

NEW MASSES

MAY 18, 1943

15¢

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TUNISIA SHOWS HOW

by Colonel T.

DETROIT: HEART OF THE ARSENAL

A firsthand report on the ups and downs of production in America's industrial center.

by A. B. MAGIL

WRONG ON ALL COUNTS

Exposing the falsities of the Childs-Counts book, "Russia, America and the Communist Party."

by A. Landy

THE EDGE OF POLAND

The proof from history which refutes Sikorski's claims to what is really Western Russia.

by Alter Brody

"John L. Lewis: King Canute" by Bruce Minton; A Note from Upton Sinclair on Winning the Pulitzer Prize; "The Individual in History" by V. J. Jerome.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

“AND now a word from our sponsor”—
 How often you hear that on the radio. Let us give you a word from NM's sponsors—the many brave people who have taken it upon themselves to champion this magazine, to see to it that it lives and fights on. They have been writing us, eager to learn how the magazine's drive for the wherewithal to continue is faring. This is our reaction to some of their many letters.

A letter came the other day: “Enclosing \$1 from food budget. Wish it were more.”

We know how hard it is for you to find the money. When a group of merchant seamen sent in twenty-five dollars last week, we knew what cold hours of danger were represented by those bills. We know you too are helping wherever you can, contributing to British and Chinese and Russian War Relief, buying bonds and stamps. We know how many of you take the dollar bills you send us off your allowance for meat and milk and green vegetables, how many have gone without new shoes to save five dollars for NM. Dollar by dollar, fund-raising party by party, you have painfully put together \$22,000 of the \$40,000 we are trying to raise. And we know the rising prices are like a knife at your throat.

But NM has a knife at its throat, too.

The \$18,000 still to go represents, for us, the difference between having the deck of a ship under your feet and having nothing between you and the cold black water. We can keep afloat for a while by desperate exertion. But without that \$18,000 we will drown.

We got another letter yesterday:

“If anyone doubted that NEW MASSES stood in Hitler's way as an outstanding win-the-war publication, with its tireless devotion to unity and the opening of a second front, these doubts should now be dispelled. We have it on the authority of Hitler himself. Last Saturday this publication was denounced over the Berlin radio. How thoughtful of the Nazis. They sink our ships and would sink our nation while they tell us how to save our white paper. Well, the enclosed sum will enable you to buy more white paper.”

We know you are helping to win the war with your contributions to War Relief, with the money that goes for guns and planes. Yet NM too is a weapon in this war, a weapon so important that fascism and defeatism single it out for special attack. Fascism has three methods with the press: burn it, buy it, or starve it to death. They cannot burn us and we are not for sale, but we can be starved for lack of the money to keep going.

Someone sent us a letter with \$201 in it. She had found a way to let NM's friends express their good will.

“Let us utilize every occasion, be it a birthday, an anniversary, a housewarming, or just a get-together party, for fund-raising for NM. One will be surprised at the warm response due to the widespread high regard in which NEW MASSES is held even outside of its circle of steady readers. All our expectations were exceeded; instead of the expected \$100—\$201 was raised from a group of about thirty.”

You who read us have leaped into activity to save us from extinction. And we, faced with the shortage of funds, have sent out a member of our staff, Miss Doretta Tarman, to address groups from the Rocky Mountains east. The editors wish to thank her, and you for the response to her work. But there is still \$18,000 to go, before we can guarantee that NM will continue to appear.

The time cries out for guns, for action. But time needs a voice to cry with. NM is one of those voices. It is the voice of all of you who read us and who make our existence possible, a voice crying against fascism, accusing the defeatists and the traitors, demanding a second front.

Someone sent us a letter:

“It is intolerable to me that NEW MASSES, one of the staples on which my social consciousness was nurtured for the last ten years, should be faced with the threat of suspended publication due to financial difficulties. I feel that ours is a reciprocal relationship. NEW MASSES, through its clarity of thought on all issues of importance, helps create the man of the future, the complete master of his environment; and this new man, now in the making, must see to it that the wells of his understanding never run dry. Therefore, here's five dollars to carry on the work you are doing.—A merchant seaman.”

These are some of our helpers. But they

are not enough, for all their efforts, to raise that last \$18,000. Don't leave it to them, don't say “Let George do it.” Do it yourselves.

THIS column has been crowded out for the past two months, with the result that several important announcements have accumulated. First, and most important, Joy Davidman, NM's movie critic and former contributing editor, is now a full-fledged associate editor (see masthead). Joy hardly needs an introduction to our readers. Outside of her NM writings, however, she has several notable achievements, including the winning of the Yale Younger Poets Series award in 1938.

Another change in the staff took place in the business department. Martha Strumpf, for nine years NM's highly competent circulation manager, has departed to other activities. She has been succeeded by Lillian Adler, formerly our assistant bookkeeper.

And it's never too late to announce an addition to NM's family: to wit, Margaret Rachel Magil, born January 23 of this year; weight (at this writing), ten pounds.

A dinner-forum in honor of Dr. Howard Selsam, NM contributing editor and director of the School for Democracy, is being given by the school's faculty Friday, May 14, on the occasion of the publication of Dr. Selsam's new book, *Socialism and Ethics*. The dinner-forum will take place at the Hotel George Washington, 23rd St. and Lexington Ave., New York City, at 7 PM.

NEW MASSES
 EST. 1911

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Dr. Benes Returns

DR. EDUARD BENES, president of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, is due in Washington this week. It is almost exactly four years since Dr. Benes left this country where he had found a temporary refuge after the tragic farce of Munich. When he now returns as an honored guest he might well remember those days of his departure in 1939. He was then already convinced that the war was inevitable, that a great coalition must be formed to destroy Hitler and fascism, that courage and attack must replace appeasement and retreat. And last but not least, he refused to believe the Bolshevik bogey so carefully nurtured by the Nazis. In the following stormy years he stuck to his convictions. He remembered that the USSR was the only country to offer aid to Czechoslovakia in the days of Munich.

Dr. Benes' great qualities, which perhaps distinguish him among liberal leaders and statesmen of our time, is his recognition of past errors and a deep desire to learn from them. Thus he has persisted in developing the unity of the Allied powers for victory and the peace to follow. Hence his firm rejection of proposals to create a cordon sanitaire. In contrast to the Polish government, Dr. Benes not only professes in words his desire for friendly relations with the USSR but does what is necessary to strengthen those ties. The Czechoslovak army was not withdrawn from the Soviet Union; on the contrary, it is now fighting side by side with the Red forces. And having learned over the years that there cannot be any genuinely democratic foreign policy unless there is genuine internal democracy, Dr. Benes has succeeded in establishing a real national front as the foundation for his government. The Czechoslovak State Council (the parliament-in-exile) is comprised of representatives of all anti-fascist parties and groups including Catholics, Conservatives, Democrats, Communists, and Socialists.

We welcome his visit to this country and hope that his knowledge of Europe's problems will find sympathetic attention.

Polish Plot

PREMIER STALIN'S letter to the New York Times' distinguished correspondent in Moscow, Ralph Parker, is a reaffirmation of the fundamental position toward Poland expressed



in the past by a treaty between both countries signed in December 1941. The *Times* poobahs are, however, amazed to discover that the Soviet people desire a strong, independent Poland, and that after the war relations be rooted in a good neighbor policy, or, if the Polish people so desire, in a joint pact providing for mutual assistance against the Germans. If the *Times* commentators could have deserted for a moment their antipathy toward the USSR, they would not have interpreted Stalin's note as marking a retreat by the Soviet government from its attitude toward the Sikorski clan. They would have seen its relationship to the December 1941 treaty where Stalin used almost the very words employed in his reply to Parker's questions. "In peacetime their relations will be based on good neighborly collaboration. . . ." But the *Times* has a short mem-

ory, particularly when it is trying to bismirch the diplomacy of a great ally with its own ambiguities. Perhaps it is a little too much to expect from the doddering old lady on Times Square, but we suggest that she read the treaty not only for the USSR's explicitness on Poland but for a concise definition of the Soviet's conception of future international relations.

It was the Polish government's violation of the provisions in this treaty as well as those of the agreement it signed in July 1941 that, after the accumulation of other events including *espionage* under the guise of relief work, ended in the recent rupture of relations. The latter pact expressed the consent of the USSR for the formation on its territory of a Polish Army to operate with Red forces against the Wehrmacht. Soviet authorities supplied Polish units with equipment and funds amounting to several

million rubles. But, states Andrey Vishinsky, Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the Polish government kept postponing their dispatch to the front. Before this army was finally withdrawn to the Middle East, its commander, General Wladislaw Anders, hoped that the USSR would be defeated with the Polish Army remaining the major military force on Soviet territory to do whatever it pleased. Such is the revelation made by the former chief of staff of the Polish Army's fifth division, Lt. Col. Zigmund Berling, in a recent issue of *Free Poland* published by the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow. In addition it is now clear from the important statement made by Mr. Vishinsky last week that members of the Polish embassy in the USSR were guilty of criminal activities demanding the sternest counter-measures, including the death sentence of the two Polish-fascist agents, Alter and Ehrlich.

Conspiracies against the Soviet government are of course no novelty. The Polish conspirators operated from behind the protective armor of treaty agreements. And Moscow's subsequent action terminated an intolerable state of affairs. But what demands reiteration is that the aid and comfort which the *New York Times*, as well as other newspapers and individuals, gives the Sikorski government handicaps the prosecution of the war and the Polish people's fight for freedom. It furthermore perpetuates an atmosphere in which anti-Sovieteers, David Dubinsky and the Social Democrats in particular, can continue thriving even though it is absolutely clear from their statements that they would like nothing better than extermination of the Soviet state.

A President's Visit



BOLIVIA, which has the worst labor conditions in the hemisphere, nevertheless moved forward a few weeks ago by joining the United Nations in war against the Axis. Participation in that struggle, if undertaken genuinely, will in itself bring about an internal improvement in Bolivia. The present visit of President Gen. Enrique Penaranda to this country, his conversations with President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and high officials of our army and navy, and his tour of American war industry give evidence, we trust, of his government's desire to cooperate as fully as possible in the war. Bolivia will be making an invaluable contribution if she increases her production and export to the United States of tin, copper, lead, zinc, and other metals essential to war industry. Its ability to increase production

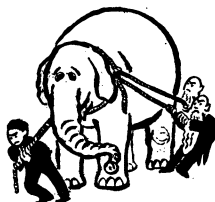
depends most of all on drastic improvement of working condition in mines and smelters.

During the first year of hemisphere involvement in the war, certain elements within the Bolivian government and among the mine owners practiced such a hostile policy toward labor that tin production actually decreased by ten percent below the previous year. The Confederation of Bolivian Workers (CSTB) strenuously tried to improve this situation through negotiation, but the mine owners, supported by certain sections of the government, refused to cooperate and deliberately provoked the tragic December strikes.

This state of affairs led to a first-hand investigation by a Joint US-Bolivian Commission, on which the CIO and AFL were represented. The Commission has completed its work and has turned in recommendations for the immediate restoration of labor's rights of free association and collective bargaining, and advocated a program to improve workers' wages, housing, health, and education. Already there has been some response from the Bolivian authorities: most of the arrested trade union leaders have been released and, according to *Allied Labor News*, are reported to be planning an early meeting in La Paz. It is nevertheless urgent that American labor impress upon President Enrique Penaranda, during his visit here, its complete solidarity with the Confederation of Bolivian Workers in its demand that the recommendations of the Joint US-Bolivian Commission be promptly carried out.

"Back to McKinley!"

RUSSELL DAVENPORT, brain-truster extraordinary to Henry and Clare Luce, dots a few i's and crosses a few t's in the May issue of Henry's *Fortune* magazine. Two years ago Luce took a journey into the future and came back with a great vision, to wit, that this must be the American Century, with Britain playing a very humble second fiddle and all other nations bowing before our might and magnificence. Now Davenport tells us that the road to the future leads through the past; Back to McKinley is the pillar of fire he raises before the American people wandering in the wilderness. Davenport laments the fact that the Republican Party after World War I departed from the aggressive imperialism it espoused in 1897-1912. Of course, he doesn't use the naughty word; in fact, he is at some pains to wriggle out of the embarrassing implications of his thesis. "We of today," he tells us, "must be careful not to permit the anti-imperialist clamor of that era to obscure for us (as it did for



its contemporaries) the real issues at stake . . . expansionism did not mean imperialism—not necessarily."

Well, what *did* it mean? The seizure of the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, the Teddy Roosevelt "big stick" policy toward Latin America, the dollar diplomacy of Taft (and for that matter, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover) don't change their character merely by virtue of being called "expansionism." Perhaps nothing so well reveals the thinking of the Henry Luce school as an old cartoon which *Fortune* reproduces as part of the Davenport article. It is entitled "The World's Constable" and depicts Teddy Roosevelt in the role of a giant policeman, swinging a club labeled The New Diplomacy, while around him swarm the Lilliputian figures of Britain, Russia, Turkey, the Latin American republics and other countries appealing to him to settle their differences.

DAVENPORT tries to make it appear that the only alternative to this imperialistic bullying which he miscalls "internationalism" is sterile, suicidal isolationism. And he attempts to link Wendell Willkie to the McKinley policy. But no one can read Willkie's new book, *One World*, without being impressed with the fact that he envisions an entirely different course for America, forward toward an international cooperation based on genuine national freedom and equality. The Luce-Davenport imperialists will find their allies elsewhere: in the defeatist press which cheered Rep. Clare Boothe Luce's recent "globaloney" speech and in the "internationalism" of Col. Robert McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* who is now demanding the annexation of the British empire to the United States. Needless to say, nothing can do more mischief to our relations with our allies than to sow among them the suspicion that American business interests are planning after the war to revive and extend the aggressive, predatory policies of the McKinley-Hoover era. This is the sort of thing that is made to order for another "internationalist," Joe Goebbels.

White Collars in Wartime



AMERICA's professional and white collar groups are not content to be mere spectators at the titanic struggle between the free world and the slave world. They consider themselves part of the fight and want to play their part to the full. During the past week-end some 800 representatives of seventy-eight organizations met in New York at the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, and the

White Collar Fields. They met, as Prof. Kirtley F. Mather of Harvard University, chairman of the conference, put it, in order to "increase our effective contribution and play a fuller role in the wartime and post-war situation." It was the first such conference that has been held and it served to illumine a wide variety of problems and to formulate proposals for remedying conditions which today hamper the most effective utilization of the nation's white collar and professional personnel.

Vice-President Wallace and Wendell Willkie sent greetings to the conference, which was addressed by outstanding authorities in various fields and by a number of government representatives. Panel discussions were held on such questions as health and welfare services, education, science and technology, arts and letters, and white collar problems. Albert B. Newman, dean of the Engineering School of the College of the City of New York and regional advisor on engineering, science, and management war training of the US Office of Education, pointed to the need for 40,000 to 50,000 additional engineers in 1943, of which new graduates will supply only 17,000. He urged better distribution of the existing supply, plus "a well organized plan for maintaining a continuous flow of new technical manpower into the war industries and the armed forces." Dr. Carl E. Rice, senior surgeon of the US Public Health Service, gave an over-all picture of the situation in public health and medical care, while Dr. Ernst P. Boas of Columbia University, chairman of the Physicians Forum, criticizing the present methods of dealing with the problem, urged that the US Public Health Service "be given responsibility for the control and distribution of medical manpower as well as the authority and funds to carry it out."

THE general tenor of the discussions was that as yet one of our country's most valuable resources, its millions of trained scientists, artists, writers, doctors, white collar workers, etc., is being inadequately used in the war against fascism. A greater voice for these groups, it was pointed out, would add incalculably to every aspect of the war effort.

It was specifically suggested that the War Manpower Commission establish panels to deal with the problems of the 8,000,000 white collar workers. It was likewise the consensus that far better planning was necessary and there was widespread support for the bill sponsored by Senator Kilgore (S 702) for the establishment of an Office of Scientific and Technical Mobilization. A continuations committee was set up which will hold a meeting on June 14 to which the participating organizations are being invited to send delegates

Tunisia Shows How

THE third anniversary of Hitler's great attack on Western Europe has been gloriously celebrated . . . by his adversaries. And a year after our defeat at Bataan we have inflicted a new, and much bigger, "Bataan" on our enemies.

At this writing, the bulk of the Axis forces in Tunisia have been routed: Bizerte and Tunis, along with Tebourba, Zaghuan, Pont-du-Fahs and Hammamet are in our hands. The peninsula whose tip is Cape Bon has been sealed off by our troops. The Axis Air Force has been withdrawn from the skies over Tunisia. Allied naval forces are standing guard along the Tunisian coast, ready to prevent any attempt at evacuation of Axis forces to Sicily or the mainland. Tremendous air armadas of 400 planes each are blasting the ports of Sicily as well as Axis airdromes in the island bastions of the Middle Mediterranean, pressing the Luftwaffe to the ground and Axis ships to the bottom.

An unknown number of Axis troops are trapped on the Cape Bon peninsula, much as our troops were trapped in Bataan. And the Axis troops haven't even got a Corregidor to give them some protection. Instead they have the British Navy standing at their back and shelling their positions. The capture of thousands of Axis troops more than evens the Bataan score.

All in all, when the show is completely over, i.e., in a few days (maybe when these lines reach the reader), the Axis will have lost not far from 200,000 men, of which at least one-third are probably Germans, grade-A troops too. And so Stalingrad and "Tunisgrad," put together, cost the Axis half a million soldiers, together with their land and air paraphernalia. All in all, between November 10 and May 10 the Axis will have lost in Europe and in Africa about 2,200,000 men, killed, wounded and prisoners. More than 12,000 per day, or better than a man every seven seconds.

The Tunisian victory in its final phase was surprisingly swift and complete. General Bradley's dash to Bizerte and General Anderson's dash to Tunis were in true lightning style. So was Anderson's thrust across the Cape Bon peninsula from Tunis and Hammamet, sealing off the last Axis refuge. The less spectacular action of the British Eighth Army may be an indication that it is being regrouped and prepared for other operations.

The final showdown in Tunisia has demonstrated the tactical ability of the Allied military leadership, the rapid growth of the battle worthiness of our troops, especially the US troops which arrived in Africa completely green and, last but not least, the moral fortitude of General Eisenhower who knew how to put the best man in the best place, as well as how to remove those who did not fit well into the particular picture of the moment.

And so the battle for Africa is over, except for the final cleanup on Cape Bon. Without air support, pounded at the rate of four planes a minute, the Axis regiments are in a slaughterhouse, boxed in by land and naval artillery on all sides.

So the spotlight turns on Festung Europa.

The resounding victory of our arms in Africa is bound to hypnotize a lot of people and make them see only the Mediterranean as an avenue of invasion. The "soft underbelly" of Europe has a fascinating appeal. The two outgrowths of Southern Europe—Italy and the Balkans—call for an invasion. From, say, Naples and Salonika the road looks simple. The loss of Italy appears a major disaster for Hitler. But that is not so.

First, the "soft underbelly" is nothing but a layer of fat, under which lie the formidable great mountains of Europe, from the Pyrenees to the Balkans. An invasion from the south will have to contend with those mountains. Second, the loss of Italy, with Africa gone, will not be in itself a major disaster for Hitler. In Berlin's viewpoint, it might even be a good riddance, at least as regards food. The same obtains in the case of the Balkan Peninsula. Italy and Greece can be "thrown to the wolves" without radically impairing the strength of Festung Europa. From the standpoint of aerial warfare, the heart of Germany is just as near to England as to Northern Italy, and the distance between Athens and Ploesti is about the same as from Ploesti to Taman—meaning that Ploesti is in danger from the Red Air Force anyway.

Thus we come to the inescapable conclusion that an invasion must come from the British Isles and be directed at the European coastline between the mouth of the Schelde and the mouth of the Seine, with the invasion from the south acting in a diversionary capacity.

COLONEL T.



JOHN L. LEWIS: KING CANUTE

Washington.

THE coal strike "truce," grudgingly declared by John L. Lewis and representing a sharp defeat for the mine chief, has at this writing seven days still to run. During this period the labor movement has been appraising the very serious situation deliberately created by Lewis in his desire to weaken the administration, hamper the war effort, and advance his claims to the position of labor lieutenant under what he hopes will be a defeatist-appeasement government controlled by the Hoover-Taft-McCormick axis.

There is no sense trying at this moment to "read" the future. No responsible labor spokesman in Washington will indulge in detailed prophecy of the final settlement of the mine dispute. But certain conclusions can be drawn from events of the past month. A round-up of responsible opinion in the administration and in the labor movement can be summarized thus:

1. Lewis, posing as the brave labor leader who refuses to be "intimidated," has missed opportunity after opportunity to strengthen the economic position of the United Mine Workers' membership. Several years ago, in fact, Lewis arrogantly refused to participate with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in a suit for back pay, when President Reid Robinson won portal-to-portal wages for the non-ferrous metals miners. During the suit Carl Houck, old-time Lewis retainer and attorney for the UMW, stated in writing that the coal miners did not want portal-to-portal pay, and furthermore, asserted that pay scales established in UMW contracts included traveling time to and from the mine face. Houck's incredible action is now repudiated by Lewis, who claims not to have known what his attorney was up to. Nevertheless, this blind mistake of the UMW leadership under Lewis has up to now prevented the miners from winning pay clearly due them.

In addition, Secretary of Interior Ickes several months ago offered the miners a six-day week with time and one-half for the sixth day. The price of coal was raised thirteen cents a ton to defray the cost to the operators. But Lewis refused to accept. His decision robbed the miners of needed wage relief until Secretary Ickes ordered the expanded work week on May 3.

2. By refusing to negotiate and to improve conditions of the mine workers when opportunities presented themselves, Lewis impeded the satisfaction of the miners'



needs. And by hurling the UMW into direct conflict with the war effort, he endangered the union's very existence. Any labor leader who deliberately misleads his union into unnecessary conflict, and who gratuitously risks the livelihood, safety, and well-being of the membership for the sake of his personal ambitions, as Lewis has done, betrays the trust of the rank and file.

3. Lewis has insisted that inflation is inevitable during war. He goes further—he does all in his power to encourage inflation. For example, he brands the voluntary price warden system as the worst sort of snooping; thus he attempts to smash price-control in the cynical expectation of weakening the administration—and the war effort. His attack on the War Labor Board is deliberately calculated to scuttle an important war agency—as a prelude to wrecking the Office of Price Administration. According to Lewis' calculations, inflation will result, and inflation will plunge the entire labor movement into confusion and revolt against bona fide leaders who have fought for economic stabilization. Such a revolt, Lewis believes, can well destroy the labor movement, and then he expects to pick up the pieces for his masters—the Hoover-Taft-McCormick column.

To counter this, the labor movement is attempting to restore the ability of the

War Labor Board to withstand Lewis' attacks. Today WLB faces disintegration *not because of Lewis*, but because confusion has arisen over its power to rectify wage inequities and other abuses. The Board has tended to become a policing agency for James Byrnes, head of the Office of Economic Stabilization. Lewis merely takes advantage of the Board's loss of initiative and independent authority. But now President Roosevelt has indicated that the Board's rigidity results from misinterpretation of his April 8 hold-the-line order. Unlike Lewis, the majority of the labor movement insists that the Board must be preserved to handle industrial disputes in an orderly manner.

More than that, the unions, and particularly the CIO under President Murray's farsighted leadership, stress the imperative need to roll back prices to September 1942 levels. The pressure labor has exerted on OPA has already led to the latter's announcement of additional dollar-and-cents ceilings on retail consumer goods, and to more definite plans for reducing prices on essential food products. This is the nub of the stabilization program, the real answer to Lewis. For all Lewis' contemptuous slurs, stabilization can be achieved, and labor intends to see to it that this central need is fulfilled.

4. Consider Lewis' friends. Praise is heaped on his head by Senators Wheeler and Langer, and their like. Evalyn Walsh McLean breaks into print in Cissie Patterson's defeatist *Times-Herald* with a prayer for Lewis' success. John O'Donnell, columnist for the New York *Daily News*, whose obsessing hatred of President Roosevelt, the war effort, and the United Nations borders on the pathological, gleefully describes how "John L. Lewis pulled the rug from under FDR's radio speech," and put the President "in an atrabilious mood." No list of Lewis' cronies is complete without mention of William Hutcheson, member of the AFL Executive Council, Herbert Hoover, and isolationist Governor Bricker of Ohio (Senator Taft's choice for President in 1944), who on invitation from Lewis made campaign speeches to the UMW state and national conventions in 1942.

5. Finally, Lewis has provided the excuse for a whole crop of labor-baiting and union-destroying legislative proposals in the House and Senate. He has given new ammunition to every appeaser, every advocate of "let's take this war easy and slow," every anti-unionist in the United States. The Senate passed the Connally bill directly after Lewis' abortive strike. Connally and the labor baiters would have been content to pass any bill, even if it contained only an appraisal of the weather, in order to get legislation before the House. There the plot is to tack onto the legislation every union-busting device that reaction can dream up. Already one hears the suggestion to substitute the Smith anti-strike bill for the Connally measure, or at least to incorporate Rep. Howard Smith's ideas.

Even in its present form the Connally bill undermines collective bargaining by encouraging employers to dredge up every possible technicality to delay the execution of WLB orders. Board decisions can be dragged into the courts, debated endlessly while the abuses that the unions have sought to rectify continue unabated. The Connally bill, declares CIO President Murray, enhances the "war against labor . . . disastrous to war production." Mr. Murray further describes the bill as "diabolical in content," and "designed to assure a Roman holiday to all employers who still prefer to destroy labor unions than to win the war."

LEWIS has bragged much of his "militancy." But the record brands him as a pug, grimacing and posturing at the expense of the miners. For while Lewis beat his breast, President Philip Murray of the CIO quietly went to bat and through orderly collective bargaining won the forty-eight-hour week for the steel workers. This important advance was obtained despite the bitter opposition of the employers, well en-

trenched within the War Production Board. It was achieved over the howl that increased wages for time and one-half over forty hours would cost the industry \$100,000,000. Murray fought the issue through, and won without disrupting production, without blatant threats, without endangering—he actually immeasurably strengthened—the steel union.

Secretary Ickes ordered a six-day week in the coal mines. The miners benefit: they receive a significant rise in wages and are enabled to increase production. Lewis could have gained this benefit months ago had he been so disposed. By the record, Philip Murray's leadership proves more efficient, more productive, more calculated to increase labor's organized strength than Lewis' sound and fury.

Lewis' boycott of the War Labor Board forces the Board to designate Nathan P. Feinsinger, disputes director, to act as advocate for the miners at the hearings WLB rightly insists on continuing. The UMW case will be taken from the transcript of the New York negotiations between the union and the operators. But with the best will in the world, Mr. Feinsinger cannot possibly speak for the UMW as ably as the union itself. So once again Lewis has managed to handicap the miners.

It should never be overlooked that the mine operators, by their provocation, their continual abuse of the coal workers, their reluctance to cooperate with the administration, their avidity for super profits even at the expense of the war effort, have proved able abettors of Lewis. The coal

companies have provided Lewis just the setting he needed for his sabotage by aggravating the grievances of the miners and preparing the ground for Lewis' planned confusion. Credit Lewis, however, with playing the game shrewdly. The miners, of course, are the least of his worries. The danger to the union, the betrayal of the miners' security, the menace to war production can be expected to concern Lewis no more than the operators.

The majority of the labor movement throughout the nation wholeheartedly supports the miners' legitimate demands and backs them despite all Lewis has done to pervert and weaken the UMW's position. It is clear, even so, that labor has been far too gentle with Lewis in the past. The determination grows in labor circles never again to grant Lewis a free hand. The unions begin to understand that they must take on Lewis as they have taken on Hitler. Only when mortal enemies are obliterated completely can labor breathe freely.

LEWIS has become the Pied Piper of reaction. As could be expected, all defeatists and betrayers eagerly took his bellow as the signal to attack. In the CIO the Reuther brothers, both Victor and Walter, see a chance to behead Philip Murray. Hutcheson and Woll snipe within the AFL. And in the labor movement as a whole, the Trotskyites and Norman Thomas "Socialists," the Coughlinites and Ku Kluxers, the anti-Semites, isolationists, and Hoover Republicans now clamor for "strong" labor action, a la Lewis. An answer to these misleaders will be given at the Cleveland meeting of the CIO Executive Board on May 14. President Murray, target of the disrupters, has to his credit contributions to labor and the nation too well known to need lengthy defense. He has consistently headed every significant struggle to augment the war effort. He has been in the forefront of every attempt to roll back prices, to establish and enforce fair price ceilings, to achieve democratic rationing of all essentials, to formulate an equitable tax program, to end discrimination, to break through "normal business procedures" by winning labor an equal voice in the war agencies, to assure trade union unity nationally and internationally, to raise production, to fight an offensive war with every resource at the nation's command. In the end the clear-sighted policies of President Murray and the majority of the union movement, coupled with the miners' hard-headed good sense, will undoubtedly preserve the United Mine Workers from the disaster Lewis has prepared for this mighty union. But it should be added that no man more justly deserves the approbation of Herr Goebbels than this would-be executioner of the American labor movement, John L. Lewis.

Final Campaign

Two hundred and eighteen Congressmen, by signing the necessary petition, have forced the anti-poll tax bill out of the House Judiciary Committee, where the poll-taxers hoped to bury it. In consequence, the bill will come before the House on May 24. Last year it was killed by filibustering poll tax Senators; but this year, if it passes the House, there will be ample time remaining in the session for the filibusterers to talk themselves to death. The next two weeks are therefore crucial. The exploited and disfranchised poor whites and Negroes look to the passage of this act as their chance to regain democracy. The American people have already expressed their will to pass the anti-poll tax bill; their letters have inspired the action of Congress; and this is the moment when, by a final campaign of letters and telegrams to your congressman, the battle can at last be won.

THE HEART OF THE ARSENAL

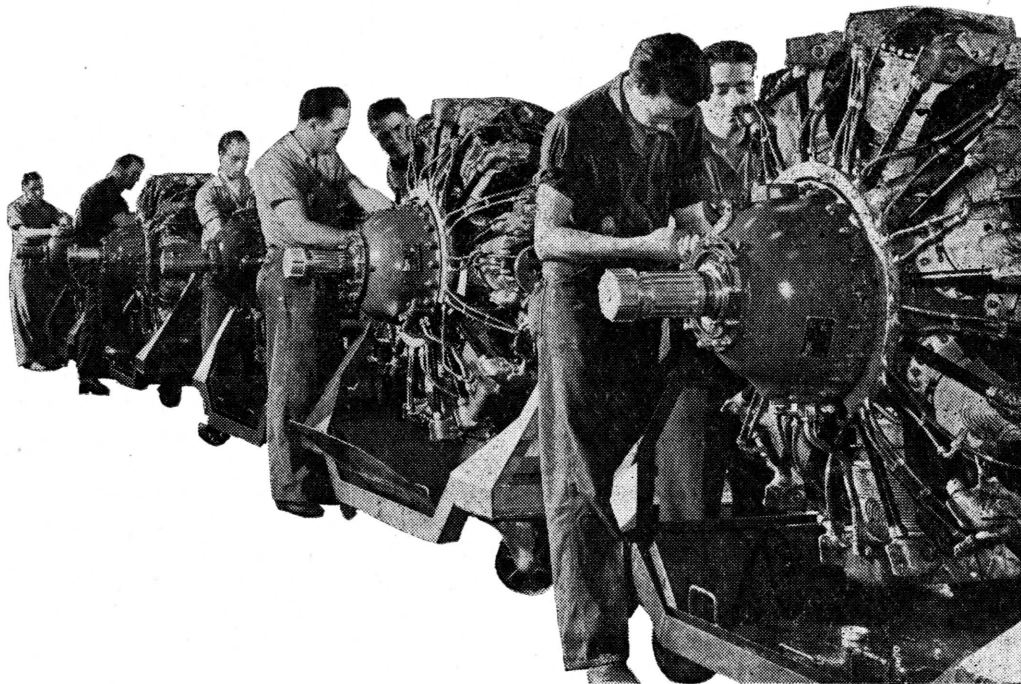
Detroit, A. B. Magil reports, is "a war town in the fullest sense." The ups and downs of production in America's industrial center. The performance is short of the potential.

DETROIT is a patchwork of factories, hulking steel and concrete scattered like huge jacks on the flat surface of the city. East on Jefferson Boulevard and beyond Belle Isle, Detroit's Central Park, you come in quick succession on the war plants of the US Rubber Co., Continental Motors, Hudson, Chrysler. Far to the west, beyond the limits of the city proper, on the River Rouge sprawls the great constellation of factories that is the Ford Rouge plant. To the north in Highland Park is another Chrysler factory and the old Ford plant now building tanks; and north of these, eleven miles from City Hall, the Chrysler tank arsenal.

Mideast are Dodge and Plymouth and Packard, and west, east, and north lie various General Motors subsidiaries. There are hundreds more, large and small. Look at them at night, with yellow and blue-green lights flaring in the darkness, and you can't help being impressed by the bigness and power of it all. Here is an industrial colossus, the mightiest concentration of war production in the world. And out of this iron womb pour tanks and planes and guns and other war materials in endless number.

I have known Detroit when it was a shell, gutted by depression after the gold rush of the twenties. And I have known it in later days when it was back on its feet. The change is startling, not only in comparison with ten years ago, but with what I saw on my last visit a couple of weeks before Pearl Harbor. The change is palpable everywhere. People are working hard and living hard. In the past three years 500,000 newcomers have poured in from all parts of the country—new not only to Detroit but many of them new to industrial life. People are getting in each other's way because there are not enough homes, not enough street cars and buses and automobiles, not enough restaurants and movies to accommodate them all. There are strains and tensions and breakdowns, but there is also dynamic advance and a consciousness of strength. This is a war town in the fullest sense, and the war is cutting through old prejudice, shaping new practices and attitudes. The slacks-attired woman worker is seen everywhere and has become part of the social landscape. And one of the most refreshing experiences is to board a streetcar and find that the "two-man" team consists of a Negro woman conductor and a white male motorman.

I have come to Detroit to find out what is happening on this crucial sector of the war production front. In an effort to get



Workers at General Motors put the final touches on assembly of airplane engines.

the facts—such as are obtainable under wartime restrictions—I have interviewed authoritative spokesmen for management, government, and labor, spoken to scores of workers, visited several war plants, and studied reports not available to the general public. Among the men I interviewed were H. L. Weckler, vice-president and general manager of the Chrysler Corp.; George Christopher, president of Packard Motor Car Co.; George Romney, managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production; Col. George E. Strong of the Army Air Force, who is in charge of internal security and industrial relations for Michigan and thirteen other states; H. A. Weissbrodt, deputy regional director of the War Production Board; Montague A. Clark, regional director of the War Manpower Commission; G. James Fleming, field examiner, and Jack B. Burke, field representative of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee; Louis Emanuel Martin, editor of the *Michigan Chronicle*, leading Negro newspaper; R. J. Thomas, president, and George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers-CIO. I have sought to be objective and to avoid both ballyhoo and captious debunking. I have tried to see the forest as well as the trees.

To one who was here shortly before Pearl Harbor the first and most obvious fact about Detroit production is that it is going strong. But this fact is already beginning to be overshadowed by another:

production is still far below the potential maximum and all sorts of opportunities for expanding output are being missed.

THE great progress that has been made is often taken for granted, but in all fairness, and for the sake of the proper evaluation of the other elements in the picture it ought to be recognized and credit given where it is due: to both owners and workers, as well as those government agencies that despite great handicaps helped. On my last visit the automobile industry was still debating Hamlet-fashion whether to convert or not to convert and how much. The second largest car production year in history was coming to an end and the motor magnates were reluctant to turn from lush profits to the realities of the difficult transition to production for total war. They were quite willing to take on war business as a sideline to be conducted in new plants built at government expense, but the conversion of their existing facilities was a different kind of headache which they sought to reduce to a minimum. In this they were encouraged and supported by the Office of Production Management and the Army and Navy procurement divisions. It is instructive to recall, as an example of the kind of myopia induced by economic interest, that in the fall of 1941 C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, expressed the prevailing viewpoint of management as a whole when he insisted to the House Tolan Committee that only fifteen percent of the industry's machine tools could be convert-

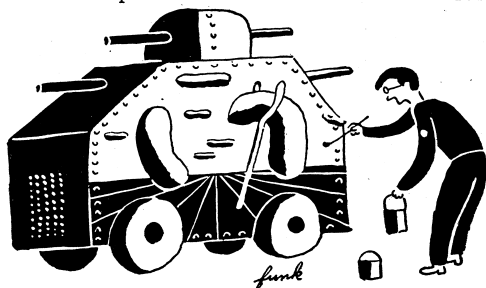
ed for war purposes. The union disagreed. George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO, told me in November 1941 that fully eighty to ninety percent could be converted. At the time I thought that possibly he was exaggerating a bit, yet today I find the annual report of the Chrysler Corp., which among the Big Three (General Motors, Chrysler, Ford) showed the greatest resistance to conversion, boasting that "We have succeeded in adapting eighty-six percent of all corporation owned machinery from automobile manufacturing to war work." And George Romney, managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production, which has been set up by the manufacturers to coordinate their activities, gave me an estimate of eighty-five percent conversion for the industry as a whole. Evidently when the production of automobiles was completely discontinued by government order, a new economic imperative entered the scene. The industry either had to convert and make what profits it could on war orders or let its plants and equipment stay idle for the indefinite duration. Here private interest and public interest coincided. To say that is not to disparage the patriotism of most of the auto industrialists who, like most of their workers, sincerely want to help win the war.

ALL that is water over the dam; I recall it now for two purposes: to emphasize how far those unpropitious beginnings have been left behind by actual achievement, and to warn against similar mistakes and miscalculations that are now being made on a different level and are definitely retarding production. Concerning that achievement there can be no doubt. When it is remembered that the last passenger car didn't roll off the assembly line till Feb. 11, 1942, that a gigantic retooling job had to be undertaken during which production of war materials was necessarily low, that serious materials and manpower shortages have been encountered, that large numbers of additional workers and supervisory personnel had to be trained, and that the industry has had to turn from a standardized product, which it had learned to make with its eyes shut, to the manufacture of a wide variety of complicated items involving many new problems, there is every reason to pay tribute to the speed and skill with which the nation's auto plants were swung into large-scale production of war materials. Several months ago *PM* charged that deliveries of war goods by the auto industry would fall below the value of civilian goods in 1941. The actual figures, however, show the opposite. In 1941 the industry turned out \$4,068,000,000 of passenger cars, trucks and other products, breaking all previous records. It produced only \$870,000,000 of war materials that year. In 1942 production of arms spurred ahead of the previous civilian

peak to \$4,648,000,000, while the output of civilian goods dropped just as fast to \$821,000,000. By the end of 1942 the industry was producing war materials at the rate of \$6,000,000,000 a year; today the rate is between seven and eight billion.

The time is past, however, when it is sufficient merely to draw comparisons with an earlier period. I don't know what to make of the newspaper stories that we are already approaching our production peak, but if this city is a representative sample of American war industry as a whole—and there is reason to believe that it is—we are not even half-way toward the peak. The auto industry has not yet begun to pull its weight in the arsenal of democracy. In 1941 General Motors estimated that it controlled 13 percent of the nation's durable metal goods capacity. It also estimated that as of June 1, 1941, slightly over eighty percent of war orders were for materials of that type. If we assume that this still holds true today and that the automobile industry as a whole controls thirty percent of our durable metal goods capacity, what picture do we get? On that basis, of the \$52,000,000,000 of war materials produced in 1942, the share of the auto industry should have been about \$12,480,000,000, or almost three times its actual share. And of the \$90,000,000,000 of arms, which the War Production Board has announced as the goal for 1943, the auto industry should be turning out \$21,600,000,000. Actually it is operating today at a rate far below this figure, and even by the end of the year its rate of output is expected to be somewhat under \$12,000,000,000 annually.

These figures ought not be blinked. The fact is that Detroit war plants are not working full blast. Many are operating only two shifts and some even one shift, hundreds of machines are either completely idle or in use only part time, there are still cases of workers told to loaf for lack of anything to do, confusion and uncertainty abound in many places. Talk to workers and they tend to blame the companies. They will tell you that the companies are not putting the same drive into war production as into the making of cars. That is often true, but the explanation is not so simple. For example, practically all of the people I interviewed, whether from management, labor, or government agencies, listed materials shortages as the number one bottleneck in this city's war production. It is this bottleneck that causes breakdowns in production and is one reason for



the lack of full utilization of plants and machinery. Yet this is a difficulty for which the companies are not to blame. Of course, they share with other industrialists responsibility for those business-as-usual practices which resulted in the consumption of large quantities of steel, aluminum, copper and other raw materials in the manufacture of dispensable civilian goods. But today the auto companies are themselves victims of the planlessness of our entire war economy, of the failure of government to integrate manpower, materials, and machines under centralized administration. Until such time as this situation is changed—and the pressure for change comes from the war itself—it is impossible to assess accurately the degree of responsibility of this company or that individual for the shortcomings that exist. Yet certain specific failures as well as achievements can be noted.

The other day a group of workers employed in the motor building of the Ford Rouge plant told me that hundreds of machines in that building—grinders, lathes, etc.—haven't turned a wheel for over a year. Though these machines could be used for war production, they have never been converted. According to these men, the number of workers in the motor building is only about half the peacetime figure; with so many machines idle, even this number is too large for the amount of work being done. That same day I saw Mr. Romney of the Automotive Council, whose membership comprises some 525 automotive companies. Mr. Romney speaks with the crusading fervor of a revival preacher. He is not impressed with the production methods of Henry Kaiser, but has a devout faith in those of the auto industry. More responsibility should be given to the men of management, he told me. All Washington should do is set the policies. Mr. Romney assured me no machines in the industry were idle which could possibly be used for war purposes. I told him what the Ford workers had reported about the machines in the motor building. Mr. Romney at once asked an assistant to call Ray Rausch, superintendent of the Rouge plant. Mr. Rausch conceded the machines were idle, but insisted this was a recent and temporary development because they were about to be shifted to the Ford Highland Park plant. I tried unsuccessfully to get Mr. Rausch on the phone myself. Then I asked the Ford public relations department whether I could see a company official. "Call back in a half hour," they said. In a half hour came the answer: "No one here is interested in seeing you."

It seemed to me that the question of hundreds of machines idle for over a year in one building of the Ford plant at a time when the war fronts need all kinds of stuff was not a small matter. Certainly the War Production Board ought to be interested in establishing the truth or falsity of the charge and in doing something about it

if the workers' story were found true. I took it up with Clarence M. Bolds, regional labor representative of the WPB's Labor Production Division. He is a former production engineer himself and thought the matter ought to be looked into. He referred me to H. A. Weissbrodt, deputy regional director of the WPB. Mr. Weissbrodt, a stocky, middle-aged man, is a former machinist and toolmaker who rose to be plant manager of the International Harvester Co. at Springfield, Ill. He knows production at first-hand. But he didn't share my concern about the possible idleness of hundreds of machines in the Ford motor building. He told me that when he investigated the first such complaint, he found the particular machines couldn't be used for war production. "Sometimes of course they have to wait for contracts to come through. But I can vouch for the fact that no machines in this area are being kept deliberately idle."

I don't know whether those machines in the motor building are being deliberately kept idle, but neither does the War Production Board nor the Automotive Council whose business it is to find out. Theoretically any idle convertible machine is supposed to be shipped to a plant where it will be used. In practice the companies are being left to make such decisions themselves. As one government official admitted to me: "A previous complaint against Ford never got anywhere. Ford's too big. It's different with the small companies."

PRESUMABLY General Motors and Chrysler are also "too big." That's why GM's huge Chevrolet assembly plant in Flint has for practical purposes been left almost entirely out of the war effort, while Chrysler's Plymouth and two Dodge plants in Detroit have been, according to union men, only partly converted. Here again reports conflict. Chrysler's vice-president and general manager, H. L. Weckler, assured me that all their factories are fully converted to war work. No doubt he meant it, but just as there was originally a difference of opinion in regard to how much conversion was possible, so today there may be a difference as to what constitutes "fully converted." Mr. Weckler is an extremely busy man, and in taking time off to see me, an act of courtesy and cooperation toward the press, he naturally was not in a position to discuss the problem in detail. Concerning the Plymouth plant he said that the chief difficulty arose from changes in schedules. But he emphasized that he was not criticizing the government for changing schedules since this was evidently necessary.

On the other hand, Sam Sweet, educational director of the Plymouth Local of the UAW, told me that the Plymouth plant is only about fifty percent converted; moreover, some of the new machines, bought at government expense, are stand-

ing idle. He said that Plymouth now employed only about one-third of its peacetime working force and this number could be cut in half if the work were efficiently organized. "If a man wants to produce more," Mr. Sweet said, "a foreman will tell him: 'Take it easy, you'll be working yourself out of a job.'" This estimate of the situation in the Plymouth plant was supported by others in union ranks, among them James Wishart, UAW research director. But here again there is no way of telling to what extent the company is at fault and to what extent the situation is due to conditions over which it has no control.

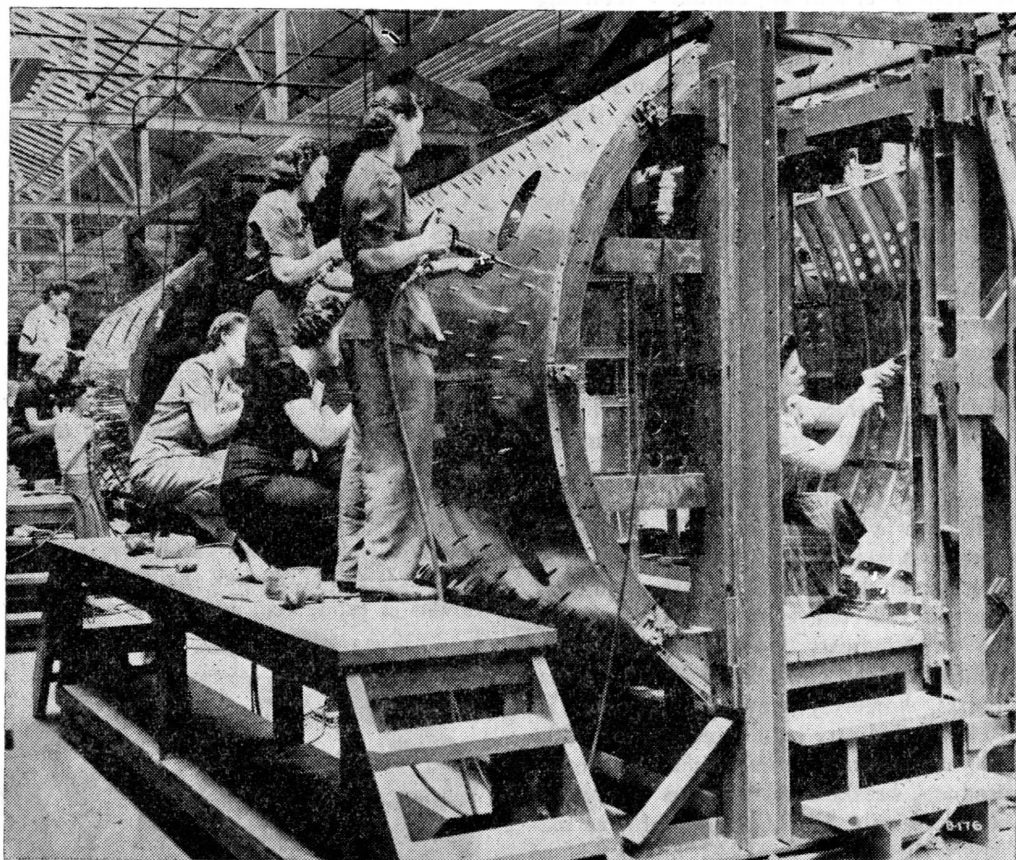
In general the most complete conversion job and the fullest development of all-out production methods have been achieved not by the Big Three, but by a number of smaller firms like Packard, Continental Motors, and Murray Body. The Packard record is particularly notable and I shall discuss it in a later article. There are two principal reasons for the relatively better showing of the smaller firms. In the first place, sheer economic interest made these firms, which since 1929 have had more lean years than fat, more receptive to war orders and less resistant to conversion. Under the government's cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts these companies are making more money on war orders than on automotive goods, and the more they produce, the more they earn. The large companies, on the other hand, make less on war materials than on cars. In the case of General Motors, for example, though the value of its

products in 1942, when war materials predominated, was only about eight percent less than in 1941, when civilian goods predominated, profits before taxes declined forty percent. And Chrysler's profits before taxes in 1942 were only about equal to the average annual profit for the preceding five years *after* taxes. These declines are relative, of course, and the 1942 earnings of Chrysler and GM, particularly the latter, were very handsome nevertheless.

A second factor is the better labor-management relations that exist in these smaller companies. As a rule such firms even in peacetime were inclined to adopt a less intransigent attitude toward unionism than the large corporations simply because they could not afford the financial attrition of strikes. When the industry stopped making cars and turned to the manufacture of war goods, these companies, because of their direct economic stake in the removal of all obstacles to maximum output, were more willing to cooperate with their workers in the solution of production problems. Hence they were more ready to establish labor-management committees that really functioned. The bulk of the war orders, however, are held by the Big Three, and on their showing will ultimately depend the performance of the auto industry.

A. B. MAGIL.

Next week's article will deal with the role of the Big Three and tell what is happening at the Willow Run bomber plant. It will also discuss what Detroit is doing to utilize Negro and women workers.



A glimpse of the interior of Chrysler's De Soto Bomber Plant.

THE EDGE OF POLAND

Alter Brody proves "Eastern Poland" is historically Russian and populated by Russians.... Seized by Polish imperialism in 1921, White Russia and Western Ukraine belong by nature and choice to the USSR.

THE current boundary claims of the discredited Polish government against the USSR go back to the very beginnings of the Russian and Polish peoples and the Russian and Polish states. It is important to distinguish between the development of a people and its development as a state because this distinction is a dynamic factor in the history of all European nations. Thus the history of Germany as a national state may have begun when Bismarck promoted the King of Prussia to the Emperor of Germany, but the history of the German people antedated 1870 by many centuries. Similarly, the history of the Italian people antedated the unification of Italy under the House of Savoy, and that of the English people did not begin with William the Conqueror or even Alfred the Great.

There is always a longer or shorter hiatus between the development of a people and its crystallization as a political state and this hiatus leaves a permanent mark upon its history. During the Middle Ages the small, sparsely populated but unified English *state* dominated the great, but ununited French *people*. In modern times until the rise of Prussia, France enjoyed the same advantage over the squabbling German principalities. A similar phenomenon has left its mark upon Russo-Polish history.

THE Polish people achieved national unity in the twelfth century; by the end of the fourteenth, through a dynastic alliance with the similarly unified Lithuanian people, they developed into a multinational empire as large and as polyglot as the Holy Roman empire. The Russian people, on the other hand, did not begin to coalesce into a political state until the sixteenth century and this uncompleted process was implicit in the title which the czars carried into the twentieth century—Emperor of *all* the Russias. It was inevitable that the disunited Russian principalities of the Middle Ages should become bricks in the Polish-Lithuanian empire rising to the west of them.

Says the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, a source that can hardly be accused of being Russophile: "The history of Russia during that period is a mass of discordant notes. The chief principalities of that time were Smolensk, Chernigoff, Novgorod, Ryazan, Murom, Tver, Suzdal, Rostov, Vladimir, Jaraslov, Periaslav-Zaleski, Volhynia, Galicia and others. . . . Besides the Tatars, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Russians had to struggle in the western

provinces against the aggressive ambitions of the Lithuanians, the political union of which people had been established by Prince Mindvog. Prince Sodomon (1315-40) extended his conquests to western Russia and subjugated under his rule Grodno, Pinsk, Brest (Brest Litovsk), Polotsk, Chernigoff, Vladimir (Volhynia), and finally Kiev. His son led his victorious armies in Vitebsk, Mohilev, Novgorod, Bryansk, Kamentz, and Podolia."

An equally impartial source, the *Cambridge Medieval History*, points out: "Lithuania had brought under its rule all of White Russia and a large part of Little Russia (Ukraine). . . . Though the majority of the subjects of Lithuania were Russian the Russian element failed to dominate. . . . To complete the union [sic] of Western Russia it only remained to occupy Ruthenia and Red Russia as the provinces of Volhynia and Galicia were called." This was soon accomplished by Lithuania's future imperial partner, Poland.

Only recently the Sikorski government gave a disheartening lesson in political morality by celebrating a certain national anniversary. The government-in-exile of a people which is facing extermination at the hand of its conquerors celebrated the 600th anniversary of its own conquest of the Russian province of Galicia. But the *Cambridge Medieval History* has a different opinion of the consequences of Poland's seizure of Galicia: "The results of Casimir's policy were of highest importance for the future of Poland. Without offering serious resistance he had given up Silesia whose population was Polish in the main. He had surrendered Pomerania to the Teutonic Knights. Danzig became a German town and secured a monopoly of the foreign trade of Poland with the Baltic. His reign marked a permanent withdrawal of the western Polish ethnographic frontier in favor of the Germans and the undertaking of a new and onerous task by the annexation of a Russian province, Galicia, which brought Poland into eastern politics" (Italics mine.) In 1386 the Lithuanian and Polish conquests of Western Russia were consolidated by the dynastic union of these two states forming the Polish-Lithuanian empire. Western Russia became Eastern Poland.

THERE is a very important historical fact which must constantly be kept in mind about the territory which has alternately been Western Russia and "Eastern Poland." It was never a mere border

mark between the Russians and the Poles, no ethnically hybrid Alsace Lorraine or Ulster or Savoy, but the original habitat and cradle of the Russian people, as western Germany was the original habitat and cradle of the German people. Because Great Russia and Moscow have been the political nucleus of Russia a superficial student is apt to jump to the conclusion that the Russian people expanded from the eastern half of Russia to the western half, from the Volga to the Dnieper, just as a superficial conclusion might be that the German people expanded from Prussia and Berlin westward to the Rhineland.

Actually the reverse is true. The Dnieper, not the Volga, is the Russian Rhine and the cradle of the Russian people and language is located by all authorities in the region between the Dnieper and Lake Ilman and the Dniester and the Nieman, in other words, the Ukraine (including Galicia) and White Russia. Of the eleven medieval Russian principalities previously cited from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, eight are in that region and only three are in Great Russia. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* is very illuminating on this subject. "The Ruthenians or Little Russians (Ukrainians) claim that their language was the original Russian and that therefore primitive Russian literature should rather be called Ruthenian." Arthur Rambaud, the classic French authority on Russian history, declares: "Nestor's [a medieval Russian Chronicler] list of the Russian Slavs shows that in the ninth century of our era when their history begins they were almost completely penned in in the districts of the Dvina, the upper Dnieper, the Ilmen, and the Dniester."

Kiev and not Moscow was "the mother of Russia," as is well known. What is less well known is that after the Tartar invasion, when Kiev and the central Ukraine lost its cultural leadership, its place in Russian history was taken by Galicia and Volhynia. The *Cambridge Medieval History* is emphatic on this subject: "Much more important were the lands of Galicia and Volhynia. . . . Galicia's urban development was in advance of the rest of Russia. . . . The southern part of Galicia extended over a large part of what is now Moldavia and Bessarabia."

From their cradle in the Ukraine the Russian people spread eastward and colonized Great Russia. In his classic *History of Russia*, Rambaud states: "Great Russia as a whole, apart from Pskov and Novgorod, was won from foreign races by colonization. It was a colony of Kievan Russia,

and though for a time subjugated by the Tatars, was able to throw off their yoke while Kiev still remained a Lithuanian province. . . . A new Russia began to form itself, almost out of the same elements, at the opposite extremity of the Russian plain. The names given to the new towns in the Souzdal and Muscovy regions must be noticed. There is a Vladimir on the Kliazma as there is a Vladimir in Volhynia, a Zvenigorod on the Moskva as on the Dniester, a Galitch in Souzdal as in Galicia, a Iaroslavl on the Volga as on the San. Souzdal and Riazan, like Kiev, have their Pereiaslavl, that of the former bears the title of Zaliesski or 'beyond the forests.' In a different land and under a different sky the emigrants tried to restore the names of their native country. Is it not thus that the English in America founded Plymouth and the French, New Orleans?"

THOUGH Great Russia was not the ethnographic nucleus of the Russian people, it was destined to become its political nucleus. The growth of Great Russia set in motion the unification of the Russian people as the growth of Prussia accelerated the unification of the German people. It was natural that the western Russias, White, Red, and Little, should turn to their strong young brothers of Great Russia, brothers not only in race and language but in their Greek Orthodox faith. In the seventeenth century the Ukrainians revolted against their Polish masters, and their national hero, Bogdan Khmel-nitski, (Rambaud, *History of Russia*) "wrote to entreat the czar to take Little Russia under his protection." Great Russia responded to the appeal of Little Russia and after a long and indeterminate struggle a compromise peace was signed in which Poland surrendered Little Russia east of the Dnieper and Eastern White Russia—Smolensk. This partial liberation of Russian soil still left the bulk of Eastern Poland Russian in race and language. As the late Raymond Buell, president of the Foreign Policy Association, says in his work *Poland*: "Notwithstanding this loss Poland remained a multi-national state until the partitions, with a population of eleven millions not more than half of which were Polish."

We come now to the most delicate chapter of Russo-Polish history—the partitions of Poland. Catherine the Great has gone down in Polish history as the arch-villainess of the partitions. That Russia participated with Austria and Prussia in the partition of the Polish empire is an incontestable historical fact. But that Russia did *not* participate with Austria and Prussia in the partition of *Poland Proper* is also an incontestable historical fact and of equal significance. For the history and geography of the partitions show that in her share of the three partitions, Russia was careful not to take an inch of territory that was not



Failure of a missile

ethnographically Russian, leaving Prussia and Austria to divide the purely Polish territory. If this vindication of Catherine may seem like an attempt to whitewash the devil, here is what the *Catholic Encyclopedia* has to say on the subject: "In 1772, 1792, and 1795 the territory of Poland was divided among the three adjoining states; Lithuania, White Russia, and Little Russia, were given to Russia, the purely Polish territory to Prussia and Austria." (Austria also annexed East Galicia—purely Russian territory.)

Says the *Cambridge Modern History* on the same subject: "Catherine always maintained that she had taken no genuine Polish country and there was some foundation for this statement even when she repeated it after the third partition. The acquisition of White and Little Russia with their rigidly Russian and Orthodox population even wore the appearance of an act of national liberation."

It thus becomes apparent that Russia was the only one of the powers that emerged from the partitions of Poland with clean skirts. That this historical fact has been obscured is due to subsequent developments—after Poland had lost its political existence—which placed the core of Poland

proper under Russian suzerainty. This was an aftermath of the Napoleonic era. In 1807 Napoleon took the Prussian and a part of the Austrian slice of Poland and created the French puppet state of the Duchy of Warsaw. In 1809 Napoleon took the province of Galicia from Austria. The western Polish part was added to the Duchy of Warsaw, the eastern Russian part was given to Russia. The Congress of Vienna returned part of Prussian Poland to Prussia and all of Galicia, including the ethnographically Russian East Galicia, to Austria. The rest of Poland proper was constituted into an autonomous kingdom under Russian suzerainty, known in Polish history as Congress Poland. It was therefore by the Treaty of Vienna and not by the partitions of Poland that Russia first acquired a Polish problem. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* declares: "The Poles under czarist rule are found chiefly in Congress Poland."

IT is illuminating in the light of the traditional Polish foreign policy to compare the treatment meted out to the Poles by the barbarous czarist autocratic government of fellow-Slavic Russia to that which they received from the enlightened constitutional

monarchies of Prussia and Austria, both German states. To quote the *Catholic Encyclopedia* again: "After Poland disappeared from the political map of Europe, each of the three states which absorbed it began to carry out its own policy in the annexed territory. . . . Austria and Prussia in particular sought to repress the Polish national spirit. Colonization of Polish territory with German colonists was begun systematically. In Prussia all church lands were confiscated and the Catholic clergy as a whole were made answerable for the political crimes of individuals. Under Russian rule, hostility to the Polish national spirit was not entirely open but the persecution of the Uniats continued."

In other words there was little official persecution of Polish nationalism or Polish Catholicism. Since the Uniats were not Poles but Ukrainian Greek Orthodox peasants whose clergy had been organized under Polish pressure into a semi-autonomous Catholic church, Russian Greek Orthodox counter-pressure to get them to re-enter the fold, can hardly be termed persecution of the Poles. Raymond Buell in his work *Poland* not only emphasizes the difference between the Russian and German policy toward the Poles but helps to explain it.

"A Polish writer (Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski) calls attention to the essential difference between the Russian and German oppression of the Poles during the partition period. Russia had some sort of Pan-Slavic Union under Russian hegemony as its main creed. In this vague Pan-Slavic empire the Poles were to have their place as one of the Slav peoples. Russia opposed Polish independence. Always, however, in one form or another, the existence of an ethnically Polish territory was recognized. Not so Germany. There the fight against the Poles took the form of a systematic attempt to denationalize the provinces inhabited by Poles and transform them into purely German provinces. German policy tended toward domination and extermination, which even the more liberal Germans interpreted as a national necessity."

THIS difference in policy was as striking in the economic as in the ethnic sphere. In Germany government funds (100,000,000 marks in 1886) were appropriated to buy up Polish land and dispossess the Polish peasantry and particularly the Polish nobility so that the latter became extinct as a class in German Poland. In czarist Russia not only were the Polish landowners not dispossessed of their estates in Russian Poland but they were permitted to hold on to their vastly larger estates in White Russia and the Ukraine, so that there was the anomalous situation of the "subjugated" Polish nobility owning and exploiting millions of "liberated" White Russians and Ukrainian peasants.

To this day the obstinacy of the Polish

government on the question of "Eastern Poland" is primarily based on the natural disinclination of the Polish ruling class, chiefly "East Polish" landowners, to surrender the right to exploit these millions of Russian peasants on their vast White Russia and Ukrainian estates. Czarist liberality toward Poland was even more pronounced in the industrial sphere. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* testifies: "The abolition in 1851 of the customs frontier between Russia and Poland laid the foundation for an extraordinary industrial expansion. The Russian government took every possible means to assist this expansion. . . . The Polish upper and middle class achieved a well-being far superior to anything enjoyed by their cousins in Austrian Galicia."

AFTER a century and a quarter of political eclipse Poland was reborn as a political state at the Versailles Peace Conference. It was made abundantly clear at the Peace Conference that it was not the intention of the Allied Powers to reconstitute a new Polish empire. Wilson's famous Fourteen Points specifically stipulated that "The Polish State shall include territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations."

Despite pressure from Polish neo-imperialists and their French backers, British and American influence resulted in the conference fixing the Polish eastern boundary on an ethnographic basis, on a line, running through Grodno, Brest-Litovsk, Rawa Ruska, and Prysemysl, which came to be called the Lord Curzon Line. This ethnographic boundary line recognized by the Versailles Peace Conference was precisely the line at which the Red Army stopped when it headed off the Nazi occupation of "Eastern Poland," and is the line which the Soviet Union now considers its boundary with Poland.

But the leaders of the new Polish state could not give up their dream of making Poland a world power, a dream—given Poland's limited area and population, which could only be realized at the expense of its neighbors. Says Buell in his *Poland*: "Pilsudski believed that Poland had to have a large territory. For historical reasons it was easier to get this base at the expense of Russia than of Germany." Pilsudski's grandiose ambitions fitted in with Clemenceau's scheme for a cordon sanitaire to hem in and ultimately to strangle the Soviet Union and he encouraged the Poles to invade Russia.

Fighting on a dozen fronts, exhausted by six years of war, revolution, civil war, and intervention, the Soviet Union was finally compelled to sign a peace with Poland, surrendering the western part of White Russia and the western part of the Ukraine. Says the *Encyclopedia* of this infamous treaty of Riga: "On March 18, 1921, a treaty was signed on terms favorable to Poland which placed some four

million Russians under the Polish flag (exclusive of another four million Russians in East Galicia which were not included in this transaction). Again (as at Brest-Litovsk), the Soviet Government had paid a heavy price for peace."

THERE is no doubt that the outbreak of this war was hastened by the disinclination of the Allies to accept the Soviet conditions for effective Allied-Soviet military cooperation, and that in turn was due in large part to the suicidal Polish obstinacy in refusing to permit the Red Army to occupy battle stations in "Eastern Poland." It was only when the Polish army was hopelessly crushed and the Polish government had fled to Rumania and the Nazis were sweeping unopposed toward "Eastern Poland" that the Red Army moved in to stop the Nazis at the ethnographic boundaries of Russia. Shortly after, in accordance with the laws laid down by the Soviet Constitution, the population of Western White Russia and Western Ukraine voted in a plebiscite to join their brothers in the White Russian Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The second partition of White Russia and the Ukraine was abrogated.

When the Soviet Union was drawn into the war and became ipso facto an ally of Poland, the Soviet government signed a treaty with the Polish government-in-exile giving it facilities to recruit a real mass army from among the Polish war prisoners and refugees in Russia and formally arranging to postpone all boundary disputes while the war was raging. In 1942 the Polish government broke this treaty pledge and publicly insisted on its claims to "Eastern Poland." The Soviet government then had no alternative but to make known its indisputable ethnographic position on the subject of White Russia and the Ukraine.

The fascist-infested Polish government insists upon the restoration of its pre-war boundaries, that is to say the status quo of 1939. But the fact is that international banditry did not start abruptly in 1939. Japan, for example, might conceivably be willing to settle for the boundaries it enjoyed in China in 1939, but China might want to go back to 1931 or even further back to recover its territorial integrity. Neither Czechoslovakia nor Ethiopia nor Albania, or for that matter, loyalist Spain, might consider the status quo of 1939 particularly satisfying. It is not strange therefore that Western White Russia and Western Ukraine which had been despoiled by Polish imperialism in 1921 just ten years before Manchuria was wrested by Japan from China—should prefer to go back to the status quo of 1920 or 1940 rather than the status quo of 1939 when they enjoyed the privilege of being Polish colonies.

ALTER BRODY.

THE MAN WHO DIDN'T PLAY CHRIST

A Short Story by Alonso Figueira

TEN years ago, when I was visiting my father's pueblo in Burgos, Spain, the date for the grand fiesta came up. This *Fiesta Grande* was a special one, a time to look forward to in the list of yearly fiesta days that every Spanish pueblo keeps, and the special occasion here was a primitive Passion Play with the villagers in the roles of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, the principal Apostles, Pontius Pilate and the others. I had only an academic interest in this feast because I didn't intend to stay in Burgos that long—the fiesta came up in early October after the late harvest—and I didn't think I would have been allowed to take much part in it, anyway, because of my reputation as a radical.

One Sunday morning, though, while I was standing and talking with a group of the younger men at the door of my uncle's tavern, the subject of the Play came up. Tomas, the miller's son, said that he hoped to apply for the role of the Christus.

"You!" Pedro sneered with a laugh. "With that nose of a Jew that you have!"

"So?" I said to Pedro. I saw Tomas blushing furiously.

"Hombre! How can a man with a face like that play Christ?"

"Wasn't Christ a Jew? And I think he had what you call 'a face like that.'" I was looking at Pedro as I said this, but I could feel the others start a little and see

them smile slowly in anticipation of what they called a "discussion" between Pedro and me. I liked Pedro very much and we had had many a hot and heavy argument before my quasi-ostracism. Now, I watched him grin broadly and look around at the others before he faced me.

"Christ a Jew?" he asked me, smiling. "Do you want to tell us, now, that Christ was a Jew?"

"I don't want to tell you," I said. "That's a fact, pure and direct."

"You're not giving us another Marxist fantasy?" Pedro grinned. "Because you know what we do to Marxists here?"

"Come on, man," Miguel said to Pedro. "Alonso is one of us."

Pedro looked at him, but did not say anything. He grinned slyly at me and then back at Miguel. I smiled my thanks to Miguel, but came back to watch Pedro's interesting face. "Ask the father," I said. I nodded toward where our parish priest, Don Angel, was standing talking to Anastasio and my uncle. "Ask him. He must certainly know."

Pedro nodded and walked the few steps out of our group toward Don Angel. He shook the young priest's arm. "Pardon me, Don Angel," he said. "Of what race was Christ?" He said it loudly enough for all of us to hear.

"How's that?" Don Angel said.

"Como?"

"Of what race was Christ, Jesus?" Pedro said. "What nationality was he?"

"Of all nationalities!" Don Angel said. "Of course. He was of all races. He was a man like you and me, born of a woman. He was of the people—and suffered like the people."

"But he wasn't a Jew?" Pedro said.

"He was born among the Jews," Don Angel said. Then, "He was born in Palestine, the Messiah among the Jews," Don Angel said when Pedro stayed looking at him and did not say anything.

"I thought he was a Roman—just like the Pope," my uncle said into the silence.

"He spoke Latin," Anastasio added. "He spoke the Latin."

"So that you can say—practically—that he was a Jew?" Pedro asked Don Angel slowly.

"For all the importance that it has—yes!" Don Angel said—and that seemed the end of that.

We spoke about something else afterward—and I don't remember how we did break up—but this new "revelation" had a very interesting effect on my father's pueblo. It divided the people into two groups: the one group that said they'd known Christ was a Jew all the time, and the other that said it made no difference anyway. Pedro, it seemed, belonged to



neither one. He had passed the matter by. Whenever we met, he would grin and wave his fist at me in the same old way, but he would never shout out any remarks about our last "discussion." I, myself, felt the old feeling of isolation tighten a little, but it had gotten to be an old story by this time.

ONE night, then, while I was walking the beasts down to the river for their drinks and thinking about Madrid and getting out of this goddamned town, Pedro came out with his oxen and followed me down the road. We stood on the shore and talked while the beasts drank.

"You must have read the Bible in your language, no?" he said after we'd talked a moment. Pedro never went into a thing directly.

"In English?"

"In English!"

"Why, surely!" I said, looking surprised. And then I remember that Pedro—like my father and uncles—had only been able to read the Bible in Latin. "Yes," I said, more softly. "Yes, I've read it in English, Pedro."

"Do you figure that you could secure me a copy in Spanish?"

"I think I can," I said to him, and I knew that I'd try.

I had an English friend in Villarvayo who was able to borrow a Saint James Bible in Spanish from another friend at Vigo. Pedro read the Bible all during the next month.

It took him that long because he had to read after harvesting in the day and, by the light of a candle, he mouthed the words slowly and long into the nights. Girls in our town, and in the towns all around us, must have been very lonely during that time for Pedro, still single at twenty-eight, was a great lover and very much a man.

He returned the book to me without any comment—that was typical of him! Then, on a day in the next week, when he had given me a lift in his ox-cart, he started to speak of the Bible.

"You have to see it to believe what a life we live here, Alonso. . . . Even with God we have to deal indirectly."

"You mean about the Bible?"

"Yes! I never knew it before! It was all a glory book to me with everything told in high-sounding phrases. Now, I know that Christ was a human being and that he sweat like all of us. I know about the others, too—about Abraham and Barabbas, and Noah getting drunk."

"You like Jesus, now?"

"I never knew him before, *hombre!*—And I never heard anything true about Jews, anyway. You know that!"

"Why don't you apply for the Christus role, Pedro?" It looked as if I would still be around, then, and I wanted to see something interesting and unusual. "You've got the real touch, now. You have."



Pedro grinned. "Vaya! Me, Christ!—Not that you must believe," he said, "that I'm just one of those *tontos*, going around with women and shooting off my mouth. No!" He leaned over toward me where we were both lying out flat on the bottom of the cart. He put his hand on my shoulder. "I have to do those things, Alonso! Living a life like we live, one would bore himself sick, one would go nuts if he did not take up those distractions seriously. . . . Now, that business of women isn't such a bad thing." He pressed my shoulder. "In love two human beings truly reach each other. You have a moment there when you know you're more than a beast of the fields."

"I agree!" I said. "I agree, Pedro. Yes! Loving's a wonderful thing. We ought to do more of it."

"Ya!" he said. "Ya! You're a man, Alonso," he said to me, grinning and pressing his fingers into my neck. "I thought you were going to be a *senorito* when you first came here, but I liked you as soon as I talked to you."

I did not feel like anything, then, so I could not answer him.

Pedro brought his hand down to my shoulder and kept on talking. "Me play the Christ, I don't know?" he was saying. I saw that he was staring out at the oxen. "I'd like to do something like that, but I don't think this is the year." He turned to me. "Maybe, next time! You'll be here again, and I'll know much more!"

Next time would be five years from then. Poor old Pedro, I thought—and poor me!

I GOT my money a few days after our talk and I was ready to start for Madrid in less than a day. On the morning that I was saying goodbye to the pueblo, most of the folks came to the tavern to shake my hand and wish me well. They were nearly

all related to me, anyway, and we *did* like each other. Pedro came just a few minutes before I was to leave. We toasted each other with glasses of vermouth and soda.

"In regard to books," Pedro said, just as he was set to leave. "Could you secure me just one? Just one particular book? I would like a simple history of man—a record that tells the progress of how human beings have come up through all the years. How they've come from the state that we live into the state that you live in?" He grinned to show that he meant no sarcasm. "Is there such a book?"

"I think there is, Pedro."

"Try to get it for me, then."

"I will," I said.

I didn't try very hard, I must tell you, now—because almost as soon as I had gotten back home, I started two things that no sane man should ever try—much less at the same time: I got married, and I tried to become a writer.

I heard from Pedro many times through my aunt, and I sent my regards to him the same way, but I was never able to send that book. I know well that Pedro didn't play the Christ in the next *Fiesta Grande* because that came in 1937 and there probably were no Christs out of uniform. I've just heard about him again this week, and that news is the point of this whole story.

According to a news item that was buried in the middle pages of our newspapers, Pedro died last week in occupied France. He was executed with two Frenchmen by a Nazi firing squad for the crime of sabotage and other "Communist" activities. Pedro's name came after the two Frenchmen's, and, according to the dispatch, he had recently escaped from a concentration camp in the French Pyrenees, where—again, according to the dispatch—he had a long record of "Communist" recalcitrance. ALONSO FIGUEIRA.



Proposh-



Propaganda

THE INDIVIDUAL IN HISTORY

How Mussolini used accidentalist theories to rationalize fascism. Reflections on the philosophy of William James. Conclusion of the series by V. J. Jerome.

JAMES' accidentalism, as we have seen, consistently turns away from the principal developmental forces in history. His theory of knowledge distorts the basic relation between knowledge and reality. This distortion has practical effects which should nowise be minimized.

There has been considerable discussion concerning the resemblance of pragmatist to fascist thought and the indebtedness of fascism to James. Although neither in depth of analysis nor truth in judgment is Mussolini possessed of that "certain magnitude" of which Aristotle spoke, one must note that he acknowledged James, along with Georges Sorel, Nietzsche, and Machiavelli, as one source of fascist ideology and practice:

"The pragmatism of William James was of great use to me in my political career. James taught me that an action should be judged rather by its results than by its doctrinaire basis. I learnt of James that faith in action, that ardent will to live and fight, to which fascism owes a great part of its success." (From an interview reported in *The Sunday Times, London, April 11, 1926*, quoted in R. B. Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1935, Vol. II, p. 575.)

A number of contemporary political writers trace connections between the Jamesian philosophy, in many of its aspects, and fascist ideology.

William M. McGovern, professor of political science at Northwestern University, comments on James' indeterminism:

"To Mussolini as to James a man may be strongly influenced by his environment, his racial or his historical background, or by economic factors, but he always remains a free agent, able to shake off these influences and control his own destiny." (William M. McGovern, *From Luther to Hitler*, Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1941, p. 548.)

The same author traces an identity between the Nazis' anti-scientism and James' reduction of scientific laws to the status of the tentative:

"To the Nazis, as to William James, all scientific laws are merely working hypotheses, not necessarily true, but valuable aids to further experimentation or in controlling material objects." (*Ibid.*, p. 627.)

In his classic biography of James, Ralph Barton Perry, one of America's best known philosophers, argues against those who assert that James was a forerunner of fascist dogma, though he recognizes

fascist ideology as "a group of ideas and sentiments, shifting and often unrelated, which here and there overlap the ideas and sentiments of pragmatism." (*The Thought and Character of William James*, Vol. II, p. 578.)

Doland Cary Williams, associate professor of philosophy at Harvard University, states in a commemorative study:

"No accident or naive error induces historians of fascist theory to give an honored place to James' irrationalism or causes the leaders of fascist states to invoke in his name the principles of the life-enlarging myth and of heroic action for heroism's sake . . . so many of the sources and motives of James' thought were the same as those of fascist and National Socialist ideology that it is no marvel that their fruits bear such close analogy—that James sounds so like a Hitler or a Mussolini when he glorifies 'risk' for its own sake and the 'stern and sacrificial mood,' or that a Hitler or a Mussolini sounds like James when he inveighs against the 'autocratic intellect' and in favor of 'interpretation in terms of will and not of intelligence.'" ("William James and the Facts of Knowledge," *In Commemoration of William James, 1842-1942* (a symposium), Columbia Press, New York, 1942, pp. 119-20.)

JAMES' theory gives an ideological basis for the adulation or toleration of fascism which continued for years in our schools and in our press until the Nazis themselves broke the spell with ruthless invasions. In wide circles priding themselves on their liberalism, fascism was pragmatically described, not as a form of imperialist dictatorship, which it is, but as a dictatorship of the "man of action." Whether this "genius" was called destructive or creative depended, in the pragmatist's way of thinking, on one's subjective "satisfactions."

It is of course true that the impact of James' philosophy for his day was necessarily different from the implications of certain of his teachings decades later, in a new historical setting. There are aspects to James that are markedly antithetical to fascist ideology. Racism of any kind was alien to James' makeup; he was opposed to wars of aggression; and there was in him a great deal of solicitude for individual human beings, much sporadic concern for their potentialities starved and frustrated by what he conceived to be tyrannies and absolutes—moral, intellectual, and political. James alive today would doubtless have met with indignation the charge of anal-

ogies between his pragmatic theory and fascist ideology. The man who in his *Talks to Teachers* saw the practical outcome of his pluralistic and individualistic philosophy to be "the well known democratic respect for the sacredness of individuality" would most probably today be an ardent enemy of fascism. In addition, we should be overlooking the very nature of fascism in regarding James, or any philosopher, as a source of fascism. Desperado imperialism requires no philosophy and can brook none. Its rationale can be only rationalization. The ideology that is the stock-in-trade of the Duces and the Fuehrers is not derived on the basis of historical heritage of culture but is an arbitrary accumulation of fragmentary notions and myths, a contrivance of brute expedients and obfuscations.

William James sought to construct a fact-bound, democratic, humanistic philosophy, and performed a valuable service in exposing the aristocratic bias of the absolute idealism and enthroned theology which had dominated the academic chairs of Harvard and other respectable institutions of learning. His philosophy, and that of his distinguished associate, Charles Sanders Peirce, reflected the general aspirations of the American bourgeoisie, which had nationally consolidated its position and political rule following the Civil War, for complete power and complete freedom of action in economic life: These aspirations built upon the theory of the individualized ego as shaper of its own destiny in a world whose essence was competition restrained only by "the rules of the game." Subjective satisfaction as the sole test of truth was the counterpart of gilded success, the prized outcome of competition, legal and cut-throat, in economic life. Truth is that which succeeds; that is pragmatism.

The fact is that in spite of the progressive features noted, James' "radical empiricism" has fitted into the purposes of a stage of capitalist thought already embarrassed by the future. If James' philosophy reflected, in a certain sense, the heyday of competitive capitalism, it also bespoke its decline. No longer historically progressive, capitalism in its imperialist stage, confronted by the ominous accumulation of contradictions, resorted to an evasion-ideology, substituting subjective, "satisfaction" measurements of truth for the objective truth it feared. For the scientific, objective laws of motion of society which it found "inconvenient," imperialism adopted a subjective-idealist philosophy of conveni-

ence—an “instrumental” criterion of truth: “truth in our ideas means their power to ‘work,’” declares James (*Pragmatism*, Longmans, Green, New York, 1925, p. 58); “‘the true,’ to put it briefly, is only the expedient in the way of our thinking.” (*Ibid.*, p. 222.)

Apologists for pragmatism have sought to identify James’ glorification of action as the criterion of truth with the primacy of practice in the Marxian doctrine of the unity of theory and practice. However, Lenin sharply differentiated between these two concepts, as when he criticized Ernst Mach’s similar brand of subjective idealism:

“For Mach practice is one thing, and the theory of knowledge another. ‘Cognition,’ says Mach . . . ‘is a biologically useful mental experience. Only success can separate knowledge from error. . . . Understanding is a physical working hypothesis.’ Knowledge may be biologically useful, useful in human practice, in the preservation of the species, but it is useful only when it reflects an objective truth, independent of man. For a materialist, the ‘success’ of human practice proves the correspondence of our representations to the objective nature of the things we perceive. For a solipsist, ‘success’ is restricted to what is needed only in practice, and can be dis severed from the theory of knowledge.” (V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, International Publishers, 1927, pp. 110-11.)

FOR Marxism truth exists objectively, regardless of the desires, satisfactoriness, or convenience of man, individually or collectively. For Marxism, practice as criterion of truth is objective; practice is the generating basis and the ever-renewing test of the knowledge of objective truth. For James the criterion is patently subjective. Accordingly, “if the hypothesis of God works satisfactorily in the widest sense of the word, it is true.” (*Pragmatism*, p. 299.) “A new opinion counts as ‘true’ just in proportion as it gratifies the individual’s desire to assimilate the novel in his experience to his beliefs in stock.” (*Ibid.*, p. 63.) Thus, it would have to follow, if the idea of the “*Herrenvolk*” gratifies the Fuehrer and his Nazi camp, if it is for them “the expedient in the way of [their] thinking,” and if it has for them the power to “work,” that idea is, according to pragmatism, true: it is the “idea” on which their invasions are based, their looting, their raping, and their murdering.

Is it any wonder that this conception of truth as “any idea upon which we can ride,” (*Ibid.*, p. 58.) met with the warm approval of the success-intoxicated Duce of Italian imperialism? (The indebtedness of the irrational in fascismo to the irrational in pragmatismo!) Fascism has succeeded, he roared; ergo it is true. I, Benito Mussolini, can set up a hypothesis that works—like James’ God—an expedient, a myth that I can ride upon! In October 1922,

five days before the Blackshirt march on Rome, Mussolini announced in his bump-tious Naples speech:

“We have created our myth. The myth is a faith, a passion. It does not have to be a reality. It is a reality by being a spur, by being a hope, by being faith, by being courage. Our myth is the Nation, our myth is the greatness of the Nation! And to this myth, to this greatness, which we wish to translate into a complete reality, we subordinate everything else.” (Benito Mussolini, *I Discorsi della Rivoluzione*, Milan, 1923, p. 82.)

James’ genius-interpretation of history, subjective and irrational, stems from his key theory of knowledge, pragmatism.

James’ pragmatist idealism, with its denial of objective reality, its working-hypothesis conception of truth, its “cash-value” norm of practice, and its anti-historical fetishism of genius, lends itself, in these respects, to easy adaptation by the fascist enemies of mankind.

As Donald Cary Williams bluntly puts it, (*Cited work*, p. 119.) “while the positivistic component of pragmatism was a lowering of the guard of democratic intellectualism, the romanticist and activist component was a stab in its back.”

IN ACADEMIC spheres there is a legend that Marxism denies the influence of individuals and the element of accident in historical change. All too often, professors learned their Marxism from other professors who learned their Marxism from—the Scientific Institute of Hearsay. If they approached Marxism with something of the intellectual objectivity which their profession demands, they would discover that its great teachers not only affirm the individual’s role in society, but for the first time explain scientifically the origin, nature, and amplitude of the role.

When Emil Ludwig asked Stalin in 1932: “Do you not see any contradiction between the materialist conception of history and the fact that you, after all, do admit the important role played by historical personalities?”—Stalin replied:

“No, there is no contradiction. Marxism does not deny that prominent personalities play an important role, nor the fact that history is made by people. . . . But, of course, people do not make history according to their own fancy or the promptings of their imagination. Every new generation encounters definite conditions already exist-

ing, ready-made, when that generation was born. And if great people are worth anything at all, it is only to the extent that they correctly understand these conditions and know how to alter them. If they fail to understand these conditions and try to change them according to their own fancies, they will put themselves in a quixotic position.”

Marxism reveals the dialectical relationship of the class and the individual, of society and the individual. The individual realizes his activity, not as an absolute and independent agent, but as a social being within a definite social form, within the conditions of existing property relations, on a given level of development of the forces of production. The role of the individual in class society receives its aim, impetus, mode of operation, and scope of action ultimately from the movement of social classes. “Men make their own history,” Marx says, “but not out of the whole cloth.” Within the framework of class forces, the individual exerts his accelerating or retarding influence on progress; and this influence may at times be tremendous. It is thus that the endowed individuals, in fashioning their biography, fashion history.

Marxism comprehends society in its dynamics, in its complexity and multiformity. It is as alien to mechanistic materialism in which accident and the role of the individual are ruled out from historical development, as it is to the Carlylean “hero” metaphysics. The fatalism of the one and the subjectivism of the other alike result in ignoring or belittling the dynamic political movement of the people, especially the working masses.

Marxism sees the role of the individual in terms of the dialectics of historical necessity and accident. “World history,” Marx wrote, “would . . . be of a very mystical nature, if ‘accidents’ played no part.”¹ In Marxism there is no metaphysical sundering of the accidental and the necessary. On the contrary, they are interpenetrating opposites in the historical process, in which the necessary manifests itself through the movement of a host of accidentals. Marxism, therefore, has struggled on two fronts—against accidentalism and against mechanistic determinism, against subjectivism and against bourgeois “objectivism.” Marx dealt critically with Victor Hugo’s subjectivist approach to Louis Napoleon’s *coup d’etat*, as he did with Proudhon’s “objective” account of that event. In his preface of 1869 to *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx wrote:

¹ Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, International Publishers, p. 125; cf. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, International Publishers, pp. 230 ff.—a remarkable note on the interrelationship of the necessary and the accidental, showing that the so-called strict determinists must inevitably land in the camp of mysticism.



"Victor Hugo confines himself to biting and witty invective against the responsible author of the *coup d'etat*. The event itself appears in his work like a bolt from the blue. He sees in it only the violent act of a single individual. He does not notice that he makes this individual great instead of little by ascribing to him a personal power of initiative such as would be without parallel in world history. Proudhon, for his part, seeks to represent the *coup d'etat* as the result of the antecedent historical development. Unnoticeably, however, the historical exposition of the *coup d'etat* is transformed into an historical *apologia* for its hero. Thus he falls into the error of our so-called *objective* historians. I, on the contrary, demonstrate how the *class struggle* in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part."

AT CERTAIN critical junctures in history an individual may arise who speaks for and symbolizes a social class in a given historical stage. And when that class, in its movement, advances the movement of all society, then the individual represents the concentrated, conscious expression of the forward movement of society. Such was Jefferson, in the days of '76, when the revolutionary American bourgeoisie led the struggle of the entire people for independent nationhood; such was Lenin, a hundred and forty years later, when the Russian proletariat, in emancipating itself, led all of Russia's oppressed to their emancipation. And when, conversely, a social force functions as the center of world reaction, like the German fascist imperialists, then a Hitler or a Goering represents the concentrated expression of the retrogressive forces in world society.

In this sense, the role of the individual in regard to wars and social change acquires a frame of reference by which alone it can be understood.

Through that frame of reference we see why not only the Soviet Union, but all peoples and nations waging the war of national liberation are aided by the deeds and thought of Joseph Stalin. For Stalin represents the historic interpenetration and synthesis of the individual and of progressive society, of the "accidental" and the necessary. The greatness of Stalin is not only an individual, private greatness, it is the greatness of Soviet society, of the people who built that powerful bulwark of the democratic world. Stalin is the true forward-looking son of his epoch—the epoch of man's struggle for a higher democracy. Basing himself on the economic and political realities; rooted in the people, especially the working class and its Party; and guided by Leninist theory, the individually gifted and socially endowed fighter for freedom, Joseph Dzhugashvili, became Joseph Stalin.

The progress of the Soviet Union is the realization of the Bolshevik Party line, of the Marxist vision and the consistent policies of the disciple of Lenin. Stalin has guarded the integrity of the Marxist-Leninist teachings and, demonstrating their living, dynamic character, developed them dialectically, in the new epoch of Socialist construction, into the guiding principles for the victorious advance of the Soviet State, mighty sword of the freedom-loving nations.

THE WAR has placed before us problems of the most pressing urgency, which call for a clear understanding of the social forces that underlie the life-and-death struggle between fascism and democracy.

Opposed to clear understanding of these mighty problems are all accidentalist theories of wars and history. Such theories, as analysis shows, block the scientific, historical conception of social development and lead to a social or political practice that bolsters fascism and reaction.

A signal warning of the danger of "accidentalism" to the war effort of the United Nations and their postwar collaboration was given by Earl Browder following the adoption of the US-Soviet War-Aid Agreement:

"Above all, we must be able to understand that if 'the hopes of civilization rest

on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian army,' this is not an accident, that it arises directly from the most fundamental laws of history, that it is the most natural, and therefore inevitable fact that arises from the common interests of the United Nations, and before all of the United States and the Soviet Union . . .

"If the United Nations are an 'accident,' then they may be broken up at any moment by another 'accident.' Therefore the 'accident' theory becomes the chief weapon of those who want to break up the unity of the United Nations. Those who want to break up this unity are serving the dearest wish of Hitler & Co." (*The Worker*, June 14, 1942.)

We have reached a great turning point in history where chaotic, subjectivist conceptions must give way to scientific thought and policy. The lives of nations must no longer be jeopardized by accidentalist evasions and distortions of the objective course of history. Nations today owe it to themselves to understand the objective course of history in this war. Without such understanding, victory and that peace which must crown the struggle of the United Nations may not be achieved: With it, the united arms of the peoples will battle out an irrevocable victory over fascism and gain a peace that will not easily be shattered.

V. J. JEROME.



"He had just started reading Eugene Lyons when someone took him to see 'Mission to Moscow.'"

LIFE AND DEATH OF A GREAT JEW

EVERYTHING about Chaim Zhitlowsky made you think of the ancient Hebrew seers; there was, in all that this venerable Jewish philosopher wrote and said, a profound conviction that all men are brothers and an unalterable resolution to pursue that conviction regardless of personal hazard. This tribune of Jewry and of all humanity taught, like the prophets of the Testament, the community of mankind. That belief evidenced itself in his serenity and calm confidence. In the deep evening of his life—he was seventy-eight when he died last week—he gathered all his powers, ignoring age's inexorable demands and ills, and he journeyed among his people on this continent with his eternal adjuration, "Unite, brothers, or the enemy will overwhelm us."

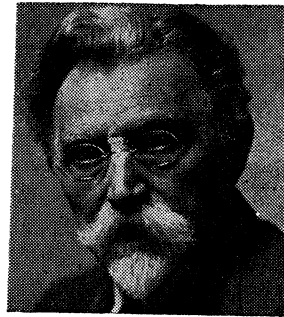
I had wondered, since I came to know Chaim Zhitlowsky this past year, whence this old man derived his strength. There seemed something eternal in his vigor. It seemed, his brave wife told me, that he grew stronger these past years.

He was particularly inspired by the battle waged in the Soviet Union against the common enemy: he had lived to see Jewry's lot alleviated by the social system in that land. There this champion of national liberation, and of socialism (though he was never a Marxist), saw his people freed. This man who fought, as far back as 1885, for the universal recognition of Jewish culture—he fathered the belief that "Yiddish" was a noble language, not a "jargon"—lived to see his people's culture respected, their ageless dreams quickened into reality. What he had fought for half a century ago, when he was one of the founders of a Jewish underground movement in the land of the czars, had come to reality. In his last year he was chosen honorary president of the Jewish Committee of Writers and Artists who championed full unison among Jews in America and in Soviet Russia. And he gave his dying strength to win the unity of this great nation—America—which he loved deeply with that great land from which he sprang—Russia. And so he died, as his wife said, "with his boots on." That was the way he wanted to die, for this great, good man was foremost a soldier.

His wife told me of the last letter she had received from him, from far-away Calgary in Canada. The letter breathed hope and cheer. For in Calgary he found the sizable Jewish community united on the issue of this war—he discovered the Jews, rich and poor, toiling side by side to conquer the enemy. And they realized the Soviet peoples' role in that fight. It was good that he saw the prototype of his dream in this far-off city where death finally caught up with him.

That dream of unity never left him; I remember several long talks we had this past year in which he spoke glowingly of the chances for unbreakable harmony between all men of good will, of all men of democracy. I recall how trenchantly he put it, with characteristic humor: "Some people say I am on Stalin's train; I could say that Stalin is on my train. But what does all that matter? The important thing is that we are all on the same train." Unity against fascism—that was his battle

cry and he waged a pitiless fight to see it realized. He knew that he would lose many old friends and associates, but that never deterred him. For many, many years he had differed with Marxist socialism (he had been one of the leaders of the Social-Revolutionary Party in czarist Russia and had frequently argued with Lenin). He lived long enough to perceive the fruits of Marxist socialism, and he admitted they were undeniable. And he was big enough to admit them publicly. There they blossomed in the groves of Biro-Bidjan, which he recently greeted upon its fifteenth anniversary; there they were in the Constitution of the Soviet Union which makes anti-Semitism a grave crime; they were evidenced in the way the peoples—Mongol, Caucasian, Semitic—fought shoulder to shoulder against the mighty armed hordes of racism. He lived to see Stalin-grad, and he knew the turning point of this greatest of all wars was reached. It was a pity that he died before news of our great victory in North Africa had reached him. He would have seen the historic necessity for the second front near its realization. He had fought hard for that.



Imagine the integrity of this great man: never a Marxist, he like other big men of his time (like former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies) saw at the time of the Moscow trials that the men in the dock were guilty as hell. And he, the Jewish leader, did not hesitate to say so even though some of the guilty were Jews. He said that was not the issue. He said that at a time when many, probably most, of his readers in the *Jewish Day*, where he wrote for twenty-five years, thought otherwise. He knew that many of his readers would be hostile to his stand; he knew that he would fight a lonely battle there, but he fought it. That was characteristic of the man. He was not afraid of abuse: he had his share of it. For the last two decades the *Jewish Forward* followed a rule never to mention his name, not even in advertisements.

And but a few weeks ago, he saw the Alter and Ehrlich executions in their true light. He knew then his stand against them would draw once again the unbridled ire of the Social-Democratic leaders, particularly among the Jews in this country—men who had been his associates for many years, but he did not hesitate. He spoke the truth as he saw it. The pressures upon him were undeniably great—they called him a "tool of Moscow" and the other epithets reserved for such occasions, but the aged man went on a platform at Carnegie Hall and powerfully expressed his unreserved agreement that these men were traitors to their people and that traitors deserved death.

I SHALL always keep a picture of him in my mind; I frequently encountered him walking on the highway near his home, lost in thought, brooding, I felt, upon the terrible wrongs his people were suffering today. I shall always remember the eternally youthful eyes in that old, serene face, and as he walked along, bent by age, helped by his cane, I thought of him as the figure of the Eternal Jew.

It was a long road he traveled—through czarism to this day. Much of it was a lonely road; many old friends had turned away from him, and he undoubtedly suffered over that. But he knew they, not he, were the losers; he had won through to the millions who owned the future. Thus lived a brave, great Jew; thus died Chaim Zhitlowsky.

READERS' FORUM

A Note from Upton Sinclair

TO NEW MASSES: The editor of NEW MASSES asks me to tell my reactions on winning the Pulitzer prize.

I got the news of the award from the editor of the daily newspaper in the small California town to which I am moving because I found a fire-proof house in it. My first remark to the editor was "I couldn't be any more surprised if you should tell me that I had been named King of Siam." My second remark was: "I will buy a \$500 war bond for my wife."

Of course it is very pleasant to know that the world agrees with you after so many years of disagreement. How long this happy state will last I do not know, but I will make hay while the sun shines. My publisher tells me that his firm has voted an appropriation of \$10,000 to advertise the third and fourth volumes of the Lanny Budd series—*Dragon's Teeth* and *Wide Is the Gate*. At the same time the motion picture studios have suddenly discovered that these two anti-Nazi books existed, and my agents also are making hay while the sun shines. I am pleased, because just now it is possible to make real anti-Nazi pictures, and an author of such books doesn't have to fear that his work will be mutilated.

The publishers of *Omnibook* magazine have brought out in their April issue a condensation of *Wide Is the Gate*, and have reprinted it in smaller form for the men overseas, and this also is a cause of satisfaction to an author. Not long ago I received, by registered mail, a long delayed copy of the Russian edition of *International Literature* which had something over fifty pages of a condensation of *Dragon's Teeth*. I think that it is probably the same condensation which *Omnibook* published a year ago, although I cannot be sure of this since my knowledge of Russian is limited. Anyhow, my Russian readers have had the story before them for several months, and also they have read a review of the book which occupied about a third of one of the four pages of *Pravda* at the end of last December.

I am told that this is a very unusual compliment, and it is duly appreciated by the author. I have dedicated *Wide Is the Gate* as follows:

"To my millions of friends in the Soviet Union, who, while this book was being written, have been defending our common cause."

I have sent copies of this book to the editor of *International Literature*, and also I will send him the *Omnibook* condensation, and probably in due course my Russian readers will learn about this book.

That is all the news, except that I am getting to work on the fifth volume which I am calling, tentatively, *Broad Is the Way*. I will cover the period from the siege of Madrid, through the Munich appeasement, and down to the escape of the British Army at Dunkirk. No writer could

ask for a greater story. All that this writer can promise is to do his best.
Pasadena, Calif.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

Meeting a Challenge

TO NEW MASSES: In response to the challenge posed in Richard O. Boyer's column, we are happy to report that an organization with a definite win-the-war program and a cohesive plan of action to achieve it has been set up. Our organization is beginning to function effectively here in Los Angeles. We take our name, Committee of Correspondence, from the militant group mentioned in Mr. Boyer's column, The Committee of Correspondence of pre-Revolutionary War days. The aims of our organization are similar to theirs, the unification of the people and their activation around a win-the-war program.

Our meetings are held regularly each week and are made up of people from the neighborhoods. The order of business for the groups is the discussion of legislative issues demanding action and the writing of individual letters as well as group letters which bear the signatures of all members present. These letters are addressed to the appropriate authorities.

At present there are many such groups functioning in Los Angeles. Our plan now is to contact mass organizations such as the trade unions and fraternal groups, several of which have already shown active interest in our work.

A system of registration of groups as they form has been set up by an executive committee which acts as a central body for the respective committees. A bi-weekly action letter is issued by the executive committee, pointing questions and helping to channelize the activity of the groups.

We would appreciate your publicizing our work and urging groups to form and register with us so that we can become a powerful people's pressure group to direct government policy toward the speedy winning of the war.

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

ANNETTE SLATER, *Secretary*.

To a Russian Cousin

TO NEW MASSES: Russian War Relief and the National Council of American Soviet Friendship are campaigning for letters and postcards from Americans to their Russian allies. The following letter is a response to this campaign. May I urge the reader to do likewise?

Dear Cousin Leo: We have never seen each other, but our grandfathers were boys together in the little town of Tulchin, a town of the Ukraine, a town the Nazis hold now. My grandfather came to America, so that his children might escape czarism and grow up free in a land of equal opportunity. And yours, in Russia, helped transform the gloomy czarist prison into a land of freedom and equal oppor-

tunity for all. Here in America I have grown up to be a poet; and you—letters have told me about you. When you were very little, in the village school, the teacher discovered you had musical talent. So your family was asked to move to Moscow, where good jobs were waiting for them, in order to let you study at the best conservatory at the state's expense. They accepted, and you grew up to be a concert violinist, an artist of the Russian people—you who in czarist days would have been locked in the ghetto all your life.

Then the fascists came, with their new ghettos and their mass murder, over the burned wheat-fields, into the sunlit Ukraine towns. And you are in the Red Army now, fighting those bandits; and I, in America, am fighting as well as I can in the same battle, with my words. Without you and your comrades, the afternoon sunlight on New York now would be darkened with fiery explosions and smoke and blood—like the sunlight where you are. Soon, I hope, our American armies will cross to Europe and strike at the heart of fascism, so that we will pick up our share of the load you are carrying.

The people of the United States, these days, are writing to their Russian brothers, to say in words what the ships bearing arms to Murmansk have already said, and what the second front must say soon in action. The words are comradeship, a shared burden, and a shared ideal. So I am writing to you, cousin, to whom the Soviet power gave a man's life with honor, who may be giving the Soviet people that life while I write. We fight together.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

March to Freedom

TO NEW MASSES: Twenty thousand anti-fascist New Yorkers can participate in a tremendous demonstration for the invasion of Europe now and for unity of the home front and of our Allies, by joining the IWO "March to Freedom" to be presented at Madison Square Garden on May 23.

That production will present the unity role of national groups. The voices of thousands will mingle in the folk songs of all nations, and thousands of hands will clap out the beat of folk dance rhythms. In dramatic sequence, the audience will see the people in action against oppression: a guerrilla band in Czechoslovakia, a meeting of the People's Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia, an underground school in Poland.

The pageant will honor the parents and wives of the men of the IWO battling against the Axis. Soldiers of industry awarded the coveted "E" will also be honored, and a special section of the pageant will be devoted to our Jewish Heroes, commemorating National Jewish Heroes Day. Proceeds will further finance the Gift-a-Month project of the IWO National Servicemen's Welfare Fund.

Based upon Vice-President Wallace's speech on the "Century of the Common Man," the pageant tells the story of the peoples' long struggle for freedom, through the American, European, and Russian revolutionary wars.

An overflow audience is the essential heart of such a demonstration. Only the people beyond the stage can make this pageant a tremendous contribution to the opening of a second front and the winning of the peoples' war.

EUGENE KONECKY.

IWO Publications Director



WRONG ON ALL COUNTS

Rhine wine in new bottles. "America, Russia, and the Communist Party," by George S. Counts and John L. Childs, will help Berlin's propaganda ministry. A review by A. Landy.

NOTHING is more natural today than the public discussion of America and the Soviet Union; indeed, enlightened discussion of the relations between these two great countries is clearly one of the nation's ranking necessities. But a public which has had ample opportunity to acquaint itself with the anti-Soviet technique of the Dies committee will have no difficulty in recognizing that the discussion of America, Russia, and the Communist Party is a horse of a different color. On the face of it such a formulation of the question is no invitation to enlightenment; it is cast neither in the temper nor the pattern of fruitful discussion. By its very nature it is merely a restatement of a long cultivated prejudice in the form of a premise for public debate, and as such, automatically precludes any constructive outcome. Before there can even be a discussion, therefore, one must recognize that this is precisely the form of the question to which the enemies of American-Soviet friendship have tried so hard to restrict the debate this past decade in an effort to utilize the fear of Communism to predetermine the alignment of nations in favor of fascism.

Of course, whoever wishes to take part in public life today must be prepared to discuss all questions, regardless of their character or their form. But then, he must also be prepared to assume the obligations imposed by such discussion; and the obligation is to distinguish between simple questions and false issues which can be used as a political weapon against our nation's interests. After all, politics is the calculation of consequences, and what else is public discussion but a form of politics?

THESE are some of the considerations one must keep in mind on reading the little book by Professors Childs and Counts (*America, Russia, and the Communist Party*. John Day. \$2.75). If anyone picks up this book with the expectation of enjoying a bona fide discussion of a bona fide question, he will be quickly disappointed. And because this book is not what it appears to be, any discussion of the matter must necessarily concern the book's subject less than the book itself.

Indeed, this is not just a book; it is a political platform designed to influence the outcome of the current debate on the future of our Soviet relations. It is only in

relation to this debate, which has assumed the form of a sharp struggle within those circles of the bourgeoisie who otherwise are committed to a United Nations victory over Hitler, that one can understand the full significance of this tract, presented as a report by an American Federation of Teachers Commission. Quite plainly it is not calculated to strengthen the forces or the will for full and unreserved collaboration with the Soviet Union, and can only reinforce the mounting clamor of those reactionary forces that are pressing for a negotiated peace in a desperate effort to prevent Hitler's total defeat by a two-front war in Europe. Because of this, it must be said at once that this book is no contribution to American-Soviet friendship, despite its pretense in this direction. It is beyond any doubt a malicious and dangerous tract, a revised version of the "Communazi" incitement of 1939 vintage. The only contribution it makes is to the ideological arsenal of Herbert Hoover and Martin Dies. If half of the book appears to be a plea for friendship with the Soviet Union, it is only to prepare the reader to accept in good faith the anti-Soviet thesis of the other half. Far from being a plea for better relations in the future, it is actually an instrument

for disrupting such relations today.

This can be seen from the main thesis of the book. In essence, that thesis is that Communism is a menace, that the "menace of Communism" is the chief issue in any discussion of postwar relations, and that peace or war in the future consequently depends upon the Soviet Union. True, the book attempts to demonstrate this thesis by appearing to direct its attack solely against the Communist Party of the United States, and of course the Communist International. But it is indicative of the real objectives of this attack that, while it pretends to make a distinction between American Communists and the Soviet Union, the arguments used to execute this attack depend entirely on demonstrating that there is and can be no such distinction!

The anti-Soviet bias is apparent even in those parts of the book which seem to be most objective and friendly to the Soviet Union. It is reflected in an arrogance of presentation which is studiously avoided in the sections on the United States; the adjectives of derogation are directed exclusively against our Soviet ally. But this bias is expressed not only in stylistic devices; the entire book is permeated with glib and unfounded statements about the Soviet Union presented as facts, with historical misrepresentations which serve as the basis for unprincipled casuistry; theoretical shallowness breaks through all attempts of the authors to speak with authority supposedly derived from knowledge and experience which they obviously do not have. Despite their apparent tribute to the Soviet Union as a great modern and progressive country whose collaboration they regard as vital for peace; despite their insistence that such postwar collaboration must be with the Soviet Union as a socialist state, their overall picture of the Soviet Union hardly omits a single anti-Soviet slander accumulated during the past quarter of a century.

THE authors are compelled to acknowledge the reality of the threat of capitalist encirclement during this whole period. They even recognize this threat as the key to Soviet policies throughout this time. Nevertheless, they prefer to outweigh the admitted anti-Soviet intrigues of the capitalist states with alleged counter-intrigues of the Soviet Union through the agency of the Communist International and the Communist Parties.



Zuny Maud

So much is it their single purpose to demonstrate the culpability of the Soviet Union that even when they contend that both the United States and the Soviet Union are responsible for putting obstacles in the way of future peace between them, the only conclusion they draw is this: that it is up to the Soviet Union alone "to decide whether she wants peace or war"—a decision which she could only make, of course, by granting that the Communist Party is her agent and by ordering it dissolved. To be sure, this exposes the hollowness of their claim that they are only attacking the Communist Party of the United States: it also shows the extent to which their whole thesis suffers from an incurable contradiction—an ostensible effort to promote a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union *on the basis of an anti-Soviet premise which excludes any possibility of such friendship*. The point here, of course, is that the conclusion they reach, in each instance, corresponds to the anti-Soviet premise in their logic, never their alleged friendship for the Soviet Union.

IN PURSUIT of this anti-Soviet bias, professors Childs and Counts do not hesitate to ignore the evidence of their own data or to attribute conceptions to the Soviet Union which exist only in their own imagination. Thus, with the help of the war, they discover three serious flaws "in certain of the dogmas of the Communist revolutionary philosophy."

First: the dogma "that all of the so-called capitalist powers would inevitably combine to destroy the Soviet Union." Aside from the fact that they themselves acknowledge the reality of the threat, their own data shows that the Soviet Union was actually attacked or invaded at various times by all the major imperialist powers of the world. Far from making a dogma out of this threat, the Soviet Union has pursued a policy to prevent this potential threat from becoming an inevitable one. If I am not mistaken, it is precisely the pursuit of this policy and its support by the Communists everywhere which Professors Counts and Childs so bitterly attack as Soviet interference with other countries.

Second: the dogma that the class sentiments of the workers are stronger than their national sentiments. Needless to say, if any country has demonstrated a profound understanding of the relationship between class and national sentiments, it has been the Soviet Union. Had it entertained such a simple-minded version of complicated social phenomena as imputed to it by Counts and Childs, it would hardly have been able to achieve the distinction of being the only country in the world that successfully solved the national question. And if this fact, which was universally acknowledged before the war, is not sufficient to satisfy the exacting requirements of professorial standards, then surely the unprecedented demonstration of the Soviet Union's ability

to wage a patriotic war of national defense should have been sufficient to discourage any such glib assertions. But then that would not have served Counts' and Childs' purpose. As it is, attributing such a "dogma" to the Soviet Union and the Communists, in flagrant violation of the record, lends plausibility to the general description of both of them as principal and agent in a conspiracy to undermine the American government! For, if the Communists are motivated only by class sentiments to the exclusion of national sentiments, then surely their supposed disloyalty to the nation would have no bar in principle, conscience, or morality. It need not be emphasized that such imputations and innuendos are hardly calculated to eliminate the prejudices which interfere with effective American-Soviet collaboration.

Third: the dogma that "the processes and institutions of democracy in a capitalistic regime are predestined to fail any who rely upon them to bring about fundamental reconstructions in the economy," since the state in all capitalistic societies, "is, by its very nature," only a "perfected tool of the owning and exploiting class." In plain English, this means belief in the inevitability of force and violence as the instruments of fundamental social change.

If the Soviet Union had foolish fears that the capitalist states of the world might combine against it; if it underestimated and ignored the sentiments of national patriotism—these, in a sense, were only negative vices which led it to engage in conspiracy against established governments. But now we see from this third "dogma" that the Communist philosophy even provides a theoretical justification for this conspiracy, its alleged belief in the inevitability of a violent and cataclysmic overthrow of these capitalist governments. Naturally, the professors assure us that events have proved how utterly groundless such a dogma is. But if they also happen to drive home the point, so thoroughly beloved by Martin Dies, that the Soviet Union and the Communists are enemies of democracy and unreconstructed advocates of force and violence, that is only incidental to their argument for postwar collaboration with the Soviet Union!

FOR the rest, let no one imagine that the professors have to depend on such paltry innuendoes to discredit this Bolshevik dogma. They have the surer weapon of scientific theory, which prompts them to the sage opinion that the state has no such metaphysical nature as attributed to it by the Communists; the state is only what it does. Is it beside the point that Communists never held that the political machinery of the capitalist state could not be used in the democratic struggle? Then surely scholars of Counts' and Childs' standing must be aware that, with all of its freedom of action, the capitalist state can never be anything but a *capitalist* state—which

means simply that even it is not free from the underlying laws which flow from the class character of capitalist economy and which undoubtedly affect its behavior, at least to the extent of setting the limits of what this state can do and providing the framework within which its actions must take place.

It is, of course, pointless to complain that Childs and Counts have no actual understanding of the Marxist theory which they presume to judge and condemn. But it is not so pointless to note that this hit-and-run treatment of basic theoretical questions, on the gamble that no one will take down the license number, fits into the familiar pattern of emphasizing their anti-Soviet premise while apparently promoting American-Soviet friendship.

THESE "dogmas" and their "flaws" are put in the record by them, however, only as a theoretical overture to their main theme that friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union depend upon the dissolution of the Communist Party in this country. And here their hostility to the Soviet Union emerges full tide; even the pretense of objectivity disappears in its wake. For them, the mere existence of the Communist Party is automatic proof of a Soviet conspiracy, although they bow and scrape in an effort to reassure the Soviet Union that they only say this for its own good.

That the existence of a bond of sympathy between the Communist movement of the world and the Soviet Union is hardly unique or an indication of a sinister relationship can be seen from the sympathy and support exhibited toward the USSR by entire nations in this war. But Counts and Childs prefer to popularize the Goebels line of the "menace of Bolshevism." They prefer to ignore what every enlightened American knows from the experience of American democracy in the days of its revolutionary origin—that such sympathy and support is the most natural thing in the world, and that if there is any conspiracy it emanates from the reactionary enemies of human progress.

Counts and Childs may wish to forget it, but progressive Americans remember very well how much sympathy and support our revolutionary Republic evoked among European democrats and how, a few years later, democrats in the United States reciprocated by rallying to the support of the French Revolution. They remember the calumnies that were directed against Thomas Jefferson and his party for this support. But above all, they understand the main lesson of that epoch, that the attitude toward the new French Revolution was the decisive test of a true democrat in the United States, just as the test of a democrat in Europe was his attitude toward the new American republic. We can hardly forget that Professor Counts himself wrote a book in 1938 called *The Prospects of*

American Democracy in which he also noted the great attraction which the young American republic had for the oppressed of Europe during a whole century following its establishment. To an unprejudiced mind this should have been evidence that the influence of democracy and freedom in one part of the world would naturally be felt in every other part of the world, no matter how many demagogic charges of "foreign agent" were hurled at the democrats on both sides of the ocean by the reactionaries of their respective countries.

BUT how do Counts and Childs evaluate this same phenomenon in relation to the Russian Revolution today? Instead of acknowledging that the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the earth would necessarily have a profound and lasting effect on the socialist movements everywhere and that their attitude toward the Soviet Union would henceforth be the acid test of true socialism, they conclude that these movements are only "agencies" of the Soviet government. Using doubletalk as their medium of expression, they start out by recognizing that this revolution represented the triumph of a part of the "world workers' movement," but end up by attributing this world movement to the Soviet Revolution.

If we are to accept the claims of Counts and Childs, they want to dissolve the Communist Party for the sake of Soviet-American collaboration. They even have the highest praise for the Soviet Union and call for the dissolution of the Communist Party here in the name of the welfare of the Soviet and American people. But what is the indictment against the Communist Party of the United States? The first count in this indictment is the charge that the Communist Party is a Moscow creation, entirely subservient to a foreign power, the Soviet people; and hence that its "supreme loyalty is not to the American people."

The other counts are cut out of the same cloth: the Communist philosophy is the product of foreign minds (Marx and Engels); the Communist Party is interested in overthrowing capitalism; it places the interests of the Party above the welfare of any other group; the Communist leaders do not consider themselves bound by the standards of ordinary group morality; the party is conspiratorial in its nature, tyrannical in the enforcement of its policies, and alien in its organization and procedures. Generally the existence of such a party is a disservice to the Soviet Union, aside from the fact that like any "totalitarian political movement," whether "fascist or Communist in origin, control, or purpose," it negates the moral foundations of democracy.

Now it should be evident that if the Communist Party is all these things, then Moscow, to which it is allegedly subservient, is all these things, too. If these are the kind of agents Moscow uses, how can any-

one trust or collaborate with Moscow itself? If there is an unbridgeable moral abyss between American democracy and the Communists, what moral basis is there for cooperation with a country which allegedly directs such people? If the American Communists are "a totalitarian political movement," fundamentally akin to fascism, then the Soviet government is likewise of a totalitarian anti-democratic nature. In a word, if the Communist Party is no good, and first of all because it is a creature of the Soviet Union, then what right have Counts and Childs to argue that it is no good because its very existence is a disservice to the Soviet Union? What right have they to pretend that they are only directing their attacks against the Communist Party of the United States?

BUT let us take the separate arguments. According to Counts and Childs, the Soviet Union, under Stalin's leadership, has been pursuing a consistent policy of friendship and cooperation with the United States. If the Communist Party of the United States is an agent of the Soviet government, as they charge, then the American Communists would hardly interfere with American-Soviet collaboration. Certainly the fact that they have advocated such collaboration for twenty-five years, one of the alleged marks of their subservience to the Soviet Union, is scarcely evidence of a desire to prevent such collaboration. The Communists could be regarded as an obstacle to the collaboration of the American and Soviet peoples on the basis of the Counts-Childs premise, only if the Soviet government were out to undermine the United States, its institutions, and its government. Actually Counts and Childs advance this proposition also, from which it is obvious that they do not believe their own assertions about the Soviet Union's desire for peaceful collaboration. What this duality of argument does show is that they believe there is a contradiction of interests and aims between the people of the United States and the Soviet Union based on fundamental differences in their social systems. In short, they do not object to the American Communists because they are supposedly Soviet agents, but because like Communists everywhere they are opponents of capitalism. What they object to, therefore, is that there is a party of Communism at all, not only in the United States but anywhere else in the world. Plainly, then, their real objection is not to the small party of Communists in the United States, but to the living demonstration of its principles in the Soviet Union!

This is seen in connection with the second charge against the Communist Party, that it is committed "to the philosophy of a proletarian world revolution." According to Childs and Counts, the Soviet government, under Stalin's leadership, has given up its supposed policy of world revolution. But if the American Communists

are Soviet agents, as they charge, then surely they would not be pursuing a policy of "proletarian world revolution." They could be regarded as doing that, on the basis of the Childs-Counts premise, only if the Soviet government were committed to that policy. Actually, Counts and Childs advance this claim also, repeating their procedure of contradictory assertions, only this time by the method of indirection. Thus, they assure us that Moscow has given up the policy of world revolution, but since they say the American Communists have not, the American Communists find themselves in an anomalous position "because, *presumably* this world revolutionary objective is no longer a primary concern of the Soviet Union." Obviously this is only another way of saying that the Soviet Union *is* concerned with world revolution, though not in the first place! When we recall that according to Childs and Counts the policy of world revolution means a policy of war, it should be evident that they do not have the American Communists primarily in mind, but the Soviet Union when they speak of "commitment to world revolution." No wonder they are so ready to assert that the future peace of the world depends upon the Soviet Union's behavior!

The chief indictment against the Communist Party, the charge that it is subservient to a foreign power, is of course the most explicit indication of the author's real position. It is the language, the concept, and mode of expression of Martin Dies. As a method of political warfare, it has an ancient lineage. Whatever else changes, it remains the same doctrine, that sympathy and support for the revolutions of the people add up to foreign agency and conspiracy, and consequently disloyalty to your own nation. Intellectually it is the most contemptible of all, because it is pure and unadulterated demagoguery.

What it says in effect is that since socialism has triumphed on one part of the earth and therefore exists as a "foreign power" in relation to other states, the supporters of the socialist ideal in the United States cannot possibly serve to improve American-Soviet relations because, by their very support of the Soviet Union and the ideal for which it stands, they are convicted of disloyalty to the United States! It would be much more honest to say outright: We have no objection to the socialist ideal of the workers of the world, but if only it had never achieved state power on one part of the globe, there would have been no foreign power to embarrass its separate national homelands. As long as socialism was never realized anywhere, the world was its birthright; now, that it has been achieved on a sixth of the earth, it is *only* a foreign power!

Generally, can the test of loyalty to the American *people* ever be anything other than what is also a test of loyalty to all peoples, including the Soviet people?

ON THE same level with this talk about "subservience to a foreign power" is the indictment of the Communist Party because its philosophy had its origin in the minds of foreigners, that is Marx and Engels. Moscow-controlled or not, the Communist Party is an alien influence in American society because its philosophy was first formulated by men who were not born or raised in the United States. Reading these lines from the pens of two self-styled educators and internationalists, it is easy to experience the optical illusion that we are seeing Dies and Goebbels dressed up as a couple of professors.

To condemn the Communist Party because its principles are the product of "nineteenth century European revolutionary dogma" and yet, in the same book, to declare that these principles triumphed in Russia and were loyally adhered to for twenty-five years and that the war has proved to the American people the soundness of the achievements based on these principles—this is hardly an assurance of consistent and unbiased judgment, to say the least. Surely, these principles, stemming from the Germans, Marx and Engels, were also "foreign" to Russia!

It is not difficult to add up the meaning of all these double arguments. Counts and Childs claim that they reject not only the position of those who want no collaboration with the Soviet Union, but also the position of those who say we have nothing in common with the Soviet Union now but a common foe, a position whose logic is to reject collaboration with the Soviet Union after the war and consequently to avoid genuine collaboration now. It is only too plain that Counts and Childs occupy the position of bridge between the two, those that don't want collaboration now and those that don't want it in the future.

IT is true, the professors raise only a little demand—the destruction of the Communist Party of the United States. But then they too have learned the great lesson of our decade: that, in the language of today's political realities, the demand for just a little thing means one little thing at a time until the situation and the time become favorable for taking all things big and little. What Counts and Childs seem to have overlooked is that the man who taught them this lesson also taught all humanity that the most terrible crimes are perpetrated in the name of destroying the "menace of Communism" in one country at a time until no country has escaped. The anti-Communist phobia has no geographical prejudices; it respects no territorial boundaries. As the history of the past ten years has demonstrated, its chief function has been to clear the way for fascist world conquest. To pretend that it can now be confined to a domestic existence; that we can convert it to purely American uses, is not folly; it is outright treason.

Let us assume that Counts and Childs

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had their way. What they propose as a course of action and policy for the United States might appear to Americans an internal domestic matter; but to the world outside, with which we have highly important relations, it would appear immediately as the triumph of those forces who stand for the anti-Comintern line, the line of our Axis enemies. Is it not the sheerest naivete, or better still, political deception, to imagine that a country which pursues a policy of suppressing the Communist Party can fail to give sympathetic support to fascist forces elsewhere, fascist Spain, for example, which not only executes its own Communists but sends Blue Legions to the Eastern Front to kill our Communist allies? Or that a country with such a policy can cooperate with the democratic forces of other countries in which the Communists are an important and in most cases a leading element? Surely, no one in this day and age can believe that there is no connection between domestic and foreign policy. If there are people that do, out of sheer political naivete, then it is obvious that people with such a dangerous shortcoming must never be allowed to shape or influence public policy in this world of terrible realities.

Hostility to Communism in the United States is inseparable from hostility to Communism in the Soviet Union just as during Jefferson's time hostility to democracy in France inevitably meant hostility to democracy in the United States and was expressed by the same social forces. All the rationalization, all the diplomatic tight-rope walking and specious arguments and sophistry, cannot hide this underlying fact.

THE issue is not whether to accept or not to accept Communism, but whether to fight or submit to the anti-Communist line of our enemy, its chief weapon for our destruction. And while Counts and Childs

may claim to want only the suppression of the American Communists, the question that is actually being decided in the United States is whether we shall follow the Goebels-Dies Communist-bogey line of negotiated peace with Hitler and coalition against the Soviet Union or the line of coalition with the Soviet Union for the total defeat of Hitlerism. These are the dynamics of the real situation in which the artificial distinctions of Childs and Counts are imaginary lines which the living forces simply transgress and never observe. The alternative is either to accept the paralysis of the anti-Communist phobia which the enemy of our national independence wants to induce or to fight it with all the energy and desperation of national self-preservation. There is no middle ground; there is no other question.

This is one question America cannot afford to decide on hearsay or prejudice. It is a question concerning which we must stand on the heights of democratic principle, guided by enlightened thought, and moved by the boldness and courage of great character. And it will not be the accumulated prejudices, the callous misrepresentations and calculated defamation of history's most advanced achievement that will influence and sway the final judgment. That has been made impossible by the blood of millions of Soviet people, by the heroism and devotion of the Communists in all countries to the cause of freedom and national independence. The democratic stream is irresistible and in that stream is also the Communist current. Let no one make the mistake of misjudging what democracy means in this titanic world struggle. Those who wish to live by illusions may have the pleasure of deceiving themselves; but they have no right to deceive others. Life will see to it that they don't.

A. LANDY.

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heard tell of in quite a time. If such versatility, charm, and diversified acquaintance seem sometimes a bit unlikely, that is not Mr. Sinclair's point.

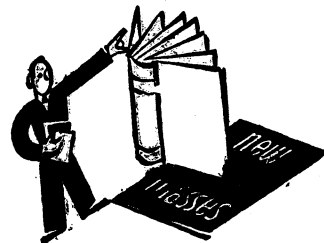
Lanny is merely the mirror in which we see the stupidity and malice that operated during the between-wars years to bring us down to the political chaos ending in war. And thereby it's all to the good that he can get around at will and does know (no matter how) such a number of disparate people. Robert Briffault, for instance, in his *Europa* and *Europa in Limbo* more exhaustively and, with somewhat greater probability examined the decay and moldy brilliance of the rich and titled of the period, but he gave no such broad social picture and, since he ignored the growing militancy and organization of the people, in which Mr. Sinclair's Lanny plays some part, there is, with Briffault, no hope of anything to come.

AS FAR as Lanny's own life goes, this fourth book of it opens in 1934 with the funeral of Freddi Robin, the brilliant young German Socialist writer and teacher, whom Lanny had previously bought and finagled out of a concentration camp, and it marks the death of a period as well as the death of Freddi: the period in which a Jewish Socialist could live with his capitalist father, and they had a yacht that could take them freely anywhere in the world. The lines are strictly drawn now, and they become increasingly so as Lanny tries to maintain his position as non-participating man of good will.

Yet try as he would to live quietly in England, acting politely as the rich Mr. Irma Barnes, there were always troubling political discussions with Eric Pomeroy-Nielson, the leftist playwright, and most disturbing of all, messages and appeals for funds from Trudi Schultz, one of his friends in the German underground, so that he was always having to trump up excuses to keep his wife from finding out the real reason for his little trips to Berlin.

Or when he was peacefully playing the piano and swimming with his wife and daughter at Bienvenu, his loved home near Cannes, he would get a postcard from a newspaper friend, suggesting that he look in on the verbiage and hypocrisies of the Stresa Conference, where everybody agreed politely that Hitler should be stopped, but that nothing could be done about it. And Lanny would begin to think again, a very dangerous habit for the husband of Irma Barnes.

Indeed, he kept on with his dreadful activities with people Irma didn't care to know, until she up and left him in Salzburg. What directly brought that on was a trip to Germany, during which it became imperative to smuggle Trudi Schultz over the Austrian border, via Berchtesgaden, where Irma was delighted at a chance to meet Hitler. Everything he said seemed so



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sensible to that proprietress of \$23,000,000 that she was more than ever annoyed with Lanny and his Reds, and off she went.

So Lanny was free again to wander around through the contrasting worlds of the middle thirties: to America to see his father, to England to see Rick, to Paris to see Trudi, here and there to look at pictures, and back to Bienvenu for his sun and his piano and work in the Socialist school he helped maintain in Cannes. And with the Spanish director of that school, Raoul Palma, Lanny went to Spain in July 1936. It was quite a trip. For one thing, Lanny found an unknown Goya in a decrepit old castle, where no one had the slightest idea of its value. For another, he and Raoul were impartially shot at by both sides (usually accidentally) in the beginning of the war, when no one knew where the lines were. Raoul stayed in Barcelona to fight, but for the sake of his picture business, Lanny took the Goya back to France, where he found he could do nothing but watch the "non-intervention" betrayal of the Spanish republic.

He did make a trip to America, to try to turn the Goya money into a plane for the loyalists, but even though his father knew that Goering was stealing his patents and you can't do business with Nazis, he still refused to sell a plane for cold cash to those Spanish Reds who, as Goebbels would have it, soaked nuns in oil and burned them.

But though no one in the "civilized" world seemed to care what happened to Spain, it was under Lanny's skin, and further, Alf Pomeroy-Nielson, Rick's son, wanted to volunteer. So back to Madrid he went, in November, and reached it just on the day when the first of the International Brigade arrived for the defense of the city. That is something about which most people have read a number of times before, yet in Mr. Sinclair's hands the account of it becomes so real, the relief, the hope, the strength, the courage so immediate, that it brings you out of your chair cheering for the human race and ready to fight with your head up for the goals to which those men of all nations were marching.

But the novelist of affairs cannot involve his protagonist too deeply in one current of history to the exclusion of others. The whole story and significance of the fascist attack in Spain are of more importance than the behavior of an art expert. So Lanny finished his picture deal, instead of following the marching columns to the Toledo Bridge, and went back to France, where Trudi was being trailed by the Gestapo. Lanny, who had been falling somewhat in love with her for some time, took her off to safety in England and married her—but without publicity, because that would interfere with the picture business.

The picture business was fairly good, and the season on the Riviera was rather

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Theodore R. Bassett

Thomas E. Dewey: His Record
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DOCUMENTS

May Day Manifesto of the Communist Party

Note of the Soviet Government on the Decision to Suspend Relations With the Polish Government.

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To
JOSEPH NORTH

Editor, NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street, New York, N. Y.

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brilliant, but Lanny hadn't had any excitement for quite a while, so when the news came that Alfie was wounded and a prisoner of Franco, off went Lanny to take part in a spy story episode a good deal more thrilling than many between covers. It involved a waiter with republican sympathies, a bribable fascist captain, negotiations with a minor smuggler on the Portuguese border, quarts of chicken's blood all over the place, a pretended shooting of Alfie, and a happy ending with everybody safely back where he came from.

YET these are only the bare bones of Lanny's story and make little sense without the full background which Mr. Sinclair has provided. There are the antics of the rich and the pretensions of impoverished nobility, all portrayed with considerable satirical skill. There are a number of portraits of the short-sighted and reactionary rulers of France and of Robbie Budd, Lanny's father, whose greatest talent was selling munitions. The larger political events of the period (elections in many countries, the militarization of the Rhineland, the Ethiopian War) are worked artfully into conversations with various people. We see, too, the workings of Nazi "cultural" advance agents: George Sylvester Viereck (known as Forrest Quadratt) and the fictional Kurt Meissner, the foremost Nazi composer, who enchanted Paris drawing-rooms. There are the lonely and frightened last days of the sinister Sir Basil Zaharoff, who, in the midst of his riches and medals, only wished to find a medium who could bring him his dead Duquesa and to avoid the angry ghosts that troubled his dreams. And opposed to the vanities and hatreds of *le grande monde* are always the courage and faith of the anti-fascist fighters: the German underground, the workers of France, the Spanish people, individuals like the Pomeroy-Nielsons, father and son, and like Bess and Hansi Robin, the brilliant Communist violinist and his accompanist-wife, who worked unceasingly, recital after recital, to raise money for the countless causes that needed it desperately.

It is a broad and a rich tapestry we have here. Some of the figures may have been a bit conventionalized to fit into the frame, but it is a painless way of reviewing recent history, of re-examining the mistakes and their inevitable consequences, and of drawing renewed conviction that they shall not happen again. SALLY ALFORD.

A few days after the above review was sent to the printer, the news came that Upton Sinclair had been awarded the Pulitzer prize for his novel "Dragon's Teeth." NEW MASSES congratulates the author—and the Pulitzer Award Committee on its excellent choice. Mr. Sinclair's own reactions to the award are expressed in our "Readers' Forum" on page 21 of this issue.—THE EDITORS.

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DEATHS AND A WARNING

Two films which combine grim power with a lesson that needs teaching. . . . A magnificent arraignment of lynching and a revelation of the danger of loose talk in war.

AS IF to prove that the new dispensation in Hollywood extends beyond war films, *The Ox-Bow Incident* uses the hackneyed Wild-West setting as background for something rich and strange. The cowboy rides into the little town, as he did in all the Westerns of our childhood. He hitches his horse outside the familiar bar. News comes of cattle rustlers and a murder, and the posse rides out. All this is old stuff in the telling, yet on the screen it is new and grim and vital. For these are not the idealized cowboys of the horse opera, mere silhouettes of people. They are the real people of that vanished West. And the film is the story of the lynching of three innocent men.

It happens in the West of 1875 or thereabouts, yet to our shame it might have happened last month in Georgia. Lynchers have learned to wear hoods and conceal their faces nowadays, if that makes any difference. In *The Ox-Bow Incident* the renegade Confederate colonel who leads the mob is proud of himself and sure of his position; he needs no mask. The brutal deputy sheriff, the vicious hag who rides her horse like a man and likes blood better than any man does, the slick young dandy trying to prove his own manhood with bluster and cruelty; they are all proud of themselves. They find three men sleeping around a campfire, strangers and therefore natural suspects. The captives tell a story which is plausible but not immediately verifiable; one of them is a Mexican, reason enough for lynching him to the more debased members of the mob. So the mob does not wait to verify anything. A vote is taken: hang them at once or take them to jail. One by one, a few men gather who want to stop the lynching. They are the old storekeeper, the Negro preacher, the stranger cowboy who is there lest he himself be suspected and doesn't like the whole business, a few others. Nine men. They are not enough, and the three prisoners are strung up, and the mob starts for home pleased and satisfied. Then the sheriff turns up, with the sickening news that there has been no murder and that the real rustlers are already captured.

The lynchers react according to whatever humanity they suddenly discover they possess. The worst of them, the southern

Bourbon, is destroyed by his own insane pride; the better men make agonized efforts at reparation and the best, like the Negro preacher and the wandering cowboy, are additionally strengthened in their sense of social responsibility. All have learned something about human decency, and although *The Ox-Bow Incident* is a heartbreakingly tragic film it does not end on a negative note.

In translating Walter Clark's novel to the screen, writer Trotti and director Wellman have created a taut and deadly excitement. A deceptively slow but interesting beginning establishes mood, and when the action starts the film is vibrant with suspense. So overworked has "suspense" been in our century that we have come to despise it through our acquaintance with its cheaper forms. Once having learned that uncertainty as to the outcome of a situation adds interest, bad novelists and playwrights and screen writers try to inject artificial uncertainties everywhere. But obviously if suspense is not implicit in the story no finagling with the order of events, as in Hitchcock's late bad manner, will succeed in creating it. The audience knows that the marines will land in time to save Errol Flynn, and is bored to death while the screen goes crazy with firing squad preparations. There is genuine suspense, for instance, in the clash of Hamlet's temperament with his problem, a suspense not lessened because we know he is doomed. And there is no suspense at all

while the locomotive thunders toward Our Heroine's bound body, for the scene is not a genuine human problem; she has been put there solely in order to be snatched away again.

Films like *The Ox-Bow Incident*, however, contain suspense of a very high order because they contain conflict. There is nothing violent or noisy or even emphatic about the few men who gather to vote against lynching. But as the Negro preacher and the storekeeper stand alone, then not quite alone, their struggle with the lynchers reaches an almost unbearable intensity. And the outcome of the struggle is always genuinely in doubt.

With a wise restraint, the film's makers have avoided alarms and excursions on the screen; the lynching proceeds in a businesslike way that is thrice horrible. Over everything broods the gray, aching desolation of the desert before dawn, a superb blending of the atmosphere of tragedy with the thing itself. *The Ox-Bow Incident* is not only a fine film; it is a fine film through understatement and suggestion rather than through the more usual film method of piling up corroborative detail, thus proving again that there are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream.

COMBINING the documentary film's firm grip on reality with the fiction film's interest in individuals, the British have created in *Next of Kin* at once an entertainment and a warning. It is an account of a surprise raid on the French coast that failed to be a surprise. Every precaution for secrecy was taken; yet one of the soldiers talked to his sweetheart, and another talked to a pal in a bar, and a third grumbled about his new work within hearing of a German spy at a dance. So the men got out of their boats on the shore of France to find the German army waiting for them with tanks and artillery. And though they accomplished their mission, most of them died doing it. The methods of the German spies are presented with sober conviction. They are such harmless people! a quiet bookseller who even poses as an anti-Nazi, a cockney stage dresser, a genial bloke lounging in the doorway of a hotel. There is a talkative soldier among other talkative soldiers in the troop train, an engaging,



PROGRESSIVE'S ALMANAC

May

14—Richard Boyer on "Inside Germany." Entertainment by Fred Keating. Auspices Anti-Fascist Press Group. 1349 Lexington Ave., Apt. 5B.

14—Faculty of the School for Democracy. Dinner Forum in honor of Dr. Howard Selsam on the occasion of publication of "Socialism and Ethics." Dr. Corliss Lamont, chairman. Hotel George Washington.

20—National Council of Soviet-American Friendship. Mass meeting to build Allied unity and protest anti-Soviet propaganda. Speakers: Senator Claude E. Pepper and Rep. Joseph Clark Baldwin. Chairman: Corliss Lamont. Place: Carnegie Hall.

22—Peter V. Cacchione Association. Second Annual Dance. Al Moss, Laura Duncan and others. St. George Hotel, Brooklyn, N. Y.

23—IWO March to Freedom Pageant. Madison Square Garden. 7:30 P.M.

26—Jewish Writers and Artists in America. Unity Dinner. Sholem Asch, chairman. Hotel Commodore.

27—American Friends of Czecho-Slovakia. The Atlantic Charter and Central Europe. President Benes of Czecho-Slovakia, Joseph E. Davies, others. Carnegie Hall.



MOST of the professional film critics of our press have let reaction down over *Mission to Moscow* by recognizing it for the fine film it is. So the irresponsibles have been called into play. Some, like the *New Republic's* reviewer, are clumsy enough to let their malice peep through their pretense at objectivity; they would dislike anything that said a good word for the Soviet Union, were it written by Shakespeare and acted by archangels. A critic so ignorant and prejudiced as to call the Moscow trials "the bloodiest purge in the history of mankind" can hardly be taken seriously when he attacks a film dealing with those trials.

Others are more devious. Pretending friendship for the Soviet Union, they base their objections on historical minutiae; the film changes one or two dates by a month or so, and summarizes the four trials as one for convenience's sake, therefore it is a bad and lying film. This devotion to the letter is intended to obscure the spirit. It hardly matters whether the criminals were tried separately or together; the important thing is their guilt, which is perfectly clear from the testimony. Would these critics have been satisfied if the days and weeks which the trials really took had been duplicated on the screen? Somehow one feels they would have liked that even less.

It is surprising to find Dorothy Thompson leading this literalist attack. Miss Thompson realizes that American survival

in this war depends on healthy cooperation with the Soviet Union, and she has written a good deal in the light of a new understanding of Russia. Yet, so strong are old prejudices, the merest hint of an old bugaboo is enough to make her forget the lessons of the last two years. Speaking almost as a racist, Miss Thompson talks of "Anglo-Saxon law" as if no other people had ever developed law courts. "As an American, living under the great tradition of Western law," she finds Soviet court procedure different from that, say, of Oklahoma or Alabama, and therefore damnable. It is hard to disentangle her objections to the film from her distrust of the trials; for instance, she complains of not seeing a defense attorney on the screen. Yet study of the printed records of the trials would have informed her that some of the conspirators had defense attorneys, and that the rest refused counsel because they preferred to conduct their own defense, a procedure which is allowed by our own law. The film was concerned only with establishing the treasonable guilt of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites through the high spots of the trials, and made use of their own confessions. Miss Thompson accordingly bewails the sentencing of the criminals on confessions alone, "without proof." Here again a study of the text would have given her all the proof she needed, and the text is readily available. Can Miss Thompson really believe that trials in films usually do, or should, reproduce every minute of what happens in the courtroom?

But, indeed, it is difficult to tell what Miss Thompson believes. She objects because Tukhachevsky was tried and executed in secret—universal procedure where military secrecy is involved—and she objects because Radek was not executed at all. She disapproves of the film's satirical portraits of Japanese envoys and isolationists, and disapproves equally of its favorable portraits of Stalin, Kalinin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. The photographing of Roosevelt as "a back and a whiff of smoke" is obviously made necessary by the lack of a convincing double for the President; yet Miss Thompson does not scruple to represent it as excessive reverence. She dislikes the film's censure of isolationism and appeasement, evading the issue with the remark that 1939 was too late to do anything anyhow. She declares the film offers no new light on Russia, because she herself has previously seen pictures of Russian factories in Soviet films—thus ignoring the miseducation of the American people about Russia, which the film does so much to remedy.

It is a pathetic exhibition of die-hardism. Through unwillingness to admit she was in error five years ago, Miss Thompson condemns herself to be in error at this most crucial moment of our history.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

rather cheeky youth; yet when he is forced to pull off his shirt, the characteristic marks of a parachute harness show on his skin—he has been dropped into England in the last twenty-four hours. A WAAF, driving a truck, lets a friendly workman change her flat tire; he is a spy, and makes good use of what she tells him about her destination. A traveler gives an amiable pedestrian a lift—straight into the new army camp.

Working partly through corrupted or terrorized civilians, but more through the carelessness of the soldiers themselves, the Nazi agents gather their little scraps of apparently meaningless information. A list of supplies here, a bit of troop training there, a sailing date from somewhere else; and finally, when there is something important to look for, they know just where to find it. The scraps of information fit together into the tanks and guns that annihilate the Commandos. And the next of kin of the casualties are informed.

Next of Kin was made, of course, to do more than any poster can do in teaching a naturally friendly and unsuspecting people to keep its mouth shut. That this official warning against careless talk is also a dramatic study of war is a triumph for its makers. Thorold Dickinson, who directed and had a hand in the writing, shows himself expert in the process Eisenstein calls montage—the combination of widely separated scenes to form a new concept. (In Hollywood the term montage is usually reserved for a kaleidoscopic and rapid combination, used transitionally.) The intention of *Next of Kin* is to make its points as quickly as possible and then get on; it does not linger for the sake of excitement or sympathy. In consequence, a single shot of documents being handed to a Nazi diplomat in Spain sums up much of the spies' progress, and German preparations for defense are beautifully intercut with English preparations for attack in a sequence lasting only a minute or so. When fighting is recorded, however, *Next of Kin* gives you time enough to get the full impact of war. There have rarely been such effective battle shots as its bursting mortar shells, photographed as a crouching soldier would see them through the tall grass. A subtle and powerful musical score is no small help to *Next of Kin's* emotional effect. Above all, however, its actors contribute to its realism. Such professionals as Nova Pilbeam and Basil Sydney carry parts that are important but not romantically overstressed; most of the professional actors in it have become soldiers, and what they are doing is obviously real to them, while minor roles of all sorts are filled by members of certain British regiments. Unpretentious, serious people look out of the film; it is an admirable example of the English government's movies-for-war, which are as yet much in advance of our own.

WE ARE PROUD TO ANNOUNCE...

New Masses is privileged to inform its readers that a group of distinguished European writers now living in Mexico will contribute regularly to these pages. These men before Hitler and his satellites banished them were known from one end of the continent to the other for their books and articles, for their championing of the cause of democracy. In the coming months their views will be of inestimable value in understanding the European picture.

Alexander Abusch

Brilliant journalist whose recent article in New Masses on the German General Staff received widespread comment.

Bruno Frei

Another top-notch writer whose analyses of political currents abroad have won him high honors.

Egon Erwin Kisch

Europe's master reporter whose books, most recent of which was SENSATION FAIR, have become as famous as the journalistic exploits of their author.

Paul Merker

Former member of the Reichstag and author of the recent GERMANY'S FUTURE.

Ludwig Renn

Among the foremost living military commentators. Member of the General Staff of the Fifteenth Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army and author, among other books, of WARFARE: THE RELATION OF WAR TO SOCIETY.

Andre Simone

Whose two recent books, MEN OF EUROPE and J'ACCUSE, were on the best-seller lists.

Bodo Uhse

Whose work has brought him to the forefront among Europe's younger novelists and critics.