

HOW TO

DE-NAZIFY

by HANS BERGER

NEW MASSES

June 5, 1945

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OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

BY THE EDITORS

SAN FRANCISCO ZIGZAG

By CLAUD COCKBURN

RECONVERSION BLUES

By LEWIS MERRILL

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Postwar Jobs for Negroes, by George L. P. Weaver; Notes on the Notorious, by Virginia Gardner; Hayek's Road to Confusion, by F. J. Meyers; Fresh Winds in France, by Virginia Shull; Gus and the Lions: A Short Story, by John Meldon; George W. Norris' autobiography reviewed by Barbara Giles.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE interview by Pfc. Jerry Seckler with Picasso, published in *NEW MASSES*, March 13, has created more discussion and controversy than any other article we have ever published. The reader symposium in the May 15 issue "Understanding Picasso" represents but a handful of the letters received, and the mail brings more every day. An interesting aspect of the discussion is the number of "laymen" who have participated. Many artists, painters, musicians, writers, etc., discussed the pros and cons of Picasso from a professional point of view, but the majority of the correspondents have been white collar and professional workers. When *NM* published Picasso's cable stating why he had joined the Communist Party of France, a good deal of speculation arose concerning his work in relation to his political ideas. We believe that this discussion has answered many questions on that score, as well as throwing light on the value of Picasso's work artistically.

But what to do with all the excellent letters still coming in has been something of a problem. Lack of space, in view of the many pressing issues arising today, makes it impossible to give the subject more attention in the magazine. We would like to see the complete material published in pamphlet form, and if there are interested private sources we would be happy to work out arrangements. As a last word on the subject we are printing part of a letter from a West Coast reader, Serge Hovey of Los Angeles: "May I add a word to an extremely healthy discussion on Picasso and the general subject of contemporary art and its social function?"

"If we are to learn anything from the past and the great painters throughout all history, we must realize that the very nature of what we call art involves *plastic organization*, which means sensitivity to proportion, mass, texture, line, etc. This is what we call *form*. Granted the content of Picasso's art is socially tenuous, the form is superb. If we are discussing *art*, we have no right to oppose Picasso's work with productions that do not involve form, or plastic organization. I feel we must not include Norman Rockwell, etc., under any scientific definition of art, since such efforts do not involve plastic organization. It is evident that their easy acceptance by the vast majority depends primarily on other factors, such as sentimental association and accessibility.

"Picasso's painting cannot be regarded with a fictitious purity, either as a 'pure' waste of time or a 'pure' people's art. It can only be intelligently regarded as a contribution to the development of art in our time. He who opposes it must do so in a positive way and point to examples of

something better existing today. This cannot well be done and [Rockwell] Kent's opinions in the form that they are expressed are negative and unproductive (except insofar as they have stimulated discussion).

"We do not have any form of a developed 'people's' art in our country today, an art that attracts the overwhelming majority of the urban industrial masses. We do not have it any more than we have Communism. We do, however, have the right to demand of Picasso and other artists that they develop an ever closer relationship and identification with the positive forces that are moving in the world today so that they will be able to deepen their content in ever-widening terms. . . ."

ODDS and ends: Latest word from Editor Joseph North is that he has boarded a boat for home. More on this

later. . . . We have received more back issue requests for our special FDR number than for any other published this year. Orders are still coming in. . . . Movie critic and *NM* art impresario Joe Foster is on his way to Hollywood to conduct the third annual exhibition and art sale for Southern California. This latest sale will include many new and important painters.

We ask our West Coast readers to watch for detailed announcements in the magazine. Foster will also interview movie producers as well as send in his weekly column from Hollywood. . . . Acting editor A. B. Magil spoke at an *NM* gathering in Philadelphia last Friday on "Crisis and Unity in San Francisco." . . . Departments and individuals in *NM*'s office have agreed to a competition in sub getting. If you want to know how your friend or favorite writer is doing, come in and observe the huge chart in the outer office. . . . Tickets for the *NM* theater benefit are going fast. Read the ad on page 31—and fill out the coupon now.

J. F.

NEW MASSES ESTABLISHED 1911

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OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

DEAR Mr. President:

Since Mr. Roosevelt's death we have watched with anxiety the course our country has been following in its relations with the world. We knew from the moment your great predecessor passed away that many unsettled issues would become still more unsettled. In a sense it was inevitable. But despite our qualms it was also our firm conviction that no demands should be made upon you. We counselled our readers to be patient, to remember that you had pledged yourself to carry on from where FDR left off. We knew that no man could suddenly assume the Roosevelt mantle and have it fit down to the last stitch and buttonhole. Presidents are made, they are not born.

This belief has guided our thinking these past several weeks. But we are also now compelled—by what we have seen of the darker side of San Francisco, by what we read in the newspapers, by the ignominious chatter that takes place in certain Washington offices—to wonder whether all these startling moves and innuendoes directed against the Soviet Union primarily represent administration policy or whether they are just the old and hoary fantasies that were never part of the Roosevelt outlook.

We wonder about all these dismaying developments because we feel that it profits us nothing in the way of moral leadership and hurts the national interest. It profits us nothing to have Mr. Stettinius mishandle the Polish dispute, to have Undersecretary of State Grew join with the British in ultimatums to Tito, to have Mr. Crowley of the Foreign Economic Administration say that the USSR would discontinue getting lend-lease because she was not in the Pacific war and then for others to have to correct him. This is confusion compounded with prejudice. This is not policy.

You know as we know, Mr. President, that moral leadership is not bought over the counter. Men die for it—so many have already died for it. And we bring to your attention a letter we received from a soldier who asked in the most anxious way: "Is what I have fought for now to become a joke? Did I go through the torment of shelling and did I see so many maimed and killed to restore the Polish colonels to power—the same colonels who persecuted my parents in the old country because they were Jews? Did I fight to bring fascist Argentina back to a place of respectability when only three months ago I fought to bring fascist Germany down in ruins? Did I fight to win or to lose the friendship of the Russians?"

This soldier, Mr. President, wants to know. He senses that something evil is in the air and he closes his letter by saying that only an "energetic and total cleansing of the atmosphere will satisfy me that I am wrong."

That cleansing it seems to us has to begin by removing all the debris that now obstructs American-Soviet friendship. There is no better place to begin because any other beginning would permit our reactionary imperialists to bring an end to the grand alliance. You know and we know that if there had been a firmly rooted friendship between us and the Russians before Munich, then Munich would never

have darkened the world and Hitler could never have won his tremendous victories. It is plain from everything we have read, whether it was Mr. Roosevelt's speeches or the studies of objective American historians, that there never has been a basic conflict of interest between the United States and Russia. We have had common interests for decades on end. This is more true today than ever before when both nations have fought as allies in the greatest liberating war in history.

WE ARE not surprised that there are disagreements between Washington and Moscow. Only in a dream world or in the confines of the graveyard is there absolute unanimity on every issue. The disagreements, of course, matter, but shall they matter enough to divide us from the Russians? Or shall the disagreements be the means for evolving a deeper understanding and a firmer cohesion between our two countries? Shall we say to the Russians, as Herbert Hoover said in 1940, that the diplomatic recognition of their state was "a gigantic political and moral mistake"? Shall we let Senators Vandenberg and Taft, or Hearst and McCormick and Patterson of the newspaper axis, becloud the future of world peace by allowing their hatred of the Russians to become the cornerstone of our own policy? Can we entertain the spurious business of an Anglo-American bloc which inevitably will place us in opposition not only to Russia, but to practically the whole of the new Europe?

Peace does not lie along that path, Mr. President, for at the end of that path is utter ruin. In the end we shall be alone again without allies, without friends. Relations with Great Britain will be unstable if those relations are exclusive. You recall what happened at the international civil aviation meeting in Chicago from which the Soviet Union was absent. The bickering between the United States and Great Britain shocked the world. And that bickering will sound like sweet music compared to the furies that will be unleashed in a partnership made up solely of Washington and London. We have nothing but the deepest admiration and respect for the British people. We need them as they need us, but we strongly suspect that the British people themselves in the overwhelming majority are opposed to an isolated bilateral arrangement, for they know that in the short or long run it will bring them too into conflict with the Russians.

"May this country," said Mr. Roosevelt last October, "always give its support to those who have engaged with us in the war against oppression and who will continue with us in the struggle for a vital, creative peace." We feel strongly, Mr. President, that many of our leaders have been moving away from this fundamental proposition. We appeal to you, as we are certain thousands of others have already and will, to act immediately to right the balance, to repair the damage that has been done. We must go forward again.

Respectfully,

THE EDITORS.

SAN FRANCISCO ZIGZAG

By **CLAUD COCKBURN**

San Francisco (by wire) May 28.

AS I WATCH this great conference moving towards its end, I keep recalling something that happened on the train coming out here. It was in Nebraska. On the wayside stations people came down "to see the peace train go by." It was the thing people did that evening. It was deeply touching and it gave delegates of that particular train a considerable jolt in terms of realization of their responsibilities. Later I was talking to a brakeman about this matter. He said, "You have it wrong, brother. They don't give a damn about the delegates, they've just never seen so long a train."

Roughly that is a picture of the two views you can take of this conference. It's of course a whale of a long train. And it's a peace train too. Whether it is an effective peace train or just inordinately long is going to depend on how the people—and in particular the people of the United States—act in relation to the machinery being set up here. I don't think anyone would deny that this machinery is at least an enormous advance over machinery established by the League of Nations. And this for two reasons. First, because it corresponds better to the realities of the world as it is. Second, because in rather a vague and hesitant form but, nevertheless positive, it does make a bow to the new democratic forces of the world which are going to change the world.

The two things are tightly tied together.

You will have noticed that throughout the conference there has been in one form or another a persistent effort to weaken the original big power unity emerging from Teheran, Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta. And that has been attempted usually in the name of some general proposition relating to "the rights of small nations" or "international democracy." Yet here, despite all the grave and dangerous issues that have overhung the conference without being directly subjects of its discussions, you have seen that by and large these attempts have failed. There have been times when the unity of the big powers has been terribly strained. There have been times when this or that disruptive element sought the use of momentary strains in order to break up the machinery itself. That hasn't succeeded. In

other words it has not been possible for those elements to use momentary strains and divergencies among the powers for the purpose of preventing the establishment of machinery by which this kind of divergencies in the future can be dealt with.

At the beginning there were a lot of people—notably I suppose, Senator Vandenberg—who wanted to write into the charter records a lot of big words for the concealed purpose of substituting these big words for a really effective charter.

It is possible that the most significant fact of the conference is this: The big words got written in all right—big words about employment and about independence. But they only got written in after a fight which in the end exposed all those who meant them simply as a hoax. Just because there was a fight over them, just because Molotov above all insisted that if they were going in at all they had to mean something, the whole world has had its attention drawn to those aspects of the charter and is going to go on drawing everyone's attention to them from now on.

I DON'T think that what is ultimately emerging on trusteeship or on independence, indeed on the whole colonial question, is very satisfactory. But I am quite sure that it's a great deal more satisfactory than—for example—the British government delegation dreamed or feared it would be when it got here. In conversation the British and some Empire delegations are fairly frank on this issue. They admit that for example the Economic and Social Committee turned out to be a good deal more important and more realistic than they imagined it could be. They are alarmed by that, but it has happened and that is in line with quite a number of other things that have happened in San Francisco.

Whether the machinery is going to work instead of rust depends obviously on the vigilance and activity of the organization of peoples of the nations concerned. Nobody is more aware of this than progressive Americans. That is why here in San Francisco today you find all the progressives from all over the United States agreed that one of the most important next steps is to get the

World Trade Union Congress geared into this organization and to reverse the exclusion which the reactionary forces succeeded in securing here.

COMING back to the machinery you get this picture. First, throughout this conference there have been, and there are going on as furiously as ever as I write, attempts to use outside issues to prevent the machinery from being built at all.

Those attempts are failing. It doesn't mean to say that when the next all-important step of the ratification of the charter by the United States Senate has been taken, the maneuvers of the United States reactionaries, aided and abetted in an almost insane fashion by the British delegation, won't come home to roost. They will. There's been a lot done here that will have to be paid for sometime this summer in Washington. Still the charter is at least going to be agreed on in San Francisco. And it is important—as a kindly light amid surrounding gloom—to recall that to date what has happened here has been a defeat of all those forces—ranging from Senator Vandenberg to that political pixy Anthony Eden—which directly or indirectly have sought to upset the principles of the Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta and above all the principle of unity and the responsibility of the big powers for the maintenance of world peace and world security.

So far as that is concerned the machinery has held together well—so far. That in one form or another has been the question which has been bobbing up right through the conference. But—despite it, sometimes despite the Latin-Americans, sometimes the Canadians—it hasn't after all succeeded in shifting the conference from the Yalta basis. It is not unimportant that even leaders of the Canadian delegation in conversation will admit—even in the midst of the fight over this issue—that if the Security Council were to call upon Canada to provide the forces to act against aggression and if the Canadian representatives were to object but were to be voted down, then Canada would come into line and accept the majority decision. That, despite the backwardness and general absurdity of Canada's position—taken with an eye on the Canadian elec-

tion—offers a certain criterion of how far the acceptance of the new world security machinery has gone. I suppose nobody but those political opium eaters who imagine that if you can't get everything it is better to get nothing would deny that this is a great central positive fact of the conference.

San Francisco Rogue's Gallery

THE machinery for quick and efficient international cooperation worked out at Dumbarton Oaks and improved at Yalta was endorsed by San Francisco. Which shows that those forces which—for example—sent the United States towards Yalta are still somewhat effective at this time despite all efforts to defeat them. The picture is slightly different when we come on to the issues which bring more sharply into focus questions of future positive development of world society. As you know the Soviet Union's delegation here has taken a leading part in trying to get specific obligations in a written charter. On the question of whether or not the charter should obligate the security conference aim for "full employment," the Soviet delegation was successful. It is not uninteresting that on this issue the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation supported Vandenberg — one more instance of the alliance between the extreme Tories and the noisy, fraudulent Social-Democrats. Equally interesting is that Vandenberg in opposing "full employment" being written in as an objective said privately that it would be wrong to write into the charter a declaration on a matter "which had been an issue in a political campaign." He was at first opposed to writing in full employment, but later retreated gingerly and he is still today looking around for ways of negating the maximum implications of that phrase.

On trusteeship and colonial discussions the divergencies have been not less revealing. By and large it has been the question which the Soviet Union, and in large degree China, has been seeking to broaden out to define the precise rights of the colonial peoples. About this, two things have been said. First, is that finally the charter won't go very far in this direction. Second, is that it will go a long way further in the statement of principles—which are the principles all colonial peoples can refer to later—than several of the governments concerned with the trusteeship issue originally ever imagined it would.

Mr. Cockburn is a distinguished British journalist and editor of "The Week."

NM June 5, 1945



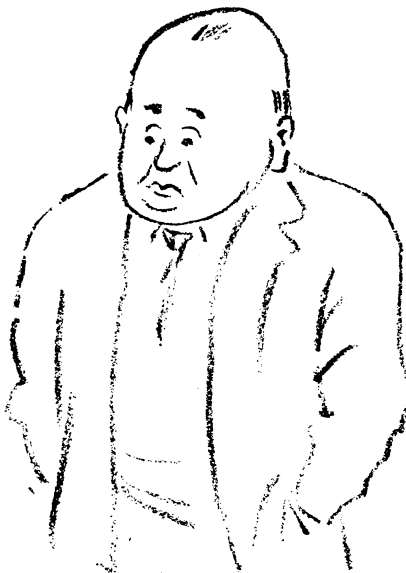
Constantin A. Fotich—pressure group for Mikhailovich.



Gerald L. K. Smith—pressure group for America First and isolation.



Charles Rosmarek—pressure group for London Poles.



Indalecio Prieto—one of the pressure group for the Junta Espanola de Liberacion.



Vandenberg.

G. H. Oppenheimer

RECONVERSION BLUES

THE San Francisco Conference to the dismay of the democratic world has been crackling with dissensions among the Big Three. These widening rifts threaten the ability of the conference to provide reliable machinery to guard against aggression and curb economic and political antagonisms. Here at home, the death of President Roosevelt and victory in Europe have likewise caused a relaxation of our wartime national unity and a growth of political and economic strains.

The increased international strains registered most visibly in the admission of fascist Argentina to the conference, the exclusion of Poland and the brutal affront to the World Federation of Trade Unions. But they have their domestic counterparts in the difficulties being encountered by the Bretton Woods proposals, the full employment bill and other key measures before Congress. And what is true in the field of legislation is equally true in the field of economic practice.

International strains and domestic difficulties are, of course, not unrelated. World reaction, beaten to its knees by the destruction of fascist military power, is mobilizing to renew its struggle with democracy. It is using new ways and new forms, but it is the same old struggle with the same dreary theme of isolating the Soviet Union.

The United States, the stronghold of private enterprise, the home of the world's most powerful employer class, has been chosen as the new marshalling ground for an ancient conflict which even the Crimea accord has not yet put to rest. In the course of the war, the dominant employers made definite commitments to the American people. Now some of the largest of them would like to dodge their obligations.

We always knew that victory in Europe would bring up a host of new problems. We made very little effort to prepare. Last fall in place of the popularly supported Kilgore bill Congress passed the George bill, which, though a more limited measure, did provide an Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion to deal with the very questions we are now called upon to meet. Basically these two questions are the maintenance of adequate production for the war against Japan and the development of an orderly transition to reconversion to provide larger supplies of consumer goods and to maintain full employment. Judge Vinson did provide a "report"—"The War—Phase Two." But, after reading it, one is less sure than ever that these problems are going to be met.

In plain terms, the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion is without an over-all policy to control reconversion. Meanwhile, the War Production Board, most powerful of the government's economic agencies, disavows its clear responsibility to aid reconversion.

Judge Vinson estimates a fifteen percent cutback in war production during the next six months and a possible leveling of unemployment at 1,500,000 with a peak of 2,500,000. But private estimates place cutbacks as high as fifty

percent and unemployment at 5,000,000 with a 7,000,000 peak. Quite a difference!

The absence of a clearly stated and firmly administered program plays directly into the hands of powerful employer interests who are deliberately seeking to create unnecessarily high levels of unemployment. Their aim seems to be to achieve simultaneously a basis for a drive on wages and a concerted effort to capture the largest possible share of the peacetime market, shoving out of business thousands of lesser employers by the process of liquidation or bankruptcy.

The highly centralized character of our war production, with ten primary contractors as the chief channels of war manufacturing, lends itself to the schemes of those large industrialists who seek an economy of scarcity. Because their larger and more efficient production facilities win for them the lion's share of the lush war market, they feel free to pursue policies antagonistic to the interests of the nation.

The reconversion wage policy just announced by the National War Labor Board admirably suits their purposes. The WLB has initiated a policy, at a time when the labor market will be glutted with newly unemployed, of relaxing controls over wages. What it was not able to do in a tight labor market it now finds it possible to do. "We are placing our chips on collective bargaining," says the War Labor Board chairman, Dr. George W. Taylor. For the unorganized workers, still the majority of the American working class, the board proposes "to trust the good faith of American employers." Which American employers? The ones who are driving for an economy of scarcity, or those who signed the Labor-Management Agreement to which the most powerful American employers have yet to assent?

While ostensibly seeking swiftly to institute new wage rates to ease the reconversion process, the War Labor Board has thus contrived a policy than can be used to downgrade all of American labor. If the aim had been to create the groundwork for a gigantic strike wave, it could not have been more cleverly devised. No one has stopped to wonder about the thirty percent wage increase to maintain take-home wages that William Davis, Economic Stabilization Director, used to talk about *before* V-E Day.

Thus, concurrently, there are being undermined the prospect of a durable peace, the aims of the Atlantic Charter, the promises of the Economic Bill of Rights and the provisions of the Labor-Management Agreement. World reconstruction based on full employment and a rising standard of living is being carved away.

Darn clever, these "Vandenbergs"! Their assumption is that what is good for the nation is bad for them. If they are not careful, the nation will take them up on it. For there is still the great power of the labor movement which has consistently followed the principle that what is good for the nation is good for labor. Labor will not fail to give incisive leadership on these fundamental questions. The American people, who have been singularly passive since the death of President Roosevelt, cannot fail to support labor and its allies. In fact, the lash of the cruel events that reaction promises should arouse the very real anger of the people of the United States. National unity, and all that it represents in terms of democratic victories—military, political and economic—must be defended and yield new victories to America and all peace-loving mankind.

HOW TO DE-NAZIFY

By HANS BERGER

IT HAS been said that the Allies were not going into Germany as liberators but as conquerors. That is, of course, true, but it is not the complete truth. Allied armies have smashed the Nazi state, destroyed the Wehrmacht and have driven the Nazi party underground. And in doing all this the Allies have liberated the German people from the terrible tyranny of the Nazi dictatorship. The liberation of the Germans is, therefore, a historical fact. It is true that at present a big majority of Germans do not understand this. But the objective significance of this historical event does not depend upon its immediate subjective recognition by the Germans. After all, the whole problem of the "reeducation" of Germany consists precisely in making the Germans understand the significance of their liberation.

If it is true that German imperialism brought about the downfall of that modern nation and was the instrument of the degradation of the Germans, then how else could the destruction of the Nazi dictatorship be classified but as the liberation of the German people? And if it is true that objectively the most progressive class in every bourgeois society is the working class, then it is also true that the annihilation of the Nazi suppressive apparatus means the liberation of the German workers even though these workers have failed time and again to fulfill their historic duties and allowed themselves to be corrupted by Nazism. Only those who accuse the Allies or some of the Allies of having in mind a future for the Germans even worse than fascism will deny the fact that Germans generally and German workers in particular have been liberated by Allied arms. These people will, of course, continue to protest against the "enslavement" of Germans and German workers. Such people exist not only in Argentina and Spain but also in the United Nations. The thoughts of these people are expressed in some of that reactionary press and literature which will soon, in the name of freedom of the press, be sent to the Germans in order to make their reeducation more difficult than it already is. And I would not be surprised if funds the Nazis have hidden in various countries will be employed in the business of bringing such a "free press" to the Germans.

It is an undeniable fact of the libera-

tion of the Germans that they did not play an important role in freeing their country from fascism. Nothing happened in Germany which could be compared with the developments leading to Mussolini's downfall and the liberation of northern Italy. All the hopes of anti-fascists and the hopes of the free German movements were not fulfilled. No powerful German anti-fascist movement turned up as the Nazi state dissolved. With perhaps some exceptions, German soldiers and civilians did not turn their guns and their wrath against the oppressors and begin cleaning Germany with their own hands.

It is true that the Nazi party was not able, as it so often boasted, to rally the largest masses of German civilians and soldiers for a fight until death. The so-called unbreakable fighting unity of the Germans around their leader and the Nazi party proved to be a myth in the decisive hours of the Nazi regime. However, the power of the Nazis lasted long enough even when the military defeat of Hitler Germany was clear to cost the Allies much blood. Nor did German soldiers and civilians mete out quick justice to the German generals and Nazi gangsters. On the contrary, they followed them like sheep. The Doenitz and Schwerin-Krosigks held on by inventing the myth that, thanks to the German generals, millions of German soldiers and civilians were saved from the wrath of the Red Army. The last maneuver of the German generals was carried out not only in order to continue the business of splitting the Allies but also to prevent a split between the

mass of Germans on one side and the German imperialists and their friends on the other. The maneuver to split the Allies proved unsuccessful. How far the other maneuver succeeded only time will tell.

The task of the Allies in de-Nazifying Germany is, of course, made much more difficult because no unified, powerful anti-Nazi movement exists within Germany. If certain people have considered that some of the liberated people went "too far" in punishing war criminals and in cleansing fascists, in Germany unfortunately no such danger exists. The real danger in Germany at present is rather the danger of something likely to be called "order": that is, the inability or unwillingness of the broad German masses to hunt down all those responsible for the Nazi dictatorship, for its crimes and for the war. There is only one great harm the Allies could do the Germans—and thereby to all the peoples of the world—and that is to discourage them from becoming involved in the biggest cleansing of a nation that history has ever seen. This means the carrying out of the Yalta decisions in regard to Germany. The fulfillment of these decisions is a dire necessity for the security of all peoples against a rebirth of the power of German imperialism and new German aggression. These decisions are at the same time in the national interest of the Germans themselves as the only way of safeguarding the future against new internal aggression of German reaction and fascism and as a way back into the family of nations.

NOTHING, of course, would be more dangerous than to believe that all Germans will find the way to a new life by recognizing the reasons for Germany's downfall, or that it can be found with the help of books about the advantages of democracy—books written by people who have yet to learn the rudiments of social and political science. For those Germans whose interests are inseparably linked with German imperialism and monopoly there cannot be a renaissance of the country except in the form of the old military and economic power. This kind of German will never stop seeing Germany as the "heartland" of Europe—a Germany

(Continued on page 21)



Abit.

FRESH WINDS IN FRANCE

By VIRGINIA SHULL

This is the second of two articles by Miss Shull on political and economic developments in France since the Liberation. The first, published in the preceding issue of NEW MASSES, dealt with the economic developments of the Liberation and post-Liberation period.

DESPITE reactionary efforts to nullify the economic achievements of the French Liberation, new laws bringing with them a new democracy in France's economic regime are gradually being instituted. However short of the reforms desired by the Council of National Resistance they may be so far, these laws already pioneer in a new economic democracy, legally providing for an unprecedented participation of labor in the conduct of both the general and particular elements of the national economy. Most important and specific to date is the ordinance establishing the *comités d'entreprises* (labor-management committees). Since October, the ordinance has been worked out in a committee of the Ministry of Labor, presented to the Consultative Assembly for lengthy debate and finally issued as a government decree on February 22 (text published in the *Journal Officiel*). In brief, the ordinance calls for the compulsory establishment of *comités d'entreprises* in all commercial and industrial undertakings employing a hundred workers or more. They are to consist of from five to eight delegates, according to the size of the plant, with a certain number of alternates. Both workers and technicians will vote from lists of candidates presented by the most representative trade union in the firm (i.e., from the CGT, if that union is dominant, or the CFTC, if that is; alternative arrangements for a simple majority vote are provided in case this does not furnish a majority representation). The delegates are to meet at least once a month to discuss the progress of production in the plant and any other matters with which they are concerned and are to be allowed up to fifteen hours on company time for their activities on the committees. Management, for its part, must present to the committee at least once a year a complete report on the state of the firm and an outline of its future plans. Joint stock companies (*sociétés par actions*) employing 500 workers or more must

inform the committee on the annual profits and entertain suggestions from it as to their disposal. Corporations (*sociétés anonymes*) of the same size are required to present to the committee an audit of the firm's books as well, plus the usual stockholders' report. The committee's suggestions for the disposal of profits must be submitted to the stockholders' meeting. Special provisions are made for the committee to choose at least one of the auditors charged with auditing the firm's books for the stockholders so that the employes may have confidence in the financial reports. The provision for access to the firm's financial records was one of the most drastic and most debated, and many efforts outside the Consultative Assembly were made to prevent its incorporation into the ordinance.

The committees are to be advisory only and are to have final say only in matters of social welfare—light, air, working conditions, etc. They are not concerned with wage negotiations, which are left to strictly workers' bodies. Any worker of eighteen or more who has worked for a year in a plant is eligible to vote for the committee, but he must be twenty-five and have had two years' residence in the locality to be a candidate as a delegate. No one found guilty of "national unworthiness" is eligible. Delegates will hold office for three years, with no limit on the number of terms. If at any time a *comité d'entreprise* and the management fail of a solution to any problem, the matter may be taken to the regional Inspector General of Industrial Production, attached to the Ministry of Industrial Production, where it will be reviewed by a consultative arbitration council, adjunct to the relevant *Office Professionnel*, with the addition of an *inspecteur du travail* from the Ministry of Labor. The ordinance was scheduled to be in operation by April 22.

A SIMILAR inclusion of labor representatives is also taking place in the higher bodies of French economy. Vichy's *comités d'organisation*, the coordinating bodies of the national economy, have been reorganized and renamed *Offices Professionnels*. On February 10 it was announced that the original 127 Vichy committees had been reduced to

sixty and temporary chairmen named in place of the collaborationist heads, after consultation and agreement with the trade unions. The consultative arbitration committees attached to the *Offices Professionnels* are to consist of equal numbers of representatives from employes and employers. The head of the biggest chocolate trust will no longer also function as head of the *comité d'organisation* for the chocolate industry and allocate materials at his own sweet will, as he did in Vichy days.

While the purge of top committees has apparently been settled in collaboration with the trade unions, regional units of the *comités d'organisation* are only beginning to be replaced with more democratic bodies, and one of the factors seriously retarding the resumption of a going French economy is the grave proportion of Vichy personnel still remaining in these important administrations.

Any final appraisal of these reforms will have to await the living development of the ordinances. In the meantime it is interesting to note that although the articles of the *comités d'entreprises* ordinance provide for opening the conduct of private business to a thorough inspection by the employes of the business, and hence (with the exception of matters of patent secrets and the like which the delegates are enjoined by law to keep secret) to a large measure of public review, they are not unwelcomed by French business. J. J. Meyenbourg, writing in the weekly, *Action*, indicates that the honest *patronat* is much interested in measures that will provide for a smoother collaboration between capital and labor for the good of both, and expects these measures to replace the "spirit of conflict between classes" with one interested in the increase of "social productivity." And *Free France* reports that while the *comités d'entreprises* were still under discussion forty Paris businessmen called a meeting expressly to indicate that they would do everything in their power to make them a success out of gratitude to the French working class for its contribution to the Liberation.

Robert Valeur, of the French Information Service, just returned to America from three months in France, reports that meetings of *comités d'entreprises* which he attended were discussing "bet-

ter methods of production as well as hours and wages" effectively and "dispassionately," and that in every plant where they have been set up so far output has risen promptly.

THERE has been considerable criticism, however, on the timidity of the decree from the CGT and the Resistance. Albert Gazier, secretary of the CGT, wrote in *La Resistance Ouvriere* immediately after the publication of the decree under the heading "We Are Not Satisfied" that the CGT felt these measures were by no means strong enough to command the enthusiasm of the workers. They should have been extended to all enterprises, not merely commercial and industrial undertakings; as the ordinance stands, he said, it would apply to less than fifty percent of all workers. (Communist deputy Bernard Paumier in the original Consultative Assembly debate fought to have the ordinance applied to agricultural enterprises as well; these along with various non-commercial or nonproducing organizations make up a large share of those not included.) M. Gazier called for their application to all enterprises of fifty workers or over. Moreover, the original text of the law called for review by the *comites d'entreprises* of all suggestions for improving production put forward by both management and employees, not merely those suggested by employees. He objected also that when suggestions by the committees are not adopted by management the provisions for appeal of decisions may easily be sabotaged by the administrator charged with bringing the matter before the appropriate *Office Professionnel*. Most important is the status of existing *comites d'entreprises*, those out of whose success the present ordinance has come. Instead of their being established permanently, their statutes were marked as subject to review and renewal only after the establishment of the law. The consultative nature of the decree, instead of impelling the workers to a continuation of the remarkable efforts called forth by the Liberation, will, in the opinion of the CGT, provide only for "vague conversations" on the conduct of an enterprise instead of active participation.

An official declaration of the CGT in the same issue of *Resistance Ouvriere* deplores the fact that the full recommendations of the Consultative Assembly, which embodied most of the provisions desired by the CGT and which were unanimously adopted by that body,

were not carried out. At the same time, however, it supports the ordinance despite "*un texte insuffisant*," and declares that the CGT will work for an enlargement of the powers of these committees and of their rights to investigate, while working at the same time for the solution of other equally important questions, such as wage levels.

These criticisms forecast an earnest working out of the ordinance as established, with a collateral struggle for their enlargement.



Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

WHILE certain sections of business and the trade unions seem agreed upon the direction in which French reforms should take, there still remains the fundamental question of the nationalization of the big trusts—France's key industries, on which the rest of her economy depends. In this whole matter, so bound up with the elimination of collaborationist sabotage, the de Gaulle government has hardly begun to move. The Renault auto enterprises were confiscated outright and nationalized in the October days and are now producing successfully for the state. The initial step taken last November of nationalizing the coal mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais departments, where three-fourths of France's coal is mined, was far from satisfactory. The arrangements created a management with a consultative commission of twenty-four persons, nine from the state, eight from the staff, five

from the industrial consumers and two from the old operators, with profits to be divided among the state, the staff and social security. This leaves a significant number of the old management in positions of control. Moreover, a scandalous indemnity was provided, eight francs per ton of production in 1938-39, a considerable portion of which went to M. Raymond-Paul Duchemin, president of the Kuhlmann Chemical Trust, a notorious collaborator, financially linked to I. G. Farben. It is significant that even the nationalization of a large section of the coal mines was only provisional, with a clause for a complete review of matters a year after the original decree. This grave hesitation on the part of the government continues.

In his speech of March 2, on the immediate prospects for French economy, which left such misgivings among members of the Consultative Assembly, de Gaulle spoke of going about these changes with great caution, taking great care that private initiative not be stifled, and by the very vagueness of his remarks indicated that the nationalization of key industries demanded in the manifesto of the Council of National Resistance on March 15, 1944 was by no means immediately on the agenda. Even while he paid tribute to the creative work of the trade unions in France's rebirth and promised them a real share in the conduct of the new France, he gave no indication that he recognized the distinctions between the traitorous de Wendels of the *Comite des Forges*, the Peyerimhoffs of the coal trust and patriotic French business. Papers from the heart of Lorraine, the de Wendels' country, report that already the *Comite des Forges* is repeating its treason of 1936 and of June 1940 in sabotaging production in order to prevent the economic revival of France and to provoke disorder. And the de Wendels feel so secure in the new France that three of them dared bring suit for 3,000,000 francs damage for slander against the *Front National* weekly *Action* for attacking them.

Jacques Duclos, a leading figure in the Communist Party and deputy in the Consultative Assembly, made a vigorous plea at a session of that body, immediately following de Gaulle's speech, for putting the "Vichy saboteurs" of French economy where they could do no more damage. The applause left no doubt of the Assembly's general support of his demands. And his plea for immediate nationalization of French key industries,



"Can't you make it look a little less bumpy?"

according to the proposals laid down by a joint manifesto of the Communist and Socialist parties (itself in effect repeating the pre-Liberation demands of the Resistance Council), reveals what it fears in the slow plans de Gaulle indicated were in the making. Duclos reports that instead of the outright confiscation of the goods and interests of traitors and the indemnification of other owners and stockholders (detailed in Yves Moreau's "Index to France," *NEW MASSES*, April 3) all too reliable reports indicate that the government is planning a nationalization which would consist in the assumption by the state of something equivalent to a fifty-one percent interest in the organizations nationalized, which would leave a very

considerable power in the old hands which betrayed France before.

(Since this was written General de Gaulle has made a broadcast in which he promised that by the end of this year coal, electricity and the "distribution of credit" would be placed "organically" under the control of the state, and indicated that he considered these to be key controls with which the state would be in a position to guide the whole national economy. Significantly he did not use the word "nationalization," and he promised that these moves would not involve "spoliation," meaning presumably that property owners would be indemnified, one fears, in the same manner as the owners of the already nationalized mines of the northwest. Once more

de Gaulle has carefully steered around the main issues of confiscation of the goods of traitors and the removal from controlling positions of the economic collaborators, especially the *Comite des Forges*.)

AROUND these sharp differences of opinion, the struggle between the Resistance, supported by the overwhelming French masses, and conservative and reactionary forces inside and outside the government continues. Within the limits of such conflicting demands we may expect to watch an important sample of the modified capitalist economy of the new Europe develop, barring exceptional reverses. The forces of the French working class are strong and vigorous with the success of the Liberation experience and have a deep-going will to eliminate the old elements of corruption, which they have underscored with vigor in the recent municipal elections. They have already indicated how seriously they view their new role as participants in the national economy by setting up labor universities to train those who may be expected to take part in the new planning and coordinating bodies of French economy. But many other questions will have to be solved in conjunction with the proposed organizations we have discussed here. France has a serious peasant problem, intimately bound up with the terrible food situation and the black market. Temporary organizations like the *comites de gestion* which arose to conduct sequestered businesses will have to give way to permanent ones. Still to be met are countless questions of ownership and stockholders' problems, problems of foreign holdings with all the ramifications of modern finance, problems of wage and price levels, now a burning issue, and a thousand and one other matters which may be expected to turn up on France's immense reconstruction agenda in the immediate future.

But whatever the size and shape of France's remaining problems, the really remarkable achievements of her first eight months of reorganization settle several large questions, and the most important is that however slowly the de Gaulle government may seem to act France is moving toward far wider and more creative participation of the trade unions in the national economy, that is, toward a considerable degree of industrial democracy; and the forces spurring the government are vigorous, conscious, and will contemplate no abrogation of their demands.

GUS AND THE LIONS

By JOHN MELDON

Gus deftly slid a cup of coffee before me, hardly rippling the amber surface of the liquid. He wiped the counter around the cup and glanced at the headline in my paper.

"The Red Army can lick hell outa them Japs," he said. His tone invited argument, but I wasn't having any. He glared at me, waiting for an answer.

"Of course they can," I said and I meant it. What damnfool wouldn't mean it? Furthermore, I knew the counterman too well. One of those fine old warhorses of the trade union movement who had spent the best part of his life doing his little but potent bit entrenching a union in an industry (if you can call restaurants an industry) infested with chiseling employers. But, like some oldtimers, Gus sort of missed the bygone era when his days and nights were taken up with picketing, local meetings of a bedlam, factional character, and organization drives against open shop restaurant chains. Now the industry was organized and Gus had nothing to do but work under excellent union conditions—and follow the war news. In lieu of anything else more exciting he had also undertaken a one-man campaign to root out and exterminate, verbally at least, any citizen who didn't see eye to eye with him regarding the invulnerability of the Red Army. Trouble was, he rarely ran into such people these days and had taken to picking on guys like me in a kind of desperate anticipation that I would show the slightest sign of wavering in my deep respect for Zhukov's lads.

Gus had just about given up hope, at that moment, of my committing some sacrilegious *faux pas* when someone slid onto the stool beside me. It was Danny, an Irish friend of mine, just in port after a run to Marseilles. Danny ordered a sandwich and coffee and leaned over to read the headline.

"Ah, ha!" Danny cracked, "So Stalin's gettin' tough again."

Gus practically scalded himself at the urn. The light of battle leaped into his eyes and he all but jumped in our direction. He didn't know Danny, by the way.

"Whadya mean?" Gus rasped, sticking his nose right up against Danny's. "Whadya mean that *ah, ha?*"

My friend Danny took the counterman in at a glance, measuring him perfectly.

"Well," said Danny, a note of half-apology in his voice, "I only meant that Stalin's gettin' close to the thin edge."

"What thin edge?" Gus bellowed.

"Just this," said Danny a little more belligerently. "He'll tangle with the Japs and he'll *lick* them, but that'll make him too cocky and then he'll pick on *one* country I have in mind, and that's where he'll go too far."

Gus was fit to be tied. He had never dug up a victim of this calibre. He leaned on the marble counter and breathed his next come-on question right into Danny's face.

"And just who'll he pick on he can't take care of?"

"Ireland," said Danny.

Gus was stunned. He looked at me, and back to Danny, who was casually biting into his sandwich. I maintained a deadpan expression. Gus jerked his head toward Danny again and resumed battle.

"You nuts?" he challenged.

"The trouble with you, and a lot of people," Danny said, "is that you don't know the fightin' history of Ireland. Them Irish are dynamite. Did the British ever conquer them, after 700 years? Who won every war the British ever got into? The Irish! It's just a good thing King George didn't hire a couple of Irish regiments instead of the Hessians to come over here in 1776, that's all. . . ."

Gus was spluttering, but Danny prevented another outburst by holding up his hand like a traffic cop. "Wait'll I prove my point," he commanded. Gus jammed his hands in his apron pocket and leaned back.

"Go ahead, wise guy," he hissed, "prove it!"

"Well," continued Danny, "didya ever hear what happened when Emperor Claudius invaded Britain away back in 900 B.C.? No? Well, I'll tell ya what happened." Danny took a leisurely bite and munched dreamily. He was deliberately drawing it out.

"This Emperor Claudius, he goes through the English like a dose of salts. He licks them, but good. Then he decides to invade Ireland. That's where he made a mistake. The Irish met his legions on the beaches and tore them to shreds. But the Romans, somehow or other, managed to take sixteen Irishmen and their chief, Daudeen, back with them as prisoners when they retreated."

All this time the counterman was staring at Danny. His patience was that of an executioner letting his victim have a last few words.

"Then, when the Emperor got the seventeen Irishmen to Rome, he decided to make an example of them. He put them in an arena with seventeen armed gladiators."

Danny turned to me and remarked solemnly, "Of course, the Micks were not armed." Giving his attention to the counterman again, Danny went on: "The Emperor was sore as hell after the Irishmen took the gladiators' weapons away and bashed their heads together, scattering their brains all over the sawdust." The counterman winced. "The next day," Danny continued his saga, "the Emperor threw the unarmed Irishmen into the arena against twice as many gladiators, and again the prisoners knocked their brains out." He paused a moment and remarked: "Of course, it took them twice as long this time."

"So now the Emperor was really burned and he separated the prisoners in cages that night so's they couldn't git organized for the next day. Then, came the next day and the Irishmen marched out into the arena for the third time."

"What happened?" asked the counterman, now fascinated.

"Well, there were no gladiators this time," said Danny, "and while they waited for whatever was comin', they began to talk to their chief, Daudeen—that's a nickname for Pat—and one of them asked Daudeen where he had gone the night before. They knew he'd been taken out of his cage in the dark of the night by a Roman guard."

"Well," Daudeen says, 'you lads remember that good lookin' colleen who sat up front yisterday whin we had that little ruckus wit' them gladiola fellers?' The prisoners nodded. 'Last night,' Daudeen went on, 'she sint a guard to take me to her house. The guard, he snuck me up to her boodwah, and then. . . .'"

Just at that point, Danny said, the Romans turned loose sixty ferocious, hungry lions into the arena and Daudeen saw them.

"So Daudeen stops tellin' about the night before and says to the prisoners, 'Whoa, lads! I'll tell ye what happened in the boodwah whin we chase this bunch of cats. . . .'"

I almost fell off the stool. Danny con-

tinued chewing and looking at Gus, his rough features wreathed in beautiful innocence. Gus stared, thoroughly puzzled, and then his eyes narrowed.

"Yeah," he said finally, "but that was a long time ago. Now you take them Stalin tanks. . . ."

"I ain't got time to argue more now,"

Danny halted him. "But I'll be back."

We paid our checks and as we walked out I saw the waiter looking hard at the counter, as though trying to figure something out. He was still struggling with whatever it was in his mind when we walked out on the sidewalk. Danny

was in a hurry so he said he'd be seeing me and he beat it.

I watched his short, stocky figure as he went away, and wondered at the luck of certain men in surviving some of the bloodiest fighting in the Spanish civil war and three torpedoes at sea.

POSTWAR JOBS FOR NEGROES

By **GEORGE L. P. WEAVER**

We present this article by Mr. Weaver, who is director of the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, as a basis for discussion of an important postwar problem. Because Negroes have as a rule been the last to be hired in war industry, some members of the labor movement have expressed the fear that under the seniority rules established in most union agreements, cutbacks in industry during the reconversion period will result in laying off a proportionately larger number of Negro than of white workers. It has been suggested that labor itself take the initiative in adjusting seniority rules to prevent the loss of a large part of the gains made by Negroes in industrial employment. This view has been supported and opposed by both Negroes and whites in the labor movement. Mr. Weaver's article takes the position that no change should be made in the operation of seniority rules. For a presentation of the contrary view we refer readers to a pamphlet recently published by the National Negro Congress, "Negro Workers After the War." We invite discussion of this problem by our readers.—The Editors.

WITH unfailing regularity, every editor's request for an article relating to jobs for Negroes in the postwar period confuses the issue by emphasizing unduly the seniority feature of union contracts.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has carefully considered the dangers to the nation as a whole if we return to an economy of mass unemployment in the postwar period. The nation as a whole will suffer, while the Negro worker will suffer disproportionately thanks to the discriminatory pattern of American industry over the last seventy or eighty years. The prime responsibility for this discriminatory pattern rests upon the shoulders of management. Management determines the qualifications for hiring, and has made a white skin one

of the most important qualifications. Labor is not guiltless. Various unions have aided and abetted management in preventing the entry of Negroes into skilled jobs by denying membership to non-Caucasians.

The American trade union movement, after a long and bitter struggle, has gained acceptance of the seniority principle as a standard for promotions, layoffs and rehiring, on a fair and equitable basis. It is also the yardstick on which vacations with pay and severance pay are based. This principle is the strongest safeguard we have been able to devise against discrimination and favoritism.

A noisy but small minority, mainly outside the labor movement, has of late been discussing the need for relaxing the strict application of seniority in the postwar period in order to prevent widespread unemployment among Negroes. Their discussion has been notable to date by its impracticability and by its ignorance of the importance of seniority to the labor movement. For example, one of the better known proponents of the plan, which is commonly known as "proportional layoffs," in a letter to the *Chicago Defender* on Jan. 6, 1945, states: "The seniority principle must remain inviolate. But it must be made to function in the fundamental interests of both white and Negro workers, and in these times it must be modified to meet the great changes in industry and to protect millions of new workers who have been added to labor's power. Modification must be sought to maintain these workers in employment in proportion to their present numbers in industry."

Within this paragraph is the paradox of their position. How is it possible for a principle to remain inviolate and be modified at the same time? One is forced to the conclusion that either the writer's approach is to abolish seniority or that he is totally unaware of what seniority is or how it operates. If it is the former,

it should be so stated; then we could debate the merits of abolishing seniority in an open and free discussion, instead of obliquely. If it is the latter, a brief discussion of what is seniority and how it operates is in order.

It is simply this. Once management has hired an employe and he makes good, management must continue to give employment or preference to that employe, except under agreed-upon circumstances, until such time as he chooses to leave his job. Thus, under union-management relations governed by collective bargaining contracts, workers acquire a qualified property interest in their jobs which they seek to make as inviolate as the most sacred interests in real estate. The unions have forced acceptance of this doctrine by American industry, new here, but accepted for many years by British industry.

PROPERTY is purchased through labor. For example, John Doe buys an acre of land for \$100, which he spent one year acquiring. Consequently, for one year's service, he has acquired an acre of land. No other person can take this land from John Doe unless he voluntarily sells it or forfeits it by failure to pay taxes or other encumbrances. The same principle, varying only in detail, entitles the industrial worker to a qualified interest in his job. For instance, John Doe works for the ABC Steel Company. He has been a craneman for five years, longer than any other qualified worker. This entitles him to the ownership of the craneman's job, unless he voluntarily gives it up or forfeits it by infraction of a rule agreed upon by his union and management. Another worker, with only four years of service, has second claim to the same job but he will not own it outright until he has worked at it longer than John Doe. Thus, by virtue of years of service, workers acquire the possession of their jobs, which is protected by seniority pro-

visions of collective bargaining contracts.

Seniority, properly enforced, enables the worker, black or white, to proclaim to the world:

"This is my job to have and to hold as long as I do it well and keep within the rules."

"You shall not fire me wantonly, without cause or on the spur of the moment."

"You shall not make me suffer from discrimination or favoritism."

"You shall not pass me by in promotions indiscriminately because of my race, color or creed."

The Supreme Court of the United States further strengthened this principle in *Steele vs. Louisville & Nashville RR Co.*, when it stated, in effect, that a Negro's seniority right could not be bargained away from him solely because of his race. The Court stated: "The representative which thus discriminates may be enjoined from so doing, and its members may be enjoined from taking the benefit of such discriminatory action."

If the Court stopped the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engi-

neers and Louisville & Nashville RR Co. from collectively arriving at an agreement that would deprive a Negro worker of his rights gained under the principles of seniority, how would an agreement arrived at by a union and an employe depriving a white worker of his right to a job be lawful? The advocates of a proportional layoff seem to reason that this is the only way to right a historical wrong perpetrated upon the Negro worker. A problem is never solved by creating another one. The white workers unfairly displaced under any type of proportional layoff in violation of established seniority methods would become not only anti-Negro, but anti-union. From the point of view of furthering good will between the races, a proportional layoff is either stupid or calculated to increase tension between the races.

The improvement of the industrial status of Negroes rests upon the foundation of full employment. There is no shortcut. We cannot escape this arduous assignment by confusing our objective. This will inevitably happen if we

confuse the need for full employment by attempting to make the seniority provision the key to the Negro worker being employed in postwar industry. When we do this we admit by inference that we lack faith in the possibility of full employment.

We must guarantee that the principle of seniority is fairly and justly carried out. It is the strongest safeguard that all minority groups possess to prevent discrimination and favoritism from operating after a worker has secured a job.

There must be clarity of thought. The proponents of a "proportional layoff" plan are confusing seniority and the need for a weapon to abolish the discriminatory hiring pattern that is so characteristic of American industry. One way this evil can be eliminated is by the creation by statute of a permanent Fair Employment Commission with adequate enforcement powers, on both federal and state levels. However, when we are successful in attaining these statutes, there still must be full employment. There is no other answer.



Ballet Anti-Russe.

NOTES ON THE NOTORIOUS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

AT THE Soviet Embassy reception the other day "in celebration of the complete victory over Nazi Germany" a reporter was talking to a guest when Averell Harriman, our ambassador to the USSR, walked through. "You know," said the guest, "I can understand how all the anti-Soviet creatures in Washington are crawling out of the woodwork now that President Roosevelt is dead, but I can't understand the nerve of the big shot antis coming here today." Reporters back from San Francisco say that next to Vandenberg, who was constantly bending select ears with anti-Soviet poison, Harriman probably was most influential in starting the current anti-Soviet crusade.

AT A very select gathering given for top-flight newspapermen in San Francisco, Clement Attlee spoke. Apparently the Laborite with the upper-class sense of humor got over like a ton of bricks when he told them coyly he was only a middle class bloke. Asked a question about India, he clinched his reputation as a labor spokesman by saying simperingly, "You know you can't do anything for those people. They breed too fast."

THE House never had a chance to vote on whether chairman John Rankin (D. Miss.) and his standing Veterans Committee or a new and broader committee, should conduct the current investigation of the Veterans' Administration hospitals. Rep. Philip J. Philbin (D., Mass.) on March 7 introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of VA hospitals and the entire GI rehabilitation program by a committee of eleven, including five members of the Rankin committee. Rankin declared no such investigation was necessary. Twelve days later, with public protests over VA hospitals mounting, Rankin introduced his resolution for an investigation, and felt it necessary to say on the House floor it wouldn't be a whitewash. The Rules committee, loaded with Rankin's friends, seized an opportunity when its chairman, A. J. Sabath, was out of town, to give Philbin overnight notice to appear on his resolution the next morning. Then in a four to three vote it reported out the Rankin resolution.

Probably no member of Congress ever was given such treatment before a committee as the Rankin body gave Philbin when he appeared as a witness. Later, heartily sick of the whole proceeding, Philbin took the stack of from 800 to 1,000 letters he had received from veterans throughout the country and turned them over to the committee. He is now planning to write to all of them urging them to let him know later how they are faring. Many of them bitterly attacked Rankin as a Jew-baiter.

CONGRESSMEN who do not understand all the vagrant whims of such labor leaders as Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers Union-CIO, who threw overboard the no-strike pledge, are somewhat puzzled these days. Rieve testified, although a little uncomfortably, in behalf of the Doughton bill renewing the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and allowing for further reductions in tariff rates up to fifty percent. But the Congressmen are continuing to get stacks of postcards, all nicely printed front and back, from textile districts, beginning "I am a textile worker," and declaring in simple, moving words that a vote for the bill will lower his wages and help put him out of a job. They are signed by individual workers. One Congressman told me they must be CIO workers as there were no AFL mills in his district. Back of this perplexing situation is the fact that Rieve originally intended to fight the bill. Within the CIO, however, it was fought back and forth and Rieve eventually seemed convinced his position was wrong. He was alone in his stand in the CIO, so far as is known. Matthew Woll is almost alone in his opposition to the bill in the AFL, but he has stuck to it. When textile district representatives on the Ways and Means Committee, which recently reported out the bill favorably, asked Rieve in confusion if the textile workers in their districts weren't against the bill, Rieve explained they'd shifted their position. The shift, however, is credited with obtaining two Democratic votes for the bill, Aime J. Forand (R.I.) and A. Sidney Camp (Ga.), and therefore, a majority. The vote was fourteen to eleven, the Republicans voting solidly against it, with one Democratic vote. With the other two, they would have had a majority.

RALPH MOORE is a subdued man these days. The farm bloc's favorite party thrower, the assistant treasurer of the anti-Roosevelt American Democratic National Committee, the lobbyist from Texas whose National Farm Committee is an exclusive club for the man with the silver hoe, is not himself. Even the interim report of the Senate Agriculture Committee on meat and sundry food problems, recommending such things as limiting of lend-lease purchases of meat (there haven't been any), did not make Ralph as happy as you'd think.

"It didn't go far enough—they shoulda abolished OPA," he said with something like his old gleam.

"Didn't they recommend just about that?" he was asked.

"Well, almost," he said. But they should have ordered price rises, not subsidies, he said.

Ralph sits in his office in the Medical Science Building, shared by E. D. Smith, son of the late Senator E. D. (Cotton Ed) Smith, who was beaten in the last primary and shortly afterward quietly died without so much as a parting epithet for Roosevelt. Around the walls of Ralph's office are inscribed pictures of a flock of Senators, most of which read, "To my friend Ralph Moore." These are signed by Senators W. Lee (Pass-the-Biscuits Pappy) O'Daniel (D., Tex.), John Bankhead (D., Ala.), Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.), Harlan J. Bushfield (R., S.D.), Elmer Thomas (D., Okla.), chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, ex-Sen. Robert R. Reynolds (D., N.C.), and others. Tom Stewart of Tennessee is a little more imaginative. He says Ralph Moore is "a real apostle of sunshine."

The phone rings frequently as Ralph and I talk, and only once do I hear him roar into it as of old, and laugh while his great portentous belly heaves and quivers. "Listen," he says, "how're the girls down in Austin?" Simple, crude, not very funny. But into these simple words Ralph insinuates the lewdest implications. He roars at his own wit.

But I hear him get down to business. "We're gettin' it to the newspapers. Yeah. That's what O'Daniel wants. He's on the floor now." It was about cotton, he told me later. They didn't want the government to stop buying it now when the price was good, and then

buy later when it wouldn't help the producers any. (Of course, Moore admits that on his committee the cotton producers who struck oil "in their front yards," as he calls the independents, are more numerous than any simple cotton farmers.)

The phone rings again. At last I begin to realize why Ralph, except for an occasional burst of "sunshine," as the Senators call it, is a changed man. He no longer has Roosevelt to hate, to inspire his days.

I hear him say, "It's an awful lot better up here since Roosevelt died. Now listen, if you want to, you call the Democratic National Committee. Bob Hannegan's away, but I'll tell you who you call."

Not that Ralph's ready use of Hannegan's name or his aide's means anything more than that Ralph is hopeful. Just as he said he's hopeful that "if he just sticks to being a good American," President Truman will be "all right." It is a hope however, to which Ralph has to adjust, and it leaves a void. Something of Ralph's fire and purpose has gone with Roosevelt's passing.

"WHAT do you mean, all right, Ralph?" I asked.

"I mean, he'll stop all this Roosevelt stuff, all this socialism and Communism. Yes sir," says Ralph, with a nasty glint in the little eyes which looked unusually small over the bulbous nose and the more bulbous belly. "Yes, sir, that was a right good funeral."

"But what makes you think Truman is so safe?" I asked. "Have you ever looked at his voting record?"

"That's all right," said Ralph, "his background's good. He's a real American—he was a real workin' man," he added. Ralph was always telling me how he loved labor—but not union labor. So I said here I thought he was wrong, I thought Truman was going to think along Roosevelt lines on such matters as reconversion and other things of interest to labor.

The phone rang again. "HR 3143? No, but I'll sure get right after it. You say the House passed it and it's gone to the Senate Agriculture Committee? Well, we'll stop it. We'll get 'em to kill it with hearings. Yeah, I'll take care of it." Actually the bill has not passed the House, but is still before the House Agriculture Committee. The Senate Agriculture Committee is considering a companion measure.

Said Ralph unashamedly: "I didn't know they was interested in that. Some bill taking the school lunch program

out of the hands of the Agriculture Department and putting it in Office of Education. As it is, it's used for surplus foods. If it goes to education, they won't care about what foods are in surplus. They'll be full of fads." He was wrong again in saying the bill would take the school lunch program out of the hands of the Agriculture Department. It would place part of the responsibility in the Agriculture Department and part in the Office of Education.

The last time I had seen Ralph was on Election Eve, at a dreary party in the Statler Hotel given by the Young Republicans.

"What would you do with your American Democratic National Committee," I asked, "if you decided that Truman definitely wasn't 'Communitic' or Rooseveltian, as you say? Would your committee go back into the Democratic Party—or, let's see, the Republican Party, mostly, I guess?"

F. D. R.

"It is not only a common danger which unites us but a common hope. Ours is an association not of governments, but of peoples—and the peoples' hope is peace. Here as in England, in England as in Russia, in Russia as in China, in France and through the continent of Europe and throughout the world, wherever men love freedom, the hope and purpose of the peoples are for peace—a peace that is durable and secure.

"It will not be easy to create this peoples' peace. We delude ourselves if we believe that the surrender of the armies of our enemies will make the peace we long for. The unconditional surrender of the armies of our enemies is the first and necessary step—but the first step only. . . .

"The firm foundation can be built—and it will be built. But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves."
—From President Roosevelt's message on the State of the Union, Jan. 6, 1945.

"The chances are it will just fold up," he said. "Sidney Hillman will be out by 1948. Why so long? Because it takes some folks two years to figure out they's not wanted. You know," he mused, "if I was runnin' for office in Texas I wouldn't want PAC support."

"That's what you said before," I reminded him. "And look what you said about Martin Dies. But he was afraid to run."

"Well," said Ralph defensively, "a Congressman is worth a lot more when he's still in harness. And Martin just didn't want to take a chance. He's got hisself a job now worth eve'y bit of \$50,000 a year. With the Humble Oil Co."

"Are you just as close to Senator Thomas of the Agriculture Committee as ever?" I asked Ralph. (Incidentally, Senator Thomas—Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma—used to be close to Father Coughlin.)

He smiled and nodded. I had been interviewing Ralph once when he was busy making dates for a party thrown for the Senator. Then, I asked, how did he account for the fact that the committee had issued a report not entirely satisfactory to Ralph, inasmuch as it did not ask to abolish OPA outright?

"Well, he's just the chairman. There's a whole committee he's got to please. He did pretty well. He got a lot of stuff from state agriculture administrators. All of 'em who was up as witnesses one day was our members."

I had never heard Ralph mention foreign policy before, and he always has been quite too preoccupied with Communists in this country, a Communist being anyone who advocated subsidies or even crop insurance, to bother about Communists abroad. But these days all conversations in Washington end on Russia. So ours did, likewise.

"I think," Ralph said sententiously, "that after the war Russia's going to be an awful unpopular country here. But I don't think we ought to fight Russia now," he said mildly. "I don't think anyone in his right mind wants to go to war with Russia now." Then, wiping his forehead, he said, "I think to tell you the truth it's too deep a subject, this foreign policy, for anyone."

Definitely, Ralph is a changed man. There is a lacklustre quality about him now. Roosevelt is gone and there is no one left to hate but the CIO and the OPA. The Roosevelt followers who felt rudderless after his death have nothing on Ralph and his kind—but the OPA legislation is up for renewal sometime soon, and that should pep him up.

THE ROAD TO CONFUSION

By F. J. MEYERS

“THE Road to Serfdom” by the Austrian economist, Friedrich A. Hayek, for many years a teacher at the London School of Economics, has become the economic and political bible-of-the-year of the *Reader's Digest*, *Life*, *Time* and *Fortune*, Benjamin de Casseres of the Hearst press—the whole kit and kaboodle of sponsors and lovers of W. L. White's *Report on the Russians*.^{*} But it has also been widely and favorably received, in tones amounting at times to lyrical praise, by people who wouldn't touch White's book with a ten-foot pole. Serious businessmen, economists and journalists far removed from the shady circles of the Hearst press refer to the book, quote it, paraphrase its ideas. Professor Hayek has now arrived in this country for a lecture tour; and while he is beginning it under the doubtful auspices of the *Reader's Digest*, he is continuing it with such respectable and liberal sponsors as the Foreign Policy Association.

A book which can appeal to the professional reactionaries and also impress people who are honestly looking for a solution to the problems of the peace becomes a real challenge to Progressive Americans. The book attacks not only socialism—which in any case is not a problem for today in America—but any measure of conscious social direction of the economy as leading inevitably to the tyranny of fascism. It does so calmly, measuredly and with every surface appearance of a humane liberalism. Such a book requires careful consideration and analysis as a whole, no matter how easy it might be to concentrate upon attacking its more grossly reactionary aspects.

Taking off from a ground upon which all reasonable democratic and progressive people agree, that a good society is a society which guarantees the personal and political freedom of men, Professor Hayek argues that only classical competitive capitalism can give those guarantees, that any form of conscious direction of economic activity according to a single plan inevitably means the destruction of individual liberty. To make his position clear, it should be stated that he empha-

sizes that the “planning” he opposes is positive planning, conscious direction, of economic activity. He departs so far from the traditional *laissez-faire* position as to accept the need of social security, though only for guaranteeing “the certainty of a given minimum of sustenance for all,” not “the security of a given standard of life”; to propose that monopolies which cannot be made impossible by general public policy should be controlled or regulated by the state; and to admit the need of special steps to combat severe cyclical fluctuation of economic activity and large-scale unemployment. But any economy in which production proceeds not from the blind stimulus of the capitalist “market” but from human direction, he attacks as inevitably evil in its outcome.

Nor does he distinguish, except in degree, between Nazi centralized economy, Soviet socialism (on which his chief authorities are Max Eastman and Leon Trotsky), or the economic policies of the New Deal and the British government.

It would certainly be possible on this ground alone to dismiss the book as an obvious distortion of truth. The barbaric inhumanities of Maidanek and Buchenwald, the utter moral bankruptcy to which Nazism has led the German people are as clearly spread upon the history of our times as is the new freedom and human dignity which has replaced the tyranny of company towns and corporation police in the twelve years of Franklin Roosevelt's administration—as is the surge of human vigor of an awakened people, the coming to maturity of a hundred nationalities, which has leveled the old Czarist prison house of men and nations.

Hayek brushes aside the decisively monopolistic character of capitalism in our time with the abstract economist's assurance that capitalism doesn't have to be that way. And he shows an adequately-fed unawareness of the human tragedies of mass unemployment, of the fact that to tens of millions in capitalist society the theoretical “freedom of choice” which the system has hitherto afforded has been as unreal as Anatole France's abstract justice which with equal majesty forbids both rich and poor

to sleep under bridges or beg in the streets.

Writing though he does during the greatest epic of the people's fight for freedom in human history, and purporting to preach a serious sermon on the future of our world, there is a rather important element in that world completely missing from the book. The people, plain common democratic men, with their ideals and their strength and their common sense, are not there. Professor Hayek sketches an abstract struggle between principles in a form in which they do not exist and never have existed. The grotesque unreality of his picture might seem to justify summary rejection of his argument as a reactionary caricature. But such treatment will not fully answer his challenge. After all the gross distortions and omissions, there remains a hard residuum of theoretical argument, not new but very capably restated, which must be met upon its merits.

A MEASURE, greater or less, of social control of the economy is more and more widely accepted as a democratic necessity by circles far removed from socialist thought, by the great majority of American democrats and liberals whose outlook springs from eighteenth and nineteenth century democratic philosophy. While, in the nineteenth century, many of the exponents of that current attempted to link up its progressive ideas with their *laissez-faire* apologetics for capitalist economy, the great truths of domestic political thinking which they expressed, often very forcefully, remained valid. These truths were adopted by the new working-class political movements which unified them with a political and economic program directed toward realizing them in the circumstances of developed industrial production.

It is upon the common principles of democracy and the right of nations and human beings to decide their own destiny, the old battle-cry of liberty, that today the broad unity of socialist and non-socialist democrats against Nazi barbarism has been founded.

It is to these principles that Professor Hayek appeals. Because the greatest tragedy that could occur in our time

* THE ROAD TO SERFDOM, by Friedrich A. Hayek. University of Chicago Press. \$2.75.

would be a disruption of this unity, it is essential that his book not be allowed to contribute to such a division.

The appeal of his argument to decent, democratic people lies in the contention that government economic planning demands the accumulation of immense power in central organs and that therefore, so long as production is not unlimited, what men shall have and do will have to be decided by the arbitrary decision of other men. To the immediately obvious answer that this all depends upon whether the planning authorities are democratically chosen and controlled, he rebuts that the kind of decisions which have to be taken by such authorities are not the kind upon which a majority can ever agree. Such decisions, he says, necessitate an independent choice by governing authorities, even though they are democratic, between the claims of minorities. This necessity will in the end amount to the choice being arbitrarily made by those who exercise the power. He claims further that because agreement on such questions cannot be arrived at democratically, those who govern, no matter how democratically they are chosen, no matter how good their intentions, will then have continually to increase their use of sheer power to enforce those decisions. The net result will be a completely regimented society in which the individual would have no freedom and no real voice.

THE CRUX of the matter would seem to be the argument that completely isolated "central" authority is the only basis for the social planning and conscious control of the economy. And it should be possible to agree with Professor Hayek that this challenge has to be met whether the question is one of a completely socialized, that is, a socialist, society, or of the partial use of social controls in a democratic and progressive postwar capitalist society. In either case it is no answer simply to counter his line of attack with arguments pointing out how incomplete the democracy and freedom of choice in traditional capitalist society have been—true though those arguments may be. The important point which must be answered—particularly in a country with as high a standard of living and as highly developed a democracy as the United States—is the contention that economic planning can only be effectively carried out through a concentration of power.

Unfortunately, in their critique of capitalism as it has existed, progres-



"The Bridge," oil by Tromka.

sives have tended to concentrate so much upon the manifest and insupportable political and economic evils that arise from unregulated capitalist economy, and upon the necessity of conscious social direction of the economy, that they have often neglected to stress sufficiently the need of preserving a live democratic participation at every level, and of providing safeguards for the freedom of the individual within the society—with the result that the door has been left wide open for such attacks as Hayek's.

Particularly when considering the future of an economy as developed as ours in the United States, with a people as experienced in democratic processes, it can never be emphasized too much that the growth of central planning must go hand in hand with an equally constant growth of decentralization and participation of the greatest possible number of people in the actual taking of decisions and the administration of policy. Comparison of the wide general approval of the operations of the Selective Service system with the chafing against bureaucratic tendencies which have existed in other equally necessary agencies of war control shows on a small scale how valuable and necessary is such decentralization and democratic participation in the carrying out of a centrally planned program.

Hayek's grim indictment is not an-

swered by attributing to a planned or partially planned society the quality of automatically solving the problem of freedom. To say that such a direction of society of itself guarantees freedom is no more true than is Hayek's assertion that it inevitably means serfdom. The growth and complex development attained today by mankind's productive forces *does* require conscious scientific understanding and guidance of the economy. The alternative is the hideous evil of economic crisis, monopolistic restriction of progress and fascist tyranny, products of the uncontrolled economy of the free market which Hayek either ignores, passes off as extraneous or attributes to entirely different causes. The very freedom under whose banner he attacks would be destroyed by the conditions he proposes. But the removal of these conditions will only guarantee freedom if that freedom is as consciously planned for as the expanding and developing production which is its only sure foundation. The answer to that part of Professor Hayek's argument which goes beyond mere distortion of history and reactionary misrepresentation lies in the political sphere, in the development of a positive democratic program—based upon the actual conditions of production of our time—which safeguards the freedom of the individual within a society directed toward the common good.

NM SPOTLIGHT

The British Elections

IT MAY be just as well that British government policies get the airing that a general election compels. Aside from reconstruction and social services the main issue before the British people is national unity for the fulfillment of the Yalta decisions. This requires more friendly relations with the Soviet Union, rather than the less friendly relations which have unhappily developed. There have been signs on Downing Street of a return to the old balance-of-power politique with the hope of a controlling Foreign Office hand on the scales. That policy has always been a disservice to European peace, and current historic developments make it less possible and more dangerous than ever. There is no question of the unity of the British people behind Anglo-Soviet friendship, but old traditions keep that unity from being fully reflected in the political parties. Thus the traditional pre-war hostility to the Soviet Union in many Tory quarters has kept that party from a thoroughgoing acceptance of Anglo-Soviet friendship as the political necessity that it is. The Labor Party, although its leadership is not of the best, has promised to wage a thorough campaign to improve Anglo-Soviet relations. The best election outcome for England, and for the world, would be such a sweeping victory for candidates committed to collaboration with the USSR as to constitute a mandate for a new national unity based upon it. That would commit Britain to carrying out the pledged Anglo-Soviet-American collaboration outlined at Teheran and Yalta.

Flensburg and Tokyo

LAST week the Allied Supreme Command wiped out the so-called Doenitz government which functioned in Schleswig for two weeks after Germany's capitulation. Admiral Doenitz, the Chief of Staff of the Wehrmacht, some 300 staff officers and civilian functionaries were put under arrest. It is most gratifying to see that General Eisenhower's order against "friendly enemy" treatment of the Germans is being strictly obeyed. The army commander who made the arrests did not salute the Ger-

mans and did not shake hands with them. All in all he gave them what might be called the "Zhukov rush." This, of course, is all to the good. However, the newspaper sub-heads on the story of the arrest of the German shadow Supreme Command said this: "German General Staff dissolved." Now, what does "dissolved" mean? The arrest of several score General Staff officers does not in the least mean that the General Staff has been dissolved. Furthermore, "dissolution" in this case is entirely inadequate. One dissolves poison in a glass of water and it still remains poison. What must be done is physically to eliminate them. The Flensburg action should be applauded, but it cannot be considered final. They and the other war criminals must be punished quickly.

WITH both flanks of the Japanese defense line on Okinawa bent back we venture to say (a week before actual publication) that the campaign is drawing to a victorious close. The eastern anchor of the enemy line—Yonabaru—has been captured and our troops are beginning to turn the Shuri stronghold in the center, meanwhile pushing into Naha, which is the western anchor of the line.

It is being reported that work is already well under way to convert Okinawa into "the most powerful advanced

base in the world." Okinawa's airfields are expected to nest great numbers of Superforts for the attack on Japan and other places.

The Chinese offensives along three sectors of the Peiping-Canton corridor continue to make progress. Our aerial assaults on Japan proper are mounting in weight and frequency. Our planes also hit Japanese troop trains moving toward Manchuria.

In connection with such troop movements, it is interesting to note the current reports about the Japanese evacuating, or intending to evacuate, all of China south of the Yangtze (presumably including Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies) in order to concentrate their forces for a do-or-die defense of North China and the homeland. We don't know whether this is fact or rumor. However, it would seem to us that such action on the part of the Japanese could be construed only as an admission of inevitable defeat, because it would mean that we could land in China unopposed and develop leisurely almost unlimited striking power which we could release at will. Militarily, such a move looks suicidal from the Japanese point of view. However, it might be a political trick of some sort.

The Cabinet Changes

THE arithmetic of the Cabinet changes announced last week by President Truman adds up to the Chief Executive's credit. The partisans of anti-fascism will heartily welcome the retirement from the office of Attorney General of that "liberal," Francis Biddle, who saved his fire for such champions of democracy as Harry Bridges and when he ran short of ammunition, borrowed some from Dr. Goebbels. Even though his successor, Thomas C. Clark, a Texan from the Criminal and Anti-trust Divisions of the Justice Department, has still to prove what stuff he is really made of, he could hardly bring more disruption and confusion to his work than his predecessor.

Claude Wickard goes from the Secretaryship of Agriculture to the now separate Rural Electrification Administration, and his place is taken by Rep. Clinton P. Anderson, a middle-of-the-road Democrat from New Mexico. He

Watch It!

The program of 60,000,000 postwar jobs must be fought for and won on many fronts. One battle over the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements act has been fought out in the House and passed favorably. Now the bill goes to the Senate. So write your Senator to get behind it.

No less crucial is the battle for Bretton Woods which will soon come on the House floor now that it has been approved by a House committee. The opponents of the measure are expected to maneuver with all the know-how they possess. You cannot get out too many postcards on this issue.

will have his measure taken by the tangled food situation with which he will cope both as Secretary of Agriculture and as War Food Administrator, a post held by the unlamented Marvin Jones. As chairman of the House committee investigating food rationing and pricing he will be equipped with the technical knowledge, at least, to handle this critical task.

All those who fought through the stormy years that brought the National

Labor Relations Act, social security provisions and the whole apparatus which established the administrative machinery for solving labor's problems, will wish Frances Perkins godspeed. Miss Perkins took double punishment as a proponent of labor's rights to a fair share of the national good and as a woman, meeting vicious attacks on both counts with dignity and wisdom. The new secretary, Lewis Schwellenbach of Washington state, takes up a thorny job with the

promise of being an excellent and militant addition to the cabinet. Once a labor attorney, he comes well thought of in both CIO and AFL ranks—no mean test—and with the strongest pro-Roosevelt record of all the new appointees. During his term in the Senate (1935-1941) he campaigned alongside Mr. Truman for the National Labor Relations Act, the TVA, the reciprocal trade agreements and the Roosevelt farm program.

Duclos on the American Communists

CONSIDERABLE interest has been aroused by an article by Jacques Duclos, one of the leaders of the French Communist Party, criticizing the policies of the Communist Political Association and the dissolution last year of the Communist Party of the United States. A translation of this article appears in the *Daily Worker* of May 24, and we suggest that our readers study its full text rather than depend on the garbled versions in the commercial press.

Duclos' article was published in the April issue of *Cahiers du Communisme*, theoretical organ of the French Communist Party. The greater part of it is devoted to a resume of the approach to the postwar world adopted by the American Communists on the basis of the Teheran accord. This approach held up the perspective of collaboration of the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union in the postwar period to assure a durable peace and economic well-being; at home it projected the necessity of continuing the cooperation of capital and labor for the achievement of full production and full employment, with conflicts between them reduced to a minimum. Largely as a result of this approach, the convention of the Communist Party in May 1944 decided to dissolve that organization and to create the Communist Political Association.

After stating that he does not attempt to analyze "in detail [Earl] Browder's full position" or to make "a developed critique of this position," Duclos draws a number of conclusions. Among them are:

"Despite declarations regarding recognition of the principles of Marxism, one is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long-term class peace in the United States, of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the postwar period and of establishment of harmony between capital and labor.

"By transforming the Teheran declaration of the Allied governments, which is a document of a diplomatic character, into a political platform of class peace in the United States in the postwar period, the American Communists are deforming in a radical way the meaning of the Teheran declaration and are sowing dangerous opportunist illusions which will exercise a negative

influence on the American labor movement if they are not met with the necessary reply."

Duclos also sharply criticizes what he calls "liquidation of the independent political party of the working class in the United States." He approves of the Communist support of President Roosevelt in the last election, but insists this was no reason for dissolving the Party. He also criticises the American Communist attitude toward trusts.

In a foreword to the translation of the Duclos article, Browder, who is president of the CPA, states that "while this is the personal article of Jacques Duclos, it reflects the general trend of opinion of European Marxists in relation to America, and thus demands our most respectful consideration." "It has been clear at all times," he writes, "that the end of the war in Europe would require a fundamental review of all problems by American Marxists. We must estimate our past work, and face the tasks of the future. We must make the most careful inventory, balance our political books, and know clearly how we stand as we enter a new period of sharpening struggles, crises and profound changes. The article of Duclos may conveniently provide a starting point for this fundamental review, which the CPA leadership had independently begun some time ago on the basis of accumulating threats against the unity of the great coalition." Browder proposes a discussion of these problems in the CPA, "conducted through its own established channels and according to its own rules. The CPA will make its own decisions after its own discussions, taking into account all available information and opinions that seem pertinent." He expresses faith that such discussions will, as in the past, "lead to clarity, to agreement, and to unity of purpose and action." He suggests that there be no speculation about the outcome of the discussion and urges that "all practical work now under way in the labor and progressive movement should continue along established lines."

NEW MASSES believes that, contrary to the cacklers, panic-mongers and pontificators of certain publications, such a discussion is evidence of the fundamental health and soundness of the Communist movement and will be productive of fruitful results. We shall comment on this discussion in future issues.

Consumers' Income

CIO president Philip Murray in a conference last week with President Truman urged that the present wage ceilings be raised by twenty percent to enable the nation to pass through the critical reconversion period safely and with a minimum of economic disturbance. The problem of attaining higher wages today becomes an urgent problem of national economic policy. Any serious decline in the purchasing power of our people automatically results in a decline of both planned and actual production of consumers' goods and a rise of unemployment, which, as everybody knows, further reduces consumers' income and raises new barriers against the realization of full postwar production and employment.

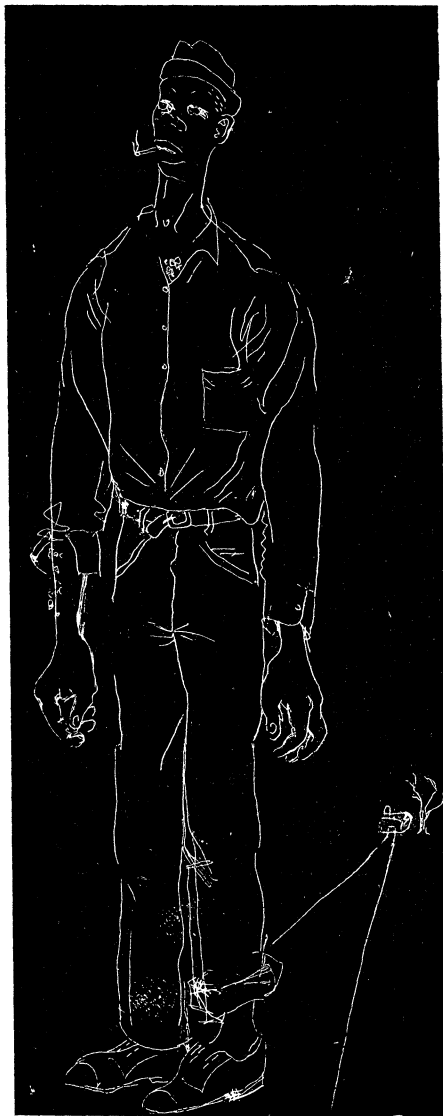
At about the same time last week a model small scale solution of the reconversion wage problem was revealed in an agreement between the Sperry Gyroscope Co. and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO. Under the agreement working hours are reduced fifteen percent and wages increased by the same percentage, resulting in the same take-home wages as before. This highly constructive solution of the reconversion wage problem affects 45,000 workers. Similar voluntary actions on the part of forward-looking employers and trade unions are necessary. But the government too must play its part. One of the chief obstacles to solving the wage problem is the Little Steel formula, which today more than ever is badly in need of revision.

As Mr. Murray points out, the reconversion wage problem is of national magnitude and requires a positive national policy that will bring the benefits already won by the Sperry Gyroscope employes to the 52,000,000 gainfully employed in the nation. Mr. Murray further warns that "Unless labor receives an even larger (over and above the proposed twenty percent) share of what it produces than in 1940, when 10,000,000 workers were jobless, even more workers will be unemployed."

Declining consumers' income may become the rock on which the perspective of 60,000,000 jobs will be wrecked unless speedy, bold and adequate measures are taken now.

More Social Security

THE new Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill to broaden the social security program and extend its benefits to an additional fifteen million people is fully



Sharrer.

in keeping with the legislation outlined by President Roosevelt more than two years ago. The measure then introduced was ignored when it was not pushed around in Congress and nothing happened despite the pressure for its passage by the labor movement. The legislation introduced last week represents a partial implementation of the late President's historic bill of economic rights. The measure is a decided improvement over its predecessor. It encompasses several new features and adds further protection against what Senator Wagner has called the "economic hazards besetting American families." Coming as it does at a moment when reconversion unemployment threatens, the bill will, if quickly approved, ease the transition from war economy.

In addition to its health features, the bill provides for (a) increased grants to states for aid to the needy; (b) social security credits for men in the armed

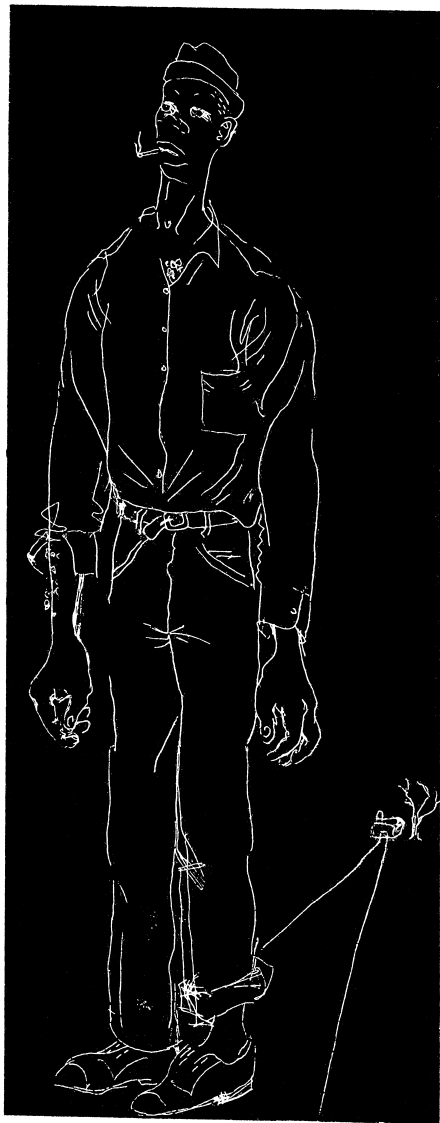
forces; (c) increased benefits for the aged; (d) a federal unemployment insurance system, with liberalized benefits, in place of the present state systems; (e) a national system of permanent employment offices; (f) extension of social security to include farm and domestic workers, employes of non-profit institutions and self-employed; (g) an increase in the contributions of employers and employes to four percent each.

The health sections cover a ten-year program of federal grants and loans for construction and expansion of hospital facilities. They provide also for grants to states for maternal and child health and welfare services and for a system of health insurance covering the cost of medical care. These enlightened features of the new bill will naturally be attacked as an effort to socialize medicine and Senator Wagner has already in his initial remarks anticipated these charges by pointing out that they are compounded of nonsense and falsehood. Nevertheless, the health features of the bill will be made the jumping-off point for an effort to defeat the measure as a whole, with the American Medical Association and its National Physicians Committee preparing the way. This new legislation will have to be fought for, with aroused organizations and communities lending every support they can muster.

North, South and Freight

THE ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission ending the discriminatory railroad freight rate differentials is of far-reaching significance. This ruling comes as a culmination of the bitter struggle of the industrially undeveloped southern and western sections of our country against the north-eastern monopolies that raged over many years. The higher rates charged southern and western shippers and manufacturers perpetuated the uneven economic development of the nation and served as an excuse for wage rate differentials that kept the living standards of southern workers at a notoriously low level. The South was our traditional "depressed area" ever since the Civil War, a situation which constantly threatened to pull down national living standards.

Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, whose leadership in abolishing the poll tax in his state is still fresh in our minds, greeted the ICC ruling as enabling "the south to retain many of its war industries and in the postwar period to become more industrialized." With this thought Governor Arnall reveals the essential



Sharrer.

meaning of the ICC decision, as well as the path the hitherto backward South must pursue to become a dynamic part of the national economy and of the effort to achieve the Roosevelt perspective of full production and full employment. This ruling and the growth of war industries in the South should become powerful factors in raising living standards and thus providing new home markets for the vast flow of goods and services our war-expanded enterprise can create after the war.

How to De-Nazify

(Continued from page 7)

with the "historical mission" of being the most powerful imperialist country in the world. These Germans will never accept the fact that the Germany of Bismarck, thanks to German imperialism, has ended; that the eternal fight against the Slavic peoples became Germany's death trap; that imperialist penetration and domination of the countries of the Danube basin has come to an end; that France will not be shaken again whenever Berlin growls; and that the Soviet Union has become one of the most powerful nations in the world. These Germans are already at work to prevent the carrying out of the sentence passed upon them by history—the end of aggressive German imperialism.

There are now many indications of how these Germans will conduct themselves. They are already misusing religion in order to exploit again the historically reactionary role of the German churches. They are posing as the defenders of "free enterprise," as the guarantors of law and order against the danger that the German masses will swing to the left. They are going to exploit systematically the unavoidable—and sometimes avoidable—differences between the Allies as they will arise from time to time. These German imperialists and their friends are for the London Poles, for Mikhailovich, maybe for Schuschnigg, for everything that could undermine or prevent the stabilization of the new democratic order in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in the Balkans—which the German imperialists never will cease considering as their divinely given sphere of influence and penetration. These German imperialists will have many tactical quarrels among themselves and will parade in different ways, as "pure militarists," as part of the Nazi underground, as reactionary Weimar Democrats, as religious leaders, as left or right reactionary Social Democrats. It will not always be easy to dis-

cover the true intentions of the different elements of German imperialism and to see behind their masks, especially since the great masses of Germans have not acquired a new social and political consciousness and are still ready to follow the imperialists and to be fooled by them.

All this makes necessary a firm orientation of the Allies towards those anti-fascist Germans whose honesty cannot be doubted. Such Germans exist in Germany, in exile and in the prisoner-of-war camps. There are not enough of them as yet. But in times of such tremendous changes the German anti-fascists, supported by the Allies, will be able much more quickly to convince

those Germans who have been passive but who have not participated in the crimes of the Nazi regime or been poisoned by Nazi ideology.

Perhaps it was good after all that we got all the gaudy interviews and pictures of German Nazi leaders and generals. It helped us to see the faces of the German fascists once more in full light and to strengthen our desire to see them hanged and to push aside those who would prevent it. The time now has come when it is necessary to look at the bottom of German society. How else could it be under a Nazi dictatorship but that the most valuable men were at the bottom and not at the top?

Maidanek, Dachau, Buchenwald

A NOTE FOR SAN FRANCISCO

At first they made me ill. At first they made me wish to die. Or kill.

At first I wished to turn from them. To run. To hide.

I hated food, which being denied to them, became a measure of their death.

So horror grew in me. So illness. So they lay, loathly, forsaken.

So they were killed twice, once by their butchers, once by my guts' revulsion.

You know of whom I speak. You too have turned aside shuddering. But the matter is too huge.

Horror is over, by its own too-muchness overborne.

Disgust is over. Only love remains.

Let me look at them a long long while with love.

I cannot touch their flesh. I cannot cradle their sleep.

I have only these pictures: silver aseptic shadows of the red and muddied stinking screaming fact.

But I shall look at these a long long while with love: these pictures of ditches filled with rows of famished Christs, of male and female Christs and thin Christ children carved by hunger to Gothic essential bone, nailed by horror each to his lonely cross.

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken them?

That the incorrigible might be corrected, the powers rebuked, the world remade.

One Christ was not enough.

DILYS BENNETT LAING.

READERS' FORUM

Kant's Contributions

TO NEW MASSES: Thanks immensely for Joel Bradford's valuable and thoughtful article on Immanuel Kant in *NEW MASSES* for April 24. I could only wish that Mr. Bradford had touched upon two aspects of Kant's services to mankind which he failed to mention: namely Kant's criticism of theology and his contributions to the scientific thought of his time.

The first of these may be summed up briefly by stating that Kant reduced all the existing proofs of the existence of God to three classifications: the "ontological," the "cosmological," and the "physico-theological," and invalidated all of them. In other words, Kant eliminated theology from all subsequent valid philosophic thought. As Heine put it, Kant slew Deism, and the weapon with which he did it was *The Critique of Pure Reason*. One immediate result of this deed was a collision with the Prussian government: Kant was thereafter forbidden to teach, write or speak upon the subject of religion by King Frederick William II, an interdict from which Kant considered himself released when the king died. And *The Critique of Pure Reason* remains on the *Index Expurgatorius* to this day. (It is true that in his old age Kant attempted—vainly—to justify a theoretical resuscitation of the Deity for the sake of ethical and consolatory considerations in his comparatively worthless and insignificant *Critique of Practical Reason*.)

Kant's services to empiricism include his formulation of the nebular hypothesis, many years before the scientist Laplace arrived at markedly similar conclusions as to the origin of the planetary system. True enough, the nebular hypothesis, which conceived of the planets as having been thrown off from the sun in rotation, as mud is thrown off from a bicycle wheel, has now been displaced by the "tidal" theory, which conceives of the planets as having been wrenched from the sun by the accidental attraction of a passing star; but the fact remains that what has been known ever since in the scientific world as the Kantian-Laplace cosmogony held the field for a full hundred years; and that, I submit, is a very long time for a scientific theory to last, as scientific theories go.

Kant's very remarkable definition of a body (i.e., any piece of matter) as "a space filled with force" is also worth citing in this connection. It was regarded as paradoxical at the time by the scientific world (though Priestley, discoverer of oxygen, expressed the same view himself); for the mechanistic con-

ception of matter then prevailing among most scientists was a cluster of billiard balls called atoms: the proton and neutron *within* the atom had not then, of course, been discovered, not to mention Planck's law of radiation and Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy, nor had Einstein's special and general theories of relativity been formulated. Relativists now universally regard matter essentially as Kant did: namely, as a form of energy or radiation. That is doubtless why one of them (Eddington: *Philosophy of Physical Science*) says ". . . if it were necessary to choose a leader from among the older philosophers, there can be no doubt that our choice would be Kant." and Kant's anticipations, incidentally, of the revelations of the relativists are by no means confined to the example given.

He was really a great and remarkable intellectual hero, this little hunchbacked son of a humble saddler in Koenigsberg.
New York City. FRANK NEWMAN.

Social Security

TO NEW MASSES: Congress recently froze the social security payments at one percent for another year despite the opposition of President Roosevelt and the Social Security Board, and Mr. Roosevelt signed the bill with a protest. Both parties, however, asked in their platforms for the extension of social security to cover nearly all the low salary groups in the country. Not so much has been said about increasing the security payments so as to maintain our American standard of life but the economists have been saying right along that if we want to prevent a depression and provide full employment we must in some way keep our currency in circulation. The CIO has asked for the "liberalizing" of social security payments. Apparently they are willing to stand their share of the extra cost.

There is no other class on whom the high cost of living is falling so heavily as it is on those who have retired. The social security payments now average \$43.40 a month per family. It is impossible for any family to maintain the American standard of life on such payments, and it is on these retired workers that the high cost of living falls most heavily.

It is generally agreed that the greatest problem with which we shall have to deal after the war is the question of full employment. This may be achieved in either of two ways or, better, by a combination of the two. The emergency may be decreased by sending back to school the children who have not finished high school and to their homes the working women who are needed by their families. If

this were done according to the estimate of Miss Perkins the number of needed jobs would be reduced by nearly five millions. She says also that there are three-quarters of a million workers, who are eligible to social security, who are still holding on to their positions. If the payments were more adequate, undoubtedly many of these would retire and give their places to others.

The other question of full employment is high purchasing power. To achieve this, whatever money there is must be kept in circulation. If much of it is put away in an old sock or a bureau drawer, a depression is sure to result. Social security payments are usually spent to the last cent within the month in which they are received. They keep the money in circulation and provide a steady market for essentials. There is no other place where the money would count so surely in improving the market and consequently providing jobs as through an increase in social security.
Ann Arbor, Mich. HENRY S. CURTIS.

Call for Simplicity

TO NEW MASSES: I am receiving the magazine and enjoying it very much. However, I would like to see more articles devoted to soldiers, perhaps written by GIs themselves if this is possible. As it is, unless you have been accustomed to reading the magazine for some time, as I have, it is rather hard to get the average soldier interested in it. While many of the men are vitally interested in the material that NM deals with, they think of these problems in much simpler terms. One item of particular interest at the moment is that of war criminals and their punishment. There is a great deal of discussion about that, and I might add, a feeling that we are not putting the screws on the Nazis and show signs of continuing the policy. Hence, some good, strong, hardhitting activities along those lines would be right up their alley. Pritt's article in the February 13 issue was good, but unfortunately written in language which doesn't quite catch the imagination of the average soldier.

CPL. ALVIN R. WARREN.
Somewhere in England.

What's This?

TO NEW MASSES: Is the *NEW MASSES* short of fillers, or what gives? We turn to page seven of the May 8 issue and find to our horror, below an article circumspectly dealing with Mr. Molotov at the San Francisco conference, two pachyderm posteriors. Why?

Since we believe in being constructive we offer below a filler at the current *NEW MASSES* rates, if filling short spaces is your problem:

LEAF FROM A RED-BAITER'S DICTIONARY
Cooperation: Coordinated efforts of a group of people who are working to achieve the greatest good for the individuals of the group and the community as a whole.

Regimentation: Same as the above when taking place in the Soviet Union.

WALTER and MOLLIE MARTIN.
New York City.



EDMUND WILSON AND THE APES

By ALAN BENOIT

NO ONE who had read the first three books of Glenway Wescott could forget him entirely; nor am I unaware of the unfulfilled promise of the scanty and rather special books that followed. I must confess, however, that my natural interest in Wescott's new novel became slightly infected by morbid curiosity after I had read Edmund Wilson's review of it in the *New Yorker*.*

The way Wilson keeps score, Wescott had two strikes on him as soon as this novel was published. The war is hardly one of Wilson's permissible literary subjects; furthermore, since Wescott—it could be gathered pretty clearly from the review—was a man of anti-Nazi convictions, Wilson could assail him for bringing propaganda into fiction.

That much would have been known in advance by anyone who has observed Wilson's imperturbable care in keeping his literary world away from the contemporary clamor of warfare. But after reading the novel, it was not the almost reflex manner in which Wilson had reacted against subject and point of view that astounded me, but the way in which his own estimate of the shortcomings of Wescott's novel had expanded into some very peculiar deliberations on present-day writing. Though I dislike discussing *Apartment in Athens* in the framework of Wilson's review, it would take exceptional restraint not to observe how far Wilson has stuck his neck out this time. The higher devotion to letters is a kind of packaging that often conceals fraudulent products.

Wescott's point of view is, without muddle or qualifying vagary, anti-Nazi. Like many good novels, irrespective of subject, *Apartment in Athens* rests squarely upon a careful construction of character in a severely limited situation. Here it is that of a Greek family with a German officer quartered upon them. Towards the end, another German officer appears and several Greeks con-

nected with the Helianos family. I emphasize this restriction of character because if Wescott had ever relaxed his hold on his few characters, the novel would come apart at the seams. But his hold is never relaxed; it is the intensity and economy of his writing, adapted to this situation, that gives the novel an airless, constricted, painful quality. Lacking spatial extension, the realism of Wescott can make no use of the aid to the imagination that comes from visual depth and his characters, examined so relentlessly under their constant tensions, cannot have the attraction for us that freer beings have.

Under the curious, probing eyes of Helianos, the German officer, Captain Kalter, cracks from the pressure of circumstances that have completely altered his personal world: his impulse towards self-annihilation is revealed in his turning to Helianos and he provides, in his conversation, the logic of his own disintegration of character. But he also gives to Helianos his own version of the will and necessity for German domination of the world that marks the Germans off from "lesser" peoples. Just as Kalter's ideas and subsequent conduct show how far from common humanity and decency this reformed Nazi is, so the fatuity of Helianos, in supposing that Kalter has been touched by emotions common to Helianos and other men, shows how the old way of measuring character when applied to Nazis can only pave the way for servitude.

But when you add the fact that Helianos is groping to reestablish his hold on the outside world, to Kalter's Nazi and neurotic view of reality, you get an overwhelming sense of restricted reference. The novel lacks a third point of view—say, of someone active in the Greek resistance movement. Still, there is Helianos' wife. Out of the necessity to live in dignity comes her resistance. This gives a continuity of meaning to the basic situation in the novel: without her positive will to strike back, the story would be one of despair, of people unnerved and defeated.

To get back to Wilson. One may put down his sloppy analysis of

Wescott's novel to his inveterate dislike of the subject and his fastidious concern for the purity of literature. Here is the way he puts it:

In general, it has been disappointing to find so many writers of serious talent turning away from the study of behavior to reassure themselves and their readers with some immediate political program or some resuscitated religious system.

But he has a solution for the novelist in these trying times, seriously propounded, and I give it to you with all his helpful little asides to his readers:

I said something in two of my recent articles about the interest of the recent researches into the psychology and habits of anthropoids and the importance of considering man as more or less of an anthropoid himself, and this has stimulated several readers to write and ask whether I am being ironic. I am not being in the least ironic. We need seriously to study our own species as we do those of the birds, the insects, the reptiles, and the other mammals—which produce also artists, statesmen, warriors, strategists and engineers. It is, it seems to me, for a writer, to dodge all the central difficulties of the present situation of man to try to meet them with the symbols of a mythology—whether those of some ancient religion or those of some contemporary patriotism.

It is not really necessary to try to make sense out of this, but I should like to ask a few questions. Does Wilson seriously believe that the purposes of anthropological study would be in any way parallel to the direction he takes in the criticism of fiction? Has it ever occurred to him that anthropologists engage in field study, examine social institutions, cultural patterns and historical developments? Or is he invoking the old myth of laboratory detachment to equate that with the indifference to social movement which he all but proclaims as the final test of artistic worth? It seems to me that he is back in the ivory tower, cuddling with a new companion whom he has created with an anthropoid visage.

I don't pretend to be able to explain why Wilson has taken such a fantastic flight from sense, or why at least someone doesn't urge him to keep his fancies

* APARTMENT IN ATHENS, by Glenway Wescott. Harper. \$2.50.

out of print. It becomes clear that Wilson's literary views have kept backward pace with his retrograde political tendencies. His vast skepticisms, the vast number of things that "it doesn't matter much which"; his emptiness of everything but doubt fill up the portrait of a languid, easy-living nihilist, a "character," if you like, but an anachronism.

Great American

FIGHTING LIBERAL, *The Autobiography of George W. Norris*. Macmillan. \$3.50.

IT IS dangerously easy to bury a man like George W. Norris with a tag for an epitaph. The title of his autobiography is one such. Possibly the author himself selected it, though I imagine he would have considered even that mild eulogy immodest. More likely he consented to it with the smile of quiet irony that was his nearest approach to bitterness. For if any man preferred peace to fighting, suffered under enmity and loved friendship, it was he, who instigated and led nearly every progressive battle in Congress from the time of the first Roosevelt to the second. It is paradoxes of this sort that make one impatient with the simple label.

True, the autobiography is not one to inspire phrases. In a way Norris was among the least qualified of all persons to write the story of his own life. Too reticent to express his personal feelings, far too modest to admit even the drama of his sensational crusades, he has subordinated himself to a dry and often tedious chronicle. There is little in this book of the Norris whom liberal correspondents called "Uncle George" and his enemies once called "skunk." Nor will you find the Senator who shocked the pious by paraphrasing the Sermon on the Mount and exposed the hypocrisy of the 1930 "farm-aid tariff" in Shakespearean parodies. Such things are allowed no place in a record that deals, for page after page, with bills-referred-to-committee, bills-reported-from-committee, and facts that might be exciting were they not presented in a way which makes one feel that the author had lived with them so long that they no longer interested him.

The exception is the first thirty pages. They describe his childhood and youth, and reveal more about the man than the entire 380 pages following. He was born during the first year of the Civil War, on a mean little farm in the "Black Swamp" country of northern Ohio. In his home there was one book, the Bible. Before he was four years old his father died, his brother was killed

in the war, and his mother was left with five children and a few acres of rocky soil. Her influence over him was profound. He never forgot her answer when he once asked her why, when she was already tired out, she should bother to plant a tree that might not bear fruit until after her death: "I may never see this tree in bearing, Willie," she said, "but somebody will." He also listened respectfully when she reported that "Elder Long believed . . . that no Democrat could go to Heaven." From her Norris inherited not only her Republicanism and her worship of Abraham Lincoln, but—something not reported in the book—her bitterness toward the southern Democrats who had "killed her son." His Republican faith survived even Populism. In the later years of his Congressional life, however, he became an Independent—as he had always been in fact.

Nowhere in the story of his life can you find a more comprehensive philosophy than a simple, passionate, moral hatred of greed and dishonesty. It was "wrong" for Henry Ford, rather than the American people, to have the benefit of Muscle Shoals; wrong for men to continue representing voters who had retired them at the polls; wrong to use the power of monopoly and wealth to corrupt democratic processes. And Norris would abolish such things if it took ten years—as it often did—and meant changing the Constitution to do it. In a letter to a friend he once wrote that his only religion was politics.

Admittedly, such a religion has its weakness and its dangers. It still seems strange that a man like Norris should have rejected the whole of Populism for Republicanism because some of its leaders were "insincere and unscrupulous." It is stranger that after forty years in Congress, the last fourteen of them spent under world crisis and war, he should have so little to offer besides generalities about faith and democracy. There are some fine observations about the necessity for compromise and sacrifice to preserve Allied unity for peace; some warnings against intolerance, avarice, and—to other liberals—weariness following on the exhaustion of war; and that is all. It becomes plainer than before that the battles he fought arose from isolated issues as he happened to encounter them. The "creed" which so many people demanded of him, or tried to attribute to him, was no broader at the end of his public life than at the beginning.

But let us not underrate him for that. Our very recognition of the im-

portance of a total, scientific political philosophy should help us to measure the personal stature of a man who, having to find his way without it, made so few mistakes and did so much. His crusades may seem outdated by the New Deal and the war against fascism. Yet they were mighty in their time, waged in some of the blackest years of American political history. An essentially gentle person, he forced himself back into the fight each election year, fighting also against his own longing for "rest and serenity." Out of it he got nothing personally, not even his full share of fame—for, although he does not tell it in this book, he more than once threw the appearance of leadership in a major battle to other men, whose morale required spotlights. But TVA and the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction law are among the things which will help to keep his name alive. As for epitaph, there is a label which is both accurate and honorable, bestowed by Franklin D. Roosevelt: Norris was "one of the greatest of all Americans."

BARBARA GILES.

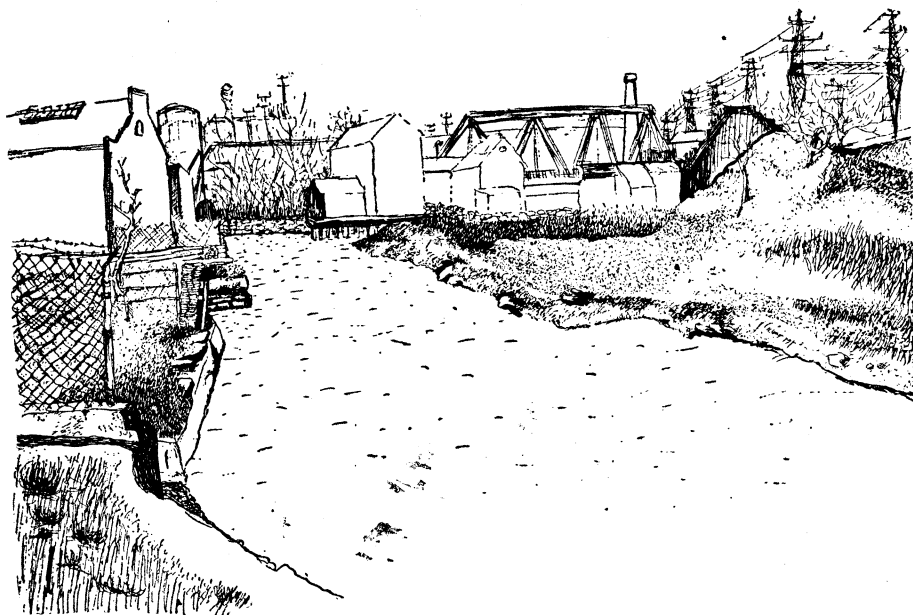
Poet for the People

THE SELECTED POEMS: 1912-1944, OF ALFRED KREYMBORG. Dutton. \$5.

THE "American Poetry Renaissance" which began before the first World War was part of a forward movement in American life that, in the 1912 elections, drew a million Socialist votes from an electorate about a third of today's. The renaissance continued through the war and after it, to die out, in the late twenties, in the blind alleys of fashionable estheticism.

The current, flowing so strong for a time, mingled several different streams. The differences, at the time, were not noticed. Even those trends which later revealed their reactionary nature showed then a forward impulse in assaults upon literary conventions and formulas.

Within the mingled flow we can now, retrospectively, mark two main streams. One was toward a poetry of the people. Its leading figures were Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters, Lola Ridge, Genevieve Taggard and Alfred Kreymborg, and, in a later revival, Maxwell Bodenheim, William Carlos Williams, and the Benet brothers. Hart Crane, whose "Bridge" symbolized his yearning to build a crossing to the people, would also, I believe, have been among them had he overcome the despair that led to his suicide. The other main trend was toward a poetry for a cultural elite, with



"New York Landscape," pen and ink sketch by Raymond Podolefsky.

Amy Lowell, H.D., Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot among its leading representatives, to be joined in a later period by E. E. Cummings. Between them, sometimes so close as to be indistinguishable from one or the other of the main streams, flowed the rest.

When the revolutionary idea of world unity, into which pre-war American progressivism had merged, was defeated by the Senate reactionaries, much more began to go down in defeat. That idea had been all that had given heart for the war. With its rejection hope went out of American life, to be replaced by a cynicism that was permitted a seemingly justifying epicurean feast in the "Coolidge prosperity."

On the cultural front the major defeat was the triumph of a poetry for the elite over a poetry for the people. It was a barren triumph and it killed off the "American Poetry Renaissance." The broad stir and excitement in poetry died away to be replaced by phosphorescent flickers in the coteries. Poetry, as an expression of the people, had a harassed revival during the "proletarian" thirties and again during the war, a sign of which is this belated selected edition of Kreymborg's works.

It is a pity that an introduction by one of Kreymborg's contemporaries was not included to record his active and continuous participation, as poet, in the life of his time. As magazine editor and poetry recitalist, travelling over the country, he helped to give living reality to the poetry renaissance. The knowledge of this would have helped to make still more vivid the sense of participation in the poetry itself.

Reading it here in its progression, from 1912 to 1944, we get a bright and individual reflection of the course of American poetry over the last thirty years. Consciously or not, Kreymborg was ever responsive to social currents. The poetry shows a steadily maturing and deepening social consciousness. Even the comparatively remote earliest poems have a clarity, an urge to communicate, an interest in simple human experience and simple human response to the surrounding world that mark the socially oriented poet.

It is good to have these ample, warmly human poems restored to us in this thin year. They have a pertinent and satisfying, not a spectacular, wisdom. They combine into a serene literary personality, one of the clearest in American poetry, that makes the tortured efforts at distinction and difference of so many of his contemporaries look pitiful. Thereby it reemphasizes an old artistic truth that individuality is most securely achieved by being oneself among one's fellows, not by alienating oneself from one's fellows, wearing the mien of separation.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Science Bookshelf

FUNDAMENTALS OF PHYSICS, by B. C. Dees; HOW TO UNDERSTAND ELECTRICITY, by A. F. Collins; FUNDAMENTALS OF PHYSIOLOGY, by E. Tokay; THIS PUZZLING PLANET, by E. T. Brewster; MODERN CHEMISTS AND THEIR WORK, by C. Borth. Blakiston. 69c each.
SCIENCE IN PROGRESS, by George A. Baitsell. Yale University Press. \$3.
SCIENCE YEARBOOK, 1945, by John D. Ratcliffe. Doubleday Doran. \$2.50.
ROCKETS AND JETS, by Herbert Zim. Harcourt Brace. \$3.

NEW WORLD OF MACHINES, by Harland Manchester. Random House. \$3.

SCIENCE TODAY AND TOMORROW, by Waldemar Kaempffert. Viking. \$2.75.

PRINCIPIO TO WHEELING, by Earl May. Harper. \$3.

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH, Standard Oil. Free.

TANKS AND ARMORED VEHICLES, by Lt. Col. Robert Icks. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. \$4.75.

THE STORY OF PENICILLIN, by Dr. Boris Sokoloff. Ziff-Davis. \$2.

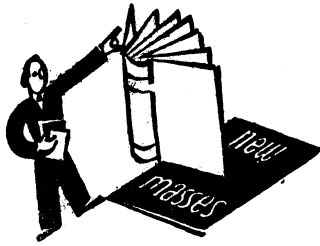
THE MALE HORMONE, by Paul DeKruif. Harcourt Brace. \$2.50.

Books on science formerly got on publishers' lists chiefly as prestige items. But now that farm boys, salesmen and stock clerks are handling intricate radar equipment, now that modern electronic science applications are commonplace discussion in the classrooms of the United States Army, now that thousands of ex-miners, needle-trade workers, seamen and furriers administer sulfa drugs and blood plasma to wounded buddies, science has become a widespread interest. To meet it, publishers are pouring out hundreds of books.

Highly recommended is the fundamental series published by the Blakiston Company covering physics, chemistry, electricity and physiology. Each is a thorough exposition of its particular science, affording the lay reader in a readable presentation as much information as can be found in any standard texts.

For working scientists who can take more than popularizations, there is the excellent series *Science in Progress*, based on the lectures at the scientific fraternity, the National Sigma Chi. Volume 4 contains papers on the biological action of nerve cells, on the mathematics of physical theory, on recent experiments in vacuum chemistry and on the excellent research on blood and derivatives by Prof. E. J. Cohn and associates. Dr. Cohn himself describes how, with the cooperation of the United States Navy, his group of physical chemists at Harvard fractionated plasma into its various components, one of which proved valuable for the control of measles. Dr. Selig Hecht writes on the relationship of energy and vision, and this year's Nobel Prize winner, Prof. Isidore Rabi, is represented with a brief but stimulating discussion on new theories of atomic structure.

In the 1945 issue of the series of *Science Yearbooks*, edited by John D. Ratcliffe, is a selection of important science articles published in the preceding year. War sciences hold first place. In particular we have well-told stories



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CAPITALISM AND PROGRESS... by Anna Rochester (paper bound)	.40	5.00
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of penicillin, the effects of buzz-bombs and possibilities of rocket-transportation.

Penetrating farther into this Jules Verne world is *Rockets and Jets* by Herbert Zim, which includes a serious discussion of interplanetary travel, along with accounts of the Nazi *Nebelwerfer*, the American bazooka and the Soviet Katusha.

New World of Machines by Harold Manchester deals with novel gadgets and mechanical devices observed by the author in a tour of the army camps and factories. Of particular interest in this well-written volume is his account of the aerial cameras that have been the reconnaissance eyes of the army. Mr. Manchester also takes apart for his readers the new synthetic rubber, Buna-S and Buna-N; and he poses a real teaser when he discusses "climate a la carte," adding to his description of improvements made in internal air-conditioning the suggestion that we can expect outdoor air-conditioning as well "when the comfort of the human animal is given priority over real-estate profits."

Science Today and Tomorrow by Waldemar Kaempffert, New York *Times* science editor, bows acknowledgement to the pressures on thinking existing here by a conventional piece of Soviet-baiting. "Russia . . . like Germany has enslaved science rather than given it free rein." But what follows is a well-rounded review of recent developments in evolutionary theory, a discussion of the problems besetting both public and doctors in the search for an adequate medical service and a survey of new sources of energy other than coal and petroleum. In the chapter "Through Science to World Unity," Mr. Kaempffert calls for a world scientific commission to organize science, and a greater cultivation of biological and medical sciences. Seeking more purpose in science and greater science education, the author who started his book with an attack on Soviet science ends with: "Soviet Russia has shown what progress can be made on all fronts if research is organized properly and if a social purpose is kept in mind."

The Wheeling Steel Company gets itself glorified in Earl May's *Principio to Wheeling*, the usual "wonderful institution" stuff, which contains among less interesting data the fact that George Washington's father and his half-brother were pioneers in developing our iron and steel industry. A more serious effort to propagandize for its ideas is *The Future of Industrial Research* published by Standard Oil (free for the asking). This book contains the papers

presented at a symposium held under its auspices, which sum up to a tribute to science and research as harnessed to the chariot of private production. Some speakers saw the value of government-financed research but thought it best to have it directed toward those fields in which industry (and particularly the oil industry) was not directly interested. The book indicates that certain industrial spokesmen do not yet know of the "new world-a-comin'."

Tanks and Armored Vehicles, by Lt. Col. Robert Icks, edited by Phillip Andrews, is a well-documented, photographic account of the development of military vehicles from Kubla Khan's armored elephants to the heavy Voroshilov tanks. The book was prepared before the appearance of the giant Stalin tanks and the controversy about our General Grant and Sherman tanks. Lt. Col. Icks' contribution is a brief, historic account of the development of these weapons in each country and analysis of their design and construction, armor, armament, motive power, transmission, steering, electrical and communications systems.

The much publicized penicillin is covered in Dr. Boris Sokoloff's *The Story of Penicillin*. Except for a minor error in referring to anthrax as an "attenuated virus" (when it really is a bacillus) the doctor-author handles the thousands of research papers on the subject with commendable expertness as well as popularizing skill. His book also contains material on the not-yet publicized antibiotics now making their appearance in the laboratories. Clavacin, a powerful germ killer found in another mold by Dr. Seymour Waksman, will destroy germs bypassed by penicillin. The author summarized the paper of Nakhimoskaia, Soviet woman bacteriologist, who isolated actinomyces from a mold appearing on peptone broth in 1939. She found eighty types of this anti-bacterial substance—but her work went unnoticed in this country because "the work was published in Soviet Russia." Here is another good reason for the establishment of an international science congress, and a Russian-language program in this country.

Paul DeKruif's excitement about new scientific discoveries and experiments cannot be repressed and he has expanded an article he wrote for *Reader's Digest* into a full volume, *The Male Hormone*. The expansion was unnecessary—the additions are mostly padding and over-emphasis. Not only does he give the impression that the testosterone (the male hormone) will practically make new

men out of old; he credits it with many virtues not yet substantiated by scientific experiment. What emerges is that the products of sex glands are now chemically known and their malfunctions can be linked with psychiatric and nervous disturbances. JAMES KNIGHT.

Good Social History

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES, by Helen Merrell Lynd. Oxford University Press. \$4.50.

THE academically forbidding title of Mrs. Lynd's study of the decline of *laissez-faire* conceals a most sprightly, informative, reasoned book on a specific social change. Marxist science has largely been wanting in concrete historical studies, and although Mrs. Lynd is not an avowed Marxist, her viewpoint is convergent. She does not follow the easy directions of economic determinism but prefers a syncretic study of the factors that led Great Britain to abandon the philosophy and policy of individualism and the all-regulating capacity of the "free market" in order to accept social controls and state direction. She has escaped the commonly-met-with trap of enumerating "factors" and assuming that they somehow add up to a given result: she understands the weaving of social history and the result is a compact treatment of interaction.

The class basis of society is assumed throughout: the manufacturing class is compelled to abandon its high faith in free trade when Britain's manufacturing monopoly terminates; the landed class is almost ruined by the cheap grains of the new countries; the worker becomes discontented as the ascent of his real income following the Chartist agitation comes to an end about 1875. Once the margins of British economy were reduced, it became clear that the utter misery of the proletariat would be the sole consequence of *laissez-faire*. Hence, the conscience is awakened among the generous: the worker too is stirred but primitively (because he knew no theory) and his demands were met by a long series of *ad hoc* expedients which enabled some social gains to be registered.

Mrs. Lynd attractively pictures the young Hegelians of Oxford: the timid, poetic insight of William Morris and his small group into the once "Merrie" England, the reborn sense of the folk manifested in Green's history of the English people. She shows that the British governing class had a sufficient margin of imperial income with which to satisfy some of the more pressing demands of the workers, and hence a

rather easy solution was found for the anxieties resulting from unrestricted individualism.

The middle class, socially aware, founded such reformist dodges as the Fabian movement, while the trade unions concentrated on proximate gains. There was no need for the sharp implications of basic theory since there was no crisis that could not, in some damp way, be resolved. Here Mrs. Lynd uses the pithy commentaries of Engels to excellent effect.

It is, however, rather in the whole picture of a culture that the attraction of this book lies. Mrs. Lynd believes that the placing in false opposition of the individual and of society was the besetting sin of British political philosophy, whether in the near-anarchism of Herbert Spencer or in the postulates of the Reformists. The corruption of Darwinism is excellently demonstrated: she pungently illustrates how the great liberating concept of evolution became a tool of conservatism (and later of wanton imperialists). Perhaps she does not sufficiently stress the civic unity, the almost automatic acceptance of social values that makes Britain at once dull and invincible. In few countries are the courts and administration so inwardly trusted: in no other is the police so popular. The rebel souls went to the Dominions and America, while the more docile at home were provided with crumbs, weak tea and Populist phrases. The wonder is rather that manhood broke through the Beggar's Opera and insisted on a better show.

WILLIAM BLAKE.

Brief Reviews

FACES IN A DUSTY PICTURE, by Gerald Kersh. Whittlesey. \$2.

"IT MAY be," writes Mr. Kersh, "that every man clings to the man in front of him so that a thousand men holding on to each other become like one man who, obedient to orders he cannot understand, marches into an empty darkness full of pain . . . because he has a vision, a hope, a faith in a glory that will come beyond the darkness. . . . Thus, all mankind is an army, blindly marching in a hopeless desert toward an unseen peace."

But "mankind" includes a lot of people besides the British: for instance, Nazis; for instance, the Red Army. Did they all march together in the same blind army? And what is the nature of the "glory" to come? None of Kersh's characters reflect on this subject.

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armies and our enemy's and the "glory" each sought, and the difference has a meaning.

Kersh writes solidly and with power; but it was part of his job to find that meaning.

SOVIET CULTURE IN WARTIME, NO. 3: *American Russian Institute, 101 Post St., San Francisco 8, Calif.*

THIS third number of the valuable series published by the San Francisco American Russian Institute contains an article on Soviet schools by Eugene Medynsky; interesting new material on Soviet music, drama and films in wartime; an article on the organization of Soviet science by the Nobel Prize winner, Peter Kapitsa, and an article on "Some Aspects of Psychiatry in the USSR," by Dr. Gregory Zilboorg. There are also scenes from two Soviet plays by Alexander Korneichuk and Leonid Leonov; a tribute to the late Alexander Kaun, noted authority on Soviet culture, by Prof. Ernest S. Simmons, and the announcement of an exchange fellowship fund founded as a memorial to Alexander Kaun and to be started after the war.

THAT BOY NIKOLKA, by Ruth E. Kennell. Illustrated by Frank Dobias, Kurt Wiese and Raffaello Busoni. *Russian War Relief. 25c.*

TO THEIR list of interesting children's books about the Soviet Union Russian War Relief adds this bright volume of stories reprinted from *Story Parade* and *Food for Freedom*. Ruth Kennell has narrative flair and a good knowledge of Soviet life. The twenty-five-cent price for this substantial book adds the bargain inducement to other reasons for including it on your child's bookshelf.

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MUSIC

THE first of a series of "New Chamber Music Concerts" at Town Hall was devoted with two minor exceptions to French music, much of it by composers identified with the resistance movement, and in one instance to a composition directly evoked by the war. Of the older works, Darius Milhaud's *Sonata for Two Violins and Piano* (dated 1914) and Gabriel Faure's *Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 2* (1917) proved most interesting. Milhaud's sonata is beautiful and tender; stylistically in the post-romantic vein, it

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is marked by lovely delicacy rather than strength. Faure's work, though of a later period, sounded dated, and though skillfully contrived, seemed rather long and monotonous. The most contemporary of the numbers on the program, the *Sonata for Violin and Piano* by Francis Poulenc, was composed in 1943 to commemorate the death at the hands of a fascist firing squad of the great Spanish poet Garcia Lorca. It consists of an *Allegro con fuoco*, an *Intermezzo*: "La guitare fait pleurer les songes," and a *Presto Tragico*. Poulenc chose a very great subject. The sonata is powerful and moving, and despite the seeming fragmentariness of its themes and their persistently reminiscent quality really a cohesive work. It possesses strength, without bravado; and is elegiac in a heroic rather than a sentimental way. Poulenc is not afraid of feeling. In the second movement, for example, there is a passionately lyric passage for the violin strikingly set off against a very simple piano background of six and four note figures. From beginning to end, the music has sweep and breadth, especially in the last movement, where the assertiveness of the composer's mood is underlined in the piano accompaniment and is set off against the mournful dissonances in the violin—with which the composition ends. Erik Satie, Chabrier, Ravel, Germain Tailleferre, Marcelle de Manziarly and Claude Delvincourt were also represented on the program, as was, for some unaccountable reason, Arthur Berger, with three settings for Yeats' poems—brittle, detached, cold and very, very skillful. The performances were good, and the program, in all its variety of forms and quality, unusually interesting.

THE news from the recent Dean Dixon concert was, as usual, the spirit which the talented conductor evoked from the young and unprofessional, but well rehearsed, players of the American Youth Orchestra. It made such old music as Brahms' *Fourth Symphony* and Beethoven's *Lenore Overture*, No. 3, sound new, though it was not enough to give impressiveness to the new music given first performances at this concert. George Kleinsinger's *Overture on American Themes* was pleasing, though fragmentary; and Dante Fiorillo's *Introduction and Passacaglia* was marked by a pointless effort to make the orchestra sound like an organ. The soloist of the occasion was Regina Resnick, who gave a dramatic rendering of the *Abscheulicher*

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recitative and aria from *Fidelio*, the *Ernani* aria from Verdi's *Ernani* and the *Leonora* aria from Gounod's *Le Tasse*.

THE stirring pianist Vivian Rivkin, in a recent concert sponsored by the organization Sweethearts of Servicemen, gave the first concert performance of the Shostakovich *Trio in E Minor*. As I have already commented on the occasion of its previous radio performance, this work, in which Miss Rivkin was joined by the violinist Joseph Fuchs and the cellist Nikolai Graudan, may not be one of his major compositions but it is marked by the strong and attractive musical individuality that characterizes Shostakovich's works. There were other firsts at the concert, but I am sorry to report that these, *Variations* by Richard Arnell, *Cradle Song* by Alan Shulman and *Toccata, Song and Dance* by Sol Kaplan, did not impress me. In addition, Miss Rivkin played the Beethoven *Pathetique Sonata* and the Schumann *Carnaval* with sensitive feeling.

FREDERIC EWEN.

Movie Check List

Betrayal from the East. Not calculated to shake your resolution about getting more sleep.

Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe. Tedious musical. A lush technicolor indulgence in which a mink coat is the object of all striving.

The Clock. A charming though somewhat unreal account of a GI on a forty-eight-hour pass, with his girl. One of the better films on Broadway.

Colonel Blimp. How the watchdog of Britain's imperial holdings behaves from the Boer War to the present. Gets his lumps with a little humor and much affection.

Corn Is Green. Starts off as a serious film on education in rural nineteenth-century England, changes its mind part way, and ends up as a "will-he-make-it-or-will-he-not?"

Counter-Attack. A timely and first-rate job by John Howard Lawson on the Janet and Philip Stevenson play. The Korda-Lawson team of Sahara scores again.

Enchanted Cottage. Pinero's play of the last war, ineffectually applied to the present. Despite moments of poignance, the film is victimized by Hollywood's inability to make a star believably unattractive.

Escape in the Desert. Sorry revival of *Petried Forest*. A horse opera with political overtones.

God Is My Co-Pilot. Atheism gets the bums' rush. Chennault's Flying Tigers engage in dogfights and special missions without further worry over their souls.

Horn Blows at Midnight. A Jack Benny radio program with visual effects.

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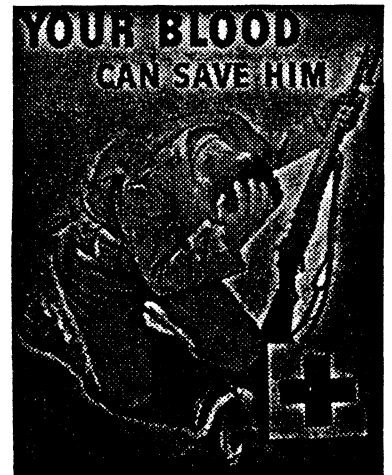
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I'll Be Seeing You. Attempt to deal with problems of psychoneurotic veteran hampered by labored and sentimental effort to match his problem with that of a "prison-stained gal" in the hope that you will understand them and make them feel at home.

It's a Pleasure. The newest Sonja Henie ice classic. A minimum of skating and a maximum of bad acting. Not kept on the ice quite long enough.

Keep Your Powder Dry. A purported story about WACS. The RED CROSS can use the price of admission.

Objective Burma. Fine film adventure of a group of Americans behind the Jap lines in Burma. Best action war film produced by Hollywood.

Picture of Dorian Gray. Banal attempt to translate Oscar Wilde's novel to the screen.

Practically Yours. The slick comedy producers at Paramount overreach themselves by making the supposed death of a hero the subject of their questionable humor.

Princess and the Pirate. Bob Hope in his corniest routines to date.

Roughly Speaking. A not-too-convincing cavalcade of America of the past thirty years. Central philosophic concept is that the man with a smile is never licked, comes flood or unemployment.

Royal Scandal. History treated as a plot writer's after-breakfast assignment. This one has that hangover touch.

Salty O'Rourke. A stereotype filled with race-horses and toughies. The evil characters get their just deserts and the virtuous ones live happily ever after.

Silver Fleet. Like *Colonel Blimp*, a Pressburger-Powell British release. Well-made account of underground activities in a Dutch port.

Song To Remember. Fine musical film on Chopin. Deals with place of artist in society.

Thunderhead, Son of Flicka. Pleasant picture of horses and scenery. A weak second to *National Velvet*.

Tomorrow The World. Adult film showing the effect of Nazi ideas on a democratic community.

Tonight and Every Night. Boy-girl adventure wrapped in war slogans. Extravaganza amid the ruins of London, 1940-41.

A Tree Grows in Brooklyn. Synthetic study of a drunken father, an overworked mother, a literary daughter trying to get along in Williamsburg.

Valley of Decision. A Greer Garson love dish larded with some weird rewriting of labor history.

The Way Ahead. A realistic account of a British platoon that could easily apply to our own G.I's. By the brilliant Eric Ambler, author of *Background to Danger*, *Cause for Alarm* and others.

Without Love. Ingratiating and humorous film with Tracy and Hepburn, on matters of total unimportance.

Zoya. Film version of what went into the making of Zoya, heroic eighteen-year-old guerrilla executed by the Nazis. Not helped by tacked-on English narration.

J. F.

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Settings by Leo Kerz

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