

WHO'S RIGHT ABOUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

by *THE EDITORS*

DECEMBER 26

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NEW MASSES

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THE ELECTIONS AND THE FUTURE

What to remember about November 7

by *EARL BROWDER*

THE "NO-STRIKE" REFERENDUM

by *JAMES KELLER*

BATTLE-SHOCK AND ITS CURE

by *VIRGINIA GARDNER*

KOESTLER'S PHILOSOPHIC PERVERSIONS

by *JOEL BRADFORD*

BELL FOR ADANO: The Year's Best Play — A review by *HARRY TAYLOR*

BETWEEN OURSELVES

FROM Hollywood comes a note signed by Earl Robinson, informing NEW MASSES that he plans to turn over to us his share of the proceeds of "Free and Equal Blues," his latest published composition. We appreciate this gesture and thank him for it, but equally enriching is his closing sentence in which he conveys his "best wishes as always to the magazine, the best in America." So that this offer may bear fruit we hasten at once to inform you that the album of "The Free and Equal Blues" is manufactured and sold by the Asch Recording Co. . . . For those of you who may, for some unplumbed reason, have missed our cultural number last week, and have not yet at this writing caught up with your more provident neighbors, we repeat the Art Young Memorial Award winners in art: first prize Harry Sternberg; runners-up—John Wilson, Boston, and Edith Glaser, New York. . . . Edith Glaser, by the way, lets us know we did her an injustice in labelling her a "student," and reminds us that she has been working in a war plant continuously since Pearl Harbor, and is a member in good standing of the International Machinists Union to boot, and that she has been working seriously at her art in between all this—that it is some time since she was a "student." . . . Rules for the Poetry and Short Story Awards were likewise published and are as follows: A contributor may send in as many poems or short stories as he likes, provided he is not an NM editor, a judge, or a member of the family of either. All contributions must be typed on one side of the paper (even though we are as mindful of the paper shortage as anyone) and sent to Art Young Memorial Awards, NEW MASSES, Box 115, Station D, New York 3, N. Y. Enclose sufficient postage with your contribution on the outside possibility that you do not win and want your stuff sent back. Judges for the poetry competition are Mark Van Doren, Isidor Schneider, William Rose Benet, and Alfred Kreymborg—for the story award, Whit Burnett, editor of *Story Magazine*, Isidor Schneider, Leane Zugsmith, and possibly one or two more, to be announced later. Deadline for the poems is March 15, 1945; for the stories, June 1 of the same year. Winner of each contest will get the cash award of \$100. Material sent in to NM since the original announcement of the awards in our May 16, 1944, issue will be eligible. Winners and runners-up will be published in the cultural issues of NM. Get your entries in early. . . . To dwell for a moment longer on last week's cultural issue, we want to apologize both to David Burliuk and the ACA Gallery for having omitted a piece of vital statistic. In publishing a reproduction of Burliuk's "Chil-

dren of Stalingrad" we neglected to include the fact that this picture was part of a show currently at the ACA Gallery, 63 East 57th St. The show will continue until January 1. . . . Many of you have read, of course, how our plans for a trip to the President's inaugural in Washington for our subscription contest winner, ganged agley by the minimum ceremonial plans of that event as announced by the newspapers. Accordingly we have revised our Grand Prize formulation as follows: First prize winner may either choose a weekend in New York visiting theaters and night spots, and culminating the visit at the NEW MASSES Cultural Awards dinner January 22 as guest on the dais, or a weekend, Washington's Birthday, in Washington, as originally planned—except that there will no inaugural exercise. For the reader unfamiliar with either town, each of these alternatives offers an original experience; for others, a new opportunity to revisit landmarks and friends. If you choose New York, you have until January 15 to get your subs in; if Washington,

until February 15. Only you have to let us know by January 1 which you choose. . . . There is still time to win. . . . Over 400 messages of tribute and greeting were sent to Bill Gropper, whose birthday was celebrated on December 4 by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and 1,200 admirers. Among them were personal greetings from people whom Bill had worked with and met all over the world—David Low in England, artist groups in the Soviet Union, and from Harold Ickes, Theodore Dreiser, Congressman Coffee, Earl Browder, trade union leaders and such like. The speakers' table overflowed the dais with the numbers of people who had made their mark in the creative spheres, people like Carl Sandburg, Henry Varnum Poor, Dorothy Parker, our own Joe North, Dean Dixon, Geraldine Fitzgerald, Edward Chodorov, Norman Corwin. The Red Army was represented by Captain Shevsov, Mexico by its ambassador, and Margaret Toledano, sister of Lombardo Toledano; Spain by the artist Luis Quintinilla. And all these represented but a fraction of his colleagues, artists and writers who were seated among the hundreds of guests around the tables. It was, to sum up, quite a party.

J. F.

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November 7 and the Future	Earl Browder	3
Gropper's Cartoon		7
Koestler's Miasmatic Logic	Joel Bradford	10
The No-Strike Referendum	James Keller	13
The Problem of Compliance	Politicus	15
Battle-Shock and Its Cure	Virginia Gardner	16
Editorial Comment		18
Himmler's "Guerrillas"	Colonel T.	21
Book Reviews: War Criminals: Their Prosecution and Punishment, by Sheldon Glueck; Hans Berger; Brave Men, by Ernie Pyle; David McK. White; The Economics of Demobilization, by E. Jay Howenstine; Ralph Bowman		23
"A Bell for Adano" reviewed by Harry Taylor		27
Films of the Week	Joseph Foster	29

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NOVEMBER 7 AND THE FUTURE

By **EARL BROWDER**

Shortly after the election Earl Browder, president of the Communist Political Association, gave his first analysis of its results at a gathering of a group of friends of NEW MASSES. Because of the importance of Mr. Browder's speech we are here publishing its text. We believe that a full understanding of the strategy used by the anti-Roosevelt lineup is imperative: it will help combat that lineup in the post-election period. Next week we will publish the questions and answers that followed his talk.

I AM always glad to meet a group that is gathered by the NEW MASSES. That is one of the reasons why several months ago, when I was having lunch with Joe North, I made a promise that when the election campaign was over I would speak under the auspices of the NEW MASSES to deliver my first extensive analysis of the election results.

Another reason why I made that agreement was that I have a very high opinion of the NEW MASSES. I want to take this occasion to express it. I say that it is my opinion that the NEW MASSES has been doing, especially in this last year, but for a good many years back, a real bang-up job of dealing with the most important issues of the day, of giving clarity and understanding to its readers. I don't know of any more important job than that of bringing clarity into this confused world. And I don't know of any other publication in this field that is bringing any great degree of clarity to its readers as yet. So I am going to continue to support the NEW MASSES, and I hope that its editors will not get tired and not look around for any other occupation.

Now I am going to talk about the elections, so I'll pull out my notes. First of all, I want to warn you that I am not going to give any rounded-out estimate on all phases of the great battle that ended November 7. I think it would be presumptuous of anyone to think that that would be possible because this was one of the great battles of his-

tory, and men will be studying it for generations to come to draw its lessons. We have just lived through one of the great turning points of history and I set myself now a very modest objective of trying to make one step towards an analysis and understanding of this battle in terms largely of examining the strategy of the political camp that was headed by candidates Dewey and Bricker and of tracing the main outlines of how that strategy worked out in the course of the campaign. Well, of course, you know Roosevelt was reelected, and it is for a fourth term. At the same time Congressional elections changed the composition of our Congress both in the House and in the Senate in the direction of strengthening the support for the President's policies.

It is my opinion that no event in America since the time of Lincoln has had such a great effect upon the peoples of the whole world. This was an international, not merely a national event. This news of the election of Roosevelt was flashed around the world in every country, and everywhere the masses of the people were waiting for that message and they received it with joy. This was one of the greatest and most fateful political struggles of history. And its outcome was the outcome that the peoples of every country in the world were hoping for and praying for.

The large significance of this election was that America confirmed the concord of Teheran, the agreement that was formulated and given to the world some eleven months ago by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, the program for victory in the war and a durable, prosperous peace. All of the combined issues of this campaign are summed up in that statement. The outcome of the battle was determined through a complicated and bitter struggle. In the course of that struggle the camp of reaction and the enemies of Teheran in America threw in all their resources. They employed every political strategy in the book. I presume you know which book I mean. The Presi-

dent mentioned it early in the campaign. The book is *Mein Kampf*.

The reactionary camp was defeated by the aroused intelligence of the masses, by the unity brought about among the advanced sections of all classes in America, and by the superb leadership of President Roosevelt at the head of the camp of national unity. The plans of the reactionary camp for this campaign began to shape up immediately after the 1940 election. You could see them taking shape from 1941 on. The strategy that gave coherence to all these plans we can describe in a few main points. I have listed seven of them to describe the strategy of the Hoover-Dewey camp in this election campaign.

PPOINT number one of that strategy was to secure command of the Republican Party as the main base of operations. For this the main task was to overcome the Willkie forces and eliminate Willkie. For the elimination of Willkie it was necessary to find a candidate for the Republican Party who had no well defined isolationist record, preferably one who had no record at all. That is why Dewey became the front man for the real power in the Republican Party, for such gentlemen as Hoover, Vandenberg, Taft, and others such as Pew and a few of the reactionary monopolists, financiers and industrialists.

The second point of the strategy was to penetrate the Democratic Party and either capture it for reaction, in which case the election would have been won without a battle no matter which candidate was elected, or if that was impossible, to disintegrate and split the Democratic Party from within. For this purpose Hoover and company worked a long time over a period of many years, and they found at hand a host of powerful agents ready for this job. At the head of these agents of the Republican reactionary machine, working within the Democratic Party, there was Jim Farley, for eight years the national chairman and organizational chief of the

Democratic Party. Jim Farley was ripe for treason to his party for reasons which we don't need to discuss here, which are the subject of some speculation—perhaps disappointed personal ambition, or perhaps something deeper—but for whatever reason, Jim Farley for four years had been working toward the disruption of the Democratic Party for the 1944 campaign, working hand in hand with the Hoover Republicans. There were such people as Garner and Martin Dies and Senator Byrd, Senator Reynolds, Senator O'Daniel and others of that kind. That sector of the Democratic Party, especially in the South, part of the anti-Roosevelt camp in Congress, was ready for a coup to split its own party and to split the Solid South or part of it away from the President.

Then there were such men as Governor Edison in New Jersey, who had made a coalition with the Republicans to campaign under the false banner of "reform," and who was highly successful in many of the liberal circles of America in leading them around by the nose and almost led them right into the Dewey camp. Remember that it was not long ago that the liberals made such an outcry against the Communists for having dared to say that, as against Edison, we supported Hague in New Jersey, and yet, when the crucial battle that determined not only the course of our country but the course of the world took place, Hague was on the side of progress and Edison was a traitor, and everybody knows it today. Who was it had foresight, who was it understood the real role of Governor Edison in New Jersey? The battle is the pay-off, as they say, and this was the battle that determined the true political position of every man in America, and we saw where Edison stood. Edison was a part of the Republican conspiracy to break up the Democratic Party in order to elect Hoover's man, Dewey.

Many other examples can be cited. There were many more Republican allies within the Democratic Party working from the headquarters of Hoover. In New York State Jim Farley delivered the governorship of this state to Dewey, just as much as if he had openly nominated him, when he forced Bennett upon the party against the wishes of the majority, against the wishes of Roosevelt, against the wishes of all progressive Democrats in this state. All in all, the Hoover camp had reason to figure that point number two of their strategy, the disruption of the Democratic Party, would be successful.

Point number three of the strategy which I want to elaborate on is that the reactionary camp directed itself toward keeping the total national vote as low as possible by obstructing the ballot of the armed forces and hampering registration. We can discuss this more fully later on as we go along and see how it turned out.

Point number four of that strategy was to divide and demoralize the labor movement and thus prevent it from rallying to Roosevelt as in the past. To this end, the Republicans made elaborate preparations for years. They joined with their Democratic allies in Congress in passing over the President's veto the Smith-Connally bill which places sharp restrictions on labor political action and encourages strikes; and then they savagely attacked the labor movement and the administration for the strikes that resulted. The Republicans took John L. Lewis under their protection, while blaming Roosevelt for the strikes Lewis instigated and led, not only among the miners but throughout all industry. In 1943 there was a grave danger that the whole war effort would be disrupted by a surge of strikes throughout the country. Lewis was the organizer of it all, the organizer, the inspirer and the instigator. Lewis was only defeated by a very sharp struggle inside the labor movement. But the forces of the American public saw that strike danger—and it was a real strike danger—saw that they had to back the labor movement and to back Roosevelt in this war. The people were aware of the real source of that danger to the war effort and of the forces who took Lewis into their camp, took Lewis under their protection, and defended him against all efforts to make him pay the penalty that should have been his for his disruptive acts—public opprobrium and public condemnation.



Alzira

The Republicans gathered evidence of malpractices among AFL labor leaders, not in order to bring about reforms among them, but in order to blackmail them into coming out in support of the Republican candidates. I won't spend the time going into some of the known details of the great volume of work that was done, about most of which we don't

know the details, but we know enough to know that a most tremendous, unprecedented effort was made to blackmail a large section of the AFL leadership into dividing the labor support of this campaign and throwing as much as possible to Dewey. The Republicans therefore stimulated by all means the divisions and suspicions between the AFL and the CIO and all other potential differences in the body of the labor movement.

The fifth point in the Republican strategy was to bring back the Negro people to their traditional allegiance to the Republican Party. The Republican Party had practically the united vote of the Negro people in America from the Civil War down to FDR, and they seriously set themselves to win back the Negro vote in 1944. Typically, they set themselves to accomplish this by provocation. The Republicans supported the poll tax Democrats of the South in blocking the repeal of the poll tax, in defeating the anti-lynching bill, in sabotaging the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Then they turned around and adopted in their own convention platform planks in favor of all those things they had helped to defeat. They blamed Roosevelt for all the grievances of the Negro people which he had been trying to remedy. This exceedingly clever maneuver was depended upon to take the Negro people away from the President in the election.

Point number six in the reactionary strategy was to mobilize every discontent and grievance existing in the country and combine them all into a movement against Roosevelt. Promise everything to everybody, regardless of how contradictory the promises may be. Promise economy and greater spending, lower taxes and higher governmental income, the abolition of all government controls but the preservation of the results of control, continuation of all Roosevelt policies but the reversal of all these policies at the same time. Promise to continue the war to victory but give the wink to all the anti-war forces in the country. Speak for the continuation of all war alliances, but insult our allies and gather up all the anti-ally sentiments. Speak for postwar international collaboration, but slyly inject policies which would make that impossible to realize. Combine the *Chicago Tribune* with the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Point number seven in the Hoover-Dewey strategy—and this is the last one that I'll deal with, because I am not going very deeply into the subject—the keystone to the whole structure of Re-

publican strategy was the masterpiece of Hitlerite technique: the use of anti-Communism and its shadow, anti-Semitism, to split and splinter the nation and thus dissolve all effective opposition to the Republican seizure of power in the elections.

This is the main outline of the Hoover-Dewey strategy in entering the 1944 campaign. If all these main attacks registered some results, it was assumed that the cumulative results would guarantee a reactionary victory. If any single one of these points had gained its maximum results, that alone would bring the reactionaries to power. If several of these attacks scored a breakthrough, that would have meant the dissolution of progressive power in the United States for a long time to come.

How did all of this strategy work out? Well, we know it was defeated in its main objectives. That's not enough. We've got to know much more than that to get the point of the election struggle. The whole world knows that Dewey was defeated. The whole world does not know how critical and close was the battle and how seriously the United States stood at the brink of a Nazi-like abyss of reactionary resurgence of power. It is therefore of more than ordinary importance to examine in some detail how the victory for democracy and progress was achieved.

The interplay of forces on these various strategic fronts was very complicated and any over-simplified analysis of the results would falsify the picture of reality. I want to venture a simple outline of the factors that made this complicated struggle develop. I want to follow through with the seven points of the reactionary strategy and see how each one worked out in the election struggle.

First, on the reactionary control of the Republican Party: this is the front on which superficially the Hoover-Dewey camp scored its greatest gain. It secured complete dominance of the Republican Party, without which it had no base of operations, and completely shut Willkie and his friends out into the cold. But right here in the basic first step of the reactionary attempt at the seizure of power they ran into the first contradiction which began to prepare their ultimate defeat. They secured the dominance of the Republican Party, but their technical victory was so complete that in the result it acted as a boomerang. For with the development of the fight on all issues of the campaign, the

Morris Schappes

America's most distinguished political prisoner came back to freedom last Monday. Morris U. Schappes left Walkill Prison a bigger man than on the day when the jury and the judge, sacrificing justice to anti-Red hysteria in a period when both the United States and Russia were still uninvolved in the war, declared him guilty of first degree perjury. We know now that Schappes' real crime was "premature anti-fascism." For this a legislative committee headed by a man whose law firm was the representative of the Vichy government in this country, Sen. Frederick R. Coudert, Jr., expelled him and several other anti-fascist teachers from New York's city colleges and instigated the prosecution of Schappes. Chief Justice Irving Lehman of New York State's highest tribunal, the Court of Appeals, thought the case against Schappes was too flimsy to warrant conviction. Hundreds of distinguished Americans agreed. But the majority of the court said Schappes must stay in jail and so, in effect, did Gov. Thomas E. Dewey who, for a man of his avowed passion for fair play, proved remarkably allergic to the many appeals for a pardon. Schappes was finally released on parole after serving a little over a year.

We of New Masses feel a special joy that Morris U. Schappes is free once more. Our readers know him as a frequent contributor to these pages, and the editors know him as a loyal friend and a man whose courage and flaming devotion to the anti-fascist cause are an inspiration to us all. Congratulations to him and to his brave wife, Sonya. Welcome home, Morris Schappes!

exclusion of the Willkie forces prepared the pre-conditions for the swinging of the Willkie forces away from the Republican Party to the support of Roosevelt. I would say that perhaps the number of Willkie Republicans who voted for Roosevelt may have been as many as Roosevelt's popular majority. The swaying of these Willkie votes was prepared by the completeness with which the Dewey forces seized control of the Republican convention and the party machine. The Hoover-Dewey dominance was so complete that it became obvious to the Willkie followers that they no longer had a place in the Republican Party, at least in this campaign.

On the second point, the reactionary disruption of the Democratic Party, this scheme collapsed entirely in that phase in which it did all it could to reduce the electoral vote in the Solid South and finally produced no result beyond reducing the volume of popular votes for Roosevelt. The scheming and millions of dollars that were spent didn't change a single electoral vote. In fact, the reactionary camp once more overreached itself and the net result of what they got out of their efforts to disrupt the Democratic Party from within was that they brought about the defeat of a whole series of their Democratic allies in Congress, thereby greatly strengthening the President's position in the nation as a whole and opening the way for fundamental improvement in the political life of the South. I think one of the greatest points of significance in this electoral struggle was that the South emerged from the control of the poll tax machine of the Democratic Party, and the poll taxers emerged so fundamentally weakened that they can never again pretend to exercise any sort of veto power in the Democratic Party.

Farley's treason in New York State was overcome so that the President carried the state with a bigger majority than in 1940. Although there was the most persistent and widespread sabotage within the Democratic Party by the agents of Farley and Hoover, all of this was overcome by the upsurge of the masses of the people and by the fact that important sections of the Democratic machine were not infected by the treason, and among them, the Hague machine in New Jersey and the Kelly machine in Chicago. The worst spots in Democratic machine politics were spots where the Republicans did not attack because they had the collaboration of the Democratic machine leaders. But all of it brought no results beyond a certain

diminution of the President's popular vote, but didn't affect a single electoral vote.

ON THE third point, the scheme to reduce the total vote: This was revealed some time ago in the Congress debate on the soldier vote bill when the President's opponents declared that they would vote for the federal soldier vote ballot, but only on condition that the President would promise not to be a candidate. Later Dewey's supporters publicly speculated that a national vote of forty millions would guarantee Dewey's election, a vote of forty-five millions would leave the result in doubt, while anything over forty-five millions guaranteed the election of FDR. That wasn't a theory put forward by the Communists; it wasn't the NEW MASSES; it wasn't Earl Browder; it wasn't any Roosevelt man. It was the open supporters of Dewey who put forward the thesis. Its anti-democratic basis is characteristic of the whole Dewey campaign.

On the basis of this theory, the Republican machine tried to cut down the registration. They did this by limiting facilities, by keeping long lines waiting at the polls and making large numbers of people come back to the polls a second and sometimes a third time, and so on. Also in New York they made spectacular legal investigations, subpoenas were served on first voters during the late hours of the night, wholesale warrants of arrest for fraud were issued, and so on, all designed to scare away first voters from the polls. But the more the Republicans tried to cut down the vote, the more it acted as a boomerang, and as a result they stimulated the masses to get the vote out. They stimulated the mass movement by these anti-democratic moves which did more than the work of the Political Action Committee. Although the PAC work was a very valuable and a very effective thing, it must take second place to the Dewey job of trying to keep the vote down. That is first of all what brought the vote out. The Dewey speculative formula worked out, in the sense that the vote did go above forty-five millions, and that Dewey did lose.

Point number four, the scheme to divide the labor movement: This hinged on the exploitation of the rivalry between the AFL and the CIO by Republican demonstration of warm sympathy for the former and sharp attacks against the latter. They gave protection to John L. Lewis who led strikes

and endangered the war effort. There were planned provocations by employers and an effort to create a strong strike movement during the election period, and so on. There were a hundred different forms in this attempt to disrupt the labor organizations. Huge efforts were made through corruption and intimidation to bring labor leaders into open support of Dewey and other reactionary candidates. Vernal labor papers were paid to publish Dewey's divisive propaganda. The daily press was literally full of it for weeks. They tried to reach the rank and file of the labor movement, but this scheme, it seemed, was without success. They were successful, though, among a few top leaders of the AFL. In the Executive Council those for Roosevelt were Dan Tobin of the Teamsters and two or three others: Brown of the Machinists, Flore of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Harrison of the Railway Clerks. The others gave their indirect support to Dewey. Among the millions of members and most of the lower leaders of the AFL there was quite a different picture. Far from dividing AFL from the CIO, the Dewey campaign, as it developed, brought an unprecedented unity among the two great divisions of the labor movement; their rivalry became transformed into a struggle to see which could do the most for the reelection of President Roosevelt. I deliberately went out and stimulated that rivalry. In one place when I was with members of the AFL, I told them that the CIO was doing a better job than they, and then when I spoke to members of the CIO, I told them the AFL had it all over them. This rivalry was wonderful; it went higher and higher and before the campaign was over it was difficult to see which really had done the best work. In some places, the AFL did a better job than the CIO; Illinois was one of them. We must say that the labor movement demonstrated a high political maturity and that the Dewey strategy toward labor was a flop.

THE fifth point, the plan to win the Negro vote: For a few weeks after the national party conventions it looked as if the Hoover-Dewey strategy had registered deeply. But as the campaign developed, the realities broke through the demagoguery, and the Negro voters came through their period of hesitation and swung overwhelmingly to Roosevelt on election day. The turning point came with the Philadelphia traction upheaval. You remember the so-called

strike of the traction workers in Philadelphia, which was instigated by powerful figures in the Republican Party of Pennsylvania with national advice. The Republican Party tried to incite the white workers there to drive the Negroes out of employment in order that they could tell the Negro people of America that the government did not protect their rights and that they would have to put in Dewey to get their protection. That provocation in Philadelphia was another boomerang. It was another boomerang because the Transport Workers Union was on the job and the Roosevelt administration stepped in and followed the advice of the Transport Workers Union in that situation. They took charge of the Philadelphia Transit System with federal troops; and the Transport Workers Union went in and put it back to work again. The authority of the Fair Employment Practices Committee was upheld by the combined power of the Roosevelt administration and the labor movement. And the fact that the Republicans had been behind this effort was exposed to the country, especially to the Negro people, who studied that situation very carefully.

Well, the result was that what was to have been the crowning stroke of the Republican strategy for winning the Negro back turned out to be the opposite. It was the stroke that turned the Negro masses back to Roosevelt.

Point number six of the reactionary strategy, the doubletalk scheme of Dewey: Perhaps the modern radio should be given some credit for the breakdown of this little scheme of working both sides of the street and gathering support from both sides of every controversial question. Because of the radio everybody heard all the speeches that were made, and while Republicans had intended and planned to have, as Secretary Ickes said, a Seattle Dewey, a Los Angeles Dewey, a Chicago Dewey and a Pittsburgh Dewey, those of us who listened to the radio saw all of the Deweys. We saw all of them at the same time and saw their contradictions.

The doubletalk scheme of Candidate Dewey and his talking out of both sides of his mouth was so widely recognized that hard-boiled Republicans were blushing for him. But there were a large number of backward masses who were influenced by Dewey and his doubletalk and it trickled in and left its effects. However, it is equally certain that this was approximately offset by



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SELF-DETERMINATION FOR LIBERATED PEOPLES

PUNISHMENT OF NAZI COLLABORATORS

LIFE, LIBERTY AND PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

WORLD UNITY

K. Hoffmann



"Yes, the Spirits say you will be represented at the Peace Conference . . . along with them." London "Daily Worker"

the number of intelligent voters who were drawn away by Dewey's cynical demagoguery and attracted by the dignified and serious level of Roosevelt's dealing with the campaign issues. On this front also the Hoover-Dewey strategy went on the rocks.

On the final point in the Dewey strategy, the anti-Communist and anti-Semitic incitements: It was in this phase of the Hoover-Dewey strategy that its Hitlerite inspiration and purpose was revealed most fully. Never outside of Nazi Germany has anything like it been witnessed in modern political life. An unprecedented flood of political poison was loosed upon the country. It would be blindness to underestimate the damage to America's social and political life, not only in influencing voters in the election, but in poisoning social and political relations after the election is over. This phase of the Dewey campaign was most damaging because it was only half met and half answered for the great majority of the country. It was merely dealt with as an example of the "gigantic lie." The basic assumption of this gigantic lie, that Communists and Jews are somehow outside the pale of American national life, was not met head-on and challenged, except by the Communists. The democratic camp contented itself with refusing to join in this huge lie, as they called it, and in declaring that "the danger is being grossly exaggerated." Inside the democratic camp groups were tolerated and given respected positions who not only

joined fully in the gigantic lie, but who had originated the special form in which this lie was put forward by the Hoover-Dewey camp. It was David Dubinsky and his clique who had coined the slogan about a "Hillman-Browder conspiracy against America," and presented it ready made for Dewey's use, whether with or without fee is not known. So badly armed is American democracy against this poison that responsible leaders were still willing publicly to associate with Dubinsky at the end of the campaign when he was mouthing the same main slogans as Dewey, while still unwilling or unable to acknowledge that American Communists have won their citizenship by their devoted services in our nation's greatest common effort. Such is the still remaining potency of this, the chief of Hitler's political poisons.

THE effects of Dewey's anti-Communist and anti-Semitic campaigns—and I speak of them together because I want to repeat that anti-Semitism is being spread in America as the shadow of anti-Communism; you cannot combat them separately—the effects were mixed and very complicated. There can be no doubt it failed in its first aim, which was to rally propertied business and financial circles into a fanatical drive to elect Dewey at all costs, although it may have had effect in slowing and limiting the shift of such circles to open support of Roosevelt. When the *New York Times* and Walter Lipp-

mann, two of the most conservative and responsible spokesmen of the propertied classes, came out against Dewey in the last weeks of the campaign, this was registration of the failure of the first aim of the Red-scare. It failed even more completely in its second aim of splitting the labor movement, despite Dubinsky's frantic efforts to assist. Never before in these modern times has a great national Red-scare effort found so little response within organized labor.

Where the anti-Communist and anti-Semitic campaign scored heavily, however, was in the small towns and rural areas, among the less thoroughly informed and less politically alert sections of the population. Here Dewey more than made up for the loss of support among the Willkie Republicans, who were nauseated by his Red-scare and who remembered Willkie's dramatic appearance before the Supreme Court to argue the case of William Schneiderman, the California Communist leader, and to win the decision establishing the citizenship right of Communists. They remembered Willkie's fearless call for China's unity to include the Communists. In the small towns and rural areas they have learned little or nothing of such modern political developments in America and the world, and when a great political party, which they had been taught to respect, frantically shouted in their ears that a foreign conspiracy was seizing control of America, there is not the slightest doubt that millions were influenced by it. There is reason to believe that while Dewey weakened himself in the cities and among all intelligent and informed people by his irresponsible use of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism, he more than compensated himself in number of votes, even though not in the quality of his support, in the small towns, rural areas and among the more ignorant voters generally.

It is certainly not a pleasure for me to record the judgment that Dewey made some profit in votes out of the Red-scare. I would be much happier if I could honestly declare that his crime did not pay substantially among any large part of the population or in any form. But this issue is too threatening of future troubles for our country and the world to justify any wishful thinking or complacency in regard to the realities. The harsh truth is that a considerable part of America can be influenced by unprincipled political leadership which appeals to fear and hatred of Communists and Jews. This is precisely

the chief means whereby Hitler rose to power in Germany. A tremendous task of mass political education is required by this fact before our country can be considered immune to Hitlerism.

I HAVE heavily emphasized the negative aspects of this election campaign. Now let me tell you of the more positive aspects. That has to do with the so-called closeness of the fight which the Dewey camp is using to console itself for its defeat. I think that I have taken fully into account the menace that is contained therein, and I also want to say that it is my frank opinion that the Dewey circles are giving themselves a false consolation.

I want to remind you of the fact that two years ago Hitler was consoling himself that he had almost won at Stalingrad. If the Red Army had only had a little lower morale, fewer soldiers and less tanks and guns at the crucial spots, and Hitler a few more here and there, then the history of the world would have been quite different. In the same fashion in the last few days we have seen the ideologists of the Dewey camp consoling themselves on how close was the presidential ballot. Mr. Brownell has it all figured out that a shift of a little more than 300,000 votes in the key states from the Roosevelt to the Dewey column would have elected Dewey. It has been noted that even less votes shifted from Dewey to Roosevelt would have raised the Roosevelt electoral vote to 531, or a clean sweep. The election was close. Yes, it was close just as the most decisive battles in world history have been close. There is about as much consolation for the Dewey camp in the close election as for Hitler in the closeness of the fight for Stalingrad. Dewey was fighting to change the basic currents of history, just as Hitler was two years ago. He had to win now or never, even as was the case of Hitler.

Just as Hitler's doom was sealed two years ago at the ruins of Stalingrad, so was the Hoover-Dewey gang's doom sealed in the close election results of November 7. There is a tide in the affairs of man—I think it was Shakespeare who said that—it's true anyway—and that tide has finally turned in the United States to join the flood of democracy and progress that sweeps through much of the rest of the world. The Hoover-Dewey clique belongs to the dead past as irretrievably as does the Hitler gang. This does not mean that the fight against reaction is finished any more than the war was finished at Stalingrad. Now is

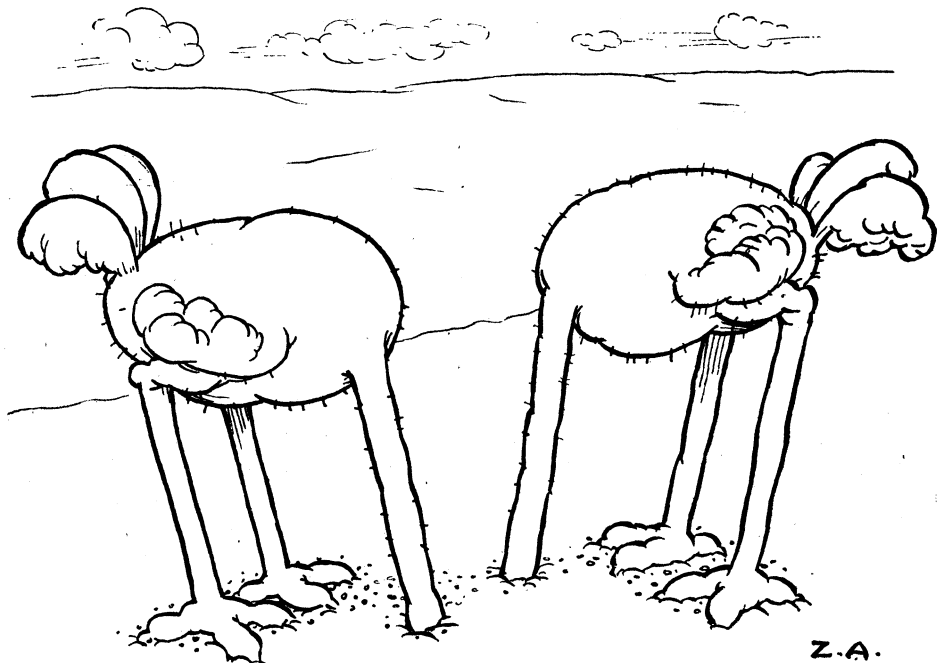
the time when the invading enemy must be driven back and cut to pieces and deprived of all of the strong points he has seized in the past battles. This can be done by an even greater mobilization, greater unity of all democratic allies, by the transformation of the successful defense into the successful offense that will smash the enemy. That is the true lesson of the closeness of the vote on November 7.

IF THE opportunities opened up by November 7 are to be utilized, there are a few things that must be taken care of now. The armies that won the defensive battles are the same that must now go into the offensive. That means there can be no demobilization for those who carried the brunt of the battle until now. There must be reinforcements and replacements, but these things are possible only if the armies victorious in the defense now swing all available forces into the counter-offensive. No demobilization is the first order for the post-election period.

We must try to learn all of the lessons of the battle up to now. We must search out all our strong and weak points in order to build on the former and eliminate the latter. We must know better the strong and weak points of the enemy in order that we may break through his lines, surround his forces and render them harmless. We must replace those officers who did not make such a good showing in these battles. It

is not enough that we won. We must sharply distinguish between those who helped to win the victory and those who hindered it. Armies that cannot learn cannot continue to win battles. We must promote new officers from the ranks who helped their people to throw back the enemy. We must build a closer liaison between all our various armies and divisions that are conducting the battle. We must more completely bring the whole struggle under the control of a master plan. That master plan was begun a year ago at Teheran. It will be further extended in the forthcoming meeting of the commanders-in-chief of the United Nations. All lesser plans must now be overhauled and scrutinized to bring them into harmony with the master plan. The initial steps to implement the concord of Teheran, the Bretton Woods conference, the Dumbarton Oaks conference, must be given the overwhelming support of the American people. These must be mass issues backed up by mass support. Many other consequences that flow from the Teheran agreement must be worked out in detail in a way to unite the people behind them and to isolate and defeat the reactionaries who continue to fight desperately in their retreat, just as do the Nazi hordes.

Such is the perspective that is needed everywhere. Now that November 7 is past, it is time to give clear orientation to all the forces that were engaged in that great battle.



"Didn't I see you last week on Downing Street?"

KOESTLER'S MIASMIC LOGIC

By JOEL BRADFORD

The following is the second of a series of three articles on Arthur Koestler by Mr. Bradford. The first, "The Bitter Company," appeared in the preceding issue of NEW MASSES (December 19). The third article will follow next week.

IN THE previous article we attempted an analysis of independent thinking, both as Mr. Koestler understands that concept and as it may more properly be understood. Mr. Koestler, we learned, measures the independence of thought by the amount of disagreement which a thinker manifests toward everyone else. We have now to add that this disagreement, while admirable in general, becomes yet worthier when it is directed to certain particular thinkers. Preeminent among the thinkers with whom to disagree is to be blest is Karl Marx.

Now disagreeing with Marx is by no means as easy as it appears. As you read his volumes, page after magnificent page, while the lightning topples giants from their seats, you feel within you an invigorating sense of the presence of truth. You are overpowered by the logic, the vast assemblage of data, the remorseless analysis which lays bare every bone and tissue of social fact. Amid so great a symphony it is difficult to hear Mr. Koestler's thin voice crying you off. He seems but a feeble siren. When Marx is by, you will not need Odysseus' wax in your ears.

The problem, then, is how to disagree with an argument so cogent, a theory so convincing. The walls of libraries are lined with the pitiful records of these attempts, all failures. Obviously there will be greater hope of success if, instead of trying to disagree with Marx's actual doctrines, we disagree with other doctrines which can be passed as contraband under the name of Marx. And so it comes to pass that books appear in refutation of theories patently silly and entirely un-Marxian, wherein the authors demonstrate their independence of that corrupting influence. They are indeed independent, for they are no nearer to Marx than the earth is to the sun.

Among these critics of theories artificially invented and ascribed we have now to place Mr. Koestler. His title to the rank of Marxist expert is grounded upon a career among the dissident circles

of the pseudo-left, in which he suffered unusual pangs of conscience and unusual frustration of ideals. He now requites pangs suffered with pangs inflicted and ideals frustrated with ideals betrayed. Let us examine the spectacle: there is much to be found in it that will profit us.

MR. KOESTLER and his colleagues of the Fourth International have a flair for the vocabulary of the French Revolution. They like, for example, to refer to the Soviet government as the "Thermidorian Reaction" — a phrase which suggests, even to knowledgeable men, nothing so much as a way of preparing lobster. In the present circumstance we are required not only to know the Three Estates of 1789, but to recognize the Fourth Estate as the proletariat rather than the press.

The *philosophes*, who, according to Mr. Koestler, were the first modern intelligentsia, constituted "the upper strata of the Third Estate"; that is to say, they were men of bourgeois origin who provided the revolutionary bourgeoisie with an appropriate ideology. The fact that they anteceded the Revolution refutes the Marxian error (so Mr. Koestler regards it) of "the triumphant class creating its own philosophic superstructure to fit its mode of production like a tailored suit." "I repeat," says Mr. Koestler in recantation and atonement, "I do not believe any more that the economic process by itself creates its own superstructure. Orthodox Marxism has never produced the historical evidence for this postulate."

Assuming that "orthodox Marxism" means the Marxism of Karl Marx, we may say that it never produced the evidence because it never held the postulate. Mr. Koestler shows himself as generous of contributions to Marxism as he was generous of lexicographical glosses. It must be a little embarrassing, when you have finished the business of recantation, with all its tears and ecstasies, to discover that what you recanted was not Marxism at all. Your sin loses its magnitude, and your redemption becomes trifling.

Engels is perfectly clear on the point: "According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is *ultimately* the production

and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure . . . also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form." (Letter to J. Bloch, Sept. 21, 1890; *Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, p. 475. Engels' emphasis.)

This is the Marxist position. Let us now set beside it Mr. Koestler's own philosophy of history. A victorious class, on accession to power, finds "the befitting ideology already waiting for it like a ready-made suit in a department store. Thus Marx found Hegel, Feuerbach, and Ricardo, Mussolini had only to pick Sorel and Pareto, Hitler discovered Gobineau, Houston Stuart (sic) Chamberlain, and Jung; Stalin revived Machiavelli and Peter the Great."

An entire essay could be written upon this last sentence. I confine myself to three observations. Mr. Koestler tells us that progressive movements seize the ideology at hand, whilst regressive movements fall back on the "last-but-one or last-but-two." By this test Mussolini and Hitler will be half-progressive, since each had a contemporary to influence him (Pareto and Jung respectively), and the remaining influences go back no farther than the nineteenth century. The ideologies conferred upon Stalin, however, go back to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; and Stalin is therefore made out a reactionary force indeed. This is an interesting example of the Trotskyite preference for fascists as against "Stalinists"—a preference which keeps its possessors ever close to the fascist camp.

Again: what about the fit of these "befitting ideologies"? Engels describes the liberating effect of Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christentums*, but this did not prevent him from remorselessly criticizing the large reactionary content of that book. Marx exactly inverted the Hegelian system. *Kapital* is full of criticisms of Ricardo. These "ready-made suits" would seem to have undergone a lot of alteration. The fact is, of course,

that Marx was a scientist rather than a maker of ideologies. He was his own tailor.

Again: it is one thing to describe Stalin's policies as Machiavellian (though that would be false in itself), but it is quite another thing to say that Stalin consciously adopted Machiavelli's political theories. On the contrary, both in writing and in action, he repudiates them. Mussolini, however, was an avowed disciple of Machiavelli. He wrote part of a doctoral dissertation upon that master, and a de luxe edition of Machiavelli's works was, with singular propriety, dedicated to him. It is a curious scholarship which ascribes to one man an influence he has spurned, and fails to ascribe to another man an influence he has avowed.

RECOILING, then, on the basis of evidence which is not evidence from a Marxism which is not Marxism, Mr. Koestler arrives at an ingenious theory of history. Economic causes alone will not explain the nature of ideologies. On the other hand, there seems to be an extraordinary aptness in the way ideologies are available when needed. This can hardly be coincidental. The truth, then, must be that "political economy and cultural development are merely two aspects of the same basic process, which we are as yet far from being able to define."

Mr. Koestler tells us that he is applying the double-aspect theory to history in the same manner it was applied to the mind-body problem. There is historical materialism, which describes economic events; and there is historical idealism, which describes cultural events. Neither can be reduced to the other, yet there is between them a constant parallelism. They are, it would seem, aspects of a third process still more basic. This process, whose existence is suspected and whose nature is unknown, is Mr. Koestler's *tertium quid*.

Now, the classic exposition of the double-aspect theory was made by Spinoza, who wrote, in a famous passage: "Thinking substance and extended substance are one and the same thing, which is comprehended sometimes under the former attribute and sometimes under the latter." (*Ethics*, II, 7, *scholium*.) The point of this doctrine is that, while the given series of objective events is neither physical nor mental, it can be interpreted according to either category. I can, for example, describe a toothache either in terms of a physical event (the twitching of the nerve) or a mental



Yugoslav Partisan

event (the pain which I feel).

But Mr. Koestler's illustration is this: ". . . your gastric acid is neither the cause nor the effect of your nervous state, but both are aspects, consequences of your total mode of living." Now, the gastric acid and the nervous state are equally physical, and the illustration therefore does not exemplify the double-aspect theory at all. What Mr. Koestler is talking about is the relation of the parts of a process to the total process. This is something quite different, for a process does not "underlie" its parts; it contains them. Indeed, it is its parts in their manifold interactions.

The main thing to realize is that the totality and the parts are equally real. You may call the parts "consequences," and there will be no error here unless, like Mr. Koestler, you ignore the fact that they are also causes. But if you call them "aspects," you reduce them to a secondary level of existence in which they become "appearances" of something else which is "reality." You thereupon pass directly into idealism, and attempt conjectural descriptions of a thing-in-itself. All such adventurers report, as Mr. Koestler does, "we are as yet far from being able to define." The next stage, for which Mr. Koestler will

Poet in Action

Now having met myself
In barracks,
I saw no mirror anywhere,
Could not with hand
Indicate dark hair;
Only the military cap was there.
Once poet, solitary, and so taught to be,
I became Tom, Dick, Harry,
Unto infinity;
The executed action became me.
Such was the simple instant of humility.
My lonely individualism put aside,
The drilled maneuvering was wide:
I was the line stayed,
The wheel turning,
Bomb against madness,
Flag unfurled
The democratic armies of the world!
If in the future, moon and stars
Find me alive and free,
The veteran dead and living
Must be me,
Must, O impertinent priests
Of antiquated culture,
Still be me!

EDA LOU WALTON.

probably depart after his present arrival, is to pronounce the basic "something" unknowable. Here the philosopher, in Engels' words, "translates his ignorance into Greek and calls it agnosticism."

MR. KOESTLER confuses the double-aspect theory with the part-whole relationship because he wants to deny historical materialism while admitting the facts which substantiate it. If economic events and cultural events interact, they may be considered (and Marxism so considers them) as parts of a total process which is the evolution of society. But then there is no need of a *tertium quid* of which these are aspects.

At the same time, if economic events and cultural events interact, there is no reason why economics may not influence culture in general and ideologies in particular. But then what becomes of the "ready-made suits"? To render them historically viable Mr. Koestler has to postulate a cosmic tailor who produces the suits first and the appropriate customers second. Instead of the suits being fitted to the customers, the customers are fitted to the suits. The universe would seem to have undergone Mr. Burnham's "managerial revolution."

Mr. Koestler could have avoided

all these difficulties by asking himself one question: whence did the *philosophes* derive their ideas? Doubtless from many places, but the main cultural source, the main inspiration, was English thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sweep and power of this influence is indicated by its name, "Anglomania"; and Voltaire revealed it fully in his celebrated compliment to Locke: "Other philosophers have written the romance of the soul; Locke was the first to write its history." By 1785 English cultural influence had covered the Continent. As one of Kant's pupils wrote, in raptures produced by *Tristram Shandy*, "O diese Engländer!"

English thought was powerful because it was culturally advanced, and it was culturally advanced because it was grounded in a progressive society. Mr. Koestler's vulgarizing of Marx prevents him from seeing that Newton developed physics, and Boyle chemistry, not in order to provide an ideology, but because capitalism made scientific knowledge economically valuable and therefore socially necessary. Without the overthrow of feudalism, Western thought would have lingered indefinitely in the dark corridors of the medieval mind. And Locke's political philosophy came to

Europe bearing the future in its bosom, as Marxism does now.

One must ask, also, what rendered the *philosophes* so susceptible to English influence? The answer will have to be that in France the bourgeois relations of production were already powerful. The final, triumphant attack upon French feudalism was not made by a submerged and impotent class, but by one strengthened and advanced by its own successful dealings. Prerevolutionary economics was one of the sources of prerevolutionary thought.

Thus, while it is true that the *philosophes* preceded and influenced the French Revolution, it is likewise true that the English Revolution preceded and influenced the *philosophes*. What does this show? It shows that a profound economic change can produce important cultural changes, and that these in turn may influence a later economic change. History exhibits not parallelism, but interaction. The facts allow no room for Mr. Koestler and his *tertium quid*.

There is uncommon naivete in the idea that a revolution suddenly bursts forth in the economic world, and then the victorious class seizes an ideology at hand. The economic causes of any revolution have a long, long history; their origin, in fact, lies imbedded in the very structure of the previous society. At every stage of their development they affect, and are affected by, events more obviously cultural. Was not the Reformation an early bourgeois struggle against feudalism, but carried on in religious (that is to say, ideological) terms? It is constant interaction, and not an unknowable substratum, which makes the unity of history.

Such, then, are the errors upon which Mr. Koestler has erected his concept of the intelligentsia. In his view, the task of an intelligentsia is to manipulate cultural events, while others are manipulating economic events. Each, then, to his own "aspects." The intelligentsia, moving in its aspect with all available wisdom, plays the role of a "sensitive membrane" which by the power of independent thought stretches from the laggard present to the alluring future. The work it effects as a membrane is well worth study—more study, I suspect, than it has thus far received.

But these pleasures I leave to a later issue, when we shall examine Mr. Koestler's sensitive membrane in some detail. The prospects are inviting, and I would urge the reader not to imitate the paradoxical farmer in *Macbeth*, who hanged himself upon the expectation of plenty.

THE "NO-STRIKE" REFERENDUM

By JAMES KELLER

Detroit.

A MEMBERSHIP referendum to decide whether or not to continue the no-strike pledge, a referendum to take place exactly three years after Pearl Harbor, is strange enough for any man's union. It is all the more shocking that it occurs, of all places, in the United Auto Workers Union with its outstanding production record in the war and its steadfast support of CIO policy. The referendum is being held this month and January.

The magnificent war record of the UAW juxtaposed to the no-strike referendum offers a contradiction difficult for many to understand. This contradiction dates back to the last convention of the UAW, which unanimously endorsed the no-strike pledge, but a little later, voted for the referendum. The reason for this must be sought in the very complex factional situation in the union; the referendum is a by-product of factionalism which is being utilized, in large measure, by outright defeatist groupings.

The effort to repudiate the no-strike pledge has its origin among the enemies of the nation, and of the auto workers themselves. It must be defeated if serious consequences for the labor movement and the nation are to be avoided.

First of all, it would be grievously wrong to consider every opponent of the no-strike pledge and every worker who strikes today as a conscious enemy of the nation. But the reality is this: anybody striking today is either a tragic victim of or a partner in the sinister combination of unprincipled adventurers, Trotskyists, Norman Thomas "socialists," Christian Fronters, and other fifth-column alignments.

This combination has seized upon the no-strike pledge to advance its designs to capture the leadership of the UAW, and to continue its nefarious designs to undermine the aims of this war. These people do not, of course, openly advance their objectives. On the contrary, they pose as defenders of the workers' just grievances and masquerade as champions of trade union democracy.

So, Vice President Walter Reuther argued at the UAW convention that he stood for the no-strike pledge, but that he was also for the referendum on the grounds of union democracy. This jibes precisely with the baseless accusations of the Trotskyites that Philip Murray and other CIO leaders are bureaucrats who

do not represent their membership. According to them the labor movement should have made no pledge until every last union discussed the issue and voted on it. Meanwhile let the war wait. Reuther's argument also carries the implication that union convention decisions are not democratic decisions. It denies the principle of representative democracy, without which there can be no trade union democracy and consequently no trade union movement.

However, though Reuther talked democracy, his followers and collaborators hailing from the fifth-column were busily violating trade union democracy in their efforts to erase the union's no-strike pledge. When they failed to carry the outright repudiation of the pledge at the convention in September, they shifted their efforts to the factories, and fomented unauthorized strikes. Strike provocations increased as November 7 neared. During October strikes in Michigan reached a new record of 104, as compared with fifty-three in September, and the previous record of eighty in May. October strikes involved 133,669 persons, compared with 39,000 the previous month. These developments demonstrated something more than the violation of union policy by an unscrupulous minority: they uncovered the basic political motivations of the groups who parade behind the attack on the no-strike pledge. Their splurge of strikes was aimed directly at affording maximum aid to Candidate Thomas E. Dewey. And their efforts coincided with the statement made by C. E. Wilson, presi-

dent of the General Motors Corporation: "A strike might be bad for the corporation, but it would be a good thing for the country." And as you will recall, the GOP newspapers utilized every strike to foment more strikes while blame was placed upon the Roosevelt administration.

Now that the referendum is at hand, the Reuther-Trotskyite lineup is making another violent effort to provoke the maximum number of strikes in order to create maximum sentiment against the no-strike pledge. Underlying their strategy is the objective of ousting the pro-CIO leadership headed by R. J. Thomas, and to substitute for it the Reuther-Trotskyite leadership in the UAW. Labor observers will recall that at the UAW national convention the so-called "third caucus" of Christian Fronters and Trotskyists threw a feeler in this direction by running a candidate against R. J. Thomas.

This unscrupulous alignment considers the referendum a real "break." The Trotskyists have taken over ideological leadership in the struggle to rescind the pledge. A leaflet distributed in the name of an "Educational Committee" in Flint Chevrolet is typical of all such literature and reeks with Trotskyist propaganda. You can get the drift by running down the list of some of their main arguments:

1. This war is a rich man's war, and labor has no interest in it.
2. Labor has gained nothing in the war, has been deprived of its rights, has sacrificed its living standards and has made concessions without any gains.
3. The no-strike pledge is a "mill-stone" around labor's neck. "The strike weapon is labor's only weapon."
4. Big business is emerging from the war with "greater economic power and with a stronger political position." The workers "must prepare to meet the 'postwar crisis' which is absolutely certain to come."
5. Now that President Roosevelt has been reelected the no-strike pledge is no longer necessary. (This has been a particularly demagogic argument by these elements in view of their efforts to promote a third party movement, the candidacy of Norman Thomas and other activities calculated to defeat President Roosevelt.)

6. "The only people who have been for the "no-strike pledge are the top leaders of the labor movement, the Communist Party, the employers and the government."



Charles Nakata

First Warning

THE Montgomery Ward strike in Detroit, this past week, is a danger signal national in scope. Involved is labor's no-strike pledge which was reaffirmed unanimously at the recent CIO convention in Chicago; involved, too, is the no-strike referendum in the automobile industry which will begin next week. Thereby hangs a tale of great importance to labor and to the nation as a whole.

As we go to press the War Labor Board has ordered Montgomery Ward to comply with its judgment that the workers be awarded forty-six cents an hour as a minimum wage and that there be maintenance of membership. This decision came after the mail-order house again defied the WLB by refusing to attend a hearing scheduled last Thursday. The probability now is that Economic Stabilizer Fred M. Vinson will get the case and will pass it on to the President, with federal seizure as the possible outcome.

Meanwhile, Samuel Wolchok, president of the United Retail and Wholesale Workers has brought his Detroit members out on strike, thus violating labor's no-strike pledge. Labor, though supporting the justified demands of the Montgomery Ward workers, does not, in the overwhelming majority, believe that striking is the solution. But Mr. Wolchok, in collaboration with Walter Reuther, vice president of the United Automobile Workers, have a contrary point of view. They are busily seeking to undermine the no-strike pledge, although neither dared raise a dissenting voice at the CIO convention when the pledge was unanimously reaffirmed. The Reuther-Wolchok plan is painfully obvious: they hope, by involving Detroit's auto workers in strike actions in support of the Montgomery Ward workers, to influence the automobile referendum. They use the department store workers as pawns to further their own devious ends.

The WLB action demanding compliance last Thursday has blasted one of the Reuther-Wolchok arguments to the effect that all recourse under the WLB was exhausted. These enemies of the no-strike pledge have ignored the fact that the Attorney General has ruled Montgomery Ward essential to war and that the President's wartime powers apply to it. This was upheld by the courts in the previous Ward case. But the President's position is rendered infinitely more difficult when the union, too, defies the WLB by striking.

The essence of the matter is this: labor weakens its own position and plays into the hands of recalcitrant employers, by striking. The latter want strikes, realizing that they will boomerang against labor's just cause. The anti-labor press seizes upon every walk-out as a wedge against the unity of labor and our soldiers, in turn weakening labor's standing in the eyes of the country. The Reuther-Wolchok people are starting fires, the flames of which may sear the nation as a whole, not to mention labor, if they are allowed to have their way.—THE EDITORS.

Space does not permit a detailed examination of these arguments in this article. The mere statement of them is sufficient to indicate the main direction that clarification requires. It is significant that CIO President Philip Murray took special pains to demolish the lie that labor has made no gains during the war. He cited figures to prove that the CIO has grown by almost 700,000 this past year alone. This is but the numerical expression of extensive political and economic

advances made by labor, thanks particularly to the correct policies of the CIO and labor's general adherence to the no-strike pledge.

Let me cite but a few more significant facts that bear out Mr. Murray's position: Item: a fifty percent increase in straight time rates for women workers in auto since 1942—a tremendous achievement in itself, made possible largely by the policy of "equal pay for equal work."

Item: a seventeen percent increase in straight time rates for men since 1942, as well as numerous other advances conveniently ignored by the Reuther group.

It would, however, be perilous to underestimate certain specific dangers in the situation. Take, for instance, the strike of Negro workers at the Packard plant in Detroit in defense of seniority for Negro workers. There exists some unclarity among many Negro workers who believe that the strike weapon can be effectively used—by Negro workers as a group—to defend their position in the plants. This mistaken belief, if not corrected in good time, might well develop into a major threat to the unity of Negro and white workers that could spell disaster to the labor movement. And it is essential to note here that this correction is possible only if white workers take the lead in fighting effectively to safeguard the rights of Negro workers. This single example from Packard's highlights other specific situations offering fertile grounds for the opportunist and defeatist groups fighting the no-strike pledge.

The biggest danger in the situation is complacency, the failure to campaign for the largest possible vote in the referendum. The vast majority of auto workers patriotically support the war, and hence, the no-strike pledge. Recent experiences have demonstrated the harmful effects of strikes upon labor's position, and their futility as far as economic gains are concerned. The election experience has enormously advanced the understanding of labor that political action is labor's principal weapon to solve its problems under the conditions of a people's war.

THE referendum may well prove a crushing boomerang against those who fostered it. But it is necessary that all win-the-war, pro-CIO forces in the various locals, from officials to the shop stewards and workers in the departments, energetically accept the challenge and work for maximum clarity and the largest possible vote. The UAW is now preparing to spend thousands of dollars to mail postcards to all members, including those in the armed forces. Well over a million members must be reached. Tons of literature are being issued. It is regrettable that such an expense, in time and money, is necessary in these crucial war months when every effort should be directed towards supplying the needs of the fronts. But the referendum may prove worthwhile, providing the defeatists are unmasked and shattered in the final count.

THE PROBLEM OF COMPLIANCE

By **POLITICUS**

Washington.

BY DECLARING publicly that there is widespread non-compliance with War Labor Board directives throughout the South, a Tennessee CIO official last week (December 11) opened a subject for discussion on which very little has been said. The serious concern with which the whole subject of compliance is viewed by labor at this time, however, is indicated by a recent meeting of some twenty CIO attorneys in Chicago on the matter. For the record the National War Labor Board supports the principle that there must be compliance in all industry, but in practice there appears to be a growing tendency on the part of the board to institute delays and in general to horse around with noncompliance cases. Particularly is this true in cases which are not directly involved with vital war industry, or in borderline cases.

With the UAW-CIO's no-strike referendum in the offing, the board's reported weakening in its position on compliance and its tendency in practice to separate war from so-called non-war industry simply lends strength to the iniquitous Reuther influence. For it is argued by UAW Vice President Walter Reuther that after the defeat of Germany workers in civilian production should not be bound by the no-strike pledge. Of course no better way to split the workers and cause industrial unrest could be found, unless it is the proposal of Victor Reuther, Walter's brother, that the no-strike pledge be rescinded unconditionally.

OUTSTANDING case of noncompliance in the country now is the Mosher Steel Co. of Dallas. In the Mosher case, which has been kicking around over a year, a regional WLB maintenance of membership ruling never has been carried out. The WLB now has sent it to Fred Vinson, director of the Office of Economic Stabilization, who is the one who decides whether or not to recommend to the President that a plant be seized for noncompliance under the War Labor Disputes Act. But in this case the WLB didn't send it to Vinson for that purpose, but to see if the company could be forced to comply through application of indirect sanctions—withholding priorities and so on.

This is a new method of delaying cases. When I talked to a WLB spokesman, I asked how often indirect sanctions had been applied. Never, I was told—they just didn't work. Then why send a case to Vinson to see if they could be applied? Oh, well, the board sometimes did that just to see if anything could be done. "Isn't it just a delaying device?" the WLB spokesman was asked. "Well, it does result in delays," he said.

The Tennessee CIO statement was incorrect, the WLB claims. Southern plants *have* been seized. As proof it points to the Hughes Tool Co. of Houston, which was seized by the Army September 6 last. It was admitted, however, that the union, the United Steelworkers, had to go before the board with a petition for a compulsory checkoff, which the company insisted must be agreed to by the President. Under the War Labor Disputes Act no change in working conditions can be invoked by the Army without the President's consent. It doubtless will be approved by the President. But this is an example of how even after seizure Army procurement officers may fail to apply maintenance of membership

orders, as it was obvious was the case here or the union wouldn't have been forced to bring in a new petition. It is not that the military have any interest in pleasing the company in such cases, but that they fear losing manpower. But the solution to keeping workers on the job cannot be sought outside of the best union interests. It is the same attitude which prevails in their regarding the problem of manpower as one separate and apart from the matter of wages.

WLB points out that it has settled 10,500 disputes involving 10,000,000 employes and noncompliance is so unusual that there have been only twenty-four cases of seizure. However, the NWLB now has "from twenty-five to thirty cases where the staff of the national board has classified them as noncompliance." To a question of how many there were referred by the regional boards and still kicking around, unclassified, the reply was that there were a good many more than of those that were classified.

UNITED Cannery, Agricultural, and Packerhouse Workers has seven noncompliance cases pending, all in low-wage industries in the South. Typical of the so-called borderline cases are four peanut companies of Suffolk, Va., which shell and clean peanuts and sell to edible oil manufacturers, most of whose products are made under direct government contract. Army supervisors supervise the shelling and cleaning of the peanuts to see that they meet standards. Yet the case, pending for about nine months while a maintenance of membership order from the regional board is ignored, is still being studied by the WLB compliance division. If only one small Southern company in a low-wage industry were ordered seized it would have an enormously helpful effect through the South, union people say.

AT THE WLB show-cause hearing in six Montgomery Ward cases, after which the company was given three days in which to comply with directives, the union testimony presented an interesting sequence. First Samuel Wolchok, president of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes, which are on strike in four Detroit stores, described the company's failure to comply, and declared every Detroit CIO local was supporting the strike (Walter Reuther had leaped to do so). Then Frank Tobin of the Teamsters Union told of noncompliance in Denver, and said pointedly that his union was not striking, and a spokesman for the AFL clerks took the same stand. Then Atty. Douglas Hall, speaking for the St. Paul local of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, declared the company had failed to comply there, too, but added firmly: "Our union will not go on strike no matter what the provocation." When the ILWU stand was commended by industry (alternate) member Walter T. Margetts, and when Robert Watt of the AFL further declared the unions were in agreement on enforcement but differed in the way they went about trying to obtain compliance with a WLB order, Wolchok appeared far from happy. From Wolchok's point of view it is a dark day indeed when employer spokesmen take another position than that of Sewell Avery and actually cheer labor on for determining to continue uninterrupted war production.

BATTLE-SHOCK AND ITS CURE

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THE incidence of neuropsychiatric casualties in our armed forces is exceptionally high in comparison with casualties of all sorts, accounting for some forty percent of the total casualties, and seventy percent of all discharges. We know, too, from the Pepper Health Committee hearings of last summer, that more than a third of the rejections for admission to the services are for neuropsychiatric reasons. As the war progresses, and reports from psychiatrists treating men who have broken down in combat, and in camps, are published (for restricted use), the importance that morale plays in relation to these casualties is increasingly evident.

At a time when the President, General Eisenhower and numerous others are appealing to the civilian population to allow no letup in morale but on the contrary to concentrate new efforts on production for victory, it is to the point to get acquainted with what the psychiatrist is thinking of along these lines.

Col. W. C. Menninger, director of the division of neuropsychiatry of the Army Medical Corps, in his testimony before the Pepper committee said that for the man who does not "know what it is all about," does not understand the purpose of the war, "the chances of (his) breaking down are much greater than if the war is extremely important" to him. "We find that every time the morale is low, where the orientation of the man to his job is inadequate, we have a high neuropsychiatric casualty rating."

We see this same stress on morale brilliantly expressed in one of the fascinating reports from psychiatrists treating psychiatric casualties after battle. It points out how of course psychological warfare against the enemy is necessary, but psychological warfare for our soldiers is even more necessary. They have found morale one of the greatest preventatives in neuroses.

In talking to some of the men who are treating psychoneurotic casualties in hospitals in Washington, I was most of all impressed with the fact that morale is a primarily civilian responsibility. In other words, morale can be instilled in troops only to the extent that a whole nation is enrolled in the war. The men must feel that the people at home are with them all the way. Morale must be something that makes a man feel iden-

tity with the goal, and understanding of the necessity for the struggle, but he must feel solidarity with a group engaged in the same struggle. This is why the unions which send **cigarettes and literature** to their members—and the families and friends and organizations which do the same—are doing an important service. It explains, too, why Edgar Snow in his book, *People on Our Side*, reports that there is a small incidence of neuropsychiatric breakdowns in the Red Army.

WHY do we have so many mental-emotional crackups in our armed forces? Because, I am told, we have them in our civilians, in peacetime. There are twice as many persons in mental hospitals as there are in all others combined. The hopeful thing the war is teaching us is that with attention a large percentage of these may recover. The Pepper hearing brought out that eighty-five percent of Navy cases which end in mental hospitals have recovered, most of them in six months.

By far the largest number of neuropsychiatric casualties occur in the first three months after induction, I am told. Many occur in boot camps among the Navy and Marine corps men. Moreover, among those which occur at a later period after induction, it is not only the traumata or shocks of battle which precipitate the breakdowns. Inactivity in Army and Navy camps in this country tends to increase the number of neurotic complaints, many of which end in discharges. The soldier on the battlefield, on the other hand, is dealing realistically with death, rather than unrealistically with life. The psychiatrists put it this way: men who have a perilous adjustment to begin with are those who are apt to break down in the services. It is possible that they would not have cracked up in civilian life, but there is a greater chance they would have. The shock of adjusting to Army or Navy life, or the more severe trauma inflicted by combat, are the precipitating factors, but the basis is laid for them in civilian life. These neuropsychiatric studies, being made for the first time on such a massive scale, make it clear that we need a widespread system of low-cost clinics such as Senator Pepper envisions as one of our great postwar opportunities.

THE concept back of all the diagnosis and treatment of psychiatric breakdowns in the services, as it was explained to me, is one of security. The man may feel secure in his group for other reasons than an understanding of the nature of the enemy, but the latter is an invaluable aid. A sense of patriotism, even without a real understanding of fascism, may help a soldier to adjust, or even getting on easily with his fellow men and feeling a sense of oneness with his outfit. But he must feel that security from some source, that sense of belonging, without which the self-doubt which assails even the healthiest of men at times will take the form of doubting the rightness of the commanding officers, the necessity for little irksome red-tape details, or even the entire purpose of the war. With a sense of security, he can see the direction in which it is moving even though the Army is not a perfectly democratized instrument, even though there are inefficiencies and irritations. Without it, a soldier's own beefs assume large significance. Shock added to that may cause mental illness.

"These men don't tell me that they don't feel the home front is behind them, or when they were civilians that they didn't feel we were really in the war," said one doctor. "But if a man is in combat, and there is a shortage of shells, he doesn't stop to figure out why. He blames someone. He feels the home front is letting him down. Accumulations of such experiences facilitate mental breakdowns."

This is doubtless why some of the more careful spokesmen of the War Department, such as Undersecretary Robert P. Patterson, make it clear in public statements that strikes are in no way responsible for shortages in ammunition. On the other hand irresponsible statements such as that by Rep. J. Parnell Thomas that strikes and labor leaders are to blame, and the less wild but damaging remarks of Rep. Clare Luce in Paris that supply problems would have been whipped "if we had run the home front as well as the battlefield," only serve to separate the men on the front from their brothers in the war plants.

"There is no question that events in Greece are seriously disturbing the morale of our forces," one of the psychiatrists I spoke to said, "just as the

pronouncements of our State Department are giving the men great encouragement. These boys don't fight in a vaccum."

Training is, of course, highly important. The men on Guadalcanal, for instance, withstood hardships beyond human endurance and of a terrifying duration. Yet only fifty percent of them broke down. That all of them did not no doubt was largely due to the fact that in addition to being picked men, they were given highly specialized training for that particular assignment.

In England psychiatrists rely a great deal on group therapy—that is, morale building by psychiatrists working with normal groups. Here it has been tried in the camps to some extent, but only in isolated spots; there seems to be no available data on how successful it is.

Both here and overseas psychiatrists are using narcoanalysis to treat traumatic neurosis. It is very useful in getting the men to recount their experiences. Either sodium pentothal or sodium amytol is injected into the veins. Under its influence the patient reexperiences the intense emotions which accompanied the battle shock or trauma, which he has repressed since then. But under the drug he copes with these emotional experiences in a less disastrous manner, and with the help of the therapist is able to release the repressed emotions. Thus the ego, which has been crippled by the original experience, regains its strength, with the skill of the attending doctor, and the patient again is enabled to grasp reality. Often he will have retired behind complete mutism, amnesia, or a stupor. The greater the shock withstood by the man in combat, the better the chances for recovery, as only a strong personality could have withstood so much without breaking sooner. Repeated experiences, such as those of fliers who see first one buddy and then another shot down in flames, will finally break many of even the strongest personalities. The incidence of neuropsychiatric breakdowns among the flying personnel is comparatively low, however.

Shock treatment is used in hospitals here for depressions. Occupational therapy, play therapy, the various activities which are performed so invaluable by the Red Cross, and a fairly new thing, the psychodrama—all are employed in treating men whose mental-emotional problems are actually little removed from those of us so-called normal people. In most cases they are restored to take their place in society.

The most important function for civilians is to make these boys returning from the armed forces to civilian life—both the recent-sick and the well—feel that they have a place to return to and some security. How can this be done?

"By Roosevelt's program of 60,000,000 jobs," I was told by one therapist. "The vets must have special provisions, but the real answer lies in an economy which is good for all, not in giving merely the medical care and financial assistance to vets, which they should and must have."

The neuropsychiatric ills which afflict our society in such numbers are not inherited. They are not something which we must have with us willy-nilly any more than we must always have the poor with us. They arise from insecurity—emotional, economic and social insecurity. They are a product of our mode of life. And there is not much doubt that in an expanding world economy, individual isolationism as well as international isolationism would not flourish. In other words, our problems as a nation cannot be solved apart from those of the world. The problems of neurotics, likewise, are the problems of society as a whole. A broad collaboration among all sections of the population, business and labor and farmers, has been arrived at with the exercise of conscious purpose in order to win the war. With the same conscious will directed toward the welfare of the group, it can continue into the postwar. Many persons have found a conscious purpose in life for the first time during the war period. There are fewer neuropsychiatric breakdowns among British civilians now, which some British psychiatrists attribute to their more purposeful lives. It is conceivable that other drives may replace those which motivate so many people in this

country now with such adverse effects.

What sort of drives lead to neuropsychiatric breakdowns? In general, one of the questing doctors told me, they are the competitive drives so noticeable in our society. Competition breeds hostility, suspicion, mistrust. We have evolved a culture which has taught us not to love our fellow man, but to get ahead, to edge him out, to get the better of him—to hate him.

Most of the breakdowns occur in the middle classes. The poor have emotional troubles, too, as well as economic, but they are too occupied with the struggle for bare existence to develop much inward-looking, for one thing. For another, they have to depend more on their fellow citizens in poverty. They do not feel so alone. In their very class-consciousness lies some safety against the tragic loneliness produced by the endless competition of the middle classes. There were plenty of sick people before the war. But there were too many doctors—where people could pay well. Now, during the war, there is no unemployment or underemployment. All doctors are being used, Negro and white, and civilians by the thousands, who for the first time have enough money to pay a doctor, cry out for treatment and can find no doctor. The milk companies which used to compete and compete now, even with more milk produced than ever before, can't find enough milk to supply their customers, some of whom never could buy milk for their children before. We haven't had 55,000,000 jobs before.

Under the profit system as it has operated to date, with nations pushing each other around and invoking depressions, the man in business, or a profession, had to do the same. Knock your neighbor out before you get knocked out. And if a man attained a certain income, he must then drive himself to obtain a higher one. This drive, this constant competition, reflected itself in our entire culture, even in our sex life and home life, with many parents too intent on and harrassed by the race to love their children. Under the socialist society of the Soviet Union, of course, while men compete in skills, this strain of unnatural competition is removed. But even under capitalism, given the full economy envisioned by Roosevelt, this cut-throat competition can be drastically diminished. If we really understand there's enough for all, enough world markets—with industrialization of backward nations—maybe we can relax.



STATE DEPARTMENT FURORE

As we go to press, the Senate is still deliberating whether to confirm or reject President Roosevelt's six new appointments to the State Department. Rejection would be tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the President and his conduct of foreign policy. This was not the intention of some of the liberals who initiated the campaign against these appointments, which the reactionaries took over with so much zeal. But there is often a very great slip between intent and result, and it's about time certain liberals learned it. In this necessarily inadequate space let us briefly indicate the considerations which caused NEW MASSES to refuse to join this campaign.

The war and the future peace are a coalition war and peace, nationally and internationally. This means that they are in the interest of all classes, and the policies that further them require the support of all, ranging from the decisive big business groups to labor. Those policies are identified with the Teheran accord, and promise the kind of prosperous and peaceful world that is to the advantage of *all* classes and social groups. In the recent election the Teheran road for America was endorsed by a majority of the voters. The election was a victory not for the liberals alone, as some seem to think, but for the conservatives as well—for *all* the people. And it may well be that without the support of those for whom the *New York Times*, Walter Lippmann, and the Willkie Republicans spoke, FDR could not have won.

Yet the fact remains that certain sections of conservative win-the-war-and-peace opinion, represented by such papers as the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Washington Post*, because of old prejudices, acted counter to their own true interests and backed Dewey. It is evident that the big question mark in any future measures to implement Teheran are the leading big business groups, many of whom may not recognize their own stake in those measures and may therefore wreck the prospects for a cooperative and peaceful world. That is why the retirement of Secretary Hull, as *PM* recognized, was such a heavy loss, for he, by virtue of the great

prestige he enjoyed among conservatives, was able to enlist the broadest support for President Roosevelt's policies.

The President, over the objections of certain liberals, wisely chose as Mr. Hull's successor Edward R. Stettinius, who, because of his own conservative, big business background, could most ably continue Mr. Hull's work. The President and the new Secretary decided to undertake a long overdue housecleaning and reorganization of the State Department. They swept out two of the worst reactionaries, Adolph Berle and Breckinridge Long. They chose a new team of six men plus the best of the old Assistant Secretaries of State, Dean Acheson, to carry through the Roosevelt policies. NEW MASSES does not regard these appointments as the best that could have been made. Under other circumstances we might be disposed to criticize, for example, certain aspects of the past records of men like James C. Dunn, Brig. Gen. Julius Holmes, and Joseph C. Grew. But we do not propose to endanger the whole of the FDR foreign policy in order to remedy any of its parts. We decline, particularly at a time when a serious crisis in Europe requires the utmost support of our government, *to join with diehard enemies of our country's foreign policy in voting no confidence in Franklin D. Roosevelt*. And we refuse to let the question of who should execute a policy formulated by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stettinius blot out the meaning of that policy as magnificently articulated in the State Department declaration on Italy and the liberated countries.

Furthermore, most of the case against the new appointees in the *Philadelphia Record*, *PM*, the *Nation* and the *New Republic* was based on a wrong conception of the national unity coalition and of the main issues before the country. Though *PM* found it necessary to explain that it really was not hostile to big businessmen as such, its arguments bristled with that kind of hostility. Its indictment of William Clayton, for example, new Assistant Secretary of State in charge of foreign economic affairs, was that he was "as articulate and intelligent a spokesman for capitalist conservatism as Henry Wallace is of capi-

talist liberalism." We have great admiration for Henry Wallace and hope he is given a post where his splendid talents can best serve the country. But we submit that when it comes to persuading industrialists and financiers to back up the international economic agreements that must be the foundation of postwar stability and peace, Mr. Clayton, for all his faults, may well be able to do a better job than Mr. Wallace.

Moreover, we think it far less significant that Will Clayton opposed President Roosevelt in 1936 than that he supported him in 1944. Nor do we consider his attitude toward labor or farmers in the pre-war years nearly as important as his attitude toward an expanding economy and the furtherance of world trade today. On these questions Mr. Clayton's statements before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, assuming his acts support them, reveal him as qualified for his post.

What reduces this campaign to the ridiculous is that by *PM's* tests President Roosevelt himself would flunk. And in fact he has. Shortly after the election *PM's* I. F. Stone, who has borne the brunt of carrying the ball against the new State Department appointees, wrote in the *Nation* that "progressives have a double task ahead. One is to support the President; the other is to fight him. Both call for organized political action all the way down to the grass roots." And, continued Mr. Stone: "In organizing it would be well to keep away from White House influences, including the progressives in the President's own official entourage. Mr. Roosevelt wants labor's support every four years, but if I read his mind rightly, he is not too anxious to have labor operate as a going concern in politics."

Lack of confidence in President Roosevelt is a political platform of I. F. Stone and his associates at the head of PM. The State Department appointments were merely the occasion, not the cause, of *PM's* reckless expression of this distrust. And while Mr. Stone wants progressives to "keep away from White House influences," he and his colleagues are all too ready to drag them into association with such influences as Senators Chandler and LaFollette, both bitter

enemies of the Roosevelt foreign policy and the Teheran outlook. Can American liberals be blind to the consequences of that course?

The Soviet-French Pact

THE text of the new French-Soviet agreement makes clear the treaty's transcendent importance. For one thing, it marks a recognition of France as a great power without whose leading participation in European affairs key problems cannot begin to be settled. That may seem so obvious that it need not be emphasized. But there have been those, notably Marshal Smuts and our own Senator Connally, who wrote France off the political map for many years to come. On the face of it such attitudes are absurd, for Germany can never be held at bay in the West without France just as Germany cannot be restrained from the East without the presence and strength of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that the new treaty is directly aimed against a revival of German aggression and that it is one of a group of treaties that will be signed in the future. These agreements will parallel the present Soviet-French treaty just as it parallels the Anglo-Soviet and Czech-Soviet pacts. If anyone should believe for a moment that these understandings are or will be duplications of the old power alliances then he misreads their meaning and fails to comprehend the new context of European relations from which the treaties originate. They are power alliances only in the sense that they seek to collect and exert maximum power against potential violators of the peace whereas the ententes of the inter-war years were on the whole directed against the USSR with war as an ultimate objective. The new agreements reinforce Dumbarton Oaks and the collective security envisaged in that plan; they undermine the possibility of exclusive power blocs or an Atlantic Community, or any other arrangements which in effect divide the Continent and leave Germany the sole beneficiary. The Soviet-French pact forestalls such divisions and helps bind Europe together.

Nor is the pact a revised version of the one signed by Laval in 1934. It is entirely new for the very reason that France is no longer ruled by Laval. It is a liberated France which has made a fundamental commitment and it resembles the old France only topographically. It is worth noting also that De Gaulle and Bidault, the two men who negotiated the agreement in Moscow,

are devout Catholics. The meaning of that will certainly not be missed by those quarters under Vatican influence.

Spanish Currents

IT WAS obvious that as the war went against Hitler his disciple and ally, Franco, would find himself swimming in hotter and hotter waters. News reports indicate that the Spanish scene is full of latent and actual strife and that Franco is taking measures against a violent eruption. A new police force has been organized from members of the Blue Division which fought the Red Army. Sections of the old are proving "untrustworthy" in suppressing the outbreaks. In Toledo recently many Fal-



angists were attacked and killed. Franco is, of course, not losing time in making arrangements to save his regime and his neck. In his search for new allies he seems to have found one, Miguel Maura, a so-called Republican. Maura, through Franco's ambassador in Paris, has been quietly negotiating for a transfer of power to himself and a few others. Let no one be misled by this attempt at a "bloodless coup" for it is one device on which the Spanish fascists are counting to prolong their stay in Madrid. And in all these dealings Maura has the open support of Diego Martinez Barrio, the former president of the Spanish parliament (Cortes), and an associate of the Social Democrat, Indalecio Prieto. The whole affair has been denounced by twenty-one deputies of the Cortes who met in Paris. There they reaffirmed support of the Spanish National Union, the organization of the Republican exiles in France backing the Supreme Council of anti-Franco forces within Spain.

We earnestly hope that our government's replacement of the Francophile, Ambassador Carlton Hayes, by Norman Armour is the beginning of a radical departure from past policy. Mr. Armour has had first-hand experience with fascism in Argentina where as Washington's envoy he took a firm position against the Farrell-Peron coterie. The British have also recalled the ineffable Sir Samuel Hoare and have indicated that Franco will never be given a place at the peace conference—if he lasts that long. These diplomatic changes need to be followed through with meas-

ures that strengthen the Spanish people against their native oppressors. The giant meeting to be held in Madison Square Garden, on behalf of Spanish democracy January 2, should have a tonic effect on American policy.

White's Black Lies

YOU can find trash in other places than wastebaskets. It can also come wrapped in the covers of the *Reader's Digest*. In the December issue, William L. White, who accompanied Eric Johnston to the Soviet Union, writes what he "saw" there. He knows everything about the use of adjectives and nothing about the use of facts. His logic is of the Hearst school. The people who walk on the streets of Moscow are "shabbily dressed" (no explanations are, of course, offered as to why the Muscovite in war has no fine camel's hair topcoat or why his wife on her way to a war plant is not garbed in Schiaparelli's latest); therefore the USSR is inefficient, backward, dirty, uncouth, sublimely ignorant of the beautiful. During a concert, White saw no old people. He suggests that perhaps the entire aged population died during the "terrible famines," or "were they liquidated in purges?" Red Army officers are "fine looking" men but the only trouble with them is that they have "bullet heads." Having of course measured every soldier in the Red Army he is in a position to say that they are "undersized." And in addition to being a well known correspondent White is also a dermatologist of distinction. He feels himself qualified to say that Soviet women have bad complexions—this, again, after an examination of the whole female population. By now you get the essence of the White method of social research and observation. It is the method whereby prejudice replaces fact and fantasy conquers truth.

You would never know from Mr. White that the USSR has made gigantic strides in production. All that he could see after a few hurried visits to some factories is that they are "inefficient." Mr. White then is not only a dermatologist and an anthropologist; he also poses as a production expert. But let a genuine production expert speak. Eric Johnston covered the same ground as White: Johnston called Soviet production "an unexampled achievement in the industrial history of the whole world." White would like to leave the impression that our great ally consists of nothing more than crude, unsmiling men kept in bondage by equally crude and

Poland and Greece

MR. CHURCHILL's forthright position on Poland will be welcomed by all who desire to see that country get a fresh start in life under a new regime whose policies are democratic and representative. Towards Greece, the Prime Minister pursues an opposite and contradictory course. He would impose on Athens an authority so hated by the Greek people that they are defying it with arms. The contradiction is apparent from the fact that the Arciszweski camarilla in London which Churchill scorned is in essence no different from the Papandreou government which he upholds. The two groups speak different languages; that is about all. Papandreou is able to continue with the aid of British bayonets; Arciszweski, except for small bands of assassins in Poland, has no outside bayonets to support him. The moral of the story is that if the Greeks were left alone to determine their own future M. Papandreou would be looking for another job as Arciszweski and his colleagues will be doing very soon. And more, if what is desired in liberated territories is order and security, then it is eminently clear that they are attained where there is no external interference as is the case in eastern Poland. The moral will not fail to impress itself everywhere.

Mr. Churchill's discussion of the frontier question in a rejuvenated Poland is extremely helpful. He made it very clear that nothing is being taken from Poland that is rightfully hers. He pointed out that the new territory she would gain at the expense of Germany is more productive economically than such wastelands as the Pripet Marshes—"a most desolate region which, though it swells the acreage, does not add to the wealth of those who own it." The dispute over the border question, however, is symptomatic of something else. The problem could be settled in principle during one conference if the Polish emigres in London were not so stupid, so violently anti-Soviet. At the heart of the whole affair is what the future of Poland will be like. If it is to be the kind of Poland envisaged by Arciszweski and Kwapinski then the reordering of the Polish frontiers would not by itself resolve the problem of Germany. Admittedly it would help, but in no time the leaders of an anti-democratic Poland would be conspiring with Germans against the USSR. The Polish exiles are using the border question to keep Poland from emerging as a strong and independent democracy desiring to live in peace with its neighbors. And all those who persist in helping the Polish diehards are in effect using them as the means of keeping Germany in readiness for future adventures in the East. A genuinely democratic Poland, such as the Lublin Committee has in mind, would not haggle over borders. It would return gladly what does not belong to it and, in order to protect its democracy, would insist that Germany be so reconstituted that she can never menace Poland again.

But as we have said, Mr. Churchill's intelligent position on Poland cannot expiate Tory sins elsewhere. It would, of course, be the highest wisdom if he expanded the logic of the principles he used in Poland to cover Greece. And the way the fighting in Athens has been going it would seem that reason will prevail very soon. The steel-tipped logic of the EAM has proved too formidable. In the present context of events, Mr. Churchill's speech on Poland may also have been intended as a bargaining weapon. If that was his hope, it is too transparent. He cannot really believe that by putting Washington and Moscow on the spot, the world's attention will be diverted from the mulish blundering of the British government in Hellas.

Mr. Stettinius' statement on Poland reaffirms what Secretary Hull and the President had made clear on other occasions. Our government has a policy on Poland. It is for a "strong, free and independent Polish state," a policy that matches those of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. This US pronouncement should help hasten a settlement of the Polish problem on the most equitable terms.

barbarous leaders. Not even Hitler believes that any more and the *Reader's Digest* and Mr. White can hardly succeed where Hitler failed.

Speed the Trials

WHILE the liberated countries of Europe are proceeding with the prosecution of Nazi collaborators despite resistance and outside interference, there is an uneasy silence in our Department of Justice over the resumption of the sedition trials in Washington. There should be public assurance that the trials will continue and that the delay holds no other meaning than the selection of a new judge or perhaps a new method of procedure.

The prosecution of Nazi collaborators here and abroad is of supreme importance. It is an integral part of the war effort and the creation of a durable peace. Fascism and war will not be banished from the earth until every last fascist criminal and everyone of their friends have been punished and driven from public life and the propagation of their criminal ideology outlawed.

The speedy resumption of the sedition trials here will greatly encourage the liberation forces in Europe and help overcome the efforts to delay or evade the collaborationist trials in Belgium, Italy, Greece, Holland, and elsewhere. The present tragedy in Greece arises in a large measure out of a conspiracy to pardon the Nazi collaborators and place them in government posts. Secretary of State Stettinius has reassured the liberated nations that we stand for the right of self determination for the anti-fascist peoples of Europe. A statement by the Attorney General to the effect that the native Nazi collaborators will be given a speedy trial would be a splendid supplement to the broader policy of the State Department.

Mrs. Recy Taylor

A PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor has been formed and will soon be established on a permanent basis. This is indeed a welcome development in one of the most scandalous cases of injustice resulting from blind anti-Negro prejudice in our deep South. It was three and a half months ago that Mrs. Taylor was abducted, stripped and raped by armed white hoodlums as she was on her way home from church in Abbeville, Alabama. The criminals were identified, one even confessed, but in the hands of

white-superiority fanatics justice was not done.

The Chicago *Defender* and the *Daily Worker* deserve special commendation for having publicized the case. The work of Eugene Gordon, reporter for the latter newspaper, in ascertaining the facts, in personally obtaining Mrs. Taylor's story, and in securing from Governor Sparks of Alabama a promise to investigate, has been more than praiseworthy. We are also glad to note that *PM* has picked up the case.

The fight to obtain justice for Mrs. Taylor must have the widest support. The Provisional Committee has made a good start. It numbers among its members such outstanding leaders as Congressman George H. Bender, Republican of Ohio, Councilmen Cacchione and Davis of New York City, Rev. William Howard Melish, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia, and Samuel Novick, president of the Electronic Corporation of America. These must now be joined by many others. The Committee will thereby be able better to exercise vigilance over the actions of Alabama authorities and rally public support toward such points as the development of the case demands.

Doctors and Patients

THE problem of the doctor's bill and its headaches for both the doctor and the patient were the subject of a nationwide conference of both last week in Washington. A unique convention of physicians and public organizations gathered together under the auspices of the Physicians' Forum for the Study of Medical Care to discuss how to make available to all Americans, whatever their economic status, the immense capacities for medical care in the USA. The 150 representatives at the National Conference on Problems of Medical Care embraced both a wide number of forward-looking physicians' organizations and such important citizens' and workers' groups as the National Planning Association, the UAW-CIO, the US Chamber of Commerce, the Red Cross, the League of Women Voters, the National Consumers' League and others representing established groups interested in the general welfare. It also included delegates from the key veterans organizations, such as the American Legion and the Disabled American Veterans.

Panel discussions explored the prob-

lems of facilities, costs, the quality of medical care and its attendant training requirements, and the special problems of the veterans. The conference adjourned to take up what it regarded as its special tasks: spreading knowledge on these matters so that both the professional and his patient would fully understand the many legislative issues that will and should arise around the nation's health problem. The value of such undertakings as this conference cannot be underestimated in our search for a sound postwar program. These are the professionals' grass roots, and the professionals themselves by taking such initiative are setting an example by this sort of democracy in action. They are laying the only basis on which a sound national health program can be established, the mutual exchange of knowledge and the cooperation of the people directly concerned, toward planning improved organization and improved work. The growth and development of such conferences can serve both as a stimulus to the best sort of legislation in the whole national interest and to the active use of our professional people in solving the immense problems which lie before us.



FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

HIMMLER'S "GUERRILLAS"

IN BOTH basic theaters of this global war the general situation is not without similarity: both Germany and Japan are now fighting a three-front war. Germany fights in the east, in the west and in the south (also in the Far North, but this is a secondary front). Japan also fights in the east, in the west and in the south. German troops have to face their opponents from Kirkenes down to Yugoslavia and Italy and up to Holland. Japanese troops have to face their opponents from the Kuriles down to the Dutch East Indies and through Burma up to Inner Mongolia. However, there is one basic and all-important difference: while the Germans everywhere face a ring of true and tempered steel, the Japanese face a sector of steel from the Kuriles down to the Philippines, a sector of indeterminate "material" from East India to Yunnan, and a sector of putty in south and central

China. Because of this condition, the Japanese enemy, pressed hard by our steel in the east, is naturally "sinking" deeper into China, which cannot offer him any serious resistance at this time.

The ring of steel around Germany will inevitably tighten more and more and German resistance (which is proving much tougher in this stage than many of us optimistically expected) will contract in space and perhaps harden in composition. It may well form a sort of very hard "pit" after the "meat" of Fortress Germania has been eaten away. On the other hand Japan may well, when pressed hard enough between Japan proper and Malaya from the east, and bombed enough in the home islands, concentrate on a last ditch defense in China.

The possibility of such a situation arising in the first half of 1945 on both fronts brings to the fore two burning

questions: can Germany fight a long "Nazi-guerrilla" war after being defeated on the "regular" fronts? And, second, what about the military situation in China?

It is being reported frequently and from various sources that Himmler has worked out a master plan for the continuation of Nazi resistance after the defeat of the Wehrmacht on the "regular" fronts. The Nazi party apparatus is the nucleus of the resistance which is said to have been planned guerrilla style and for "a number of years."

That hard "pit" I speak of can only be the mountain massif which sits between Switzerland and Poland, Italy and Prussia. This has roughly the shape of a football, with its points in the Black Forest and in Silesia. It has an area of about 100,000 square miles and includes the points of Karlsruhe, Dresden, Katowice, Vienna, Graz, Villach, Verona

and Como. This area is stuffed full of mountains and girdled by more mountains. The Danube runs almost its entire length and through the lower middle. It includes such great industrial areas as Silesia, the Linz-Regensburg-Steyr region in Austria and the Czech industries. It can produce weapons, because it has mines and armament works. With its civilian population on half rations, it can feed a million or more Nazi fanatics who might retire into the Fastness for a stand to the death. There is nothing fantastic about the idea, given the fantastic Nazi psychology. Such great rivers as the Rhine, Elbe, Oder, Vistula and Danube have their source in this fastness and could conceivably be poisoned by the Nazis, carrying germs downstream into the areas of liberated Europe surrounding the Fastness.

HOWEVER, this scheme must not be confused with the raising of the Himmler *Volksturm*. The *Volksturm*, which naturally must represent the scrapings of the German manpower barrel, has a dual purpose. It is to provide as much third-rate cannon fodder as possible to make German resistance on the "regular" fronts last as long as possible. It is also devised to strengthen the hold of the Nazi party on the population and to make that population more able, psychologically and tactically, to conduct resistance to the armies of occupation. Through the *Volksturm* the Nazi party is endeavoring to sink its tentacles deeper into the body of Germany. In this Himmler may have some success, although the historical precedent he flashed before the German people during a speech in Koenigsberg when he recalled the "heroic record" of the old *Landsturm* of Napoleonic days (when a revolt against Napoleon started in Koenigsberg in 1813), is really not very encouraging because it is well known that the *Landsturm* was a complete military failure then, and was disbanded three months after it was called up.

As cannon fodder the *Volksturm*, according to Soviet accounts, was not so hot in East Prussia: the "*Sturmists*" took to the woods, but for safety—not for guerrilla warfare. However, enough saboteurs and murderers can be found among its nondescript masses of soured oldsters and depraved youngsters to make the life of the Allied troops of occupation unpleasant and difficult. There are reports that attempts at crimes reminiscent of the notorious *Fehme* of early Weimar Republic days

have occurred in occupied German territory in the west (the Red Army, past master at guerrilla warfare, probably stops such attempts short if and when they occur in the east).

However, the Bavarian-Austrian-Moravian-Bohemian fastness, that "Klingsor Castle" of *Parsifal* fame, will be garrisoned by picked Nazis, tried and true, and will be stripped of all doubtful and inefficient elements by means of a "permanent purge." The *Volksturm*, or whatever is left of it after the regular battles are over, will remain outside its walls, beyond the pale. *But it will stop functioning after the "Castle" has been demolished.* Thus, it is quite clear that the advance of the Red Army along the Danube, into the Fastness, is a move of prime strategic importance, because it threatens to occupy the Fastness before the Nazis shut themselves in in it thus threatening to deprive the future German resistance of its directing nerve center. If Devers and Tolbukhin, Patton and Malinovsky could meet on the Danube, say, at Regensburg, the execution of Himmler's plan would become impossible.

THE December 12 issue of *NEW MASSES* carries an article by Frederick V. Field entitled "Key to Far Eastern Victory." The article is so excellent and all embracing that I urge you to look up the issue and read it again before going on with this. I will not repeat what Mr. Field said, if only because I cannot hope to approach his incisiveness. Thus I will proceed on the assumption that you have read or re-read the article, which, aside from giving a broad military (and very competent) review of the events in the Pacific theater for the past three years, also gives you the political reasons for what is happening in China. For more background you might also read Maxwell Stewart's article in the November 25 issue of *The Nation* on "China's Zero Hour" which discloses, among other things, that one of the reasons for the failure of the Chinese Central Armies has been the lack of friendliness and cooperation between the Chinese troops and the Chinese peasants. In the Honan campaign peasants, angered by the misrule and depredations of Chungking's semi-feudal troops, rose and disarmed their own soldiers. The peasants are now using many of these rifles in guerrilla fighting against the Japanese.

So here you have the crux of the situation: the cleavage between army and

people in the realm of the Kuomintang. In Chungking Lenin's famous "man with a gun" is feared rather than loved. The situation in the Communist-led districts is exactly the opposite.

This seems to prompt a *modus operandi* for our war against Japan. Let us indulge in a little speculation of a strategic character. We have landed on Mindoro Island and are now creating a pincers for the Japanese in the central Philippines. Our airfields on Mindoro are about 150 miles from Manila and 750 miles from the coast of Indo-China, southeast China, Hainan and Formosa. This means that the Japanese sea lanes to the southern part of their stolen empire are in dire danger. The Japanese need a land route, clear from the northern Chinese ports to Singapore. In this last summer and fall campaign they practically won it. They are losing in Burma, and the Ledo-Burma Road will probably soon function. So they tried to cut it at Kweiyang, but temporarily failed.

Obviously our objective is the converse of the Japanese objective: we must cut that land route somehow. Can this be done simply by pumping a trickle of supplies into southern China and entrusting them to Chiang's "men with guns?" The experience of the past year or so does not make this a very hopeful proposition.

Of course, we must land in China ourselves and do some real fighting there, but this will take some time. We can try to bomb Japan out of the war with B-29's, but the experience in Europe (conducted on a scale much greater than we can afford in the Pacific) has shown that one does not bomb a major opponent out of the war. So what can be done? It seems to this writer that the best troops in China—the people's armies in the north—should be supplied and used to cut the Japanese land route, say, along the course of the Yellow River. Air bases for our bombers and fighters could be organized in short order in the Communist-led territory. Such air bases would be twice as close to Manchuria as those we lost in southeast China. As to the distance to Tokyo, Langchow is just as close to it as Kweilin. With full Allied recognition, with Allied supplies and American planes, the Chinese "northerners" could perhaps do the job. At least the plan might be worth consideration. It is simple to the point of seeming "simple," but then again, using *the people* in this war is simple.



JUDGING THE WAR CRIMINALS

By HANS BERGER

"He shot each child in the head with an automatic, after which he pushed it into the pit. Seeing what was taking place the children struggled and shrieked: 'Uncle, I am frightened! Uncle, I want to live, don't shoot me!' And so on, but the Germans paid no attention to this."—From the testimony of the accused, Bulanov, at the Kharkov Trials, December 1943.

Fears have often been expressed that all those suspected of having aided the Nazis will be indiscriminately punished. Such fears have not materialized, if we are to judge from the evidence thus far available, particularly in Italy, Belgium, and France. There have been very few cases in which suspects have been murdered without proof of their guilt, or innocent parties punished along with the guilty. Quite the contrary: it is now clear that fears of too great leniency toward the war criminals are more than justified. In Italy and in Belgium, as well as in France—though to a lesser degree—the present regimes have not treated the war criminals with a severity consonant with the people's sense of justice. In Belgium and above all in Italy the British military administrators have played an influential role in staying the hand of justice. Yet severity is politically necessary if these countries are to be purged of fascism.

Moreover, another dangerous phenomenon has come to pass: the "small fry" among the war criminals are more likely to be punished than the "big shots." In Italy and Belgium there were bankers, industrialists, and large landowners who were accomplices of Nazi Germany, who helped the Nazi war effort. Yet because of their social and business connections, they find it all too easy to get a hearing from the existing regimes and to win "international" sympathy. These tendencies represent a many-sided danger. They prevent the uprooting of fascism and the building of stable democracies.

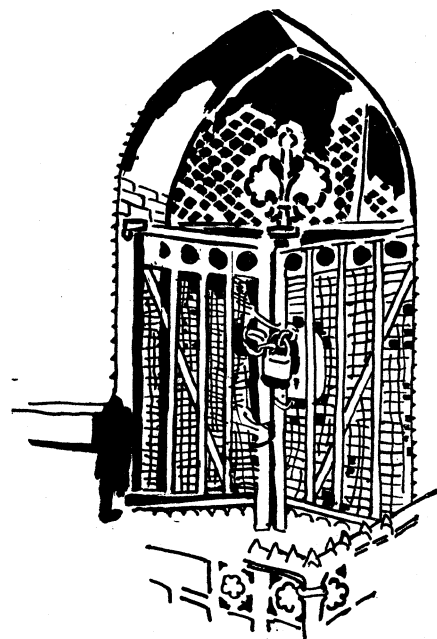
From an international as well as a strictly national point of view, the be-

havior of the German Weimar Republic with regard to its reactionaries and war criminals should serve as a dire warning to every country. For German imperialism was able to wage its terrible war of annihilation because the German people surrendered systematically to the domestic forces of reaction and fascism. But that was not the only factor involved: German imperialism also grew powerful because it found influential friends in the business and social world of every nation. Thus the punishment of war criminals in the liberated countries is the concern not only of the specific nations involved, but of the United Nations—of the entire world. We must not forget that the French, Belgian, Dutch, Italian, Filipino, and other collaborationists were and still are part and parcel of the German and Japanese war-machine.

Some will say that there is hardly any danger of a "soft" treatment when it comes to judging the German and Japanese war criminals. But this new book by Sheldon Glueck, Professor of Criminal Law and Criminology at Harvard University, should open everyone's eyes to the very real dangers that exist.*

The title of this book might easily have been: *In Defense of the Punishment of the War Criminals*. Professor Glueck carefully examines not only the experiences of the past—as, for example, the fantastic leniency toward German war criminals after World War I—but also every political and juridical attempt that will be made after this war to turn the punishment of the German and Japanese war criminals into a tragic flouting of law and the peoples' sense of justice. He writes: "It is still not certain that most Axis malefactors will suffer punishment for their misdeeds. True, there have been numerous solemn pronouncements by leaders of the United Nations that retribution stalks close upon the heels of the Nazis and Japanese war criminals. But similar official pronouncements were made during the first World War; and thus far only Russia has acted as well as spoken. A tangle of misguided public opinions and outworn but still sacrosanct legal technicalities could easily bedevil the plan to punish those leading Axis war criminals who survive. . . . Unfortunately the program for coping with war criminals (particularly the German) has to be developed in an atmosphere of still divided American and public opinions." (Emphasis mine—H.B.)

PROFESSOR GLUECK passes in review the arguments of those who are opposed to punishing the war criminals. First of all, there are the "perpetual skeptics" who do not believe that crimes were committed because "human beings simply don't do such things," and who dismiss all reports of atrocities as "propaganda." Then there are those who admit that terrible crimes were committed but who advocate sweeping forgiveness, branding those who call for revenge as blood-thirsty and un-Christian sadists. Finally, there are those who wish to leave the Nazis and fascists unpunished, thus supposedly obligating them to behave decently in the future. Glueck cor-



Helen West Heller

* WAR CRIMINALS: THEIR PROSECUTION AND PUNISHMENT, by Sheldon Glueck. Knopf. \$3.

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to participate in its Cultural Awards Dinner to be held at the Hotel Commodore, Monday, January 22, at 7:00 p.m. The dinner will celebrate a decade of our existence as a weekly and the 33rd anniversary of the magazine's history. At the dinner, sponsored by outstanding representatives from all fields of art and literature, the New Masses' editors will make awards for the most distinguished work in recent history, in radio, the novel, reportage, the cartoon, motion pictures (writing, acting & producing), the theatre, poetry, etc., etc. Recipients of these awards will be made known in this space at a later date, as will further details of the dinner. We are accepting reservations now. The charge is five dollars per plate, fifty dollars per table of ten. Send your check or cash to New Masses Dinner Committee, 104 East 9th St., New York 3. Paul Robeson, Senator Elbert Thomas, co-chairmen.

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rectly analyzes this point of view as nothing but a continuation of the old appeasement policy. He is also aware of the possibility that certain influential bankers and businessmen of the United Nations who have interests in the German cartels and friendly relations with the top German industrialists will do everything they can to save their colleagues' necks. An old proverb has it: "One crow doesn't pluck out the eyes of fellow crows."

Professor Glueck refutes those who declare all Germans and Japanese equally guilty, and who advocate the execution without trial of the top criminals, to make it impossible for them to use court trials as propaganda soundboards. He characterizes mass executions without trial as a contradiction of civilized concepts of law, and fears that many who fought against Nazism and Japanese militarism would be the innocent victims of such executions.

It is wonderful to watch Professor Glueck come to grips with the ideas of the old-school international lawyers of America and England who have been wracking their brains to discover all the allegedly legal difficulties that stand in the way of trying and punishing the war criminals. This school, motivated by simon-pure legal logic, finds it almost impossible to accuse and condemn the heads of the Axis nations or those who, at the command of their superior officers, have committed crimes (cf. the old Roman law: commission of crime under duress). They find it simply impossible to overcome a thousand and one other legal technicalities.

But in a few pages Professor Glueck develops a masterly modern theory of law, proceeding from the famous phrase of Justice Holmes: "A page of history is worth a volume of logic." Glueck writes: "The administration of justice is not some amiable little game of chess to be played forever according to the old rules though the heavens fall; it is rather a means to a socially and morally desirable end, and it must constantly be modified to achieve that end. In our day and age, *one major aim of the administration of justice in international affairs is to demonstrate beyond doubt that lawlessness, whether indulged in by heads of states, members of military general staffs, members of political cliques, or persons of lesser status, entails prosecution and punishment.*" (Emphasis mine: H.B.)

Armed with this modern theory of jurisprudence, Professor Glueck studiously picks to pieces all the legal techni-

calities and juridical sophistries that block the punishing of the war criminals. And in this way he traces the general lines along which an international criminal court could be set up. He warns against deferring the establishment of such an international court until after the creation of an international criminal code and legal procedures. The basis for such an international tribunal can be found, as Professor Glueck shows, in the many sources of conventional and common law, in the fundamental doctrines and standards of criminal law contained in the penal codes of all civilized peoples.

The problem of setting up such an international court for punishing the war criminals is a vital one. The United Nations have agreed that war criminals are to be brought to trial at the scene of their crimes. But there are tens of thousands of German and Japanese war criminals who have committed their crimes against the United Nations in Germany and Japan, and not only those who have tortured and murdered war prisoners and slave-laborers on German and Japanese soil. In this group are those who bear the fundamental responsibility for the execution of all these crimes—the hierarchy of Hitler, Himmler, Goering, and Goebbels, of Hirohito, Tojo, and Koiso, and the tens of thousands of administrators, political bosses, industrialists, militarists, and ideologists of German and Japanese fascism. Many of these—indeed, most of them—will not be captured until Germany and Japan are occupied. Who is going to bring them to trial? They have committed crimes against all the peoples. Would it not be fitting to have them tried before the juridical representatives of all the peoples in an international court of law? Thus runs Professor Glueck's extremely cogent argument.

To be sure, those who fear that such an international court would bog down in a maze of legalistic technicalities, the net result of which would be to let the war criminals go scot-free for the rest of their lives, will oppose its creation. They will find themselves preferring indiscriminate executions to the orderly processes of law. They will prefer to see the innocent condemned if, by so doing, they are sure that the guilty also receive their deserts.

Such a situation would of course be tragic. It would be proof that the United Nations are incapable of uniting in the prosecution of mass murderers and slayers of children. Justice and law will become objects of contempt and cynical

scorn all over the world. Professors of law, judges, and lawyers will find themselves members of the most despised profession in the postwar world. Jurisprudence will be defined as the science that succeeds in prosecuting Al Capone for non-payment of income taxes instead of for gangsterism and murder.

War Criminals is the work of a brilliant modern jurist who has laid the legal foundations for the punishment of war criminals and demolished with unerring juridical insight everything that is decrepit and outworn in the law. It is also a demonstration that on the basis of existing law, written and unwritten, *juridical cooperation between all peoples is possible* in duly punishing the war criminals before an international court. Professor Glueck's work is an auspicious event in American and international jurisprudence. It should be widely read.

Biographer to the GI

BRAVE MEN, by Ernie Pyle. Henry Holt. \$3.

THERE can be no substitute, as Ernie Pyle recognizes, for actual battle experience. The effects of prolonged front-line action cannot be transmitted second-hand. Yet impossibilities of this sort have never been known to discourage writers, and it is probable that no writer has ever come closer to success than Ernie Pyle.

Brave Men is a deeply moving book, extraordinarily alive and vivid. Pyle's picture of the mounting exhaustion of combat, his description of an infantry night-march through mud and rain and total darkness, his brilliant little vignettes, literally hundreds of them, of the men and their reactions in all manner of different circumstances, engaged in the countless tasks of modern warfare—these scenes are painted with great accuracy and understanding.

It is Ernie Pyle's ambition to be the trusted friend and faithful biographer of GI Joe. He admires and he gets along well with men of all ranks, up to and including Generals, but he is obviously most completely at home with common soldiers. The fact that he is so readily accepted by them on a basis of equality is clearly a matter of great pride to him. And not a matter of much surprise to the reader of his book. For Pyle himself possesses many qualities which are more or less typical of the American soldier.

Throughout his book he shows, in the first place, a deep interest in and affection for his fellow human being. ("I've found," he observes, "that Americans

like practically anybody who is even half-way friendly.") He is altogether without pretension, and dislikes and distrusts it in others. ("We liked him," he writes of General Eddy of the Ninth Division, "because he was absolutely honest with us, because he was sort of old shoe and easy to talk with.")

He has a sense of humor which is rich and unsophisticated. He is very fond of puns. He is very often afraid and very much afraid, and he says so. And he has the resolution and courage that enables him to return again and again, without the compulsion of military discipline felt by the soldiers, to positions of great danger. He is modest, patient, and sentimental to a degree.

He shares, too, his readers may suspect, in the general GI and American naivete regarding the issues of the war. When he followed the troops into Sicily, he was surprised and puzzled by the friendliness of the Sicilians. "The whole thing seemed kind of ridiculous, when I sat down and thought about it. These people were our enemies. They declared war on us. We went clear over there and fought them and when we had won they looked upon us as their friends." It does not seem to have occurred to him that Mussolini led an enslaved and reluctant people into war.

As for the Germans—well, the war has to be won, the Germans are the enemy and must be fought with efficiency and determination. Perhaps, even, they should be hated, though there is not much evidence Pyle felt this. There is no suspicion of Nazi barbarity, and war is still enough of a game, even though grim and deadly and filled with suffering, so that the major indignation is over hedgerow sniping, which is, somehow, against the rules.

Yet, though such a book as this could not possibly have come from the Red Army or the Fighting French or Yugoslavia (and though we are all fighting one war), that doesn't keep *Brave Men* from being a warm, vivid, and truthful book. Ernie Pyle "just sort of tried to write what the war is like, and didn't even especially look for hero stories, since there were so many guys who were heroes without there being any stories to it." He has done just that, and done it magnificently, producing a work of, by, and for the American people, which we can all learn from and be proud of. For from it the American GI rises full-bodied and alive, homesick and humorous, weary and resolute, making his way through the exhaustion and horror of war with that courage, common sense,

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Contents of the
WINTER ISSUE, Vol. IX, No. 1

RACE DISCRIMINATION AND THE LAW

Carey McWilliams

CARTELS AND THE SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY

V. J. McGill

PRODUCTIVITY AND EXPLOITATION UNDER GERMAN CAPITALISM

J. Kuczynski

PLANS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

V. Gaev

SOCIOLOGICAL PATTERN OF STRANGE FRUIT

Edwin Berry Burgum

Carol Aronovici on American Housing;
Nathan Witt on War and the Law; Anna
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Postwar Planning

THE ECONOMICS OF DEMOBILIZATION, by E. Jay Howenstine. Public Affairs Press. Cloth \$3.75; paper \$3.25.

PROGRESSIVE economists are writing a lot these days. There is an earnest eagerness to prove that our postwar economy can supply full employment and higher living standards if only we undertake intelligent planning and social regulation of our economy. In this valuable book Mr. Howenstine reviews the effects of lack of planning for reconversion in 1918, and outlines what must be done now to avoid the chaos and confusion of those dismal days.

Two-thirds of the book is devoted to an analysis of the economic skeleton of the 1918-21 depression. That was a time of complete reliance on "natural economic forces," the prevailing doctrine holding that our economic system is governed by some delicate cosmic laws which none dare tamper with—except the wise owners of "free enterprise."

Most of us remember the bitter fruit of that hopeless postwar depression: the high cost of living, the open shop drive, the Palmer Red raids, the endless strikes, the declining wages and mounting unemployment, all enveloped in a fog of ominous uncertainty. There are many valuable lessons to be drawn from a study of that period.

One of the author's best chapters is the "Mythology of Natural Forces," in which he relentlessly dissects the hitherto sacred and inviolable laws of private enterprise economy. The free market, free competition, and the automatic self-adjustment of the economic system are exposed as old terms that are no longer valid in an age of industrial combinations, trusts, holding companies and monopoly price controls. He implies that the old law of supply and demand simply does not work.

He proposes an expanding economy in which there shall be full utilization of our growing productive capacity. This requires social regulations of the economic enterprise directed towards a steadily rising home market and consumer buying power, together with increased foreign trade, as minimum prerequisites for full employment. In his outline the trade unions are assigned an essential role in the indispensable cooperation between government, industry, labor, and

agriculture. Mr. Howenstine's faith in private enterprise is by no means absolute. It is, rather, conditional upon that system's ability to serve the people. He makes his proposals with an earnest warning that "many writings do not consider seriously enough the challenge of unemployment to the permanence of a capitalistic system."

The emergence of this progressive school of economists is a welcome phenomenon. It is a new expression of our early democratic political philosophy that places human rights above property rights. The views of this school deserve encouragement, as well as friendly criticism. Their chief weakness appears in their treatment of economics apart from politics. They would be quite ready to display a keen interest in the far-reaching possibilities of the Bretton Woods Conference, but Teheran, which made Bretton Woods possible, is reserved for political commentators. By ignoring Teheran these economists also ignore the enormously significant progressive nature of this war.

Mr. Howenstine tends overmuch to attribute the chaos and confusion of 1918-19 and the depression of 1920-21 to outworn economic theories and the absence of planning. There was considerable economic planning in Europe at that time and yet it experienced a deep-going political and economic crisis far more devastating than our own depression. There is reason to believe that this time we can avoid postwar chaos and depression, but primarily because of the fundamentally different nature of this war. The last war did not resolve any of the acute rivalries and contradictions among the great powers, nor did it free the small nations or the progressive social forces from domination by the contending rival powers. And a new source of instability developed as a result of the hostile attitude of the great powers toward the new Soviet state. The last peace treaty was a long-term armistice, and serious planning for peaceful production was impossible.

The Teheran concord is a token and a promise of a new kind of a world freed from fascism and its related reactionary social classes. Teheran and the subsequent evolution of its basic premises forecast a political climate favorable to enlightened social and economic planning. Economics must again be conceived of as "political economy," indivisibly related to the emerging progressive social trends striving for a better world.

RALPH BOWMAN.



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"A BELL FOR ADANO"

Reviewed by **HARRY TAYLOR**

AFTER three years of running, mostly in the opposite direction, Broadway has at last caught up with the war by hitching a ride on John Hersey's novel, *A Bell For Adano*. Paul Osborn has done an admirable job of dramatic adaptation, my only cavil being that his meticulous faithfulness to the book prevented his avoiding its weaknesses and imbuing it with any strength which it did not already possess. Even so, it is the best war play we have had since *Decision*—and in terms of writing and production techniques, it is far superior.

Unquestionably, the play achieves a heightened significance in this historic moment of conflict between the Greek people and the British government's view of what is good for the British. For when United States Army Major Victor Joppolo of the AMG takes over the Sicilian town of Adano directly upon its capture by our troops, it is precisely the consideration of what is good for America and indeed, for the peace of the world, that compels him to his course. And this course is diametrically opposed to Churchill's. It puts the people first and not last; it not only operates for their physical well-being, it actually sets them on the path of democratic action; it does all it can by precept and persuasion to prove to them that, as the Major puts it, the practice of democracy "will make you happier than you have ever been in your lives." And the best part of the play is that by the time military stupidity recalls the Major from Adano, the process of change has gone far enough to make the people love him instead of fear him, and to give us the feeling that for the first time in their lives, they are voluntarily united to act upon issues of the common good. For all the last act bitterness of Joppolo being yanked out of a situation that still needs him, this is the meaning of the bell that peals out at the final curtain: that Adano's eyes are turned toward freedom and democracy, and that this is good for Adano, for us, and for the generations of man to come. Let the bell of Adano ring out!

The weakness which Osborn carried over from Hersey is mainly inherent in the unqualified nature of his attack upon the brutality of General Marvin's behavior in smashing the cart which impeded his car, shooting the donkey, and inflicting upon Adano an order tantamount to starvation: the order not to let any carts into the town. It is this order which Joppolo countermands, knowing full well that he is placing his head on the chopping block. I cannot but feel that though Joppolo is a thousand times right and should be honored for common sense and moral courage, the military aspect, which is made unrelievedly bad, might have been better balanced for the sake of truth as well as a better play. The orders of our General Marvins may on occasion be intemperate, even vicious, but the sum of their orders is winning the war—and Adano had first to be captured before Joppolo could come in. This equation might well have come from Joppolo himself because he is, essentially, just. Its denial places the secondary conflict of the play on the unfortunate level of a divergence of interest between the American military command and the welfare of not only the local people but of all Americans.

This comment aside, the play speaks boldly and effectively. It is a measure of Osborn's craft that he is able to get so many incidents of the original story into the compass of the one set which the Motley sisters designed: the immense, garish mayor's office, through whose shell-shattered windows is seen the town below. Thus, though we do

not witness the cart incident, we hear it as it takes place under the balcony of the office; we do not see the disturbance on the bread-line as the chief of police tries to walk in ahead of the waiting women, but we get its full humor and meaning in a lively scene when the women are brought in for Joppolo to punish. The movies will undoubtedly do better in the sequence in which the infuriated populace tries to revenge itself upon the former mayor, but we get the chance to see this fascist in all his loathsome character—and to understand why he is beyond reform whereas it is possible for Joppolo to work with others who were once avowed fascists. The incident of the three youngsters who drunkenly destroy the art treasures in the home in which they are billeted is used for a second act curtain: Joppolo talks to them on their responsibilities as exemplars of democracy and emissaries of American goodwill upon whose present behavior so much of the peace to come will depend. This is the only spot in an otherwise impeccable job of direction by H. C. Potter which I should like rearranged. Had Joppolo's speech been followed rather than preceded by Captain Purvis' sending his tell-tale order on the Major to GHQ, the curtain would have been more dramatic and would have supplied a sharper lead into the third act.

Fredric March is the perfect Joppolo, playing him in an earnest, common sense spirit, and with a large warmth that lights many a scene emotionally. We trust him as our representative abroad and we try hard along with him to understand why the bell which Mussolini took from Adano must positively be replaced. We share his rage at General Marvin's order on the carts and at the end, his feeling of despair when, with recall to Africa in hand, he accepts the deepest token of the affection of the townsfolk, his portrait in oil. But when he is about to leave, and the new bell rings out, we realize as he does that he has started something that will go on even without him. The play owes a great deal to March's feeling of the



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timely significance and deep sincerity of his character part.

In fact, the evening is full of beautiful performances. Margo, as the fisherman's daughter, has not much to do and yet does it so well that she tugs at heart-strings. Everett Sloane as the Sergeant MP who works with the Major and gets to understand his purpose so acutely that he asks to be transferred with him, wisely underplays his part. Bruce MacFarlane is Captain Purvis who later hates himself for reporting Joppolo's insubordination. One of the sturdiest, most impressive bits is turned in by Alexander Granach as the head fisherman who must be convinced before he will take his fleet fishing that the Americans are not gangsters like the fascists. Leon Rothier does well as the priest who explains the role of the Americans to his people in terms more fascist than democratic. Gilbert Mack and Tito Vuolo supply much of the comedy. There are other performances, too numerous to mention, which are cleverly worked out and help give the play its great liveliness and air of being about very real people.

As the producer, Leland Hayward is to be congratulated on his perspicacity in recognizing a play in Hersey's novel and getting Paul Osborn to adapt it. In consequence of his having been no less careful of all the other details of presentation, *A Bell For Adano* shapes up as one of the few genuinely important plays of the war years.

THERE is not much space left to comment on *Hand in Glove*, the only murder play remaining of the three which daggered their way to Broadway on the eve of the season of good will to all men. The survivor, presented by Arthur Edison, is based on the novel, *Hughie Roddis*, and was contained to stage by its author, Gerald Savory, in collaboration with Charles K. Freedman. It is a Jack-the-ripper melo and quite entertaining in its juxtaposition of the pervert and the humble folk of a Yorkshire town. I think it would have gained in suspense and general dramatic interest if it had been worked out more in psychological terms: the all-too-brief scene in which the Scotland Yard man plays with the murderer's glove while questioning him is an example of what I mean. As it is, propelled by the canny direction of James Whale through two exceedingly observant sets designed by Samuel Leve, it is good fare for those who enjoy an occasional psychotic on the loose. George

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Lloyd plays the psychotic with sufficient creative imagination to give his every movement sinister portent. There are many other skillful performances, the best of which are those by Isobel Elsom as the guardian of her idiot nephew, by Skelton Knaggs as the idiot, by Aubrey Mather as the Scotland Yard man, and by St. Clair Bayfield as the fussy old boarder who does not like the murderer's manners.

A PARAGRAPH regarding the revival of Marion DeForest's adaptation of Louisa May Alcott's American classic *Little Women* on the stage of the New York City Center until the end of the year. It is gay, lively, full of small sentiment, and very well performed. As a story of family loyalties and family love, it is especially suited to the season and offers a rewarding time for parents who wish to take their children to what is essentially a children's show. I am told that the book is still one of the most popular on library shelves. Certainly its readers would enjoy seeing Jo come alive through Mary Welch, and Amy through Susana Garnett, and Laurie through John Ruth, and the Professor through Herbert Berghoff. The production was directed by Jesse Royce Landis.

Films of the Week

"MEET ME IN ST. LOUIS" has been met with such a tumult of critical approval that to neglect a discussion of it any longer would be to commit *lese majeste* on the body esthetic. It is considerably less than the resounding masterpiece of filmic Americana that the general clamor makes it out to be, but superior to the general run of Hollywood musicals. This last is due to the charm engendered by the calisthenics of Margaret O'Brien and the singing of Judy Garland, who is still the most ingratiating of all film-land singers.

In its over-all pretensions, *St. Louis* is as gay as a Christmas candy stick, and just as artificial. It is pleasant to the senses, but comparable to nothing that grows out of the earth. It is compounded of the stencilled sentimentalisms that determine the calf-love adventures of the several daughters and the dialogue in the Sally Benson *New Yorker* pieces from which the film is made. Hence it achieves a cross between a sophisticated *Little Women* in technicolor and something that could be called *My Family Smith*. I do not know how



Lenin

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much of the picture touches on Benson (or Smith) fact, but of the social characteristics of yesterday it contains the usual thimbleful. This is outside of the costumes and other horse-and-buggy externalia that is reproduced with nostalgic accuracy. Much of the emotional nip-up that is supposed to provide the meat of the film results from Father's proposed transfer to New York, a move that would necessitate the family's leaving behind all the bounties of life in happy St. Loo. The girls, most of all, despair at the idea of quashing all the budding *papier mache* romances, and they rebel with a great show of anguish.

Little Margaret O'Brien is a valuable utility man and plays most positions on the Smith team with uncanny ability. She figures in one of the best sequences I have ever seen, which is due a great deal to her own contribution, and in one of the phoniest, which is not her fault at all. The first occurs during a Hallowe'en bonfire party. The O'Brien is not allowed to feed the fire until she can prove herself worthy. She must first undergo her trial by ordeal, which consists in throwing a handful of flour in the face of the neighborhood's most hated inhabitant. The camera trolleys along with her as she fearfully picks her way through the dark and menacing shadows. The street is alive with demonic threat and terror. The scene creates a genuine Walpurgis Night, through which moves our little champion of the earth-world. The music, her false-face, her horror-wrapped courage recall the life-in-death heroism with which the very young meet their first test of courage. Her voice quavers as her quarry comes to the door, and when she hurls the flour at his face, the world breaks out into sonorous peals of triumph. The dragon has been slain, and exultant music follows her back to the bonfire.

Unfortunately the effects of this beautiful bit are almost cancelled out by a sequence as unreal as this one is moving.

I refer to an incident in which the small fry, in a fit of emotional pique over the idea of leaving St. Louis, rushes out of the house in her bare feet to smash the snow statues in the front yard. All my relatives possessing children will rush forward to a man to tell you that I am no child psychologist. But I have never yet encountered a child (between four and nine) who didn't generate an enormous curiosity about a new place, a trip, an unknown adventure. Hence

this entire heartbreak at leaving seemed hoked up, all the more since it served as a kind of climax for the family decision to stay put.

I believe that the attempt to credit a child with place-associations that only an adult can erect, mostly through the passage of time, is indicative of the characteristic Hollywood weakness in its treatment of child actors. The notion is universal that the more nearly a child can approximate a grown-up in speech and manners, the cuter and hence more popular with audiences he will be. This accounts for the fact that in most films children behave like midgets rather than children—precious, show-case bright, unreal, performing little animals. The one real reason the Hallowe'en sequence is touched with comparative genius is because little O'Brien is allowed to behave like a child.

On the credit side of the film are a number of excellent songs which will roam around in your head for days after you've first heard them. Having enumerated the faults of the film as I found them, I can sum up my reaction by saying that if you don't mind the dyestuff that comes off with the first rain of reality, you will find it pleasant to watch and listen to Judy Garland and Margaret O'Brien.

“TOGETHER AGAIN” is a slick, slightly humorous argument for *Kinder Kultur*. Woman's place is in the marriage bed, and whosoever decrees that it might be something in addition, is a stuffed shirt, an enemy of beauty, and probably a baby-stealer. I am not making this up, as any Boyer-Dunne fan can attest merely by visiting the film. Miss Dunne is mayor of a small New England town, a fact that causes all her friends to go around tsk-tsking and shaking their heads. All that responsibility for a woman, especially a pretty woman! When not serious about her imminent consignment to hell-fire, sundry other characters are convulsed with laughter over the idea of a woman mayor.

Charles Boyer, as a romantic artist, is selected to be the man who will get her out of her robes of state and into something more suitable. Naturally he succeeds, and once more the ugly possibility of woman straying from the path between kitchen and bedroom, or in the case of the better heeled gals, between bedroom and drawing room, gets a telling blow in the noggin.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

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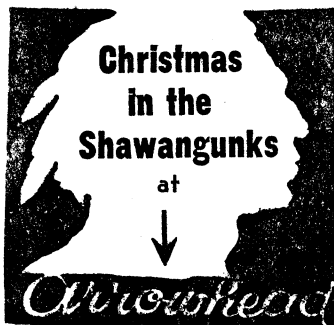
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