Americans have always regarded as a cold and wind-swept wasteland, has in its two richest areas alone, those of the Urals and the Kuznets Basin, about twice as much industrial production as the whole of old czarist Russia.

All this economic development, however, and all the splendid modern equipment of the Red Army, would avail little against the Nazis if the Soviet Union were lacking in morale and leadership. Here again the actual course of the conflict has disproved any number of misconceptions about conditions in the USSR. The Soviet people have rallied to the defense of their socialist republic with an ardor and determination unexcelled in the annals of heroism. Daily this is proved anew by the fighting spirit of the Russian armies, by the activity of the guerrilla bands, by the civilian defenders of Leningrad and Moscow, and by the relentless prosecution of the scorched earth policy.

At the same time leadership in the army and government has been fully equal to the great crisis imposed upon it. Events have not borne out the American liberals' lament that the Moscow Trials and the general purges of 1937 and 1938, admittedly most regrettable necessities, had fatally weakened Soviet leadership. It now becomes clearer than ever that those trials and purges got rid of a threatening fascist fifth column in the USSR. Every other non-fascist nation in Europe had a fifth column; and unfortunately Soviet Russia, still in the throes of a tremendous revolutionary transformation, was no exception to the rule. But to cite a recent statement by Mr. Joseph E. Davies, former US ambassador to Russia, "When the democracies of the world indulged in wishful thinking and slept in false security, the Soviet Union cleansed its house of treason."

The existence of a large-scale conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government and surrender important Russian territories to the fascist enemy certainly constituted a serious setback for democracy in the USSR. Indeed, it is obvious that the whole atmosphere prevailing in Europe and Asia over the last decade was unfavorable for the development of democracy *everywhere*. The constant threat and actual carrying out of fascist aggression, with its inevitable accompaniments of fifth columnists, spies, and general nervousness, was distinctly not a helpful factor for the happy flourishing of democracy. Yet in spite of these handicaps both internal and external, Soviet democracy in general has made very great progress. From my own trips to the USSR in 1932 and 1938 I would say that full economic, racial, and cultural democracy has been established, that there is equality between the sexes and that there is freedom of religious worship. Though in my own opinion political democracy has lagged behind the other forms, it has made enormous strides in comparison with czarist times.

Turning to some of the questions raised by Soviet foreign policy from 1939 to 1941, I

hardly think I need expand on the falsity of the charges that there was ever a Nazi-Soviet alliance or that Soviet socialism and fascism are essentially the same. As for the steps Russia took along its western frontier to strengthen its defenses—the incorporation in the USSR of the White Russian and Ukrainian portions of Poland, the Baltic states, Bessarabia, and part of Finland—every amateur strategist in the United States, that is to say practically the entire population over ten years of age, can now understand how necessary these new Soviet territories were in serving as a buffer against Hitler's first surprise onslaught. I would add that when Great Britain and the Soviet Union jointly marched into Iran to forestall a Nazi coup and to improve their position in the Near East, practically all the newspapers and all the people in America that had condemned the earlier actions of the USSR approved and praised the expedition into Iran. The moral is, of course, that Russia's moves in the West were in general made for the same reasons as the Anglo-Soviet move into Iran.

And so it goes. The military "experts," high government officials in England and America, and conservative opinion in general are now accepting as true point after point that people like myself have been making about the USSR for years. The other day a Republican friend of mine admitted that I had been right on a lot of things concerning the Soviet Union, but claimed that I must have had "secret information" about the situation there. I could not refrain from laughter. For the readily ascertainable truth is that the facts that I and others brought back from Soviet Russia were all of the most public variety and accessible to anyone whatsoever who took the trouble to make a careful study of what was going on.

The real explanation of my friend's bewilderment is that *the American people were sold a false bill of goods on Russia* by writers, tourists, diplomats, newspapers, and all sorts of commentators whose anti-Soviet prejudice was so bitter that they could not and would not recognize a fact when they saw one. All those malicious stories about Soviet weakness in industrial production, economic organization, military power, and morale have one by one gone by the board during these months of magnificent resistance on the part of the Russians.

It is possible, if not probable, that in the future there will again take place an organized attempt to mislead public opinion in this country concerning the Soviet Union. But if we as a people are able to learn sufficiently from the lessons of the recent past, that attempt will not succeed. For the well-being of both America and Russia, for the sake of international peace and of all mankind, it is essential that these two great nations, the United States and the USSR, should continue to cooperate after the defeat of Hitler as closely as they are cooperating today. The peace-loving peoples of the earth cannot again afford the folly of disunity and the tragedy of misunderstanding.

CORLISS LAMONT.

WHAT RUSSIA HAS MEANT TO BRITAIN

Claude Cockburn surveys four months of the war. "Inspiration and unification" of the people's forces. The need for vigilance. The impact on production.

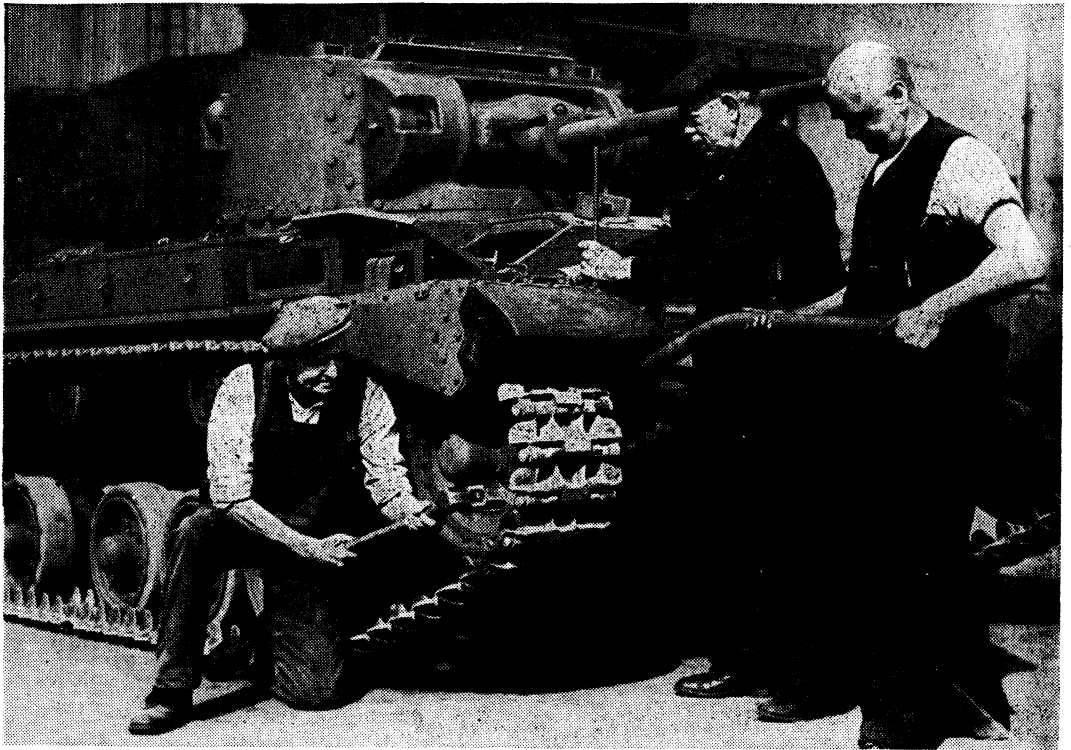
London (by cable).

THIS is a good opportunity to check back and see what the mighty resistance of the Soviet Union has achieved at the other end of the common front, that is to say, in Britain itself. Probably you could sum up the achievement in two words—inspiration and unification. About the inspiration, nobody can have any doubt as to its grandeur and effectiveness. It is hard now to recall the exact mood of the British people in the first weeks of June 1941. There had been the disappointments of the second Libyan campaign, the failure in the Balkans, and the loss of Crete. I think it is true to say that particularly in the factories the mood was one ranging from cynicism and even indifference, to a sort of dull uncertainty, suspicion, and above all, lack of self-confidence. As I have reported in a much earlier dispatch the effect of the Soviet resistance to the Hitler attack was instantaneous and enormous. And it can be said emphatically that it has been growing and deepening ever since.

It is difficult to analyze this inspiration very exactly. Of course, it is true that at the very beginning there was in it a good deal of the complacency of which we have heard so much. There were naturally plenty of people who thought with a sigh of relief that now the burden of the war had been taken over by somebody else. I am speaking of the people who just felt that as a personal relief, not those who actively desired the extermination of both the Nazi and Soviet forces. This complacency, however, has not long endured in face of the demonstration afforded in Russia of what the military power of Germany and the enslaved continent really amounts to, and the heroism of Soviet resistance and the huge sacrifices made by the Soviet people for the common cause.

THE FACT of the nationwide education for the opening of the second front in the West, and the fact that this is almost universally recognized as one of the greatest upsurges of public opinion which this country has seen for at least a generation, are themselves proof that complacency is by no means a common feature of the public mind in Britain today. The inspiration of the Russian resistance draws its strength from the fact that now for the first time the man and woman in the street and in the factory in Britain have been convinced that this now is a life and death struggle of the common people of the world. And equally important is that they have been convinced that given determination, energy, unity, and first rate leadership, the common people can after all not only fight but defeat Hitlerism.

The degree of unification of Britain's forces resulting from the stand of the Soviet Union is even more concretely in evidence. You will have noted innumerable examples of the process



BRITISH WORKERS go all-out in the famous Tanks-for-Russia Week

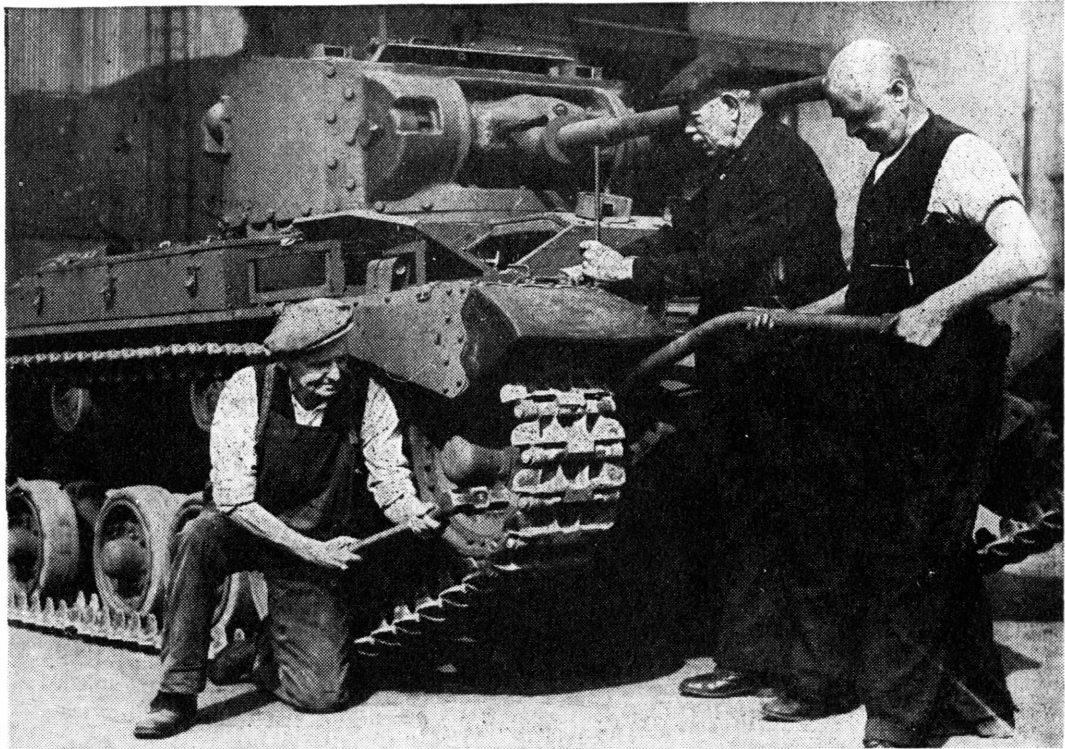
in reports from this country in the past four months. I have in front of me two items of news which happen to be characteristic and which could be paralleled almost any day of any week. Both are recorded by "industrial and general information" news service. The first states: "History was made in Oxford on Tuesday when the Soviet flag could be seen flying from the ancient Carfax Tower in the center of the city in honor of the Mayor's Aid Russia Week. On the same day in the canteen of a famous automobile works a meeting was sponsored by the management on the subject of 'Russia, our Ally' which was addressed by a prominent local Communist and passed a resolution to be sent to the engineering workers of Leningrad and Moscow saying, 'Your boundless courage and heroic stand inspire us to renewed endeavor and we pledge ourselves to produce everything in our power to further the fight of the British and Soviet peoples so that victory may be achieved in the shortest possible time.'"

THE OTHER ITEM is as follows: "War workers in six northern counties are to meet on November 8 to discuss production at the Albert Hall, Manchester. Lord Beaverbrook will be one of the speakers. More than 1,000 branches of the Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales Federation of Trades Councils have been circularized and delegates will attend armed with full practical data regarding the particular work in their areas. Mr. Munro, secretary of the Manchester and Sulford Trade Council,

stated in an interview: 'We want to discover all the snags in output and let Lord Beaverbrook know about them at first hand so that they can be rectified.'

THESE, as I say, are typical news items nowadays and it is only with an effort that one realizes how totally incredible either of them would have been four months ago. You must understand of course that this is a continuing process, that it did not occur all at once and is not by any means at the point towards which it is moving. One must emphasize—with the production committees as a principal example—that this unity in action is absolutely indispensable to the working and speeding up of the British war machine; that the potential increase in output of the war machine is very much greater than the majority of people imagine; and that the process is under way precisely because of the resistance, sacrifice, and heroism of the Soviet forces. I do not need to tell you that this process is going on despite all sorts of attempts to delay and disrupt it. The situation today is one which calls for the most untiring vigilance on the part of the British people if they are to translate into reality the new hopes which have sprung up among them. It is in many ways an exceedingly dangerous situation politically as well as militarily. But the point is that an ever increasing number of people both understand the need for that vigilance and have the inspiration and hope which will enable them to maintain it.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.



BRITISH WORKERS go all-out in the famous *Tanks-for-Russia Week*



BELOVED VOLGA

by Alexei Tolstoy

Moscow (by cable).

SIT on a high, steep bank of the Volga. I have a wide view of the region across the river—rich, fertile meadows with numberless haystacks casting their shadows as the first signs of dusk descend. Beyond the pale blue line of horizon to which the Volga stretches when it overflows in the spring, lies a fringe of dense, sturdy forest. This is a country of vast expanses bathed in soft light. Here one absorbs the vastness and vigor of land, this immensity, charm, and will. Here one's mind turns to the eventful and stormy past, to the boundless potentialities of the future.

The people here have fine faces, happy, bold, daring eyes and broad shoulders. Hitler has unleashed all of his two-legged monsters against us. He is out to destroy us as a nation, "uproot our life perspectives," make our labor one round of misery so that for us the sun will be as black as ashes for thousands of years to come. . . . Yes, that is his aim, no less and no more: 1,000 years of fascist rule over the world is what Hitler promised his beasts, all these Mickels and Hanses whom he has sent into total war. Kill, burn, annihilate at the front and in the rear, he told them, regardless of age or sex. I turn over the cities and villages to you as booty.

But this insolent, cynical beast known as the Nazi was countered by the concentrated, inspired love for country and justice, by the moral force of the Soviet people. Terrorist organization of slave and forced laborer is countered by the organization of free labor of a people boundless in its might. Pupils of school No. 102, upon returning to the town for the opening of the school year, decided to contribute all the money earned during the

harvest to build a tank which will be called "Young Pioneer." They appealed to 600,000 school children in this region to donate two rubles each for the same purpose. Immediately school No. 102 received a stream of letters containing two ruble notes, letters with verse and ardent greetings to those Red Army men who will man the new tank and take revenge on the fascist brutes for all the children tortured.

In some schools the children form "artels" and after school hours, on Sundays, they work in a local fishpacking plant, collecting waste. Or they roam through the fields gathering medicinal herbs and mushrooms in the forest. All their earnings went to help build the tank. It turned out that enough money had been collected to build a whole platoon of tanks. The children decided that this tank platoon would go for the most heroic and most relentless tank crews. . . .

PASSENGER STEAMERS ply slowly along the lazy waters of the Volga. But there are many more tugboats hauling caravans of barges. Oil, grain, and timber. These caravans pass day and night. Once their shrill whistles resounded cheerily over the river; now everything is quiet. This is wartime. This region is a country in itself, with thousands of factories and mills, villages famed for their handicrafts, measureless forests, and rivers teeming with fish.

Time was when this region didn't produce enough grain for itself, but in recent years with the tractors plowing deeper and collectively, harvests have increased. They sow wheat now; forest, fields, and barren land have come under the plow. This year's harvest

is a rich one, particularly the winter wheat. In places it is as much as 100 lbs. per hectare. The region produces its own steel, has its own chemical plants. It produces ships, barges, dredges, railway cars, steam engines, diesel motors, automobiles, surgical instruments, and all manner of household as well as artistic wares. In the heart of these quiet forests you may find handicraftsmen producing tar, turpentine, and wood alcohol. These handicraftsmen manufacture everything including skis and sledges. But today, all factories, mills, and handicraft shops have reorganized their work in line with the requirements of our defense.

Here is one of the regions with the most powerful industrial establishments. And one of the oldest. It has trained generations of workers. Some of the older ones told me that in former years workers used to be housed twenty to a small hut or room. Some slept on the floor, some in the attic, some above the stove. Nobody knew what a proper bed was. The place was filthy, poverty stared from every corner. Life was days of backbreaking toil.

But now you approach the factory along the asphalt avenue, bordered by flowerbeds and whispering poplars. Along the main road and beyond it are substantial cottages, each with its own orchard and truck garden. In the first days of July this plant received new orders with a brief time to fulfill them. Fulfillment of these orders required study and mastery of a new type of output. Workers had to be trained—about thirty-five percent of them women—who had come to replace men gone to the front.

We pass through the shops into new spacious halls where machines hum at one end

A black and white photograph of a large, billowing cloud formation over a body of water. The cloud is massive and appears to be rising from the water's surface, creating a dramatic, almost sculptural effect. The water in the foreground is dark and reflects the light from the cloud. The sky is a uniform, dark grey, providing a stark contrast to the bright, white cloud. The overall mood is somber and majestic.

BELOVED VOLGA

by Alexei Tolstoy

while construction work is being completed at the other. The people here are a businesslike and resourceful folk. In the steel smelting department I met the foreman who looked under twenty; I thought he would make an excellent forward in a fighting football team. At least he had all the makings of an aggressive forward: slightly under medium height, sturdy, a vigorous face.

But Comrade Kosukhin isn't a forward. He produces steel balls that crash right into the fascist goal, making things hot for the fascists and will make them still hotter in the future. Kosukhin told me that before the war they had produced just steel but now they've been ordered to produce a special grade steel. Can we cope with this important task? they had asked.

A new engineer came and showed them how. Kosukhin lived in the shop for two days watching the new process. He was weary but he learned well and soon took over the job independently. In his department all men now fulfill their output quota on an average of 130 percent. The workers have initiated a movement to fulfill their quotas by 200 percent and the YCLers have taken the lead in this movement. They are the first to strive for higher output and in every shop they organize YCL observation posts which, cooperating with the management, help to eliminate hitches, rationalize the work, see that important parts are prepared in time, and that schedule is strictly maintained.

Here is what Senior Foreman Kudrin, who has worked here for forty-five years, told me about the manufacture of special grade steel. "We began by going through the technological process for this complicated job. Of course, we profited by the experience of other plants, this helped us master the work quickly. When we worked out the technological process we received orders for several models. We called the workers and together with them discussed the details of the new job. Then we selected the largest and most important machine part and began casting it. We had to work day and night without leaving the shop.

"Our test-casting came out fine and we could go over to the regular schedule. There hasn't been a single case of anyone failing to fulfill instructions or refusing overtime work. Our plant and my own foundry shop in particular are eager to work day and night and produce more machines and in shorter time because all of us are anxious to do our bit in smashing the enemy. And smash Hitler we will for we are fighting in a just cause. Our plant carried out this assignment with honor, in one-third the time set."

We make the rounds. Husky furnacemen with green goggles on their caps, their faces shining with sweat, peer into the raging furnace as they throw in huge shovels of flux. Others stand by with long rods to stoke furnaces. I thought of Hitler of whom it is said that he is very superstitious and is terribly afraid lest in the world beyond he will be tossed about in the fires of hell by similar rods.

One of the men took a test and let the

liquid metal drop on the rough iron floor. We stood about watching the brilliant fountain of sparkling drops of steel. The giant crane brought over a ten ton container. It was lowered and into it a stream of steel was released, the thickness of logs and white as the sun. Filled to the brim, the container was lifted and carried over the whole length of the shop to the foundry. With dexterous movements of the hand the foundry foreman signaled to the crane operator just where it was to be lowered. Again liquid was released but this time into casts. A young girl comes over with instruments to take a test.

We passed by line after line of lathes. Everybody is silent and concentrated. Movements are economical. Machines let out even ribbon of steel shavings. Tens of thousands of parts pass from lathe to lathe until the final operation is completed and electromagnetic instruments inspect them for flaws.

Most of the machine operators, some sixty percent, are women. They are the sisters and wives of men gone to the front. One of them, Chakhonina, told me: "I am a housewife. I went to the District Soviet and told them I would like to work in the plant. They sent me here and I was assigned to this shop. Of course they first showed me how to do the work, and after the first four hours it seemed not so complicated and on the following day I asked to be allowed to work on my own.

"I worked all day with nobody coming over to the machine. They were watching from a distance. Toward the end of the day the foreman came over and told me I was doing well. Three days later I was a full fledged worker. At first I was afraid I would fall behind the quota and my output wouldn't pass inspection. But things turned out better than I thought. When we began producing a new kind of article I was already on the honor list. I have

three kiddies at home but the moment I come to the plant I forget everything.

"A few days ago the foreman came over and asked me, 'How much have you done?' '107' I told him. 'Not so good, is it?' the foreman replied . . . but now I'm doing 140 percent. It's because I'm working with will."

Here is a shop where they cut steel as cloth is cut, with scissors. Workers lying on steel plate trace the electric cutting instrument over a chalk line. Adjoining this shop is the electrical welding department. In semi-darkness the glaring light of electric welding instruments forms a majestic picture. Workers wearing protective masks carefully follow complicated tracings of parts, as if trying to fathom the secret of this hissing violent flame which penetrates into the very heart of the metal joining up atom with atom. Various parts are welded to each other and we can already see the framework of the steel monster as if crucified on a colossal wheel.

SCORES of thousands of workers, men, women and youngsters are learning to produce these articles necessary to crush fascism. They are overcoming difficulties and applying their ability and ingenuity to the work. They are giving all their energy to the job, are playing their part in the great battle against armed violence of the fascist system. Without high sounding words, simply and modestly, they are giving their all, stubbornly at their work, building up the invincible might of the Soviet state.

I have seen only one corner of this vast Volga region. "Men and Commanders of the Red Army are made of the same stuff as we," I was told by Tokarev, foreman, fitter, and inventor who has worked at this plant for fifty-three years. "This is terrible war, but the Germans cannot overcome the Red Army . . . we shall not be overcome!"

ALEXEI TOLSTOY.



THE RED ARMY'S NEW RECRUITS in training far behind the lines listen to the day's communique.



THE RED ARMY'S NEW RECRUITS *in training far behind the lines* listen to the day's communique.

TWO DEMOCRACIES: SOVIET AND AMERICAN

Harry F. Ward traces the common background and common ideals of the two nations. An explanation for the morale of the Soviet armies and peoples. Two countries seeking liberty.

IN THEORY and in historic perspective, the Soviet Power is a transitional state. Lenin so described it in the "Theses and Report" he submitted to the First Congress of the Third International in 1919. He said it was "the proletarian democracy" and contended that it was the only instrument that could lead to the Marxist goal of ending the repressive state and attaining "true democracy, that is, freedom and equality." His ground for this contention was that the Soviet Power was "attracting the mass organization of the working people to permanent and unconditional participation in the conduct of the government."

In thus proclaiming the Soviet goal, Lenin was following Marx and Engels, who stated that the achievement of the classless Communist society meant the disappearance of the repressive state, the realization of "a really full democracy, a democracy without any exceptions." Thus it appears that in its political theory, Marxism-Leninism calls for the further development of the democratic movement in terms of the necessities of the machine age and the opportunities it provides for the advance of the human race. Hence Lenin naturally puts the Soviet goal in terms of the basic demands of our own Declaration of Independence—freedom and equality. The democratic line of succession is from the demands of the founders of British democracy for equal rights under the law, through the individualistic equalitarian democracy of our Jeffersonians, expressed again in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, to the economic-cultural democracy sought by all Marxists and now being developed in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the United States started on common ground. In their beginnings they were seeking to realize the same human values. Most of their people still do, and so want to move in the same general direction. The desire and demand for more freedom and more equality are in the blood of both nations.

It being clear beyond dispute that, stated in terms of broad human values, the aims of Soviet democracy and American democracy are identical, the question of practical accomplishments emerges. What advances toward more freedom and more equality have been made in the Soviet Union? Are they on the march toward their goal, which is also ours? In any attempt to answer this question, it must be constantly remembered that the standard of measurement is not the conditions in the western nations which have passed through the century and a half of democratic development that the Russians were denied. Soviet democracy started its course with the most repressed, the most illiterate, the most uncultured mass population in Europe. Its own



background and past is the base line from which to measure its progress. For instance, not long after the Revolution, in Moscow, I asked a woman of the old intelligentsia who was cooperating with the new regime what to her was the greatest difference the change had made. She thought a moment and then said, "Well, in the old days the peasants and the workers were not persons to us; now they are." That is the essence of any approach toward social equality. With us it is a commonplace, to her it was the Revolution.

In a brief article only general statements can be made concerning the Soviet advance toward equality. The data which support them can be found in various volumes, particularly in the general surveys of the Webbs, Rhys Williams, and the Dean of Canterbury, and in my own study of social incentives in the Soviet Union—*In Place of Profit*. There is also continuous firsthand material available in the weekly edition of the *Moscow Daily News*, the monthly magazine *Soviet Russia Today*, and the publications of the American Russian Institute.

It is generally agreed by all analysts of the Soviet scene that a degree of equality exists between races and nationalities which is beyond that reached elsewhere. The Jewish question does not now exist in the Soviet Union. All the formerly subject nationalities now enjoy equal constitutional rights with the Russians and exercise them through their own autonomous republics. The Constitution of 1936, Article 123, declares: "The equality of the rights of citizens of the USSR irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life, is an indefeasible law." It makes any restriction of rights or establishment of privileges on account of race or nationality, and the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt punishable by law. The opportunities now afforded the formerly repressed and backward nationalities to develop their own culture in their own language have brought a renaissance of the arts among them. This record of actual accomplishment is a source of encouragement and strength to those in other lands who are fighting for equal rights for all races against the Nazi doctrine of race supremacy and the growing tendencies toward race discrimination which the capitalist decline has promoted.

Again, it is generally recognized by those who have portrayed Soviet society that wo-

man has there achieved equal rights with man to a degree not reached in the capitalist nations. No barrier stands before woman in any occupation or profession. Anything she can do, she may do. The figures show a larger number of women in the professions and in public office than can be found elsewhere. This unusual degree of economic independence has produced a new woman who is also a citizen in the full sense of the term. Also, as the Dean of Canterbury observes, it is producing a new type of family, all of whose members share a socially creative purpose. Thus, while the economic home in which woman is the family drudge has lost, the family has gained.

The Soviet Union has registered another advance toward the democratic ideal in its equalization of access to culture. This term means there all the interests of the mind and all the amenities of life, from manners to the arts, which the upper classes formerly enjoyed, of which the peasants and workers were deprived. From the beginning the Soviet Union aimed at cultural democracy and a democratic culture. The people were told that they must remake themselves by cultural development if they were to build a new society. A cultural, as well as a political and economic, revolution has occurred. It is registered by the amount of printed matter turned out and actually read, by the universal interest in the sciences, and in the multiplication of opportunities to gain scientific knowledge. This explains why our recent American mission to Moscow finds the Russian mechanic turning out work as good as any in the world. To those of us who saw the waste and delay from the use of untrained peasant labor inevitable in the First Five Year Plan this is indeed good news. The cultural revolution is evidenced again in the extent of appreciation of the arts and participation in them, particularly writing, music, and the drama. Every office, factory, mine, and farm has organized groups thus expressing themselves, from whose ranks the professions are constantly recruited. This explains the vigor of Soviet writing and the Soviet theater. At the same time a knowledge and appreciation of the classics have been spread among the common people to an unprecedented degree. A recent anniversary of Shakespeare which went unnoticed in his native land was celebrated in the Soviet Union by the large circulation of a special edition of his works.

The test of any democracy, of its ability to live as well as its progress toward social equality, is the opportunity it opens up to childhood and youth, for health, for education, and for a creative job. There was a time immediately after the Revolution, in which the Soviet denied the opportunity to higher education and creative employment to the chil-

dren of the former upper class, but that was changed through the humanity of Gorky and the insight of Stalin. Today every child in the Soviet Union faces life in his own right. None has either privilege or disability because of his family; none can have any silver spoon in his mouth, for inheritance is limited to personal effects. Says the Dean of Canterbury, "What impressed me most in Soviet Russia was not her factories and her material statistics, but her children." The Soviet Union is the only nation today in which those who are technically trained for creative service to the community know that a job is awaiting them when their education is finished. I know of no land where the child of John Doe can be assured of getting the opportunity to develop whatever capacities are within him, and the chance to employ them in ways useful to the community and satisfying to himself, as he is in the Soviet Union. The realization of this degree of social equality is the only way in which the democratic community can conserve and renew itself.

THE MOVEMENT toward equality of opportunity cannot take place without a corresponding development of freedom. The opportunity to develop and employ one's capacities is itself of the essence of freedom, but it requires the organization of freedom in economic as well as political terms. The American hope of social equality in terms of equality of opportunity for all and special privilege for none, was based upon free access to the land and free competition in business. As these have disappeared, the early American hope has been put down as a dream impossible of realization. Likewise, the gradual loss of economic freedom through the development of monopoly has been accompanied by corresponding curtailment of political liberties. Consequently it is now generally recognized that we cannot keep our political democracy alive unless we can develop it into economic democracy.

The Soviets started the other way. Realizing the dependence of political liberty upon economic freedom, the founders of the Soviet Union put all economic power in the hands of the people by making it impossible for the individuals to own and control the economic resources and activities upon which the lives of the people depend. This democratizing of economic power was later extended to the industrial-financial plan, through which the enormous collective undertakings of the citizens of the Soviet Union are carried out. Because nobody but the people owns and operates the national resources and the national plant, the rising nationalism of the Soviet Union is not merely a feeling of belonging to a country, but of owning a country. For the Soviet citizens their "motherland," as they call it, is "ours", in a deeper sense than in the emotional patriotism of those whose native land is owned by a small section of the population. This is the explanation of the morale of the Russian armies and population in their present crisis. This is why, for years, observer after observer has forecast that to hold the

Soviet Union any invader would have to destroy almost all her population.

Social ownership of the means of production and distribution, government of the people, by the people, for the people, are not mere democratic phrases to Soviet citizens. They are economic realities which they have learned and won in farms, factories, mines, offices, laboratories, and schools. The plan through which this social ownership is translated into results in the lives of the people is not something on paper made and put over by experts. As Stalin once told an international planning conference, it has become the life of the people working together. Every worker participates in making it in proportion to what he does in carrying it out. On every farm, in every plant, mine, store, office, ship, railroad, educational institution, even in the hunting cooperatives of the far-off, lonely spaces, in constant group conferences he decides with his fellows what his group can do and puts that into the making of the whole. Through his union and his cooperative he shares in the decisions of what shall be done with the results—how much to plant expansion, how much to wages, how much to social insurance and welfare, how much to recreational and cultural activities. Thus, "We, the People" are becoming a collective, organic whole, jointly managing their common affairs, and increasingly winning freedom from all overhead controls. Consequently the Soviets show a record of initiative and creativity of the rank and file in all undertakings, including the waging of war, which is not to be found in capitalist countries.

In the process of developing this economic freedom through common ownership of the national resources and plant, and common participation in their control there has been an expansion of political freedom. The three successive constitutions of the Soviets mark an extension of democratic rights reaching to the universal franchise in the Constitution of 1936 and its unprecedented guarantee to each citizen of "The right to work. The right to rest. The right to education. The right to material security in old age and sickness." These are not paper guarantees. They record the gains won by the democratic activities of the people. This is indeed a new freedom.

There has also been a growth of freedom of expression. In Soviet meetings and in the

Soviet press there is an amount of criticism of officials beyond that to be found elsewhere, and it must be remembered that every economic and cultural undertaking is a public enterprise. This criticism occurs partly because a socialized democracy requires and develops a different relation between citizens and those in office from that which obtains in capitalist democracy. It needs and produces a relationship of working partners in joint enterprise. In conferences over the improvement of their jobs, ordinary workers still address their Premier as "Comrade Stalin." Also, "self-criticism"—meaning mutual discussion on elimination of faults and weaknesses—is a Soviet technique, one of its protective devices against the growth of bureaucracy. This is not understood by many foreign correspondents who report the defects brought to light by this process as a sign of weakness. As all the world now knows from the Soviet stand against Hitler they were and are a sign and guarantee of strength.

The degree and kind of freedom of expression that has been developed in the Soviet Union must be assessed against the czarist background, against the hangover from the revolutionary civil war, and also against the fact that the conditioning motive in all their development was the necessity of preparing for the attack they knew was bound to come. For this they have tightened their belts and gone without the full benefits of their socialized economy. In the matter of the basic principles upon which their government rests, and its fundamental policies, they were faced not with mere expressions of opposition opinion, but with action—conspired, planned, and undertaken. Certainly it is not for those whose future liberties now depend upon the only army able to halt the military offensive of Hitler to say that the policies which produced this defense for democracy everywhere, have been inimical to the democratic ideal of freedom. On the other hand, it can truly be said that, allowing for differences in the starting point, no such gains in democratic freedom since the world war have come to the people of any capitalist land as have been won by the people of the Soviet Union.

This is said despite the fact that there is no opposition party in the Soviet Union. This fact cannot be assessed by comparison with our situation, though it must be remembered that in any land a defense program tends to eliminate opposition and to create the demand for national unity. The problem in Russia was how to take a totally unprepared people into socialism quickly enough to prevent the destruction of the undertaking by its enemies within and without. In China, Sun Yat-sen came to the conclusion that this required a period of tutelage before there could be full self-government. Lenin before him had reached the same judgment. But in neither case was the role of the Party charged with the tutelage, the dictatorial control set forth and exercised by the fascists, the Nazis, and, in lesser degree, by our own machine politicians.





By Lenin and Stalin the role of the Communist Party is said to be that of the leader of the masses, "the force which guides the proletariat." Both of them rebuked and stopped their followers who started to advocate and sometimes to practice the forcible control of the masses. In discussing this matter, Stalin concludes: "Thus the method of persuasion must be the chief method employed by the Party in its leadership of the class." The record shows an extending collaboration of non-Party forces, both in discussions and decisions, in the leadership of the masses. Indeed, in no other way could the small minority which the Communist Party is, successfully lead in carrying on the vast collective enterprises of the Soviet Union. They depend for their very existence upon increasing democratic collaboration. The results are plain in the degree of unanimity now manifest in the defense against Hitler.

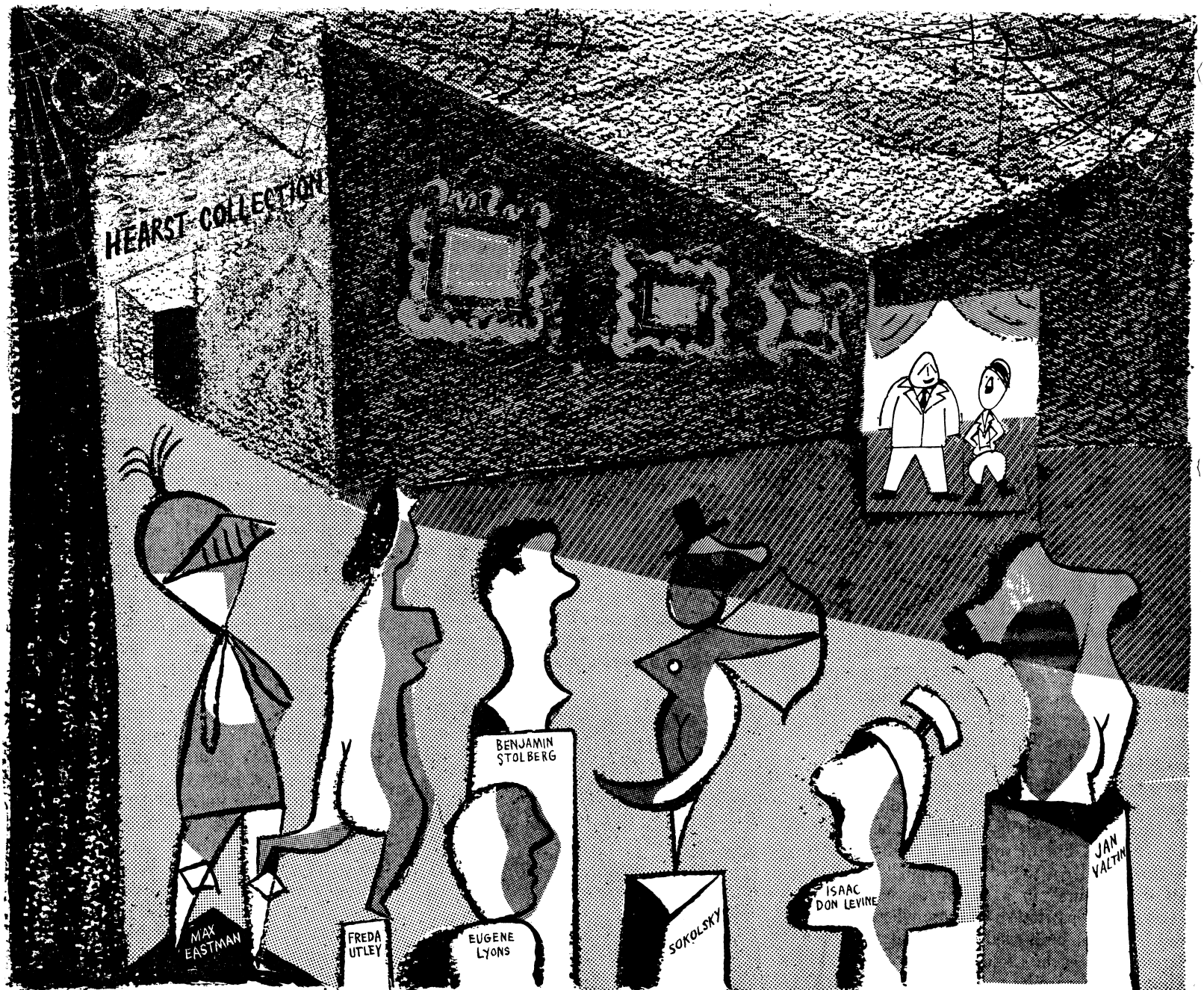
It must be remembered that when a nation changes its basic economic policy and enters

the socialist stage of society, the content of politics changes. It becomes the management of the common enterprise. Opposition forms and is expressed, somewhat as it does among the stockholders and in the board of directors of a capitalist corporation, but more easily and effectively. So the fact that only one candidate appears for office in elections does not denote a totalitarian procedure like that of Hitler, in which candidates are handpicked and policies announced from the top, the people having no choice but to vote "Ja" or take the penalty. In the Soviet Union candidates, both Party and non-Party, are nominated in mass meetings held in all institutions, after several candidates have stated their qualifications and submitted to questioning concerning them. Policies under consideration are discussed in Party and public gatherings throughout the land, and are acted upon after as full an expression of public opinion as obtains anywhere. The representatives of the people in the Soviets, coming from every voca-

tion and chosen because of their contribution to the community, constantly get the views of their constituents and find out what they want done.

BY TRIAL AND ERROR, accompanied, of course, by manifestations of all the ills the human flesh is heir to, as well as by demonstrations of its nobler qualities, the people in the Soviet Union are working on a task which also lies before the American people—the development of the methods by which there can be secured for the individual, the maximum freedom possible under the collective controls necessary to obtain the social equality required by the democratic ideal and made possible by the machine. This knowledge, indispensable to the next stage of human society, will be available for all mankind much quicker if the two peoples now cooperate effectively in overcoming the enemies of freedom and equality both without and within.

HARRY F. WARD.



"You're the only one, Herr Fuehrer, who appreciates the true value of this collection."

A. Jamison

OUR car pulled up in a village near the front somewhere in Spain. It was Nov. 7, 1937. The stone wall next to the big, desolate church had "Viva la URSS" scribbled over it. The keeper of the inn, a typical Castiliano, wiry, keen-eyed, sized us up, greeted us affectionately. "Anything I have is yours," he said. "What will you drink?" He called over some oldsters in the place. "Rusos," he said and they grouped about us, smiling toothlessly, shaking hands, hugging us. "Viva la URSS," one of them said. I tried to explain we were a group of Americans, not Russians, but they smiled knowingly. The peasants were always mistaking Americans for the big, blond Russians. "The drinks are on the house," the innkeeper said. "The people of our great sister republic, la URSS, have a birthday today." He made a little impromptu speech. "Myself," he said, "I am a follower of Bakunin. My father and grandfather were before me. But nowadays—I salute our brave friend, la URSS. We fight in a common cause." Soon the villagers poured in from all over town; mostly old men and women, some with children they had routed out of bed for the occasion. One young woman held a child, about four, saying to him, "Look. Rusos. Friends of Spain."

A gray-head started a flamenco about the Soviet airmen who won the Spanish skies back from the Junkers and Capronis. I'll never forget the scene: the graybeards of the village, the dingy little bar with the flickering lamp over the few bottles left on the shelves, the shutters barred so no tell-tale ray would help the marauders overhead, and the great sense of kinship these people had for the land that they had been told for years was anathema.

I recall thinking, in that inn, about our own Americans. Did they understand what "la URSS" stood for? When would they? The Soviet Union then was twenty years old. Two decades, and what had we of America learned of that vast land, that magnificent people? I reflected how long it had taken me to learn about "la URSS."

I remember in 1917 Russia meant a bear in the colored news-cartoons they used to paste on store windows; the bear wore a military cap, had long claws, and was wrestling with a mustachioed man wearing a spiked helmet labeled "Der Kaiser." That was sometime during public school days. That was Russia of the czars: we knew it for pogroms, Siberia, Rasputin, a somber land of ice, snow, mujiks, and royalty.

Nobody ever mentioned it in high school: that was 1918 to 1921. Not one professor mentioned it in college: that was 1921 to 1925. There it was on the map, that big, sprawling, mysterious stretch of land that jutted far into Europe, reached from the White Sea to the Black Sea, hurdled the Urals into Asia, abutted China, and ended a few miles from America. We learned to call St. Petersburg, Petrograd; and then we learned to call it Leningrad. There were four other cities, I recall: Moscow, Odessa, Omsk, Vladivostok. And that was about all.

The Truth Does Come

BY JOSEPH NORTH

Oh, there were news stories in the hometown press about that country, but they were so confused and confusing, so scattered, that no definite impression remained except perhaps a few words like "dictatorship of the proletariat," "famine," "relief," "Red Army."

About 1927 I remember the argument we had in the newsroom of a smalltown Pennsylvania paper, when the Soviet Union proposed total disarmament of all nations as a means of halting war. What a jeering hubbub went up about it. The city editor muttered "Damn fools." The college-bred police reporter said "Visionaries." The editorial writer said "Demagogic." The cub-reporter said "Why not?"

The counsel of the young republic went unheeded: the disarmament conferences were misnomers. The arms piled up until Hitler emerged from under them.

Then I remember reading of the Five Year Plans. The city editor sneered. The editorial writer said "Incompetents."

TEN YEARS LATER I watched the Soviet chatos shoot the famed Messerschmitts out of the skies over Spain. The people of Madrid never tired of telling you how the enemy planes used to appear daily, almost on a set hour, and dip down to strafe the civilians on the streets. And one day, swooping out of a bank of clouds where they had been hiding in wait, the chatos shot twenty-six fascist planes out of the sky. That ended strafing in Madrid. I saw chatos in action many a time, and watched the vaunted Messerschmitts turn and scuttle across the sky. But then I watched, too, the tragedy and betrayal of the "Non-intervention Committee." Watched a nation go down when it could have won. Watched the great lands of America and Britain and France stand aside and allow this gallant people to be chained by the common enemy of all these powers. The Spanish press used to say if Spain was defeated, world war was inevitable. A few months after Madrid was handed over to Franco, there was Munich. And a few months after Munich came World War II.

And always, during those tragic days, warning, urging, pleading, explaining "Peace is indivisible," at the League of Nations, at the various international conferences, from every possible rostrum, was the Soviet Union.

Well, now history will be determined by other means. It could have been easier, but

let the past go. The debate now can only be carried on with guns. Now war is indivisible. It's every free country against the powers that seek to enslave the world. That's clear, I believe, to the overwhelming majority of Americans.

I thought of this at the great meeting for Russian War Relief last week in Madison Square Garden. The vast hall was packed with 23,000 representative Americans. The men who came to the platform typified practically every stratum of the populace. The simple, stirring statements of such men as Paul Muni, Benny Goodman, Richard Wright, John Green. The eloquent, straight-shooting words of the former ambassador to the Soviet Union, Joseph E. Davies. The expressions of confidence in the Soviet Union, the admiration and gratitude for its tremendous resistance. "Russia," Mr. Davies said, "will continue to fight, in front of Moscow, behind Moscow, behind the Urals, and behind the German lines." And his pledge: "We will keep faith with those who die in our common cause."

All this reminded me of the impromptu, tiny meeting in that little inn near Madrid, back in 1937. That, too, had tremendous significance, "I salute our brave friend, la URSS. We fight in a common cause," the little Castilian had said. And now here, four years later, in Madison Square Garden, the same words, the same admiration, the same reality.

Yes, for millions of Americans truth has come after twenty-four years. True, many have still to learn. But the truth is coming. Truth does not always burst upon you with a blinding flash. It slogs and wades through mud and blood, through tears and strife, but it gets there.

Millions of Americans today have come to see the identity of this nation's destiny with that of the Soviet Union; that if the great land of the Soviets is overrun by Hitler's vandals, we in America fight with our backs to the wall, fight a losing fight.

However, this November 7, we pledge that cannot, will not, happen. The free peoples of the United States, of Great Britain, of the Soviet Union, together, will never let it happen.

"We fight in a common cause," they said in Madrid, they say in New York. "We will keep faith," Mr. Davies said.

We will keep faith.

THEY FREED OLD RUSSIA'S NATIONS

Lenin and Stalin developed the program that liberated some two hundred diverse nationalities. Why the formerly oppressed peoples are ready to fight to the death. The national character of this war.

Moscow, Oct. 21 (AP).—While the Red Army fought back against German forces at the approaches of Moscow, scientific and artistic circles in the capital met last night in the State Museum to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the birth of literature of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, Tass, official news agency, reported today.

THE above news item deserves to be treasured. It tells as eloquently as mere words can what this war is about. While the Nazi hordes were howling at the approaches to Moscow, men within the city were speaking quietly of ancient things, paying tribute to the century-old culture of another people hundreds of miles away. An imperishable symbol. Yes, this is what the war is about: that culture and the freedom of nations may not perish, that their fires may be relit where they have been blotted out. This is why the peoples of the Soviet Union, of conquered Europe, of Britain, China, and the United States are fighting.

What do most Americans know about Azerbaijan? They think of it as a vague distant place with an Oriental name; perhaps they know that its capital is Baku, center of the Soviet oil industry, and that means a great deal these days. The history of Azerbaijan literature is 800 years old. But the history of *free* Azerbaijan is less than a quarter century old. And the story of free Azerbaijan and of the other free nations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has a direct bearing on the titanic world struggle now taking place. This story is inseparably bound up with the names of two men, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

Modern independence struggles are associated with the names of great liberators: Washington, Bolivar, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Garibaldi, Sun Yat-sen, Masaryk. But Lenin and Stalin liberated not one nation, but many, and by combining this with social liberation, gave a new dimension to national freedom. It was to the defense of their *individual national identities* that Stalin, himself a son of the formerly oppressed nation of Georgia, summoned the diverse peoples of the Soviet Union when he said in his broadcast of July 3, on the eve of our own Independence Day:

"He [the enemy] is out to restore the rule of landlords, to restore czarism, to destroy national culture, and the national state existence of the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to convert them into the slaves of German princes and barons."

For us Americans this linking together of many nationalities is especially meaningful. For in addition to the other things we



have in common with the USSR, there is this: no other two countries have within their borders as many different national groups as the United States and the Soviet Union. There is, however, this important difference: in the Soviet Union most of these national groups constitute genuine nations; they are social, political, and cultural entities in specific geographic areas. In the United States, with the single exception of the Negro people, the national groups are not separate nations, but all make their contributions as part of the life and culture of the common American nation. Unfortunately, even though we are not a multi-national state such as were czarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian empire, we have our share of national strife, of incitement against the foreign-born, of anti-Semitism—not to mention the treatment accorded those citizens whose skins happen to be black. And that is why Americans ought to be particularly interested in the manner in which the enormously complicated national problem has been solved in the Soviet Union.

In contrast to other tendencies in the pre-war Socialist and labor movement of Europe, Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolsheviks firmly upheld the right to self-determination, that is, the right of subject nations to political separation. Lenin and Stalin pointed out that the working class could not achieve freedom without championing the liberation movements of oppressed nations. This did not mean that separation was in every case desirable, but what had to be supported, they maintained, was the *right* of nations freely to determine whether to lead separate existences or to unite with other peoples.

Lenin and Stalin forged the theory of the national question in the crucible of the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The founders of scientific Communism were consistent internationalists and irreconcilable opponents of the capitalist order. But being historical materialists, they took the view that capitalism was progressive in relation to feudalism and that the breakdown of feudal walls and the evolution of free capitalist nations was indispensable to the growth, awakening, and ultimate emancipation of the working class. In 1848 Marx and Engels, who had already published the *Communist Manifesto*, supported and actively participated in the German bourgeois revolution which furthered the national unification of the German states; at the same time they excoriated the vacillations of the bourgeoisie and its surrender to feudal-monarchist reaction. And it is significant that in the inaugural address which Marx delivered in 1864 to the meeting in London which established the first world organization of labor, the International Workingmen's Association (First International), he took the occasion to denounce "the shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference with which the upper classes of Europe witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by Russia."

"No people oppressing other peoples can be free," wrote Engels in 1872, a dictum which Lenin was fond of quoting. It was in this spirit that Marx and Engels supported the North in the war which made possible the national unification of the United States on

the basis of the unhampered development of capitalism. "In the United States of America," Marx pointed out in the first volume of *Capital*, "any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."

Marx and Engels lived before the imperialist era, which began with the twentieth century, brought to a head the conflicting stresses and strains of capitalist society. It remained for Lenin and Stalin to amplify, enrich, and complete their fundamental ideas on the national question as on other problems, and to put them magnificently to the test in the building of the Soviet republics. Czarist Russia was the "prison of nations," with more than 100,000,000 people, or fifty-seven percent of the population, belonging to oppressed nations. Toward these nations the autocracy pursued a policy of enforced Russification, suppressing their native language, schools, culture and religion, and inciting pogroms and internecine wars. And so, despite the insistence of certain Socialists that the national question was obsolete, it thrust itself rudely across the struggle for social liberation and clamored for attention. The second congress of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia in 1903 responded by unanimously adopting in its program a demand for "the right of self-determination for all nations included in the composition of the state." (Social-Democratic Party was the name used before the Revolution by both left- and right-wing groups, whose separation into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks occurred at this congress. Not till 1918 did the Bolsheviks change their name to Communist Party.) Despite this clearcut statement on the national question, controversy developed in the ensuing years. As early as 1904 Stalin, then not quite twenty-five but already the outstanding Bolshevik leader in the Caucasus, wrote an article in the Georgian language taking to task certain Georgian and Armenian Menshevik groups that renounced the right of national self-determination.

DURING THE YEARS of savage reaction after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the national problem became an acute issue in the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and Lenin and Stalin devoted a great deal of attention to it. Writing in 1915 in reply to an anti-Marxist article by Karl Radek attacking the right to self-determination as non-existent and illusory, Lenin defined the two-fold task of the working class in regard to this question:

"It is in the name of this right [to self-determination], and fighting for its unequivocal recognition, that the Social-Democrats of the *oppressing* nations must demand the freedom of separation for the oppressed nations, for otherwise recognition of the equal rights of nations and international solidarity of the workers in reality remains an empty phrase, a hypocritical gesture. The Social-Democrats of the *oppressed* nations, however, must view

as foremost the demand for the unity and the *fusion* of the workers of the oppressed nations with the workers of the oppressing nations. . . ."

To the argument that it was impossible to secure the right of self-determination under capitalism Lenin frequently cited the example of the secession of Norway from Sweden in 1905, which proved beneficial to both countries and to their labor movements.

At the end of 1912 and beginning of 1913, during a visit to Vienna, Stalin wrote a brochure, *Marxism and the National Question*, which has since become a classic of Marxist literature. Lenin was justly enthusiastic about this brochure and wrote to Maxim Gorky: "Regarding nationalism I quite agree with you that it must be studied more earnestly. We have a splendid Georgian who has got down to work and is writing a big article for *Prosveshcheniye* [Enlightenment] after collecting *all* the Austrian and other data." In a subsequent article Lenin wrote: "In theoretical Marxist literature this state of affairs and the principles of the national program of Social Democracy have already been elucidated recently (here Stalin's article takes first place)." From that time Stalin became the foremost authority in the Bolshevik Party on the national question, and it was in this field that he has made one of his most important contributions. Significantly enough, on this issue, as on others, Lenin and Stalin met the opposition of the men who later betrayed the USSR and its federated nations and became agents of Hitler—Trotsky, Radek, Bukharin, Piatakov, and Rakovsky.

THE REVOLUTION OF March 1917, which overthrew czarism, gave a powerful impetus to the independence movement among the subject nations of Russia. It was the Bolsheviks who came forward with the demand that these nations be given the right to self-determination, while it was the reactionary provisional government, supported by the Mensheviks, who insisted on maintaining the old oppression. At the famous April conference of the Bolshevik Party, held shortly after Lenin's return from exile, Stalin, delivering the report on the national question, declared:

"The first question is: how are we to arrange the political life of the oppressed nations? In answer to this question it must be said that the oppressed nations forming part of Russia must be allowed the right to decide for themselves whether they wish to remain part of the Russian state or to separate and form an independent state. We are at present witnessing a definite conflict between the Finnish people and the provisional government. The representatives of the Finnish people, the representatives of Social-Democracy, are demanding that the provisional government should return to the people the rights they enjoyed before they were annexed by Russia. The provisional government refuses because it will not recognize the sovereignty of the Finnish people. On whose side must we range ourselves? Obviously, on the

side of the Finnish people, for it is intolerable that we should endorse the forcible retention of any people whatsoever within the bounds of one state."

At the April conference Lenin spoke in support of Stalin's report and in opposition to the co-report of Piatakov, who wanted to deny the right of separation. Subsequently Lenin also backed the demand for self-government made by the Ukrainian Central Rada, even though it was dominated by bourgeois elements. In an article published in *Pravda* on June 28, 1917 he said:

"No democrat can deny the *right* of the Ukraine freely to separate from Russia. It is precisely this unqualified recognition of the above right that makes possible the advocacy of a free union of the Ukrainians and the Great-Russians, of a *voluntary* combination of the two peoples into one state. It is precisely this unqualified recognition of the above right that makes possible an actual break, conclusive, irreparable, with the accursed czarist past, when *everything* in the government's power was done to bring about a *mutual estrangement*, of peoples so closely related linguistically, geographically, historically, and temperamentally."

The Bolsheviks remained true to their word. Only a few weeks after coming to power they recognized the independence of Finland. The Finnish fascists proceeded to show their gratitude by overthrowing the democratic government of Finland and converting that country into a springboard of the foreign powers who launched a war to crush the Soviet republics. Then as in 1939 and 1941 the Finnish fascists were led by Baron Mannerheim. In other parts of Russia a bitter struggle developed, flaring up into civil war, between a majority of the people, who wished to develop as independent nations in intimate union with the Great-Russian Soviet republic, and the reactionary minority who, under the banner of independence, sought to exchange the old czarist master for a new one, foreign imperialism.

The significance of the Soviet solution of the national problem in enabling the Russian people to gain their freedom in November 1917 and to retain it in the four years of civil war and foreign intervention is too little appreciated. The national question in eastern Europe and Asia is primarily a peasant question. National oppression has meant the stunting of industry in the subject nation and the congelation of feudal and even patriarchal relations. The liberation of the oppressed peoples in Russia was therefore a specific form of the alliance between the working class and the poor and middle peasantry which was the cornerstone of the revolution and of the Soviet system. Without a correct national policy this alliance could not have been created or maintained. Furthermore, since the struggle against the counter-revolution and intervention took place largely in the border regions inhabited by formerly subject nations, Soviet Russia could not have survived if, as Stalin pointed

out in 1924 in *Foundations of Leninism*, "the Russian proletariat had not had the sympathy and support of the oppressed peoples of the former Russian Empire." And, he might have added, this sympathy and support were in large measure won thanks to the fact that the Soviet government had as Commissar of Nationalities one Joseph Stalin.

Trotskyites and other professional anti-Sovietees are in the habit of describing this as a minor post. They point to the fact that the Commissariat of Nationalities was abolished in 1923. Only those who grind malicious axes or are ignorant of the most elementary facts of Russian history can minimize the task of bringing some 200 nationalities and national groups, who formerly sought escape from the czarist prison-state, into cooperation as free and equal components of a new multinational state whose unity and strength today astonishes the world. And if it was possible to abolish Stalin's governmental post five years after he took office, it was due to the fact that the socialist system and his remarkable work succeeded in "abolishing" the major part of the national problem. Thus in 1923 Soviet Russia, consisting of a number of republics loosely bound together, was transformed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with "equal rights for all, privileges for none"—the first brotherhood of peoples in history.

Equality before the law is not enough if there is inequality in actual life. "The trouble is," Stalin pointed out at the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1923, "that some nationalities have no proletarians of their own, have never passed through the stage of industrial development, or even entered that stage, are frightfully backward culturally and are entirely unable to take advantage of the rights granted them by the revolution. . . . What is wanted is real, systematic, sincere and genuine proletarian assistance to the toiling masses of the culturally and economically backward nationalities. Apart from schools and language, the Russian proletariat must take every necessary measure to establish centers of industry in the border regions, in the republics which are culturally backward—backward not through any fault of their own, but because they were formerly looked upon as sources of raw materials."

I have not the space to tell of the extraordinary work that was done to bring industry and civilization to the backward regions; of how peoples leaped forward centuries within the space of a few years; of how national groups that had been all but lost and dying were lifted into nationhood; of how peoples who were dumb, without a written literature or even an alphabet, were given a tongue with which to speak to their fellow-nations and to future generations; of how anti-Semitism was completely obliterated in the historic country of pogroms; of how the Jewish people were given a land of their own, the autonomous Soviet region of Biro-Bidjan. All this, achieved not without hardships, not

without mistakes, is part of the universal saga of the movement of peoples toward light and freedom.

And not only in the treatment of the formerly oppressed peoples of Russia did the Soviet government introduce a new way of speaking and doing, but also in its relations with other weak and backward nations, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and China. Czarist Russia was an aggressive imperialist power which seized parts of Persia and Manchuria, cast covetous eyes on Constantinople, helped itself to important economic resources among its weak neighbors and imposed on them unequal treaties. After the overthrow of the monarchy, the provisional government and the Kerensky regime continued this predatory policy. But the Soviet government ended all this. It not only abrogated all unequal treaties and privileges, but gave active support to the national liberation movements in countries like Turkey, China, Afghanistan, and Persia. Thus it helped these nations to free themselves from foreign domination and their own feudal heritage; it helped them take the road to capitalist industrialization.

Recently the American press published a remarkable document. It was the text of the note which Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov handed to the government of Iran. Millions of Americans discovered that the Soviet Union was a strange kind of great power, a government that "in its note of Jan. 14, 1918, proclaimed null and void all agreements which, in any respect, limited or restricted the rights of the people of Iran to a free and independent existence"; that had "annulled all payments by Iran under its obligations to the czarist government"; that "undertook to transfer without compensation to the possession of the Iranian people, and subsequently did in fact so transfer, a number of enterprises. . . ." Here, in truth, for the first time in history is a government that employs, in the words of Marx, "the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations."

And so when Stalin declared in that broadcast on July 3 that "The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism," there spoke through him twenty-four years of the fulfillment of the policy of national liberation and aid to the victims of oppression. And when he said: "Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties," he indicated the broad national character of this conflict and the stake that every people has in its outcome.

But some will say: what about Ireland and India? Undoubtedly those who raise this question point to a weakness in the anti-Hitler front. The liberation of Ireland and India

would certainly be the most effective way of bringing them into full participation in the struggle. But to make that a condition for supporting the war against the Nazi beast is to help Hitler strike the most crushing blows at Irish and Indian freedom. Hitler is out to subjugate the entire world; where would the people of Ireland and India be then? Obviously, their own future is no less dependent on smashing Hitler than the future of other nations.

Twenty-five years ago Lenin, in an article in which he underlined the imperialist nature of the war then in progress, made a remarkable forecast of the conditions under which a great national war, that is, a progressive war for liberty and independence, would be possible in Europe. He pointed out that if the first world war were to lead to a situation in which "the European proletariat were to remain impotent for another twenty years; if the present war were to end in victories similar to those achieved by Napoleon, in the subjugation of a number of virile national states; if imperialism outside of Europe (primarily American and Japanese) were to remain in power for another twenty years without a transition to socialism . . . then a great national war in Europe would be possible." In that case "Europe would be thrown back for several decades." There was still another situation in which national wars in Europe would be possible, he said, and that was "in the event of a victorious revolution in Russia." This outline of the conditions for a national war has been fulfilled to an uncanny degree. But history, as Lenin himself often pointed out, is richer, more varied than the anticipations of the greatest scientific thinkers. What has come to pass is a combination of the negative and positive situations in a conflict of such magnitude that it embraces the world. For Hitler, far more than Napoleon, threatens the existence of every nation without exception.

THAT IS WHY this war cannot have as its objective the establishment of socialism. For the countries that fight in alliance with the Soviet Union seek to preserve their identity as capitalist nations; in the same way the peoples of the USSR defend their independence as socialist nations. And only through these joint efforts can the aims of all peoples be achieved, opening the way to new frontiers of freedom.

Because our country is the mightiest industrial power on earth, we Americans have more to lose if Hitler wins than most other nations. And we who owe our national existence to what Lenin called "one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars" salute our gallant allies, the peoples of Russia, on their independence day. We are learning much from them and they are learning from us; above everything else, all of us are learning how large is our common stake, how great our common strength, how certain the victory if we stand together against the common foe. A. B. MAGIL.







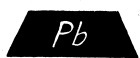




These Figures Tell the Story

How the Soviet Union stands up against Germany in productive strength. How Hitler's plunder of the European continent has given him superiority over the USSR by itself. Why the productive strength of Britain, the United States, and the USSR can outweigh the Nazi empire.

Here's how to read the figures: Column one shows Germany's production, as of 1938. Column two shows the production as of 1938 of all the countries now in Hitler's power. Column three shows the production of the USSR in that year. Note that by itself the USSR was equal to, and in many cases stronger than, Germany. But after Hitler gained control of the rest of Europe's resources, this was no longer true. Then, add in the productive strength of the United States and Britain, plus the resources they control, and you get a story that can spell Hitler's doom. But it's also deadly clear that were Hitler to defeat the USSR and gain control of British resources, the United States would be hopelessly inferior in almost every respect to the combined resources of a victorious fascist coalition. (See the notes below.)

(All figures are in millions of metric tons. Oil and bauxite figures are for 1937.)

	GERMANY	HITLER'S EUROPE	USSR	BRITAIN	USA	ALLIED TOTAL
 IRON ORE	3,100	19,818	14,600	3,615	14,630	35,845
 STEEL	23,208	40,404	18,000	10,565	46,898	75,563
 COAL	186,179	336,014	132,188	230,658	354,463	718,009
 OIL PRODUCTS	2,143	15,872	22,219	11,921*	145,426	179,566
 WOOL	20.2	178.5	137.4	497.1*	207.6	842.1
 COPPER	68.8	231.9	98.0	450.2*	570.8*	1,119.0
 LEAD	185.2	444.1	69.0	373.3*	348.1	790.4
 BAUXITE	93.1	2,068.1	230.1	958.1*	427.0	1,615.2
 ALUMINUM	165.6	268.5	43.8	89.4*	130.1	263.3

The above figures were compiled from the STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1940 edition. The last year for which completely comparable figures were available was unfortunately as far back as 1938. To estimate today's figures with any sort of precision, we would have to know the expansion of production, as well as the losses which must be considerable for both sides in this war. Soviet production, for example, is known to have expanded by twenty-five percent. In the case of steel, to take only one example, American production at the present time is running twice as high as 1938, that is about 90,000,000 tons of steel per year. Likewise, it is probably true that the production of France, which is now at Germany's disposal, must be considerably higher than it was in 1938. But in general it can be said that whereas the fascist states were working their plants close to capacity for several years before the outbreak of the war, this was not true of Britain and the United States and is only now beginning to be true. *In the case of iron ore, steel, and coal, we have not added in the production of associated powers, as for example, Canada or many South American countries. Nor have we added in a country such as India. On the other hand, in the case of wool, the British figure includes Australia, one of the great wool-producing countries in the world. In the case of copper, we have included northern Rhodesia, the Union of South Africa, and Canada in the figure for Britain, but we have omitted Chile and Peru, the bulk of whose copper is at the disposal of the United States. Petroleum products includes Iran, Iraq, and Venezuela under Britain. In the case of lead, we have included Burma and Canada; bauxite includes British Guiana, the Dutch East and West Indies, as well as Canada. In the case of aluminum we have included Canada. Notice that the Axis has a definite superiority in bauxite and aluminum. What these charts do not show are materials like wheat, cotton, manganese, fats, rubber, tin, nickel, and tungsten in which the democratic world plus the Dutch Empire and Egypt have an overwhelming superiority over the fascists. The same goes for their combined navies and the merchant marine. Neither does the chart include the resources of Japan, which on the whole have not been brought to bear on the Eastern Front. Switzerland, Portugal, and Sweden have been left out of the calculation of Hitler's Europe, although Portuguese tungsten and Swedish iron ore and arms are unquestionably going to the Axis.

WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY

An Editorial

It's more than four months now since the Soviet Republics were attacked, the most bitter, difficult, crucial months the peoples of the USSR have faced in the twenty-four years since their national and social rebirth. In the phrase of Jose Bergamin, elsewhere in this issue, this has been the "most terrible and at the same time most glorious moment" in all their history.

Most glorious, and yet most terrible—this realization has absorbed our whole consciousness, our whole life, in the fateful summer and autumn that has passed. But not only NEW MASSES and its readers—millions of decent men and women have instinctively reacted to the trials of that Promethean people which today bears the brunt of the fiercest thrust the barbarians have made since medieval times.

In our own country, from the lips of men like Ralph Ingersoll in the New York *PM*, or the former ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, millions of Americans have learned the truth about Soviet life, the truth they instinctively understood by merely reading the news dispatches, but nevertheless a truth which hitherto had been realized by only a comparative handful of Americans.

Consider, for example, the December issue of the *American Magazine*, where Mr. Davies expands on the treason trials, a subject he touched on in his remarkable speech to the Russian War Relief Meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York, a while back. Most of the world construed those trials to be "outrageous examples of barbarism, ingratitude, and hysteria," says Davies, but he now finds they indicated "the amazing farsightedness of Stalin and his close associates." There can be no doubt, he continues, "that the defendants were, directly or indirectly, in the employ of the German and Japanese High Commands." Nor did the purges weaken the Red Army, says the former ambassador; on the contrary, "I believe the exact opposite is the truth." And he concludes, significantly, that the Soviet Union's foresight against the fifth column is something that "other liberty-loving nations might well ponder."

BUT admiration for the Russians, the discovery of the truth about them, homage to their unimaginable sacrifice, is not enough. Friendship and understanding of the Soviet Union—yes, NEW MASSES has fought for that all during these years. Inspiration and advice from the deeds of the Soviet Union—you will find this a theme which runs through our pages from the very earliest days.

But today, all that is not enough. What must be understood and fought for among our countrymen is the realization that first, our own security as a nation hangs in the balance in this cataclysmic struggle; and second, that we have it in our power as a nation, we have it in our growing army and navy, in our productive capacity to turn the tide in the battle against Hitler, to turn that tide before he turns it against us.

This isn't the easiest idea for many Americans to grasp, just as it was not easy for them to grasp the truth about the Soviet Russia they know today. And yet it is the most urgent idea of all—and we cannot wait a year or a generation before this idea is fully grasped and acted upon. Most Americans hate Hitler, yet too many of them have failed to understand the immediate threat that his cam-

paign against Russia represents to ourselves. Too many of them have allowed themselves to be lulled with the idea that there will be "other years" and "other battles," the insane idea that we could do by ourselves what the British and Russians are having such great difficulty doing together.

Many in England did not realize that the betrayal of Czechoslovakia doomed them to an unequal war less than a year later. Many in France did not realize that the betrayal of Spain absolutely predestined their own collapse, even though that collapse did not come until two years after. That is the way history works—thinking people must realize that a wrong decision today would work itself out in the future in such a way that when all of us fully realized our danger it would then be too late.

Our duty to America is to realize that the struggle in Russia is crucial; if they lose, we are lost. And they can win only if we step in and, together with Britain, do our share.

This is the central idea that must be fought for and acted upon. For if we permit ourselves to be outflanked by the fascists in the Atlantic and Pacific while they organize their conquest of the Soviet Union—not only shall we be permitting them to strike a mortal blow at the symbol of progress which is the Soviet Union, we shall doom ourselves to be the last nation to face them. The enslaved peoples of the world would remember us, in Dorothy Thompson's phrase, as a "nation that was big, but not great."

And not only shall we be fighting against the fascist host from abroad, but we will face the ugly menace of Charles Lindbergh's fascism, which was so clearly revealed in his recent speech, a Lindbergh strengthened by the victory of his bosom friends in the Wilhelmstrasse.

THE figures on the opposite page tell the story. By itself the Soviet Union would have been able to take care of Germany. But when he had looted Europe, Hitler gained resources and productive strength beyond what most of us thought. Despite all the magnificent advances of the USSR, it was not equal to the combined weight of all Europe. If, on the other hand, the democratic powers throw their resources on the Soviet side, the Axis is absolutely outnumbered in almost every respect.

But notice also that if Hitler should gain the resources of the USSR, enabling him to conquer the British Isles and break into the empire, then as sure as fate the United States would not have the resources to withstand the victorious coalition of the fascist powers.

That is why America must act, altogether apart from the sinking of our ships which Hitler has now undertaken in earnest. That is why all priority must be given to the Eastern Front, and in record time. And in diverting our supplies to the Eastern Front, we should encourage the British to undertake the opening of a real front in the west. The main issue today is to speed production, to utilize our present capacity fully for the production of arms, while continually expanding that capacity. And above that, the administration ought to take far bolder measures than it has—to throw our manpower as well as materiel into the struggle without further delay.

This is our obligation not so much to the British people, nor even to the Soviet people on their twenty-fourth birthday. This is our obligation to ourselves.

THE EDITORS.

A CATHOLIC LOOKS AT MOSCOW

Jose Bergamin, famous publicist, says in this letter to Soviet writers: "There is not a Spanish writer worthy of the name who does not feel your cause is his." He tells why.

In the days before Hitler's puppet Franco overthrew the people's government, Jose Bergamin was one of the leading Catholic writers of modern Spain; indeed, he was perhaps the most outstanding one. As editor of *Cruz y Raya*, he spoke for the vast majority of liberal, democratic-minded Spanish Catholics; and so it is not surprising that, when Franco came with his mercenaries, Mussolini with his "Arrows," and Hitler with his planes and bombs, Bergamin should have taken his stand with the people of Spain, his own people, against the foreign fascist invader. Nor is it surprising that, having dodged the firing squad and the concentration camp, Senor Bergamin should be at present a refugee in Mexico. In the following letter, many of his American friends will recognize the same warm humanity and passion for democracy which they came to know when they met him in this country, in the course of his speaking tour in behalf of the loyalist government three years ago. The letter was translated from the Spanish by Samuel Putnam.

To Ehrenbourg, Alexei Tolstoy, Babel, Svetlov, Pasternach, Sholokhov, Bedny, Golodny, Barto, Fedin, Stavsky, Savich, Rokotov, Apletin, Kelyn:

SHOULD not be true to our friendship, or to my own conscience, my dear colleagues and friends, if, in this hour which is at once so terrible and so glorious a one for you, your Soviet peoples, and that great cause which you are defending, I failed to assure you of my confidence and support. This confidence which I feel is the same that we shared in Spain, when those very forces of barbarism which today are invading your soil burst upon us, and your word so truly pledged was given in exchange for ours. At that time, you were on our side and by our side, always and unremittently; and today there is not a Spanish writer worthy of the name who does not feel that your cause is his.

Your war is far more gigantic and frightful than was our own; but on the other hand, you do not have among you the traitors that we had, to deliver your country to the enemy. As you know, the Spanish people have not been conquered, but chained; yet you know that life has not been extinguished in them, and that all Spaniards who have not laid down their arms, now put their hope and trust in you; for we have not given up the idea of victory, for the reason that we are not traitors, either to our cause or to ourselves.

Those grievous hours that we spent together in Spain live in my memory. And then, like a cool breeze healing a burn, your lands and cities were offered me, lands and cities confidently given over to peaceful labor—a just peace that had been so hardly won through your brotherly efforts, and which had not its equal anywhere in the world.

I have always loved your country, your way of life, and your way of thinking. When

I was among you, for the first time in 1928 and later in 1937, I had a chance to see the work you were doing, to become fully conscious of it; and I did not hesitate for a moment, but putting aside all superficial ideological differences (I am not a man of ideas, I am not in the literal sense of the word an idealist, I am not an ideologist), I was able to share in brotherly fashion your human experiences. This is something that I feel honored to say.

I HAVE SEEN YOU serenely emerge from the trial by fire, from the living inferno of revolutionary, civil, and international warfare. Then, when I came back to your country nine years later, after having seen it amid the bloody rack and ruin, the visible anguished tokens of that mighty struggle which you had been through—when I saw it this second time, I still preserved in my mouth, pressed hard against my palate as I thought of my people in their distant awful agony, the enduring and infernal taste of a fire which becomes a living consciousness, and which in doing so consumes us to the bone with its purifying flame.

And so, when I was among you, in your Moscow, in Leningrad, I could not help feeling that I was little more than a dressed-up skeleton; for all was darkness and ashes. A Quixotic Spaniard whom you, in your mighty desire for peace and your eagerness for a true communion with Spain, took to your bosom. And as you threw your own homes open to me and smiled understandingly on my grief, your hand was warmly laid on mine, to bring new life and hope. Then it was I came to understand the spiritual force behind it all, that feeling of joy and confidence which filled your

cities, and which came tumbling down above the snows of Moscow in a veritable cataract of children's laughter—innumerable children!

And this happiness was fraternally shared with the little waifs whom we brought with us, to save them from death in our Spain. Yes, the snowy hand of Moscow thawed out upon my own in a cordial grasp of true and simple understanding and the most unfeigned good will.

As I became aware of the miracles which you, through your unceasing heroism, had achieved; as I saw how, in a brief nine years, under the leadership of one man, Stalin, you had wrought this effective paradise—as I beheld all this, I was at a loss to answer, when you humbly begged me for my criticisms and objections, in order that you might improve your work. The only reply I could give you was a grief-stricken admiration; for the waifs and the sufferings of my people in far-off Spain kept hovering about like an invisible shade.

"Let us defend"—so runs your people's song—"the happiness of life and the joy of our children." Death and barbarism would now snatch from you this sweet prize which you, so justly and generously and with the most utter humanity, have won. Thousands of your best workers, like our own Spanish workers, the youngest and the strongest, have given and are giving their lives in defense of that truth which binds us all, now more than ever—workers and intellectuals alike—over and above our fragile ideas and any content they may hold; for in order to understand that nation which you once before saved, and once again are saving, in order to understand the work which you have done and are doing, all that is necessary is that we be men and think with our hearts.

COURAGE, then, my colleagues and friends! I am with you until the death. I hope and believe in your victory, which is our victory. And if these feeble words of mine, uttered by a Spaniard, may offer you a shadow of hope and comfort, take them, for they are yours. For do not forget: that truth which you are defending is "the happiness of life and the joy of your children"; true peace and freedom, for the future of the world and the future of humanity; man's freedom and that of the peoples all over this world of ours.

I am with you, colleagues and friends. I myself feel something of that terrible, yet splendid and joyful assurance with which you are carrying on this struggle; and I am filled with pride at being, not merely a Spaniard or a writer, but above all and first of all, your friend. I feel you near me; I am at your side. I embrace you.

JOSE BERGAMIN.





THESE MEN SAY

The following greetings were sent **NEW MASSES** on the occasion of the Soviet Union's twenty-fourth birthday.

Joseph E. Davies

Former US Ambassador to the Soviet Union

I feel very deeply the menace of Hitlerism to our whole outlook on what makes life worth living, and I find the greatest satisfaction in the courage and idealism of the Soviet government and the Russian people in resisting Hitler.

Pierre Cot

Former French Minister of Aviation

Soviet Russia has accomplished the greatest effort in the common struggle against fascist Germany. Thanks to the courage and the sacrifice of her soldiers she has given to the democracies precious time to complete their preparation. If the democracies do not make use of this time to provide all the armies fighting against Hitler with sufficient armament, they will not deserve that so many courageous men and women have given their lives in the struggle against fascism. Their duty is to speed up their industrial production and their help to Soviet Russia because Soviet Russia is actually the best fighter for the defense of civilization.

Lion Feuchtwanger

There is one road leading from the Fourth of July, 1776, the birthday of the United States of America, to the Nov. 7, 1917, the birthday of the Soviet Union, the same road leading from the Bill of Rights to the Constitution of the Soviet Union. What the Soviet patriots are now struggling against is the same stubborn feudalism which the American patriots combated. This feudalism has grown wilder and more barbaric. But though it adopts modern technique and dresses itself up with modern pseudo-science, it still remains the eternal yesterday, the mentality of the stone age struggling against the bronze age. So the fight of the Soviet Union against Hitlerism is the natural continuation of all the wars for freedom that the United States of America ever fought.

Nicolas Guillen

Famous Cuban poet

The spectacle of human development through the centuries is sufficient to prove to us that Hitler cannot triumph. In both physical and moral matters, human history represents a firm will for progress, against which all those attempting to stop it have been smashed.

The Cuban people—to speak in closer terms—resemble more than ever all the other peoples of the earth in two things of enormous importance. The first one is: they are fully conscious that their struggle is linked with the one carried on so heroically on the Eastern Front of Europe by the USSR. The second, they realize that Man will be able to save himself as a rational and thinking entity, only when Nazism is defeated.

Since the aggression against the Soviet Union started, our people undertook with unusual vigor



TO MY FRIEND PROKOFIEFF

The following is the brief speech made last week by Benny Goodman at the great meeting sponsored by Russian War Relief Inc. at Madison Square Garden.

I HAVE a friend in Russia. He is a great composer—all of you know his name. It is Serge Prokofieff. He was going to write a concerto for me—he hasn't time to finish it now—but I want to say this to him here in public:

The other day a Russian worker named Popov broadcast from an entrenched position outside Moscow. He said:

"If a single German tank gets through the defenses, we'll lay ourselves under the tracks and bar the road to Moscow with our bodies."

We know how many hundreds of thousands of Russian bodies have already barred the road to Moscow.

Prokofieff, if you live through the hell the Nazis have made of your land, as they've made of so many other lands, you'll take the words of the worker Popov and write a song of Russia with them—a song that'll lift the hearts of men and set their feet marching, a new *Marseillaise* that'll drown out the discords of Nazism everywhere.

Today New York hails Moscow as all America hails Russia. Prokofieff, tell Popov and all the people of Russia fighting to defend a free world that we are with them in thought and in deed and that our aid will be sent to them in an ever increasing flood until victory is won.

BENNY GOODMAN.

the task of helping the socialist country and those that together with it are victims of Hitler. If the reader were here in Cuba, touring our countryside and the cities of our island, he could see for himself how this help grows daily. It has become a marvelous cement, casting into a single block all the various strata of our population. From his high

position President Batista himself has given the example.

We cannot delude ourselves about the enormous peril hanging over the Americas. Unless the Nazis are stopped in time, Hitlerism will sweep like a tornado to the Americas where already we feel against our faces the flame of the European battle.



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BENNY GOODMAN.



A COMING UZBEK KREISLER? *Five-year-old Akram Ikhtayarov is one of the children of an Uzbek collective farmer, studying music in the city of Bokhara.*

The people cannot be defeated, but we must accelerate their triumph. That is only possible through the effective alliance of all of the democracies of the world with the Soviet democracy; an alliance that would mobilize masses and governments to contribute with deeds—arms, food, and soldiers, for the opening of a western front. The extermination of Nazi barbarism is the prerequisite of a just and cultured society composed of free men.

William Z. Foster

At this crucial time in human history, the celebration of the twenty-fourth birthday of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has an impressive significance. As everyone who had any knowledge of the first land of socialism understood from the beginning, the present heroic struggle of the Soviet government and the Soviet peoples reveals to all the world that the USSR is and has always been an inveterate enemy of Hitler and Hitlerism. Today, our own government and people recognize that the fundamental task before them is to wipe out the Nazi plague. The need is now to cement the United States and the USSR, together with Great Britain, China, and others resisting Hitler, closely into a unified alliance against the common danger. For the Red Army fights at this moment as much to protect the nationhood and integrity of the United States as of the Soviet Union. This is the reason why many mass organizations, whose leaderships for years have violently—and unjustly—condemned the USSR, are now demanding that all possible assistance be sent to the Red Army, which is the first line of our country's defense.

We dare not allow the Soviet government and peoples to carry the whole brunt of this terrible war. It is our war, and we cannot expect other

people to fight it for us. The United States is already in the war ideologically, economically, diplomatically. The shooting stage has begun for us, as President Roosevelt pointed out. The sooner we realize our responsibilities, the sooner Hitler will meet his doom. We have the obligation to enter into a full military alliance with the USSR and Great Britain. And to make our contribution the strongest, it is imperative that national unity, a national front of all anti-Hitler elements, be forged without delay. Only then can we destroy the influence of the isolationists, appeasers, anti-Semites, and fascists, such as are gathered around the America First Committee.

That is the great lesson to the world of the USSR on its twenty-fourth anniversary. For in the Soviet Union the appeasers and fifth columnists have been weeded out, and are no menace to the defense of the country. The Soviet people stand united as no people have ever stood united in history—and their brave, self-reliant fight has been the fruit of that unity and the knowledge that Hitlerism is the doom of civilization, progress, and decency. Victory over the scourge that menaces all people can be speeded by the unity and full participation of all anti-fascist forces in the struggle.

Juan Marinello

Leading Cuban intellectual and educator

Those of us who have always been friends of the Soviet Union feel proud today at its incomparable defense, that marvelous resistance which could be produced only by an indissoluble people's unity. This unity could not have arisen except through a clear and firm certainty in the conscience of the masses that they are marching on the true, real path of liberation. Men can for a short time

keep their mouths shut under slavery, but they can never give their lives for it.

The peoples of the world, the enormous multitudes eager for justice, are firmly with the Soviet Union. And it is important that with every passing day that identification be better understood. The Soviet Union deserves effective and continuous support by all the people, because the Soviet Union has raised itself against the fascist crime in the most effective way with daring and enthusiasm.

This singular anniversary of the October Revolution must be marked by an intense and invincible desire to cooperate with all those who, in the most decisive manner, wish to eradicate barbarism from the face of the earth. In the face of the memories of the great Revolution, in the face of the greatness of the Soviet Union, the men of the Americas must close ranks in the common defense of liberty. What is at stake is the common fate of our culture and civilization. Whether tomorrow we are slaves or men with full rights will essentially depend on the effort of the Red Army. That is why, in this anniversary, the USSR must have as never before our deepest gratitude, the fraternal devotion of free men.

Harry W. L. Dana

Authority on Soviet Drama

We in America know that you in the Soviet Union are fighting not merely in your own defense, but also to help free those peoples that have been over-run and oppressed. The better we know the Soviet Union, the better we realize that your magnificent fight is the world's greatest battle for humanity.

During the fourteen years that I have been going year by year to Moscow to prepare my book on Soviet drama, I have come to see the wonderful progress that you have made in education and culture and those elements of self-discipline and devotion to the public good that go to make up what we call "morale." That this splendid growth may continue and spread, we must defend you by a united front of all peoples fighting against reaction. For the defense of the Soviet Union we must have collective security throughout the world.

The USA and the USSR have much in common. Both our republics, arising from Revolutions, have struggled for freedom from racial, religious, social, and political oppression.

Our United States, springing from the American Revolution and spreading westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, has become the largest and most powerful country of the Western Hemisphere.

Your Soviet Union, springing from the Russian Revolution and spreading westward to the Pacific, has become the largest and most powerful of the Eastern Hemisphere.

As though in a gigantic arch curving above the Pacific Ocean, America seems, through the peninsula of Alaska, to be stretching out a friendly hand of help towards your far-flung Soviet Union. Let that help be real. Let it be plentiful. Let it be speedy.

We American writers, who have come to know you and love you, are eager in this world crisis to extend to you our whole-hearted support. Our hearts, our hopes, are all with you. The words written long ago by my grandfather Longfellow and quoted recently by both Roosevelt and Churchill, I should like now to address to you in the Soviet Union:

Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!



A COMING UZBEK KREISLER? Five-year-old Akram Ikhtayarov is one of the children of an Uzbek collective farmer, studying music in the city of Bokhara.

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Prophet with Honor

LISTEN to this man:

"The treason trials just finished in Moscow, in which Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Rakovsky, and their seventeen co-defendants revealed at last the full scope and extent of the international fascist conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government, are not to be considered the domestic affair of the land of socialism. . . . There is no part of the world whose fate was not involved in the network of treason, murder, and war-provocation revealed in the Moscow trials."

That was said on March 18, 1938, by Earl Browder. The newspapers and the radio were crying "frameup," "fake," "murder" about the trials. Millions of Americans believed them. Now, nearly four years later, the man who at that time was the American ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, declares in the December *American Magazine* his firm belief that those trials cleaned out Hitler's and Japan's fifth column. "If these original Fifth Columnists had succeeded in their plans," he writes, "Germany would be poised today for the final attack upon Great Britain—with the natural wealth of the Russian territory behind her."

Listen to Browder again:

"A clear-sighted and long-range foreign policy for the United States can only be developed upon the solid foundation of friendship and collaboration between our country, China, and the Soviet Union. That is now blocked by our shameful betrayal of China through our supply to Japan over the years of the materials for her war of conquest, and by Washington's studied and artificial hostility toward the Soviet Union. Only when these features of our present foreign policy are wiped out can we begin to move toward a foreign policy which can guarantee peace and security to America."

That was said on Oct. 6, 1940. "Moscow agent," yelled the press and radio, "subversive," "put him in jail." Today, one year later, collaboration of our government with the USSR and China is a fact, steadily growing in strength. Most Americans now understand how essential this is for America's defense.

But the man who spoke those wise and patriotic words, who rallied America against the Hitler menace when others slept, who urged American-Soviet collaboration when it could have averted so much of disaster and agony—he can no longer speak. Earl Browder is in jail on a nonsensical passport tech-

nicality, sentenced to stay there for four years. He has served over seven months—more than enough even if one believes that he offended against the law. Won't you sign and circulate petitions to President Roosevelt asking that he exercise executive clemency—and, incidentally, greatly strengthen the fight against Hitlerism—and free Earl Browder?

Lindbergh's "Kampf"

NOBODY who has the least affection for America or any understanding of its people could do what Charles A. Lindbergh did the other night at the New York "America First" rally. With nearly the entire nation cheering Russia's stupendous frontline resistance to the Nazis, this man boasts of a fact he has never before admitted openly: that in 1938 he urged Britain and France to "permit Germany to expand eastward into Russia without declaring war." According to Lindbergh this plan—which is a page from *Mein Kampf*—was rejected by the British and French rulers. But it was *not* rejected: Chamberlain and Daladier, as the world now recognizes, attempted to follow it, and with disastrous consequences. They were stopped only by the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. Lindbergh, however, has a more ardent faith than ever in his plan. Today, while Hitler's "eastern expansion" directly threatens Britain, America, all democracy, the ex-colonel is loudest for appeasement. His speech in New York completely betrays his real motivation. It contains not even the most perfunctory rebuke of Hitler or a word of blame for the Nazi sinking of American ships. On the contrary, it questions the "integrity" of those who oppose the fuhrer. It echoes his racism in a subtle little crack about the "mixed races, mixed religions, mixed creeds" of America. It concedes his claim to the sea lanes of the Atlantic and his boast of a military might that none can oppose successfully. This is more than isolationism, more than appeasement—it is open surrender to and alliance with Hitler.

Other America Firsters and their friends are less candid than Lindbergh. At the same rally in New York former Ambassador Cudahy based his isolationism on the professed belief that Hitler is "only a passing phase" and the Nazi leaders are yearning for peace. Senator Wheeler ushers out of limbo the "Communazi" bogy, in a somewhat different presentation: since both Nazism and Communism are "monsters," he argues, why not just let them destroy each other? Senator La Follette opposes revision of the Neutrality Act on the old "pure pacifist" grounds. And in an extraordinary feat of illogic, Senator Wiley of Wisconsin insists that the administration is playing into Hitler's hands by resisting him—because, it seems, the fuhrer *wants* us to fight him so Japan can attack us! Much of this may sound like madness but let us not overlook its method. It is the method of deceit and intentional confusion that stems from—and leads straight to—Nazi Berlin.

Memo from Hitler

THE sinking of the United States destroyer *Reuben James* and the probable loss of a majority of the crew of 120 underlines the nature of the war that Hitler is waging. Every strategic consideration would seem to dictate to Germany that it refrain from any act which would more deeply involve the United States, with its enormous resources. Yet the *unlimited* character of the Nazi aims, the world scope of the war of conquest that Hitler is waging breaks through these strategic considerations and results in ever more aggressive acts against this country. The official statement from Hitler's headquarters attempts to place the burden of aggression on the United States and to depict the torpedoing of American naval vessels as acts of self-defense. It is difficult to say whether Hitler is here echoing the America First Committee, Senators Nye, Wheeler *et al.*, or vice versa, but no one should fail to recognize these "acts of self-defense" as similar to those which destroyed Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece, and other countries the Nazis have attacked. The sinking of the *Reuben James* is just a memo from Hitler that after he finishes with the Soviet Union and Britain (provided we stand by and permit him to finish with those nations), America will be next.

The question of who fires the first shot in these naval engagements is of no importance. The fact is that the invasion of the United States has begun—via the USSR and the Atlantic Ocean, and via the fifth column work of Lindbergh, Wheeler, Wood, Hoover, Nye, and their kind. And the fact is, too, that in face of Hitler's unlimited war against America, we are as yet fighting a highly *limited* war. "The forward march of Hitler and of Hitlerism can be stopped, and it will be stopped," said President Roosevelt in his Navy Day address. "Very simply and very bluntly—we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism." Yet the steps thus far taken hardly measure up to these words. The President's own statement that the sinking of the *Reuben James* will produce no change in relations with Germany is considerable of a letdown.

It is time we faced the fact that Hitlerism cannot be stopped without the all-out participation of the United States. As William Z. Foster put it at a rally in Madison Square Garden closing the Communist election campaign and celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Soviet Union: "The American people face the alternative of either fighting Hitler with everything we've got—our great industries, our armed manpower, our national unity—or else running the grave risk of falling victim to a fate such as that which befell France and the other countries conquered by Hitler."

Repeal of all the hampering provisions of the Neutrality Act is not enough. "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!" should mean just that on all fronts, military, production, and diplomatic.

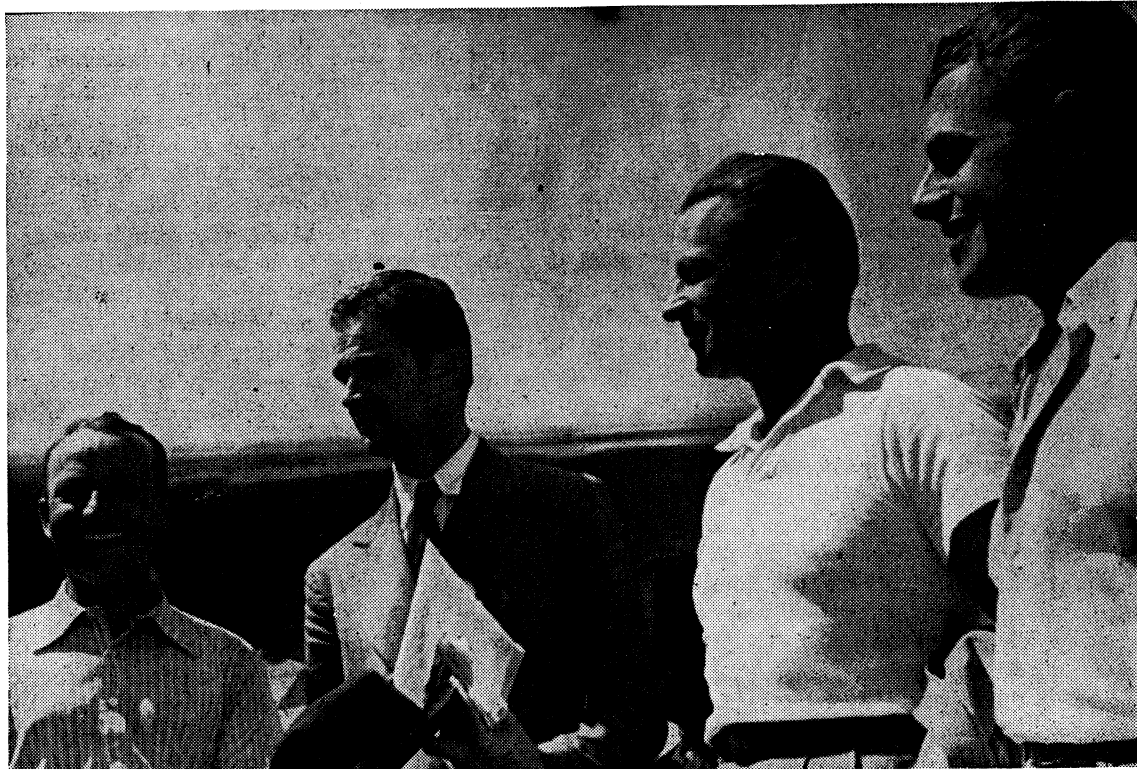
USA—USSR: OUR COMMON HERITAGE

Samuel Sillen writes of little-known but significant aspects of America's cultural relations with Russia before and after 1917. From Pushkin to Sholokhov. When Gorky came here.

IN HIS monumental study of Lincoln during the war years, Carl Sandburg recalls the virulent pro-slavery attacks on the administration's policy of Russo-American friendship. Hostile newspapers ran cartoons depicting Lincoln as a country bumpkin in the embrace of an enormous bear. A sarcastic editorial writer sounded the alarm, so familiar to a later generation: "By and by we will doubtless all wear Russian beards, Russian overcoats, and Russian pants; our wives will wear Russian petticoats and hoops. . . ." In 1863 the presence of friendly Russian ships in American waters caused an outburst of hypocritical denunciation by those who, while continuing to oppose emancipation at home, would have no alliance with a land ruled by the czar. Seventy years later, under radically altered circumstances, the apostles of reaction attacked the Roosevelt administration for recognizing belatedly a government which had overthrown the czar.

In the face of his critics, Lincoln urged Bayard Taylor, who had been secretary of our legation at St. Petersburg, to give several public lectures on serfdom and emancipation in Russia. The President himself, though burdened with a thousand and one other duties, went one evening to hear Taylor talk on "Russia and the Russians." For Lincoln appreciated the need for mutual understanding and respect of two peoples whose interests had become linked in this earlier crisis of our democracy. In asking Bayard Taylor, poet, novelist, author of a famous translation of *Faust*, to inform his countrymen about Russia, Lincoln set a precedent which has an obvious significance for us today. It was wholly in keeping with the spirit of this precedent that President Roosevelt should exchange friendly greetings with Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Supreme Soviet, on the July 4 anniversary this year. For as Mr. Roosevelt said on this occasion, and as he indicated in a more recent message to Joseph Stalin, the American people "are bound with strong ties of historic friendship to the Russian people."

The cementing of that friendship is the urgent need of the hour, and, as the example of Bayard Taylor shows, American writers may perform an important function in making us aware of the ties between the two peoples. The history of our cultural relations with Russia both before and after the October Revolution is scarcely appreciated in this country. It is nevertheless a rich and colorful history that illuminates the ambitions which the two great peoples have in common. Too many Americans are still victims of the illusion that our cultural contacts have been confined to western Europe. It is with unconcealed sur-



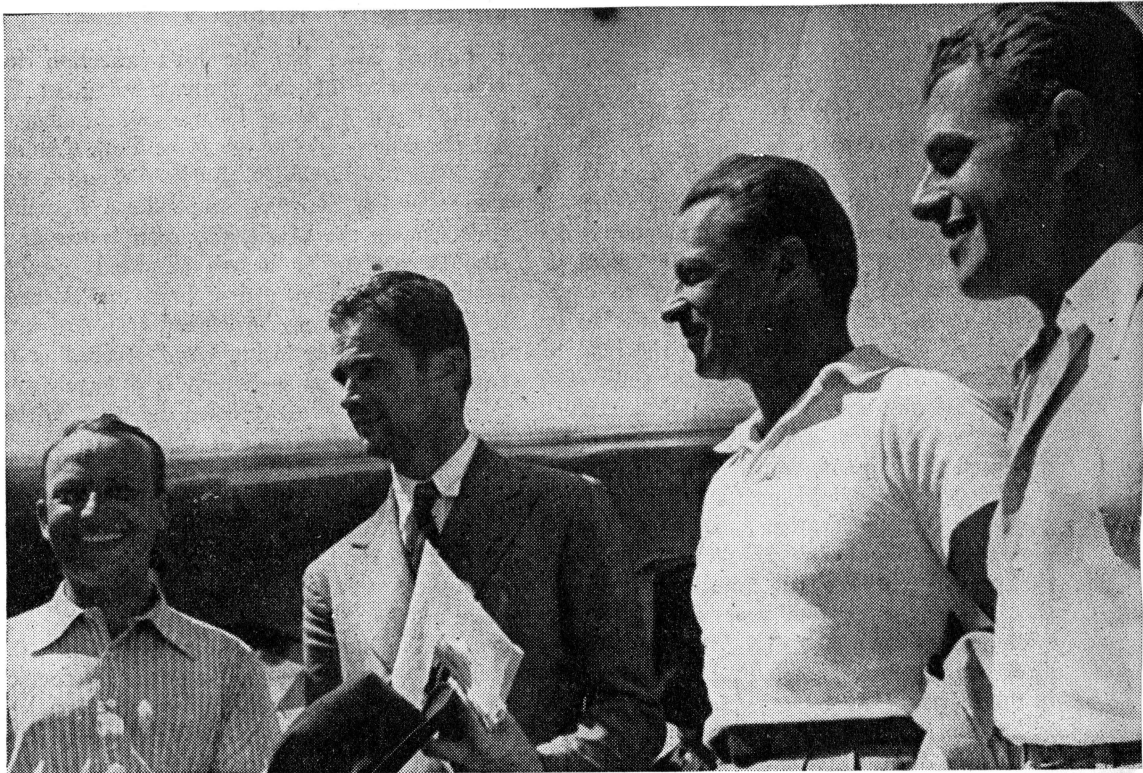
AMBASSADORS ON WINGS. When Howard Hughes landed in Moscow in his round-the-world flight in 1938, he was welcomed by the above trio of Soviet aviators, who had come the other way in their flight to the US. They are M. Gromov, G. Baidukov, and A. Yumashov.

prise that we learn, for example, that our distinguished historian John Lothrop Motley was secretary of our Russian legation in 1841, and that his first historical essay, appearing in the *North American Review* in 1845, was on Peter the Great. Or that Tolstoy clubs, organized in New England some decades later, exercised a deep influence on a number of American writers. Or that, despite many myths, a group of representative critics polled by *Harper's* magazine choose a son of the Soviets, Mikhail Sholokhov, as the author of the best work of recent fiction. We visit a Soviet movie celebrating the eighteenth-century General Suvorov, learning for the first time about this progressive figure whom the Confederate lady, Mrs. Chesnut, compared with Grant in 1864: "Grant . . . is their right man," she wrote disparagingly, "a bull-headed Suwarrow."

The fact is that we in America must frankly admit a certain provincialism in this respect. How many of our universities at present teach the language of Pushkin and Tolstoy and Gorky? Only a handful. And when we do make a dent in the traditional academic armor, how evasive we are. A large midwestern university where I taught some years ago at last introduced a radical innovation, a course in—

Old Church Slavonic! "Study, without question—study on our side—is the first of all requirements if we wish to make the best use of our present alliances with Russia for the creation of cultural ties." That is what Sir Bernard Pares, himself a Russian scholar, advised his fellow Englishmen recently in the *London Times*, and we may well take the words to heart in this country. Study on our part. For, as we shall see in a moment, Soviet schools have long been doing their part in exploring the history of Russian-American cultural relations.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that Lincoln should ask for a discussion of "serfdom and emancipation" in Russia. The truth is that the Americans and Russians are bound by the progressive and revolutionary traditions in their respective cultures. Emancipation of the serfs coincided chronologically with emancipation of the slaves, and writers in both countries learned from one another. The Russian critic Chernyshevsky wrote that "the day that brought victory to the party whose candidate was Lincoln was a great day—the beginning of a new era in the history of the United States—a day which marked a turning point in the history of the great North American people." *Uncle*



AMBASSADORS ON WINGS. *When Howard Hughes landed in Moscow in his round-the-world flight in 1938, he was welcomed by the above trio of Soviet aviators, who had come the other way in their flight to the US. They are M. Gromov, G. Baidukov, and A. Yumashov.*

Tom's Cabin, still widely read today, appeared in the same year as Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* and roused the imaginative and rebellious Russian youth of the time to a glowing devotion to emancipation. And on this side of the ocean, the Abolitionist and labor champion Wendell Phillips read a fiery Phi Beta Kappa address to a shocked Harvard audience, some years later, supporting the radicals who were continuing the popular struggle against an oppressive czarism.

By and large, the czars did everything to frustrate any learning about America and Americans. The gala celebration of a Benjamin Franklin anniversary observed throughout the Soviet Union a couple of years ago would have been altogether unthinkable under the Romanovs. The Soviet critic Startsev pointed out, on this occasion, that Catherine had used an intermediary to dissuade Franklin from visiting Russia. Franklin was attacked in the official press as a rebel and society destroyer; and the effect of his presence was dreaded. For the liberals of the time revered him, and the noted thinker and revolutionist Radischev expressed the liberal view when he praised Franklin as embodying the ideal concept of the scientist and citizen.

The czarist censor found "dangerous ideas" in James Fenimore Cooper, who, as Chekhov once wrote, caused many a pre-revolutionary schoolboy to dream of flight to far-off, romantic America. In the old days, according to the Soviet professor I. Zvavich, there were few translations of American books, and most of these were poorly done and published in

surreptitiously passed from hand to hand. "The history of modern civilized America," wrote Lenin, "opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few among the large number of wars of conquest. . . ." And Lenin's admiration for the heroic traditions of the American people voiced the feeling of large numbers of his countrymen who had derived inspiration from American experience at the risk of police censure.

It is little wonder, then, that the study of American literature became an important part of the literary faculties of Soviet universities. Or that an extensive history of American literature, the first publication of its kind in Russian, should be prepared by the Gorky Institute of World Literature. Soviet students write dissertations on the major American prose masters, and English is studied, not by a few aristocrats, but by the people. It is thrilling to read of students from provincial towns, from Komsomolsk-on-Amur, from Igarka, taking correspondence courses in English so that they may read Mark Twain or Theodore Dreiser in the original. In 1933 Jack London was published in the Ingushian language. In 1935 Bret Harte was published in the Mari language. In the years 1937-40 no less than 199,000 copies of *Tom Sawyer* were published in Russian; 185,000 of *The Prince and the Pauper*; 182,000 of *Huckleberry Finn*. The facts are too eloquent to require comment.

"Since childhood I have loved American literature," writes Eugene Petrov, co-author

read. Poe and Whitman, Cooper and Bret Harte, among the older authors; Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Ernest Hemingway, Erskine Caldwell, and others are published and republished and find numerous and eager readers. We writers of the Soviet national republics are greatly interested in the development of American literature, which though seemingly so far away across the ocean, is close to us because of its realistic tendencies." And Vsevolod Vishnevsky, author of *We from Kronstadt*, noting that "American literature is part of our own biography," describes the stirring effect of such a song as "John Brown's Body" on his generation. "We appreciate America's energy," wrote this author two or three years ago; "we appreciate America's humor, lust for life, and its quests for new ways. . . . We must meet you Americans, and you us. Nothing but good can come of it." A vivid incident is described by Anna Louise Strong in an article in the October *Asia* magazine where she discusses a visit to Kazakstan last winter. Miss Strong reports the animated comment of a Kazak journalist on Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, his informed questions about Dreiser, Sinclair, and other American authors. The great popularity of younger writers like Albert Maltz, Richard Wright, and Clifford Odets reflects a continuing and growing concern with our literature.

ON OUR PART there is room for a detailed study of the influence of Russian writers on American letters. Reading through the correspondence of the James' recently, for example,

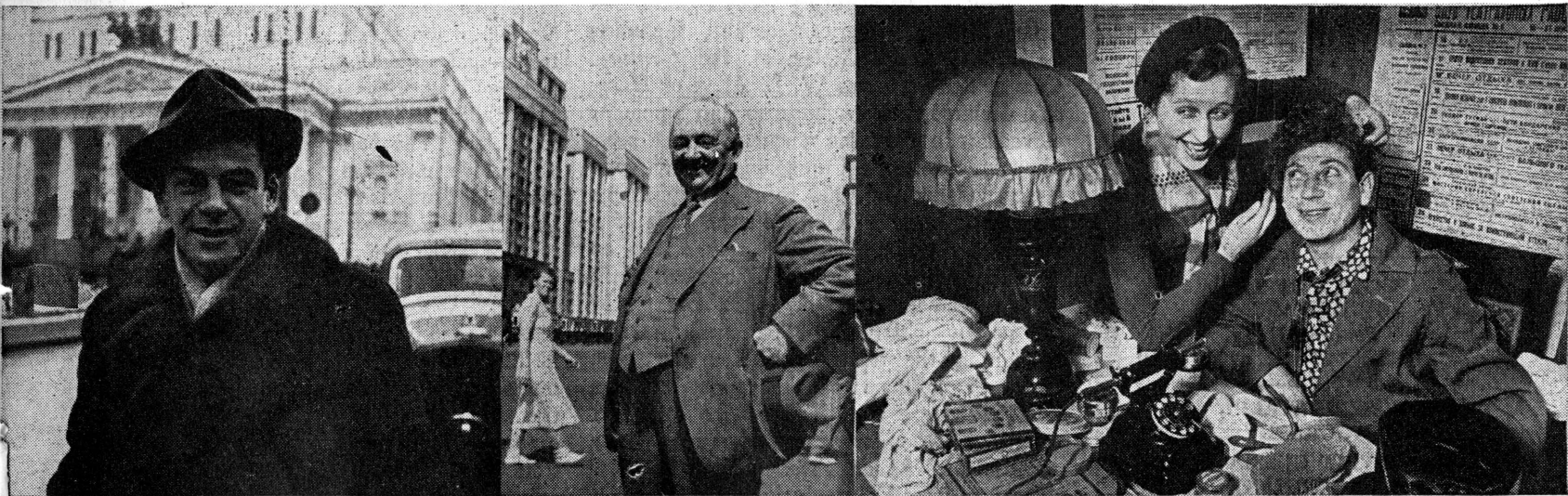


AMERICANS IN MOSCOW: (left to right) Paul Muni before the famous Bolshoi theater; the late Hugh L. Cooper, noted engineer who supervised the construction of the Dnieper dam; and the comedian Harpo Marx whose brand of humor made a hit with the Muscovites.

small editions. American literature was granted only second citizenship by the official reviews and publishers. It was read in the original only by a few aristocrats who spoke English with an Oxford accent and preferred Oscar Wilde to the work of the boors across the sea. But among the lower classes American writers were popular, even though their possession was sometimes dangerous. Mark Twain's *Prince and the Pauper* was read as a stirring indictment of the caste society under which they labored. A biography of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln was a priceless possession,

with the late Ilya Ilf of *The Golden Calf* and *Little Golden America*. And he adds: "Contemporary American writers whom I had the pleasure of meeting during our trip through the United States laughed at me a little for the almost maniacal passion I feel for Mark Twain." This interest in American letters is typical. Yanka Kupala, Byelo-Russian poet and folklorist, expresses the common conviction that "American literature at present is one of the most interesting and brilliant literatures in the world. In the Soviet Union American writers are widely known and diligently

I was impressed by their sustained interest in Russian literature. Henry James, of course, knew Turgenev in Paris and was deeply interested in his fiction. His critical sketch of Turgenev's writings in the *North American Review* was only one of many signs in the seventies and eighties that the Russian realists were making a substantial impact on our thought. Henry James, Sr., wrote Turgenev in 1874 that his works had made themselves so widely honored that "whatever you write is now immediately translated for our periodicals, or for independent publication, and the



AMERICANS IN MOSCOW: (left to right) Paul Muni before the famous Bolshoi theater; the late Hugh L. Cooper, noted engineer who supervised the construction of the Dnieper dam; and the comedian Harpo Marx whose brand of humor made a hit with the Muscovites.

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only matter left for the public to differ about is the pronunciation of your name." One finds William James writing as early as 1869 of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, which he was reading in a French translation (the only one available), that "even in its stiff French garb, [it] is charming, and in the pliant Russ, lapped in the magic of meter, it must be deliriant." Or to find him writing, some years later, that Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* is "a wonderful psychological study" and that Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* proves that the author is "the most complete of novelists." And this enthusiasm is clearly seen in the work of William Dean Howells, who revered Tolstoy, and who, in his famous essay *Criticism and Fiction*, held up the Russian novelists as examples for American authors. Indeed, by the eighties it was possible for a translator from the Russian to make a substantial national reputation, and Isobel Florence Hapgood, who had labored at Worcester with dictionary and grammar in order to master Russian, earned the gratitude of a wide reading public for her versions of Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Gorky. What pride in American hearts when a friend of Henry Demarest Lloyd, the author of *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, returned from a visit to Tolstoy to report that the master had talked with great enthusiasm about three American radicals, Lloyd, Howells, and Henry George.

American opinion in the decades before the October Revolution was vigorously opposed to the czarist autocracy, as the national protest against the Kishinev pogroms eloquently testified. When Gorky was imprisoned at the Peter and Paul Fortress during the Revolution of 1905, leading American editors, including Richard Watson Gilder of the *Century*, Charles Scribner, and W. L. Allen of *Harper's*, declared their readiness to join a popular movement to effect his release. When a press campaign was worked up against Gorky, upon his arrival here in 1906 to collect funds for the revolutionaries, it was on the basis of a factitious domestic "scandal" rather than on political grounds. It is significant that Mark Twain, who unfortunately succumbed to the trumped-up charge of "immorality," saw straight on the main issue. When the press, under the influence of the czarist embassy, suggested that it was "inadmissible" to collect American dollars for arms against a "friendly government," Mark Twain countered: how about help from France during our revolutionary struggle? And he wrote a message, read at a mass meeting at Grand Central Palace, which should be better known. "My sympathies," he wrote, "are with the Russian Revolution, of course. It goes without saying. . . . Government by falsified promises, by lies, by treachery, and by the butcher knife, for the aggrandizement of a single family of drones and its idle and vicious kin has been borne quite long enough in Russia, I should think. And it is to be hoped that the roused nation, now rising in its strength, will presently put an end to it and set up the republic in its place. Some of us, even the white-headed, may live to see the blessed day when czars and

grand dukes will be as scarce there as I trust they are in heaven."

Mark Twain did not live to see that blessed day. It remained for men like John Reed and Lincoln Steffens to report its momentous meaning to the American people. It remained for another great novelist, Theodore Dreiser, to visit the Soviets and to describe the cultural upsurge which they had inspired. We do not—perhaps, as yet, we cannot—comprehend in all its scope the influence of this culture on the American mind. That influence has been clouded by ignorance and prejudice, to be sure. Altogether too few Soviet books have been translated in this country, and it is still possible for some reviewers to speak as if Sholokhov were an isolated phenomenon, or as if Mayakovsky were merely a tradition. But what student of our theater can ignore the impact of Stanislavsky, and what student of our music can pass by the influence of Prokofieff and Shostakovich? Who, reading the literature of our twenties, for example, can fail to see that where it shows hope and a positive affirmation, it also shows a consciousness of a new world struggling to be born in the Soviet Union? Whether that spirit has come in directly through Barbusse or Bernard Shaw, Aragon or Feuchtwanger, Nexo or Friedrich Wolf, or whether it has come directly from Dreiser and Sandburg and Michael Gold, it has deeply influenced our consciousness.

And this is true in every field. In 1935 Prof. Walter Cannon of Harvard headed an American delegation to the International Congress of Physiologists held in the Soviet Union. The same year Prof. Arthur Upham Pope headed a group of prominent archaeologists at the International Congress on Iranian Art. At the International Geological Congress in 1937, Dr. Philip S. Smith spoke for the American scientists: "The bonds of everlasting friendship which have here risen will never be torn asunder." And that same year, Frank Lloyd Wright, a welcome guest at the First Congress of Soviet Architects, returned to America with a stirring message of achievement across the seas. We heard the same report from a distinguished medical historian like Dr. Henry L. Sigerist, an able scholar like Ernest Simmons, and many others too numerous to mention. On the occasion of the triumphant reception accorded in this country to North Pole flyers Baidukov, Gromov, Chkalov, and others, our ambassador to the USSR, Joseph E. Davies, spoke for millions: "This great achievement rouses a feeling of deep respect for the courage, talent, and initiative of the peoples of the Soviet Union."

It is a long time since Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote his poem "America to Russia," but the fraternal spirit which he sang in 1866 is today more than ever alive:

*Though watery deserts hold apart
the worlds of East and West,
Still beats the selfsame human heart
In each proud Nation's breast.*

A long time, and across the years this friendly gesture is answered by a distinguished Soviet

novelist, Leonid Leonov, who sums up for his countrymen and for us the splendid possibilities of cultural collaboration: "For the Soviet intellectual, the United States is not a distant trans-oceanic country. Genuine culture destroys both time and space. . . . This interchange of cultural values during 'peaceful' world conditions aided the two peoples to know one another, but it did not actually bring them really close together. The events of the last few years, however, have given us an opportunity of realizing what an impetus would be given to human progress by their joint forces, united in the struggle for the highest ideals of mankind. It seems to me that in this struggle one would find not merely empty indifferent collaboration, but genuine and vital unity of our two great peoples. . . . Because humanism and not misanthropy must be victorious, participation in the anti-fascist struggle is man's duty to the world, to freedom and human dignity. Let us look into the future."

And this eloquent appeal, it should be noted, was written not the other day, but three years ago, when Leonov already heard with satisfaction, above the clash of arms and the explosion of bombs dropped by the fascist barbarians on China and Spain, the voice of the American people "calling on all advanced mankind for solidarity and for the destruction of the fascist aggressors."

That voice, already audible then, has become a part of the thunderous chorus of humanity insisting that civilized values shall prevail. As we stand together at the fiery ramparts, let us recall our common heritage and fight shoulder to shoulder for our free future.

SAMUEL SILLEN.



American Revolutionist

ANTHONY WAYNE, by Harry E. Wildes. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.75.

ANTHONY WAYNE was born for battle. In domestic, business, and political life he cut a sorry figure, being guilty of disloyalty, ingratitude, and moral behavior which may kindly be described as lax. Even here, however, he was never vicious as were men like the second officer of the Revolution, Charles Lee, or Benedict Arnold, or the president of the state of Pennsylvania, Joseph Reed, or Brig.-Gen. James Wilkinson.

Wayne, a sometimes misguided man, was always a magnificent warrior. And since in the latter capacity he served the United States from 1776 until his death twenty years later, his contributions were great and our debt to his memory is heavy. Mr. Wildes' excellent study does much to make that memory green once more, and to revivify the agonies of this nation's birth.

Treason, incompetence, and stupidity were everywhere. Division, jealousy, profiteering were prevalent. Superbly trained, perfectly provisioned veterans faced hastily gathered, ill-armed tyros; the sea was England's; New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah were lost. The camps of the Revolutionary armies were veritable Golgothas, with epidemics chronic, doctors few, medicines non-existent. And for six long years it was defeat—retreat—defeat—retreat. But the war went on, and the war was won.

It was won because things happened that were in no manual of military tactics. It was won because when an undermanned fort was subjected to a surprise attack, a hundred wounded men poured out of the hospital to take their battle positions. And when someone asked if more were on their way, the reply came, "Yes, blast your eyes! Every sick man who can stand!" It was won because when Wayne found himself ambushed, surrounded, and outnumbered ten to one at Green Springs, Va., in 1781, and Cornwallis felt certain he would do the traditional thing—surrender—Wayne and his men charged, bayonets flashing. The British were stunned, Wayne escaped, the army's ammunition wagons were saved, and soon Cornwallis himself was trapped—and *he* surrendered.

It was won because the *people* were fighting, the people whose wellsprings of strength and resourcefulness defy measurement.

Mr. Wildes' book tells this story—from the vantage point of one man's career—and tells it well. There are occasional lapses, notably the failure to mention the part played by a Negro, Pompey, in the capturing of Stony Point. But this book, which is based upon a tremendous mass of hitherto unmined manuscript material, is by far the best yet done on the subject, and definitely supersedes the works of Thomas Boyd and J. R. Spears. It is about as near to definitive as the biography of a human being can be.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

His name is
Jurgen van Rensselaer . . .
he tried to sell out the Union



Since Evelyn Scott's *The Wave*, this is the only Civil War novel to lead the reader into fresh paths and to show him an aspect of this grim internecine war he never suspected. **THE COPPERHEADS**, the story of the first organized fifth column in America, is not only fascinating reading—but what is more important, the facts, extraordinary as they may at first appear, are absolutely authentic. This is the turbulent saga of a turbulent era and in it William Blake has fashioned the most compelling novel he has written to date.

THE COPPERHEADS

A New Novel

By **WILLIAM BLAKE**

Author of *The World is Mine*

741 pages, \$3.00, The Dial Press, N. Y.



NM *November 11, 1941*

**His name is
Jurgen van Rensselaer . . .
he tried to sell out the Union**



SCORCHED VALLEY

Joy Davidman reviews John Ford's moving study of disinherited workers, "How Green Was My Valley."
Raimu stars again in the pre-Vichy film "The King."

THE film *How Green Was My Valley* cannot be considered apart from the book from which it was made. Never was novel more faithfully transcribed, scene by scene, even to the narrative device of having the whole thing told, in retrospect, by a man about to leave the broken and dishonored valley, befouled by the greed of Welsh colliery owners. Though the scenery is more Californian than Welsh, the quality which made Llewellyn's novel a haunting and heartbreaking piece of nostalgia has been captured on the screen; and if the novel's great defects, its aimlessness and helplessness, have also been transcribed, they do not keep *How Green Was My Valley* from being a moving study of disinherited workers.

The valley of Cwmronda was green once, and its men made good wages; if the mine work was hard and dangerous, at least it was repaid. The men came home, a father followed by five big sons, and each tossed his money proudly into the mother's apron. They were able to live well, to feast royally, to save money, to sing. But all this is remembered, years later, by the youngest son Huw, as he leaves a valley buried beneath the mountain of slag from the colliery. Slag surrounds and covers the miners' cottages.

Little by little, as the slag heap grew, the good life dwindled. First, wages were cut and cheaper labor imported. The miners struggled to form a union, fighting the opposition of village reactionaries and the conservatism of their own older men. Convinced the hard way, the older men joined the strike; but when it was settled not all were reemployed, and the wage cutting went on, year after year, until four of the Morgans' five sons went off to America, hoping for better luck. The eldest, Ivor, had already been killed in the increasingly dangerous mine; in the end an explosion got old Gwyllem Morgan himself, the last survivor of the good days. Nothing was left.

Meanwhile, the villagers' private lives had been suffering a similar deterioration. The joy and friendliness of the good days gave place to backbiting, misery, and fear; the minister who had led the men in their union was persecuted because of an imaginary love affair with the Morgans' daughter, Angharad. Subtly the film suggests a forlorn greyness, replacing the green grass and the daffodils of the early scenes. All this is told as the story of the Morgan family, and as an individual story it is powerful enough, but it never loses sight of its larger implications.

Unfortunately, the film follows the novel in being content to stop short with a picture



A SCENE from the forthcoming Soviet movie, "Wings of Victory."

of deterioration. My valley was green, says Huw Morgan; we had a good life once; isn't it a pity it's all gone forever. . . . It never occurs to him that something might be done to reclaim his valley, to save other men's valleys. Taking refuge in mysticism and nostalgia, he is content to let his world die. And so *How Green Was My Valley*, for all its sincerity, remains a wail of defeatism. One only need compare it to the film of *The Grapes of Wrath* to realize its deficiencies. With the same director, the same basic problem, and a similar approach, *How Green Was My Valley* lacks the courage that made the other film triumphant over oppression.

There are fine things in it, however. John Ford's direction is interesting in itself; he has made remarkable use of pantomime in long shots without dialogue, conveying a family relationship in a second where most directors would take a whole scene. Under the spell of his handling, Hollywood's canyons convince you for the moment that they are valleys in Wales. The actors are equally responsive. Roddy MacDowell, as the small boy Huw, neatly avoids all the usual affectations of screen children and turns in a forthright perform-

ance. Walter Pidgeon is good as the minister, Anna Lee and Maureen O'Hara unusually restrained as Bronwen and Angharad, Barry Fitzgerald steals the show as usual in a minor part. As Beth Morgan, the fiery and indomitable mother, Sara Allgood is perhaps noticeably Irish, but the warmth and richness of her acting are universal. I have saved Donald Crisp for the end. Previously familiar as a character actor, he has handled innumerable and varied roles with distinction. As Gwyllem Morgan, however, he transcends himself. Quietly, without a display of technical virtuosity, he achieves great acting, making the old miner as memorable a figure as any in the screen's history.

THERE used to be a thing called *l'esprit gaulois*; you can translate it variously as Gallic wit or Gallic spirit. It was the spirit of Voltaire, the wit of Voltaire, which made him an unconquerable crusader against oppression and sham; the spirit of Zola, the wit of Anatole France, when they united to fight for Dreyfus. When Hitler took France it went underground, where it is making itself felt in direct action rather than in sharp satire.

The Gallic spirit excelled in satire, however, when there was freedom for the satirist to express himself. Such pre-Vichy films as the unforgettable *Carnival in Flanders* and now *Le Roi* (Fifth Avenue Playhouse) display that satire at its keenest. *The King*, to English it, was originally written as a play in 1908, when diplomacy was driving straight toward the first world war, but it is no less true of France in 1930, or of corrupt politicians and upperclass snobs anywhere and anytime.

In the framework of a hilarious bedroom farce this extraordinary picture manages to include social criticism, political analysis, brilliant characterization, and a revelation of the accepted workings of the French government which makes many things clear. A Ruritanian King visits Paris, especially its boudoirs. A millionaire cheerfully sacrifices his mistress to the king in exchange for the honor of a royal visit, but jibs when the king also scoops up his wife. The threat of an international scandal is averted by giving the millionaire a post in the Cabinet, and the king signs an important treaty as a gift to his lady love.

The savage wit which scarifies the performers of this deal can hardly be reproduced here. But a few touches insist on being cited. There is the scene in which the French president reads his speech of welcome to the king, and the king solemnly reads his reply . . . such speeches. There is the millionaire's seduction of a great actress, not unassisted by 75,000 francs. There is a Cabinet meeting; there is the delicious and oddly tender scene between the king and the millionaire's unsophisticated wife. There is the look on Raimu's face as he bursts into a bedroom and sees, for the second time. . . .

Raimu, as the millionaire, deserves his stardom. Victor Francen is equally brilliant as the king, however, combining the regal and the amatory manners in a way that extracts the last ounce of ridicule from both. Gaby Morlay as the actress-mistress is a charming cheat, but she cannot rival Elvire Popesco's performance as the wife, a masterpiece of hasty advances and awkward retreats. This is not, perhaps, one of the films you must see to complete your education; but you will be missing a lot of fun if you don't.

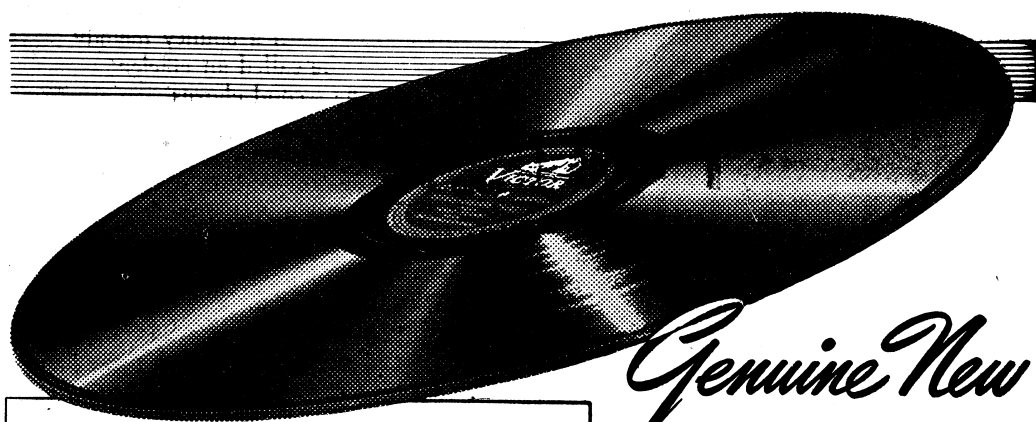
JOY DAVIDMAN.

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Some suggestions for a swing record collection.

ONE characteristic of jazz which especially excites those who like the music, and repels those who don't, is its full and happy use of the timbre of the instruments. A good jazzman is like a workman who loves his tools and makes them an integral part of his work. To him the piano is essentially a percussive instrument and he makes it sound like one.

These remarks are by way of introducing Earl Hines, one of the great men of jazz.



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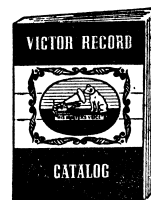
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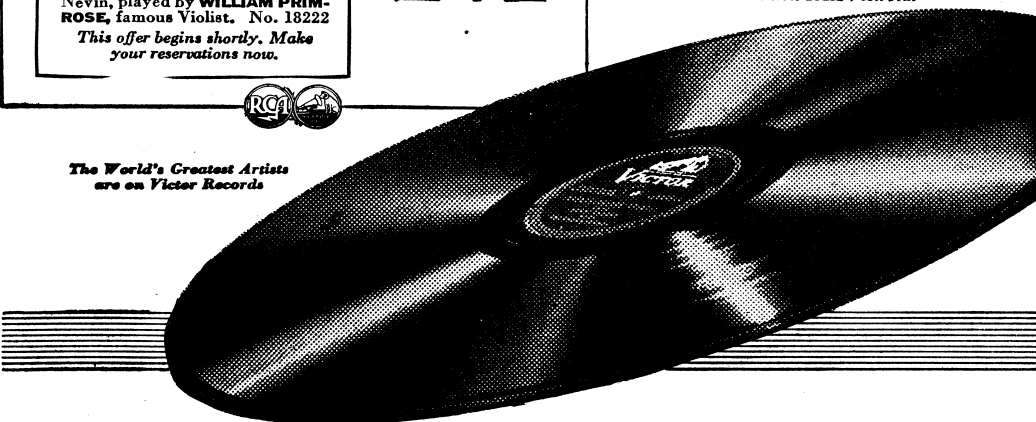
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"WINGS OF VICTORY"

The story of Valeri Chkalov, the valiant
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Hines is a master of the surprise attack and encircling movement. A typical Hines performance starts with a bouncy melody played in what might be called an efficient piano-roll style. With the second chorus, the right hand is hitting harder, and some notes of the tune are strangely missing. Then the left hand stops short on an off-beat chord, the right hand throws out a flurry of staccato notes, and for the rest of the record you are lucky if you can recognize some shreds of the melody with which he started. The melody is there, but it is broken into a series of dazzling rhythmic patterns, with the left and right hand as uncooperative as two cats on a fence.

Like all good jazz styles, this playing stems from the blues. You can hear the blues touch in the short, biting phrases into which he turns each melody, in the discords which give the effect of the off-pitch "blue" notes, in the sharp attack on each note. What it lacks is the warm, communicative power of the blues folk melody, the quality of the "boogie woogie" piano. It is less of a folk music than an exhibition, a virtuoso stage performance. But it is carried off with so much finish, constant surprise, and joy, that it becomes one of the memorable experiences in the jazz world.

To start an inexpensive Hines collection, I would suggest "Rosetta" on Bluebird, and "Caution Blues" and "A Monday Date" on Columbia, the latter a reissue. For an example of Hines with an orchestra, get "Maple Leaf Rag" on Decca, which will also give you one of the classic rags of that fine, unappreciated Negro composer, Scott Joplin. The tune is played in brilliant concerto style, with choruses alternating between piano and the band.

Outside Hines and the boogie woogie musicians there are few jazz pianists who have made very lasting records. This is partly due to the fact that many keyboard artists find it hard to resist the temptation to dress up a melody in fancy runs, glissandos, and arpeggios. Furthermore, those that do play an honest-to-goodness, unpretentious jazz are usually given the cold shoulder by the commercial recording companies. Two men you should know, however, are Jess Stacy and Joe Sullivan. Stacy's "Barrelhouse," on Decca, is a beautiful job. Almost barren of melody, it nevertheless creates and holds a mood from start to finish, the "hot style" without the content, the blues taken up into a stratosphere in which everything is suggested, nothing said outright. On another Decca record you can find two pieces by Joe Sullivan, the graduate of a Chicago conservatory who plays one of the purest, most impeccable, and ingratiating rag and blues styles. "Little Rock Getaway" and "Just Strolling" are not Joe at his best, but are full of infectious humor. All of these records meet the standards of good jazz, namely, a music which sounds like nothing else you ever heard before; a product of the jazzman's ceaseless experimentation with new sounds, new rhythms, and melodies, new materials.

MARTIN MACK.

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Ballet, Old and New

The Jooss troupe returns to Broadway...
Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo.

THE dance season opened with the Jooss Ballet's return to New York (at the Maxine Elliott) after almost eight years' absence from Broadway. This company first made international headlines with its anti-war dance drama, "The Green Table," a prize-winning production in 1932, and the well trained, well organized troupe has been touring the world with this opus ever since.

Several years ago Japan refused these dancers entry because of "The Green Table's" content; more recently Kurt Jooss, German director and founder of the troupe, fled to England rather than break with his Jewish musical collaborator, Frederic Cohen. Jooss has still not rejoined his company; "The Green Table" is still in the repertoire; and at what moment the America First Committee will openly sponsor the production we cannot predict, but at this time it can find no better piece of propaganda for its interests than "The Green Table."

For no more false and dangerous message could be advanced across the footlights than this very ballet, despite its impressive, macabre moments. According to "The Green Table" all wars are products of imbecile diplomats playing with toy pistols around a green table; all wars end with Death as the only victor. This, in the light of what is happening today! This, in the light of Jooss' own experiences with Hitler! This, in the light of the heroic defenders of Moscow and Leningrad, and the courageous plea by the people of England for the opening of a western front.

World events have rendered the Jooss Ballet not only dangerously behind the times in its *piece de resistance*, but also pathetically outdated in its other works. Without denying the excellent ensemble work of the group, we must remark that the dance world in America has moved far beyond this early form of theatrical dancing. The Jooss company has neither expanded into new fields, nor penetrated deeper into the old ones.

Agnes de Mille, American guest choreographer, is responsible for a new work, "Drums Sound in Hackensack," a dance comedy about conniving fur traders and not-so-gullible Indians. It has its moments of amusement, but not enough to compensate for an evening of mild entertainment that vaguely exudes an odor of Old World lavender.

Outstanding performances in a troupe famed for its uniformly high standard of performance were given by Rolf Alexander, Elsa Kahl, Hans Zullig, and Ulla Soederbaum.

"LABYRINTH," a world premiere by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, gave Salvador Dali another opportunity to play around with choreographic surrealism. Massine choreographed his libretto, and Franz Schubert, willy-nilly, provided the score with his "Seventh Symphony." Those who enjoy ballet as sheer

Reprinted from Brooklyn Daily Eagle — Tues., Oct. 28, 1941

American Youth Theater Opens

Another Smart Revue, "Of V We Sing"

By ARTHUR POLLOCK

The American Youth Theater, a group of knowing young people that came out of Brooklyn a few years ago and last Spring put on a lively revue called "You Can't Sleep Here" at the Barbizon-Plaza, began its new season over the weekend with Saturday and Sunday evening performances of a new revue called "Of V We Sing." The new revue, fresh and quick, is played in the group's new headquarters

at 133 W. 44th St., opposite the Lambs Club. That little place was crowded to the doors for the first performances and promises to go on being crowded every Saturday and Sunday night.

In fact, beginning on Nov. 14 there will be four performances a week instead of two, the evenings being Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. And that ought to wear the players down considerably, for most of them have other jobs to work at during the day. The crowds are easily explainable. The show has that snap and easy speed that made "Pins and Needles" a kind of phenomenon for a couple of seasons straight, and it has the same pertinence. These young people are clever, imaginative, and they make their points.

There is something about them that most aspiring youngsters haven't got. A kind of earnestness that makes them proof against the egotist and imitativeness that so often makes youthful actors hard to bear. These are no show-offs. They don't climb all over one another trying to attract attention. And yet in their earnestness they are never heavy or dull. They are disciplined kids with the best kind of notions of what the theater should be. They have well tempered tastes.

These are pretty important young people. Just about the most important young people now in town. And their show can be seen for the democratic sum of 59 cents. That, too, includes dancing after the show.

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spectacle and take pleasure in superb technique
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as Theseus—a brilliant performance, display-
ing the dancer's unique lyric and expressive
legato style to great advantage.

Stravinsky and Balanchine in "Poker Game"
hit it off far better than Schubert and Salva-
dor. This ballet is a couple of rounds of cards
played out by the dancers, with a Joker mess-
ing up the hands. While choreographically
somewhat dry and cerebral, its purely classic
patterns are preferable to Dali's "neo-classi-
cism." "Gaiete Parisienne," when it is not
sloppily performed, and shabbily accompanied
(as on the night this reviewer attended), is
typical ballet divertissement, lively, gay, and
spirited.

FRANCIS STEUBEN.

"Of V We Sing"

American Youth Theater presents a new
revue.

THE American Youth Theater inaugurated
its sixth season with a revue called "Of V
We Sing." This show, although the most pro-
fessional of all this group's work, suffers from
the same defects that characterized its pred-
ecessors. The material includes a wide variety
of Americana, from the jukebox student to the
dude ranch addict, but in many instances these
numbers evade the implications of the subject.
At best, the result is mild satire abetted by
pleasant music. At worst, a regrettable point-
lessness is achieved. This is true of "Scabo,"
"Tom, Dick, and Harry," and "Five Gallon
Hat." In one instance "Art vs. Sex," the
work is so vulgar, that one wonders why it
was ever included. It has no justification either
as humor or comment, and it is only the
energy and bounce of the performers that
save several of the numbers from complete
defeat.

Happily, there are many fine things that
can be said of "Of V We Sing." The opening,
"You Can't Fool the People," is in the best
tradition of progressive theater, and the finale
is not far behind. In between there are "Ivan
the Terrible," a travesty on a Hitler broad-
cast, "Red, White, and Blues," a moving blues
plaint on Jim Crow, "Strip Tease," a re-
sounding burlesque of "America First," and
"Black Mustache," a solo predicting the end
of Hitler.

A number of new faces have joined our old
favorites in the cast. One of these newcomers
is Phil Leeds whose work is a distinct joy.
He is a true comic, one of that rare kind
whose humor flows not alone from his lines
but also from his own innate impishness.
Others are Lee Barrie and Adele Jerome,
whose charm, together with the proved ability
of Betty Garret, make "Sisters Under the
Skin" the most successful effort of the produc-
tion. Sam Bonnel, a fine actor who played
many successful roles in WPA productions,
is a valuable addition. And of course there
are Buddy Yarus, Bob Sharon, Eleanor Bag-

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GOINGS ON

MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE WEEK'S NEWS by
A. B. MAGIL, Editor New Masses, Daily Worker Col-
umnist, Sun., Nov. 9, 8:30 P.M. Workers School, 50 E.
13 Street. Admission 25 cents.

FIFTH AVE. FORUM presents ZOLTAN HECHT,
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ley, and John Flemming, the young and excellent Negro baritone without whose presence there could not be an American Youth Theater.

The lyrics and the music were written by Alfred Hayes and Alex North. To one who is familiar with the work of both these talented artists, their contribution to "Of V We Sing" was somewhat disappointing. Additional music and lyrics were contributed by George Kleinsinger, Lou Cooper, Lewis Allen, and Roslyn Harvey.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

PROGRESSIVE'S ALMANAC

"PROGRESSIVE'S Almanac" is a calendar of meetings, dances, luncheons, and cultural activities within the progressive movement. This list is published in connection with NEW MASSES' Clearing Bureau, created for the purpose of avoiding conflicting dates for various affairs. Fraternal organizations, trade unions, political bodies, etc., are urged to notify NEW MASSES Clearing Bureau of events which they have scheduled. Service of the Clearing Bureau is free. A fee of one dollar per listing will be charged for all affairs listed in this column.

NOVEMBER

- 8—Book and Magazine Guild, Annual Book Ball, Aldine Club.
- 8—American Friends of the Chinese People, Benefit Theater Night Town Hall.
- 17—Amer. Council on Soviet Relations, meeting, celebrating 8 years diplomatic relations between the USA and USSR, Manhattan Center.
- 20—(Thanksgiving Night) United American Artists, Camouflage Ball, Manhattan Center.
- 22—New Theater of Manhattan, Opening Night, *Showdown*, Transport Hall.
- 29—New Theater League, Testimonial to Earl Robinson, Town Hall.

DECEMBER

- 1—Jewish Survey, Assembly for Justice to Nat'l Minorities, place to be announced.
- 6—NEW MASSES, 30th Annual Artists and Writers Ball, Webster Hall.
- 17—Amer.-Russian Institute, meeting Medical Aid to USSR, Madison Square Garden.
- 21—NEW MASSES meeting, "Six Months of the War," place to be announced.
- 24—(Christmas Eve) Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, Ball, Manhattan Center.
- 31—(New Year's Eve) Advertising Guild, Mad Arts Ball, Manhattan Center.

JANUARY

- 17—NEW MASSES, Cross-section of American Folk Culture, Carnegie Hall.

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Mr. Minton, whose writings are known to New Masses readers since 1935, is author with John Stuart of "Men Who Lead Labor" and "The Fat Years and the Lean," a history of the past two decades. He has traveled widely both in this country and abroad. He brings to his new job experience and knowledge of the American scene.

We feel this is a great step forward for New Masses and we trust you—and all your friends—will follow the magazine weekly to get the latest social developments in the city that all mankind watching.



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