

REPLY TO THE RUSSIA HATERS

by Senator **CLAUDE PEPPER**

NEW MASSES

June 12, 1945

15¢

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HOW

GERMANY MUST PAY

A Noted English Marxist economist discusses reparations.

By **MAURICE DOBB**

SANTAYANA, GENTEEL FASCIST: SECOND PHASE

by **JOEL BRADFORD**

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

What It Takes to Beat Japan, by Col. T.; The Levant Crisis, by The Editors; Our Russian Market, by Virginia Gardner; Letter from the Philippines, by S/Sgt. Lawrence Emery; That Evil Genie, by Rev. William Howard Melish; A TVA for Palestine, by Albert Wiener; The Communists Take Stock, by The Editors; Cartoons by Richards, Gropper, Glaser.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

THIS has been a week of several welcomes and one farewell. Joe North rang us up Friday to announce his return from four months in England, France and Germany and allowed as how as soon as he "got acquainted with his family again," he would be back at the office. In the few minutes we had in the general competition to share the first phone call we learned (1) that Joe has a fine sunburn got from waiting around with a lot of GPs for transportation back, (2) that Joe has lost a good twenty pounds (there isn't much to eat over there), (3) that when Joe greeted Susan, his eight-year-old daughter, with "I hope you're glad to see me back," she replied, "And vice versa." Susan insists that since Joe has been away for four months it won't be fair if he doesn't stay home with them for four months now. The rest of what Joe has to tell you will just have to wait. He says he has all sorts of material up his sleeve for NM, which we will see that he has a chance to write at the earliest possible moment, if we have to barricade his door.

We put out the mat this week to an English friend of NM, Claud Cockburn, the tall, long-faced, bright-eyed editor of *The Week*, who wrote our last San Francisco dispatch and who used to send us a regular column from London. In the course of our rocking back and forth on our chairs and catching up on all the personal items that don't go into cables or articles, Claud told us that the London *Daily Worker* now has a circulation of 104,000, the limit allowed to it by the paper quotas set up to ration scarce newsprint. They have orders from newsdealers for 620,000, and this doesn't count the readers who catch what they can from borrowed copies. Bill Rust, the editor, is running for Parliament in the coming elections in July, and Claud says he doesn't know which will be worse, Bill's winning and having to leave the DW, or his losing and not being in Parliament. Our contributing editor, R. Palme Dutt, will underline for the constituents of Leopold Amery's district (Amery is Secretary of State for India and Burma) a few plain truths as the Communist candidate opposing him in Birmingham.

We also kissed Joe Foster on both cheeks (he blushed) and wished him luck as he left for Hollywood to run NM's annual art auction out there. Joe will continue his movie column from the dead center of the industry, and at this moment of this gloomy June beginning, we are just a little jealous.

EVEN though the postman brings us stacks of press releases, folders, pamphlets and whatnot, we share that gentle

joy of slitting the personal envelope and its attendant excitement as we look for the praise or chiding from our readers and friends.

Here is a little of both which came through the mails this week: "Dear NM," writes Stanley Archer of New York, "Your last few issues have been grand. I was particularly pleased by the recent report on the South, and by Miss Shull's analysis of the French press. Also, after a rather feeble beginning, Joel Bradford has turned out some really good stuff. His piece on Pegler was in my opinion a disgraceful bit of puerility, but I enjoyed thoroughly his essay on Kant. I hope he sticks to that sort of thing."

"I think you are still very weak in one department—the book reviews. While Mr. Schneider's essays are usually very enlightening, he can't write everything—and shouldn't. Nor should the others be chosen from too narrow a circle. How about more effort to broaden your coterie of reviewers, and to get the reviews in

print within a reasonably short time after the books' publication?"

LOCAL gossip: Sally Alford, one of NM's corps of book reviewers, has just become the bride of Dave Farrell, sports writer for the *Daily Worker* and the *People's World*. We want heartily to endorse this joining of forces and wish the happy couple a long, useful conjugal life.

WE SHOULD like to remind readers of the preview of Bertold Brecht's remarkable play, *The Private Life of the Master Race*, being held under NEW MASSES auspices Monday, June 11. A pioneer production consisting of a series of intense vignettes, whose leading character is not a single person but the "Master Race," it comes at a critical moment when policies for wiping out the concept of a master race are being determined. You won't want to miss this play which even the *New York Times* indicates has something that would be good for Broadway. A few tickets are still available. For details, see the back cover.

V. S.

NEW MASSES ESTABLISHED 1911

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John Heliker.

HOW GERMANY MUST PAY

By MAURICE DOBB

London (by mail).

THE agreement at the Crimean Conference states that the Three Powers "have considered the question of damage caused by Germany to Allied nations in this war and recognize it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for the damage in kind to the greatest extent possible." A Reparations Commission will sit in Moscow to "consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany."

Yet in the British labor movement there remains a feeling in certain circles that reparations are something inherently undesirable and impracticable, doing as much, if not more, damage to the receiving than to the paying country, and especially to the working class of the former, by the unemployment they create. This attitude is largely fruit of the controversy which raged after the Treaty of Versailles and of the opposition at that time of most sections of the labor movement to reparation payments. This opposition was in part an objection to them as an incident of the larger Versailles settlement, in part an objection to reparations *per se*, in part an objection only to the excessive figure at which the reparation demands on Germany had been fixed. Marxist criticism of reparations at the time was primarily that they were part of a mechanism of control over Germany, by the aid of which she was to be made into a dependent bastion in Central Europe against Bolshevism.

The tendency to argue today on the

basis of analogies with the situation after 1918 ignores the major differences between the two periods. First, there are major differences in the political situation between the period of Versailles and the period following the Teheran and Crimea Conferences, with which it is not the province of this article to deal. Secondly, there are important differences in the economic situation as well. Chief of these is the fact that Soviet economists have proposed, and the Crimea statement explicitly states, that reparations shall be paid *in kind* (i.e., by direct labor performed or by the delivery of actual materials and products). Under the Versailles Treaty there were some deliveries in kind: namely, delivery of ships and also of coal (up to maximum of 20,000,000 tons annually) to repair the loss incurred by France through war damage to her mines in the Nord and Pas de Calais (a provision which, incidentally, Mr. Keynes, in his famous indictment of the peace treaty, referred to as "a reasonable provision if it stood by itself and one which Germany should be able to fulfill"). But the bulk of the payments under the Versailles settlement were to be made in money.

A FURTHER difference is that in the postwar world there is clearly going to be much more ordered planning of economic relations in general, and of reparation deliveries in particular, than ever existed in the 1920's. Finally, there is the important consideration

today that the countries that will be the recipients are the USSR and the other war-ravaged and devastated countries of the European continent, who without such reparation will be exceedingly hard put to it to restore their economic systems to anything like normal working, at least for many years to come.

In the 1920's there was a good deal of somewhat inconclusive discussion among economists about the essential reason for the breakdown of reparation payments, and (on a more theoretical level) as to what essentially constitutes the so-called "Transfer Problem" (in the sense of limits to the transfer of sums of money across national frontiers which would not apply if the payment were made directly in kind). Some argued, by making very abstract assumptions, which had only very scanty resemblance to the real world, that there was no essential difference between payments in money and payments in kind; that fundamentally they would come to the same thing, despite the difference of mechanism, provided that there were no obstacles to trade or to the smooth working of the monetary system. It was a common saying in economic textbooks and dissertations that, in the last analysis, reparations would be paid in goods or gold. If initially there were obstacles to the former, gold would flow, which would tend to have the effect of lowering prices in the paying country and raising the price level in the receiving

country, until the price difference was sufficient to cause goods to flow from the former to the latter.* Thus the requisite export surplus would be evoked.

It is quite true that part of the reason why reparations broke down in the 1920's (in fact, over the second half of the decade Germany was paying in reparations less than she was borrowing from abroad, chiefly by loans floated in America) was because other countries put up high tariff barriers which had the effect of keeping out German exports, and hence made it difficult for Germany by increasing her sales abroad to acquire the foreign *valuta* (resources or deposits in foreign money) which she had to obtain in order to make reparation payments in money to France or Belgium or Britain (and if she could not realize such sums by selling more exports, her attempt to buy these foreign currencies with marks was bound to set in motion a depreciation of the foreign exchange value of the mark). But it is also true, quite apart from these special obstacles to trade, that, in the actual conditions of a capitalist world, the attempt suddenly to increase the export surplus of a country must so disrupt foreign markets (because more goods are pushed on them to absorb) as to bring about a sharp fall in price; this fall in price having the double effect of producing trade depression in the country receiving the goods, and at the same time making it more difficult, or even impossible (if the foreign market is very inelastic) for the exporting country to increase the *value* of its exports, however much it may increase their physical *quantity*.** To the extent that this is so,

* This is assuming that the countries were on a gold standard. If not, the fall in foreign exchange rates (caused by making reparation payments) were assumed to have a similar effect; the altered exchange rate between the monies of the two countries cheapening exports in the paying country in terms of the other country's money.

** Some have argued that this difficulty is imaginary because at the same time (approximately) as the paying country is expanding its exports, the receiving country is acquiring funds as reparation payments, so that the *demand* of the latter country will simultaneously increase, since it is better off. But if, say, the French government receives x million francs from Germany in reparations, it by no means follows that the French businessman or French consumer will increase his purchases of the sort of goods Germany exports by an amount equal to x million francs. Even if the French government lowers its taxation by an equivalent amount, the French businessman or peasant may save the difference, or alternatively spend more on home produced goods.

there *does* exist a special "transfer problem" attaching to payment of reparations in *money* which does *not* necessarily exist if reparations are paid in kind.

BUT, if Germany supplies machine-tools to Czechoslovakia and Russia, or sends workers to rebuild Kharkov, will not this just the same narrow the market which there might otherwise have been in these countries for the products of the English engineering industry? Will it not (as Sir George Paish writes in the *Daily Mail* of February 14) even cause Russian workers to be unemployed in Kharkov? So far as Kharkov is concerned, the answer is the simple one that Sir George Paish has overlooked the difference between *laissez-faire* capitalism and a planned socialist economy. In the latter there is not, as there is in the former, a "ceiling" to effective demand and to employment. And if there is no such ceiling, it does not follow that, if part of the demand is satisfied by German labor, there will be less employment left over for Russian labor.

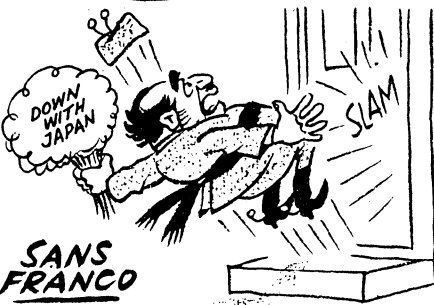
The simple fact is that if Russian labor does not have to be employed on rebuilding Kharkov, it will be available for some other purpose, perhaps for re-starting the Dnieper Dam or building the Volga-Don canal or building new clothing factories. Since the volume of industrial activity is governed by the plan, and the situation will be one where labor is scarce and not jobs (as it was also throughout the pre-war decade) there is no doubt that, if there is labor to spare, it will be so employed. The only thing capable of preventing it from being so employed would be *deficiency of materials and tools* with which labor could work. In other words, the quicker the basic needs of reconstruction are met (e.g., by reparations) the *more* employment is there likely to be for Russian labor, and not less.

What is true of building Kharkov is also true by analogy of Russian demand for the products of British industry. What would make the USSR a poor market for British goods would be the inability of her industry and agriculture to produce enough for her to be able to "spare" exports with which to pay for imports. What would *depress* the buying power of the liberated countries would be their poverty; and the quicker their prosperity is restored, the sooner will they be able to afford to buy things from abroad. If German machine tools go to reequip the dismantled industries of the Ukraine or Czechoslovakia or Poland, then these industries will the

sooner be in a position to produce goods for export, and hence will the sooner be able to buy goods from Britain and elsewhere which they previously couldn't afford—including, probably, more machine tools to feed the expansion of their own industries, which will be able to proceed more, and not less, quickly, once the basic reconstruction is achieved.

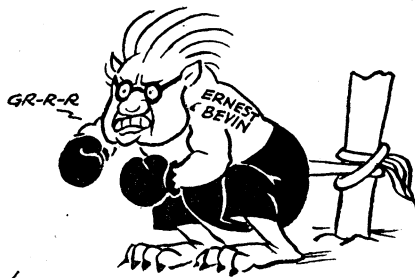
The fallacy behind Sir George Paish's conception is that he continues to think in terms of a fixed "fund" of purchasing power, and consequently a fixed quota of jobs to go round; from which it seems to follow that if Germans get the job of rebuilding Kharkov or reequipping its tractor works, some Russian or Englishman must be odd-man-out; and that in the Alice-through-the-Looking-Glass world of economics it is always more advantageous to give than to receive. But it may well be asked whether this conception does not correspond to the situation in capitalist countries, even if it no longer does to Russia. If reparations are paid to France, won't this reduce her dependence on exports from Britain? To this there is, again, the answer that even here the situation is very different from what it was in the 1920's. This country and the USA and presumably most of the liberated countries will be doing their best to promote policies of full employment after the war; and insofar as they succeed in this, the picture of a rigid "purchasing-power-and-job fund" will not apply. Useful work will be financed and started to employ the manpower that is available, and if some of this work of reconstruction is done by German labor, then French or British labor can be released to meet other development needs that come lower in the priority list of useful work to be done.

BUT what of the argument that the burden of reparations may undesirably reduce the standard of life of the German people, and possibly exhaust her economic life, and be objectionable for this reason? The fact which many people seem to overlook is that the burden of rebuilding shattered towns and reequipping dismantled factories has got to fall on *someone*. Someone's labor has got to repair the devastation, and someone's standard of life has got to be reduced while labor is diverted to this task. The issue is not between burden or no burden (as though it were being imposed for penal reasons), but on whose shoulders the burden will rest. Is it to be the shoulders of Russians and Poles and Czechs and Frenchmen, who have



SANS FRANCO

FRANCO'S FEEL FOR FAVOURS DIDN'T FOOL ANYBODY BUT FRANCO.

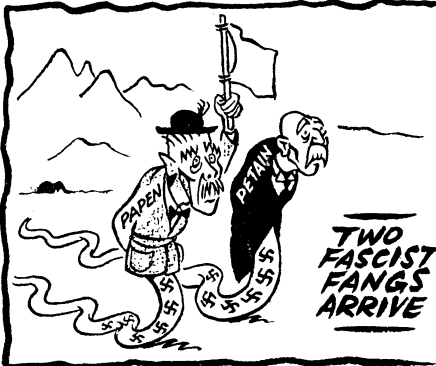


GR-R-R
ERNEST BEVIN
THE LABOUR LION THREATENS TO KNOCK SPOTS OFF THE TORY LEOPARD IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS— BUT NOT WHILE IT'S TIED UP WITH ITS POLICY OF 'NO UNITY WITH PROGRESSIVE FORCES'!

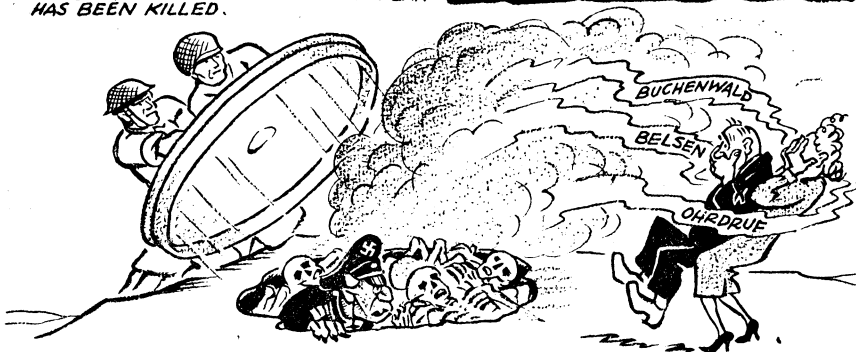


SHARP PRACTICE

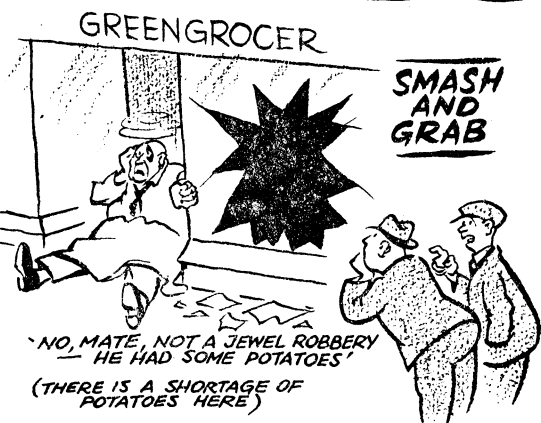
IN RESPONSE TO REPRESENTATIONS BY THE REACTIONARY BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION THE STATE MEDICAL PLAN HAS BEEN KILLED.



TWO FASCIST FANGS ARRIVE



THE LIFTING OF THE LID OFF HELL CAMPS HAS AT LAST BROUGHT THE STENCH OF FASCISM HOME TO SOME FOLKS.



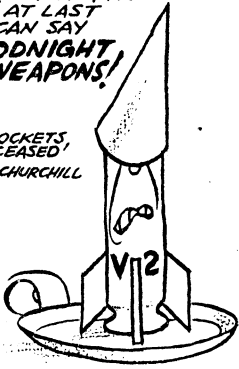
GREENGROCER

SMASH AND GRAB

'NO, MATE, NOT A JEWEL ROBBERY — HE HAD SOME POTATOES'
(THERE IS A SHORTAGE OF POTATOES HERE)

THIS MONTH HAS BROUGHT US QUIET NIGHTS — FOR AT LAST WE CAN SAY GOODNIGHT V-WEAPONS!

'THE ROCKETS HAVE CEASED' — MR CHURCHILL



Drawn exclusively for 'New Masses' by **RICHARDS** London Daily Worker

London Revue

suffered the torments of occupation, died in concentration camps and shed their blood in the resistance movement, or the shoulders of Germans who have tolerated (to say the least) the Nazi regime, shared in its loot of Europe,

and need to "work their passage home" before there can "be a place for them in the comity of nations"?

About the answer to such a question none but a pro-fascist could, surely, be in doubt. Of course, it is clear that only

a part of the devastation wrought by war and by the Nazis can be repaired by this means. If even part of the devastation is to be made good by reparations, it will have to be intelligently arranged and subordinated to a global plan which takes the whole European situation under its scrutiny. But when things are calculated in kind and the problem thought of in real terms—in so many man-hours and so many trucks and locomotives and machine tools—the chance of "astronomical calculations" and unreal "strings of naughts" will be very much less than when the whole matter is seen "through the veil of money."

Lest anyone, however, should deny that there is surplus productive power in Germany to be tapped, there is this fact to be borne in mind. For some ten years now Germany has been building an immense war industry which had no parallel in 1918. This has not been producing for the needs of ordinary civilian consumption or for the normal needs of industrial equipment: it has been producing for war. In this sense a large fraction of Germany's productive power is surplus; and the equipment of this war industry (where it has not been destroyed by bombing) will either be dismantled or adapted to peacetime purposes. A substantial proportion of it must be adaptable; and this part represents one potential source of productive power from which reparations can be drawn.

A FEATURE of the Crimea agreement that one welcomes with particular satisfaction is that reparations are no longer to be a plaything of bankers, as they became twenty years ago. In this connection, it is amusing to note the alternative to reparations in kind which Sir George Paish suggests in the article cited above. His suggestion is that the capital sum of reparations should be funded, and a loan issued to this amount on the guarantee of the United Nations and sold to nationals of this country and America. The liability for paying the interest and debt charges on the loan would be laid upon Germany. In other words, British and American labor would repair the yawning gaps in Europe's economic life (and do so precisely in those years when wartime scarcities still continue here as well as on the Continent) while all that German labor was set to do would be to supply £50,000,000-odd of annual income to British and American bondholders and to bankers and stockbrokers in London and Wall Street who took their rake-off on the round-about deal!

REPLY TO THE RUSSIA-HATERS

By SEN. CLAUDE PEPPER

The following is the address delivered by Senator Pepper to a meeting held last week in New York to honor the GPs of the United Nations. The meeting took place at Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

WE ARE privileged spectators this evening of a part of the greatest drama of our time. We see here men who are the unshakable symbols of Soviet-American unity in victory and in peace. When the heads of state clasp hands that is great. When workers of two nations clasp hands that is greater. When the soldiers of the Soviet Union and the United States join hands across the Elbe, that is one of the greatest events of human history.

Those young men met in the heart of a continent. They began their fighting march far beyond that continent. They had come across the snows and the steppes. They had traversed the broad rivers, the wide and infested ocean, over the beaches and over the hedgeways and hills. They had surmounted every obstacle of both nature and of the evil enemy and finally with their feet upon the neck of tyranny they stood triumphant. They are here tonight to prove that in Soviet-American unity freedom lives and tyranny is dead.

I say tyranny is dead. I mean Mussolini is dead—hanged by the heels and the stench of fascism is being cleaned out of Italy. Nazism is not dead because many Nazis still live, but Himmler is dead, Goebbels is dead, Hitler is dead or will be and soon Goering and Hess and all the rest of their hellish gang will hang in part penance for their crimes and if we do not sicken at the task of justice too soon, there will be rooted out of German soil the fungus of Nazism and Nazis.

If you wish to know whether the United States and the United Republics of Russia respect and trust each other, ask these men. If you wish to know whether the fighting men and women of America and the Soviet Union were friends and will be friends ask these men.

If you wish to know whether there is any sense in the loose talk that we and the Soviet Union are bound to fall out and go to war, ask these men, and ask the millions of Americans and

Russians with whom these men have fought the common enemy.

It is hard for one's mind to reach back from these days of victory to June 1941, when Hitler, exalted over his mastery of Western Europe, closed in for the kill upon the Soviet people. The memory cannot recreate the sad scenes of those awful days and weeks and months in which the bestial eyes of Hitler feasted through glasses upon the towers of the Kremlin. What was done by the Red Army and the Russian people along each foot and yard and mile of that long road back, what they did in every village and town and city, along every highway and in each forest, has no counterpart in history. Finally, at Moscow and Stalingrad, the flowing tide of evil dropped against the wall of blood and spirit of both army and people under one of the greatest names in history, Joseph Stalin, and began to ebb. It did not flow back to Berlin, however. It was driven back by shell and steel and strength.

FINALLY, the Red Army, having torn and cut to pieces and smitten down the cowed and conquered "super-race," enveloped Berlin and then met American GPs at the Elbe. When these men clasped hands that welded the two mightiest links in human history. History is rich with mighty exploits of war, the deeds of the brave and unconquerable. History's pages are recreated with the heroes and heroines of war. But pen has not written and words have not described exploits of heroes and heroines

more majestic than those of the Red Army.

Something, too, can be proudly said for the GPs who stood on the west bank of the Elbe. The Elbe was a long way from home for them, from the Elbe to the cotton fields of Alabama, the mines of Montana, the plains of the Dakotas, and the rugged hills of New England. Yet, it was a long way, too, from the GPs, the peer of any soldiers in the world, who shook hands with their gallant friends of the Red Army, to the American boys who grew up amid the peace and plenty of America. They weren't born or reared to be soldiers; they had no lust to kill or to conquer; they would have sworn when they played Indians or Cops and Robbers or Cowboys, that they would never fight wars. Yet they outsmarted, outshot and outfought the best the Nazis had, though they had been spawned for war. It is military record that not one turned back until the task was done.

The world is free again of the threat of conquest and tyranny. Now at long last there is peace in Europe—enforced peace. Peace for which so many have died, for which so many have given their limbs and their faces and their minds. Peace for which so many have given their homes and their hopes. I wish I could say there was peace everywhere on earth and that the price for world peace had been fully paid. The Jap, accursed as he is, must yet be finished off and the earth freed of his poison. To that task we are equally, as we were to the defeat of Nazism and fascism, dedicated and devoted. But peace in the Orient will come as it has come in Europe—enforced peace.

I know the Western world is saddened by the spectacle we see in Syria. As one who honors and loves France, I must say that it ill becomes France, so recently liberated, so soon to attempt to enslave another people.

Now the questions the GPs are asking are: What will come of this peace? What sort of a world have they won? Who are these people, talking about war with Russia? What do they want? Are they some of these people who preferred Hitler to Russia who have come out of their hiding and found their voice? Are they really the enemies of Communism or of Democracy? To hear them, you would think that they are



Alexey Kravchenko.

descendants of the institution of private property and our inalienable civil rights. Yet, the truth is they hated Roosevelt as much as they hated Hitler and never were private enterprise so flourishing and civil rights so secure as under that other GI of democracy who has gone with the GI army of the dead—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

WHO disseminates the constant stream of poisonous propaganda against Russia which makes every effort at self-security and preservation on the part of the Russians an act of aggression upon the world and world peace? It is easy to see that it is Russian policy to have friendly states around her borders. Who does not have that policy? Yet, have you heard Russia questioning Britain's concern for friendly states across the channel or what Britain has done in infested Portugal and Spain or Italy or in any other area adjacent to her lifeline or territory? Have you heard Russia say anything about our relations with Mexico or Central and South America or Canada or even about our having bases in the Pacific?

No one will deny, however, that the Soviet Union has taken a great and good part in building the edifice of the United Nations. In fact, you will remember that it was Russia which suggested that full employment for all nations should be one of the objectives of the United Nations. Twice in nine months has Russia come to American shores and labored unstintingly with us all to build world well-being and world peace upon the graves of the army dead in this war against tyranny. Of course Russia will keep her powder dry after the war and keep a lot of it, no doubt. Our GIs who still live and we all are grateful Russia has not just started that policy. And we too are going to keep our powder dry and keep plenty of it.

God forbid that we should participate ever in another war or that another war should come to curse the earth. We must, if we are to obtain ever the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the fervor of our old freedom, declare to the world that whoever enslaves another is our uncompromising enemy and in one way or another we shall break the shackles. If we do not, the war shall not have been fully won and the dead shall have died in vain. As we stand before the crosses of the dead, as we stand with awed silence before the all-seeing eye of these fine and fresh young spirits who have died for a decent world, it is the time for us to consecrate

ourselves to a full measure of freedom for the race of man, for the freedoms of Franklin D. Roosevelt, freedom of religion, freedom of speech and expression, freedom from fear, freedom from want everywhere in the world.

There were never sadder days than these and there were never so many sacrificed in war, never so much devastated earth, never such wreckage and ruin, never so many broken bodies and wretched spirits as lie in the wake of this terrible war.

Yet, when one lifts one's eyes to the

horizon and sees the illimitable future which stretches ahead of us, there was never such reason for hope, such hope for peace, such hope for plenty, such hope for happiness for so many as there is today. The call and cry in peace as there was in war is, "Forward! Conquer! Live!" Go out, therefore—you too—in your hearts honor those GIs living and dead and preach this doctrine of democracy and add to your faith, work. Man is not only walking upright like a man again; he is running into his new world.

A TVA FOR PALESTINE

By ALBERT WIENER

SEVERAL years ago I saw a movie, *Avodah*, which is the Hebrew term for "work." Though made in Palestine, it was definitely inspired by the film technique of the Russian, Sergei M. Eisenstein. The heroes were *chalutzim*, agricultural workers and settlers of a small rural colony, who, in a particularly dry year, desperately strove to discover on their sun-scorched land what is Palestine's rarest and therefore most treasured item: water. After having bored deeply many times and into many spots to tap a possible subterranean source of water, the hardy pioneers were almost ready to give up the struggle when unexpectedly one of them discovered a deep well from which the water rose, fountain-like, to the surface. The colony was saved!

I was reminded of that movie when I heard Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, of the US Department of Agriculture, testify before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs about a year ago. Of the many statements made with reference to the House Resolutions 418 and 419, his was the most important. The resolutions in favor of making Palestine a "free and democratic commonwealth," entirely open to Jewish immigration and colonization, were shelved on Capitol Hill. This in itself is a topic for a special article but the hearings, widely publicized, at least acquainted the American public with Palestine's genuine problems and troubles.

Shortly before the war Dr. Lowdermilk surveyed Palestine and other Mediterranean countries, for the US government. An unbiased scientist, he helped destroy the myth that Palestine was inevitably "too small" and "too barren" to accommodate large numbers of immigrants. It is true, he admitted in the first report he sent to Washington, that the land was "a sorry commentary on man's occupation and exploitation of a once fruitful country." But he asserted that the barren wilderness can be turned again into a land flowing with milk and honey if it is supplied with sufficient water, or, more precisely, if its water resources are prevented from running to waste and are used for the production of electricity. He expounded for the first time the ideas which may enable Palestine, now inhabited by 1,600,000 people, to accommodate an additional 5,000,000 in due time. The magic key is called "JVA," which stands for "Jordan Valley Authority." The blueprints of Dr. Lowdermilk's project had been worked out months before by a group of American scientists and engineers, under the auspices of the Commission on Palestinian Surveys, at the request of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

What is the JVA?

As the name suggests, it is a water-power plan, modeled after our own gigantic Tennessee Valley Authority. After Dr. Lowdermilk's first sketchy



"Masters of Painting: 'Olympia,' by Manet, retouched by Tono Salazar." This attack on the arch-fascist Pierre Laval was recently drawn for an Argentine newspaper. Salazar, who has just been arrested and deported to Uruguay, is one of the many anti-fascists persecuted in Argentina since her admission to the United Nations.

announcement, we learned more about the scheme, chiefly through Lowdermilk's subsequent book—*Palestine, Land of Promise*—and also through the comments made by the late Sen. George W. Norris, the father of the TVA, and the late Col. Theodore B. Parker, formerly chief engineer of the TVA. The plan of using the waters of the Mediterranean and the Jordan River to provide irrigation and electric power for the Holy Land is, of course, not new. In his novel *Old-New Land*, published in 1902, Theodore Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, foresaw the establishment of a Dead Sea Canal which would take full advantage of the difference in levels between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, and be used for generating power. He also foresaw power stations in the Jordan Valley and reservoirs supplying arid regions with water. Some time after the first World War a Frenchman, Imbeaux, developed a similar plan.

But around 1900 and for years later Palestine was an area of little interest to the world at large. Now, however, things are more favorable for a project like the JVA. The British government may insist that the country's

The Jordan, the country's only important river, carries its waters from the slopes of Mount Hermon to the north straight to the Dead Sea in the south. There is no animal life in that huge salt lake. The surrounding country is an arid desert. Why should this precious water be allowed to run to waste? Why not divert the Jordan waters by means of canals and irrigate regions where at present there is not enough grass to feed a goat, but where, in due time, beautiful orange groves could thrive?

The Jordan's steep drop—almost 3,300 feet from its source down to the Dead Sea—is already partly being exploited by the Palestine Electric Company. Under the direction of Pinchas Rutenberg the PEC in 1932 established the power plant *Tel-Or* (Hill of Light) below Lake Tiberias. But after having gone through the turbines, the water no longer can be used to irrigate lands above the level of the river bed. Hence, it is being argued, the Jordan waters should be freed, to be used mostly for irrigation purposes.

How shall that loss of electricity be replaced? Palestine needs every kilowatt of electricity to keep its industries going.

"absorptive power" does not allow for additional immigrants. However, Lowdermilk's plan should kill that flimsy argument. "When I was flying over Palestine," Dr. Lowdermilk explained in Washington, "I realized this narrow valley of the Jordan, with the Dead Sea 1,300 feet below sea level, was only a little way from the Mediterranean. Why not put a canal in from the Mediterranean and drop the water into the Dead Sea, and thereby produce power?" I do not know whether, after Lowdermilk's remarks, those who listened examined their maps in order to brush up on their geographical knowledge of Palestine, but I did.

And what shall be done to prevent the Dead Sea, which is fed solely by the Jordan River, from drying up and turning into a most harmful salt marsh, after the diversion of the river?

In answer, the planners suggest that sea water be carried from the Haifa Bay through a system of cement-lined navigable canals and tunnels to a point almost 1,200 feet above the Jordan River. Power plants set up along this drop into the Dead Sea would be able to generate more than a billion kilowatts of electricity per year. Under the same scheme the Dead Sea, freed from the danger of drying up, would be "mined" on a much larger scale than now. For it contains potash, bromine, asphalt, and especially magnesium. With enough electric power at hand, numerous chemicals could be produced through the electrolysis of Dead Sea salts.

The JVA may mean as much, if not more, to Palestine as the TVA means to the people of our South. Little Palestine, which is no larger than Maryland, produces the third largest orange crop in the world even though its irrigated area now comprises only 95,000 acres. After the realization of the JVA, which would endow the country with numerous "artificial streams" watering arid and semi-arid regions, that area will be multiplied by seven and the harvest will increase accordingly. The power plants will produce approximately ten times the electricity now being generated in Palestine.

The cost of the JVA would reach, in the course of years, approximately \$200,000,000. Is there a chance that the sum of \$200,000,000 can be raised? The planners figure that it will come from the Palestine administration, from Jewish organizations, from private investors and finally, perhaps, from German reparations. Of course, the financial question is not the only one. It remains to be seen whether London will consent to the scheme, though it is hard to see why it should raise any objections. The country's industrialization would be completed. Production would leap ahead. Under the auspices of the JVA the country, of which only eight percent is irrigated at present, would be enabled not only to supply its own inhabitants with food but even to export food to European nations which will need it urgently. Not only would the country be able to absorb numerous refugees, but JVA would also help Arab workers. Finally, even neighboring countries, especially arid and neglected Transjordan, would profit from the JVA.

OUR RUSSIAN MARKET

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THE administration at last has produced a witness who can appear before Congressional committees, disarm his inquisitors with his respectful Southern manners, and win his points by knowing more facts than they do and presenting them painlessly. I refer to lanky, distinguished-looking Assistant Secretary of State William Clayton, whose linen is as snowy as Sen. Walter F. George's own, and whose language is as courtly, albeit not as ambiguous. Mr. Clayton, a big-time cotton broker from Texas, has been busy testifying for the Doughton Reciprocal Trade Agreement bill, first before the Ways and Means Committee, and now, after its passage in the House, before the Senate Finance Committee headed by Senator George.

When Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney and the isolationist Sen. David Walsh (D., Mass.) appeared full of concern about the statement of an unnamed high official that the Soviet Union was planning to increase its steel production from 10,000,000 tons a year to 60,000,000, Clayton failed to respond with the "get tough with Russia" attitude so popular in certain circles these days.

"We hear all kinds of stories about things like that," he said easily, to Walsh. "I can say this to you. We are convinced Russia will expand very greatly after the war, industrially and in other ways, but I, for one, do not fear competition in our markets or in the world market from Russia for many years to come.

"We do not export much to Russia," he went on, "but if you study the situation, you will be impressed with the fact that the country never has been a factor in international trade. Russia is a vast country, and its population is growing. It is committed to the development of its own resources and its own country."

To O'Mahoney, later, he said: "What we hope to do—particularly if we decide it is national policy to assist countries to get on their feet—is to export a lot more steel than ever before, enough to take care of our own greatly expanded productive capacity that has come about in the war. Machine tools and steel are needed in enormous quantities, simply enormous."

Later in the day I interviewed Mr.

Clayton in a big room in his newly decorated offices in the State Department. I asked him what role foreign trade could play in our own reconversion. Of course, he said, if we have a situation where we can really export, private manufacturers will have foreign trade in mind in reconverting and will plan for expansion.

"You mean that instead of planning along lines of 1940 or 1941 production, as so many are doing now," I asked, alluding to the auto industry, among others, "they would plan along full employment lines?" He indicated that in general this was what he meant. For many industries, he added, reconversion will not be so serious if they can keep on making what they now are making—for instance, machine tools.

I asked Mr. Clayton if he found much sentiment against our exporting machine tools. (From labor sources working with the War Production

Board I long have heard that the Soviet Union never obtained all the machine tools she wanted throughout the war, or even those agreed upon, and from other sources I learned that one factor in the situation was industry's fear that if we provided the Soviet Union with machine tools she would be able to produce consumer goods in the postwar which otherwise might be bought from us.) Some people, Mr. Clayton said, thought we would make a great mistake if we exported to other countries our modern equipment and technology. He did not share that opinion.

I then asked if the export of machines and machine tools weren't one of the ways we could help raise the standard of living of other countries. On this he took a purely business point of view, he answered. We have always had our best trade with industrial countries—countries which paid the highest wages and therefore had the highest buying power.

As for the prospects for postwar trade with the Soviet Union, if we are in a position to sell them equipment and tools and machinery, the possibilities are enormous, he made clear. But they will have to have credits. They haven't got enough money, he said.

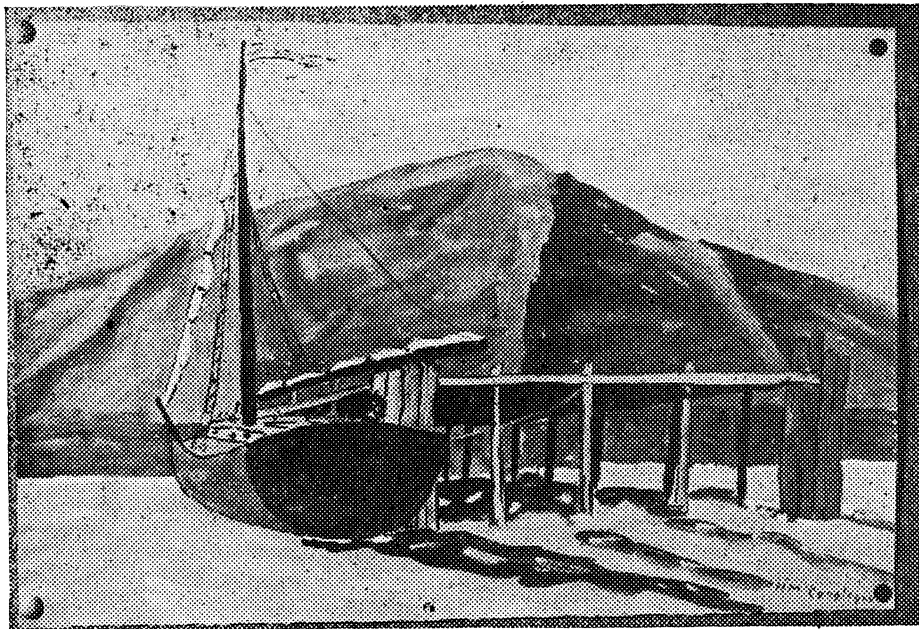
Here I found none of the squeamishness I have met of late on the part of certain government officials in discussing anything concerning the Soviet Union. Mr. Clayton was not cagey in the least. Russia had to have credits, and he did not hesitate to say so any more than he has hesitated in telling Congressional committees we will have to make loans of fifteen to twenty billions to various countries in the first five or six years after the war, and that we probably would not recall the principal. On one occasion Rep. Robert W. Kean (Rep., N. J.) asked if there wouldn't be a difference in that and the situation from 1925 to 1929. "At that time," said Kean, "we expected to be paid back and were not; and this time we do not expect to be paid back and will not be." Clayton replied: "No, sir; I don't believe that is the difference." He said he thought "the implications of your statement are wrong."

Then he went on to say that "if you gentlemen approve the Bretton Woods proposals," money would come from the

F. D. R.

"After the war we must maintain full employment, with government performing its peacetime functions. This means that we must achieve a level of demand and purchasing power by private consumers—farmers, businessmen, workers, professional men, housewives—which is sufficiently high to replace wartime government demands; and it means also that we must greatly increase our export trade above the pre-war level.

"Our policy is, of course, to rely as much as possible on private enterprise to provide jobs. But the American people will not accept mass unemployment or mere make-shift work. There will be need for the work of everyone willing and able to work—and that means close to 60,000,000 jobs."—From President Roosevelt's State of the Union message, January 6, 1945.



"The Pier," by Harold McConologue, electrician, one of an exhibition of seamen's paintings at the National Maritime Union Hall to July 14.

International Bank, our own Export-Import Bank with an increased lending power, and American corporations establishing branches abroad. He believed "we would find it wise and profitable to follow about the same course with respect to the money invested abroad that England followed after the Napoleonic wars. We would not choose to receive the money back in the form of principal; we would feel we were getting the interest and our businessmen were making money out of their investments and getting dividends on them. To do this it would be necessary to keep our tariff down so that the foreigners could send us sufficient goods to pay the interest and the dividends. . . . To do that would require an excess of imports over exports of something like \$750,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 a year, although a certain amount would be taken up by money spent abroad by tourists."

I ASKED Mr. Clayton how the Soviet Union could compete against lend-lease to South American and other countries in obtaining procurement in this period in which she was being reduced to lend-lease on a hand-to-mouth basis, even if she had had the cash. He pointed to the large-scale cuts in airplane production, and others not so publicized, and said he thought that very soon a good deal of American production would be opened up to private bidders who wanted to buy. Where would the USSR get the credits, if, as I had been informed, a provision in the Export-Import Bank legislation had

been interpreted as applying against the USSR because of debts owed by the czarist regime? He did not appear worried. The Johnson act would be repealed and with it that amendment to the Export-Import Bank legislation. When the Export-Import Bank lending facilities were expanded, loans could be made to the Soviet Union.

"Then they would not be held up as a matter of policy because the Soviet Union has not declared war on Japan?" I asked, adding that I had been informed elsewhere that no loan to the USSR was being considered now as a matter of policy. He appeared to doubt it, but said that it might be, that they weren't that far in considering the policy.

I then asked Mr. Clayton if he would say what was the area of trade conflict with Great Britain, and what was being done to diminish it. Well, he said in his casual way, they expected to have some talks with the British on their empire preferences and such before long. And the Secretary of State had announced there would be an international trade and employment conference soon.

Earlier in the day when O'Mahoney, a visitor at the Senate committee hearing, had asked him about a move in San Francisco to have international commodity agreements initiated and drawn up through the Social and Economic Council of the proposed international organization, Clayton had opposed it. Asked about his testimony, he said he had not meant to imply that he opposed international commodity agreements, but their being handled in that way. Cotton and wool were the principal

headaches in the way of surplus commodities. (An international cotton conference was held here recently, sponsored by the State Department.)

Mr. Clayton would not comment on the State Department's economic plans for Germany, or reports that Britain, which will control the rich industrial Ruhr, may oppose the American plan to liquidate heavy German industry. He saw no reason, however, for conflict among the Allies over the proposed industrialization of the liberated countries of Europe. It is our national policy to promote such industrialization where it is soundly planned. An industry should not be so far from raw materials, or otherwise uneconomically planned, that it would require a high tariff for it to compete on the world market, he said.

Before the Ways and Means Committee Clayton was asked by Rep. Roy O. Woodruff (R., Mich.), one of his most persistent questioners, if he did not believe that "Germany will introduce the most up-to-date methods in their manufacturing plants." And he replied: "It is very difficult for me to see how Germany is going to reconstruct, particularly in the heavy industries. She probably will not be permitted to reconstruct in the heavy industries."

Said Woodruff: "I think you will agree that we certainly cannot leave that nation of people in the position that Mr. Morgenthau suggested—to make them an agrarian nation only and eliminate all manufacturing." (This is of course a vulgarization of the Morgenthau plan, which would remove heavy industry to the USSR, France, Belgium, Holland, and all the other liberated countries which want it, but retain textile and other light industries.)

Clayton replied: "Mr. Woodruff, I do not know just what his suggestion was, but I will agree with you immediately that they have got to retain certain types of manufacturing, what we call soft goods, textiles and things of that kind. I think that everybody agrees it would not be possible for a nation like Germany to maintain herself unless she had industries of that kind; but what I was referring to was the heavy industries, things that could contribute to the war potential of Germany which I think will have to be prohibited."

This is reassuring, as it is known that there are forces in the State Department that have opposed the plan to crush Germany's heavy industry or war-making potential, just as there are such forces to an even larger extent in the British government.

LETTERS FROM THE PHILIPPINES

By S/Sgt. LAWRENCE EMERY

MOVING in the Army is much like moving anywhere, a hectic business of uprooting yourself and packing and hauling. In the Army there is just a lot more of it.

First we cleared up everything on the line, and struck our tent there, and packed our tool boxes and brought everything into the squadron area. Then we broke down the armament shop and loaded all of it onto trailers and into jeeps. What we had to leave behind we burned. Then the mess hall began coming down and the tables were packed, and we ate our meals wherever we could find a spot to sit or squat, or rest a mess kit. Then we packed our own personal stuff and folded up our cots and struck our tents. From then on I worked pretty steadily, a whole day and one full night through, not stopping for rain, but resting only while waiting for a truck, or pausing a while when some hot strong coffee was brewed in what remained of the mess hall. At last, long after the complainers were too tired to complain any more, we had everything loaded and nothing left to do but wait until we ourselves were loaded aboard trucks, taking with us more than we could possibly carry.

That wait, as are all such waits in the Army, was a long one. It began before dawn and I wandered down to the beach and lay on the sand, looking at the stars beyond the tops of the palm trees, thinking about this war, things that have gone and things to come, wondering about the next place we're bound for; and then I slept.

WE TRAVELED by LST. These slow, chunky, bull-nosed, flatbottomed ships sit high on the water and bobble like corks. We had fair weather all the way, hot sunny days, deep blue water, dark quiet nights.

OUR mess hall is all but finished. It is a long affair with cocoanut logs for upright supports and bamboo for the slanting roof, over which canvas tarpaulins are stretched. Fronds of palm trees are woven for the sides, which are not quite shoulder high, so that eating there is like dining out in some warm garden. All we need is Chinese lanterns to give it the proper effect. And in order that the men might conform to this

small touch of elegance, it was decreed today that no man without a shirt will be served, KP's will no longer perform their hot duties in shorts, and headgear will be removed before entering. Such interference with the overseas soldier's unofficial right to wear what he pleases any damned way he pleases provoked a pretty hot discussion, from which I gathered during supper tonight that the outfit is going to hell, that there will never be a time like the good old days, that life in general now is just one soggy heap of hardships. This attitude will last until some new gripe commands all attention, along about day after tomorrow. Anyhow at breakfast time it is cool enough to make a shirt comfortable, at supertime the mosquitoes begin to come out of their daylight nooks and practically make a shirt mandatory. It might be slightly uncomfortable at noon, but this small inconvenience would go unnoticed if the American soldier didn't measure his happiness by the size and number of his complaints.

I CAN now say that I have been under a rainstorm. It started sometime last night. The swollen skies simply burst. An ordinary rain beats on these taut tents like shot on a drumhead. But this came down with a damp roar that literally drowned out the discordant din of the frogs. We tried to talk to each other in the tent, but we could not be heard even when we shouted. The squadron area ran with rivers and the swamps rose to our very doorsteps.

We have a boy in the squadron who recently prepared to bed down in the open when his tent was struck for some reason or other. He made no provision for shelter. "Suppose it rains?" he was asked. "Oh," he replied, "these blankets turn water for quite a while." "Yes," he was told, "but eventually they soak through." He thought that over for a moment and then said, "Well, if it rains I'll just cover up my head and hope."

Last night I covered up my head and hoped. It's a poor way to cope with the elements on a rampage. The first leak hit me on the chest and when I came up for air it struck me square in the face. I crawled out from under my mosquito bar and spread my towel under

the leak. The next leak hit me on the chest again. I got out again and moved the towel down a bit. Back in my bunk I found the towel too short to extend under both leaks. I got out again and spread a shirt. The shirt soaked through. So I had to get out again and rummage in the dark to find my gas mask, and extract from there a waterproof sheet designed for a different purpose, but the only thing I could think of to keep the flood out of my bunk. Meanwhile the downpour persisted at full strength with no let-up. It was as though the taps had been opened wide and left there. There was just enough wind to blow rain onto the weather side of my mosquito bar, down which little rivulets ran all night. When I had done all I could and climbed back in to stay, I inspected the inside of my mosquito bar with a flashlight. Insects had apparently swooped under it in droves every time I had crawled out. One was the exact shape and color of a roast turkey and only slightly smaller. There were a score of mosquitoes, and it was long before I got the last of them. The torrent continued unchecked through the night.

It rained off and on fitfully all day. Now it is dark and it is coming down again steadily and promises to persist right through to daylight. Ours is a soggy life in a water-logged world. Though it helps but little, we shall continue to cover up our heads and hope.

THE best I can do in the way of a letter tonight is to pass on to you a few notes I jotted down the other night while on guard.

The man we'd all like to kill. He lives somewhere down the road, and is probably psychic. He is aware of an alert a good three minutes before any official signal is sounded. Out of the night he will scream, in a voice slightly tinged with hysteria, "Turn out those goddamned lights!" Ten seconds later he will scream again, "Turn out those lights before I shoot them out!" This drives us nuts. If we could see the bastard we'd likely shoot him. But there is such a strong note of fright in his voice we can't be sure he won't really take a shot at us. Often enough we turn out the lights. Minutes later group headquarters sounds the alert and then the generator is stopped, which extinguishes

all lights automatically. But this joker can't wait. . . . The other night, after the all-clear sounded, a man in the tent next set up a scream of his own: "Turn on them goddamned lights before I shoot them on!"

THE sound of a 90-millimeter anti-aircraft gun. It speaks with profound authority. The smaller 40's bark like hounds on a hot scent. And the 50 calibre machine-guns punctuate the story with exclamation marks. . . . The searchlights fingering through the dark, feeling, feeling. . . . When all the ack-ack guns cut loose, men stand with their mouths open: "God Almighty, look at all that stuff. . . ." The questions prompted by the sound of an enemy plane at night: how high, how near, which way? The clear, early morning when a Jap plane burst into our view in a long, smoking dive, one of our planes riding his tail all the way down. Long after they were gone strips of metal floated lazily down, spinning in the bright sun. . . . The night I was at the latrine, the bomb falling close enough to be heard, a deadly, sibilant swish, swish. And the instinctive union with the earth. . . . The sound of bombs landing: ga-wumph, ga-wumph.

There is something saddening in watching frightened men. How frail they seem! But it's the men who scurry for cover who are on hand in the morning for breakfast. If anything comes close, I'll probably be the first to get hurt; I like to see what goes on. . . . The night of the big noise showed how swiftly sleeping men can get out of their bunks. I was under mine before I was fully awake. We all sailed right through mosquito bars. One man woke up outside the tent with a shoe in one hand, his pants in the other. Big Slim plowed a furrow along one side of the tent with his nose, never remembers doing it. . . . One of my pleasures is collecting, at the breakfast table, all the startling eyewitness accounts of a previous night's visit. It is amazing what some men can see from a covered foxhole. I look and look, but I can never see much for clouds and trees and distance.

The annoyance of a long blackout when nothing happens. We sit in the dark and smoke and wait for the all-clear. . . . The men with jumpy nerves; in the dark they can be heard loading small arms. One wonders what the hell they intend to shoot at. . . . The frustration of watching a Japanese plane, caught clearly in our lights, winging serenely overhead safely out of reach of

our guns. They all blaze away anyhow—even the machine-guns cut loose. We know just how the gunners feel; we'd throw our shoes at the insolent bastard—if we could get more.

The long nights on guard, from six to six. After the lights go out at eleven, it becomes so quiet and still that we unconsciously speak in whispers in the orderly room. We sit reading by spluttering candles, which sizzle sharply when some insect falls into the flame. We can hear each other slapping at mosquitoes through the night.

The tuba man. Tuba is a native drink, fermented from the juice in the heart of the cocoanut palm where the leaves branch off. A container made of a section of bamboo is hung high in the trees. Every evening, just before sundown, the tuba man makes his rounds near our tent, climbing the trees as easily as we climb stairs. He perches up there and performs mysterious rites. I tasted the stuff once; it's like new wine. But the smell! To me it is nauseating.

The expression on men's faces as they watch a Filipino girl walk through the camp, bare-footed, bare-legged and thinly-clad.

Searching for bamboo in rain and deep mud. The stuff grows in tight clusters, all but a few of the outer shoots inaccessible. One variety has needle-sharp thorns. We emerged from an encounter with it scratched and bleeding in a dozen places. And the most carnivorous of all mosquitoes nest at the bottom of each clump; our legs were solid welts at the knees. Every stick was a struggle, but we built a floor. It is drying out now, and the strips are shrinking, leaving wide cracks. They are handy for disposing of cigarette butts, razor blades and match-sticks.

The shoreline, where not a single tree has escaped a shell-hit; nature got a shave and a hair-cut. . . . The forlorn wreckage of native nipa huts.

The tiny boys outside a native house, not two feet high, squatting on their haunches atop a table stripping long leaves with huge, wickedly-sharp knives half as long as themselves. They were making a broom. . . . I thought of progressive education.

The water buffaloes are built like two-and-a-half ton trucks. Mean-looking with long, curved, pointed horns and a habit of staring at you as though deciding where best to gore.

Walking barefoot through swamps and jungle mud makes you appreciate GI shoes at last. Bob Hope calls them foxholes with laces.

The tiredness of 3 AM when the small night sounds have become monotonously boring, the candles have melted into misshapen heaps, and even the bugs have wearied. The coffee, cold now, has lost its taste and the book you've been reading has lost its interest. Napoleon is said to have valued above all else what he called "three o'clock in the morning courage." I know now what he meant.

WHILE I was writing the above, an enormous scorpion, hideous-looking with his huge claws in front and that frightening hot tail, crawled out of the typewriter and started across the top of the machine directly in front of me. The nearest weapon I could reach was a hunting knife, but he got away from me and disappeared into the works. Three of us, armed with the knife, a flashlight and a stick, have been prowling around for him, but he eluded us. He is still in the typewriter somewhere, because I've got two men watching for him to come out while I beat on it, and he hasn't appeared. . . . I was bitten by one once in Honolulu, when I was a kid, and I don't ever want to tangle with one again.

ADDRESSES being lost off packages is how I got the nickname "Cookie." I had been doing a lot of loud talking about these roughnecks getting cookies from home, and what a lot of nonsense it was to send such crap through the mails, taking up precious shipping space and whatnot. I carried on quite an anti-cookie campaign. One day a box of cookies came into the mail-room with no address left. It was impossible to tell whom they belonged to. So the mail clerk fixed it up, put my name on it, marked it, "Rewrapped at the base post office," and solemnly delivered it to me. That was about two weeks ago and I haven't heard the end of it yet. And I'll probably be known as Cookie for quite a while. I'm getting back a little, though. One of the jokers in my tent got a fruit cake today. . . . But the guys who really moan are the ones who receive cans of Vienna sausage and Spam.

TONIGHT *Cabin In The Sky* was shown. I've never seen it, but I knew in advance what I wouldn't like about it, and I decided to go look at it. They have an interesting seating arrangement at the movies over here. A movie area is marked out and then every man is left to construct his own perma-

MUNICH ARCADE



Edith Glaser

nent seat. This is great stuff for the men who race to get first in chow lines, and who get up at 3 AM to beat other guys to soft jobs on KP. It's not a good system for me at all; I'd rather stand on my head than go charging around to get a front seat. Besides, with an average of one movie in six months that I'd walk to see, there is no point in me building a seat at all. Anyway, when I do go to a movie now, as tonight, I'm way in the back and practically sitting in the road. And the sound system here won't reach that far. All I could get was a scratch blur of noise. Rochester's voice sounded like a wood hsp being used in the next county; by the time the first song was sung I was finished. I picked up my little chair and came home; never even got a glimpse of Lena Horne. So I can't tell you anything about *Cabin In The Sky*.

THE bouts tonight were interesting. A ring has been built under the palm trees and some bright lights have been put up—an exotic setting for an old sport. It is all strictly amateur, with short rounds, heavy padded gloves and long rest periods; there are few knock-outs and no one gets hurt, but there is usually a lot of action. Especially when two Filipinos tangle. They take to boxing with tremendous enthusiasm; what they lack in skill they make up in determination. Most of the time they are in the ring they are a blurred, swirling mass of flailing arms, and as long as one of them has one hand free he is swinging it. They seem to love it; they laugh and rush back for more. The Filipino guerrillas must surely have given the Japs more hell than we'll ever know. They are fighters that any nation's soldiers must respect.

Last week a man from Group 4 came over; he won his first fight in the first round and simply overwhelmed his opponent. And before the night was over he took on a man in our outfit who outweighed him by nearly fifty pounds and who claims to have once been a sparring partner for Jack Dempsey. This big lug was also knocked silly in the first round and they had to stop the fight. The boy put on a flashy show, but it was *too* good. And so last night, matched against a Negro from the Navy, he came on with a smug confidence that didn't sit well with the audience, which pulled for the Navy fighter from the start. The Negro fought a very smart fight and pounded the flashy boy's ears off. Everybody was pleased.

ONE of the big bombers came back too badly crippled to land. It was flying high and circling, and every man in the region who knew what was going on sweated it out as anxiously as the crew itself. One could feel the kinship of the men on the ground with the men aloft, each feeling their plight as though it was his own. The ship circled round and round, every eye upon it. At last, speck-sized but sharp against a woolly cloud, the men came plummeting out, their chutes billowing into little white puffs. Five jumped the first time, descending gently, swinging in their harnesses. The stricken plane went round again. Another man jumped, then a seventh, then an eighth. All of us counted them anxiously. Did they all come back?

The first ones had landed now; we watched the others in the air, and we watched the plane make another slow circle. When it was almost overhead a ninth figure jumped. The other three were almost landed; one fell in the water, two struck solid ground. The plane didn't circle again. This time it headed straight out to sea, holding a steady course and flying proudly. We knew then the last man had jumped. If any were left aboard they were dead, and they were making their last ride in a hearse and a coffin that was befitting their death, for the big ship, though crippled, held true and straight into the mists. Later four fighter planes streaked away to shoot it down, but the haze closed in around them and we couldn't see the end. It was better so, for it is not good to watch our own destroyed. And she was a gallant ship; though mortally hurt, she brought her men back, and then sailed on majestically to her doom.

THAT EVIL GENIE

IN A powerful sermon delivered in the Riverside Church Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick states that Germany must be punished for her "calculated, cold-blooded policies of torture and extermination, whose revelation has left us all stunned and horrified." Discussing the religious principle of mercy, he points out that forgiveness is a two-way street, that it requires a prior and genuine penitence, and that it is "not our hatred, but our love of the grossly wronged that demands that the wrongdoers be put out of business, justly punished, and the repetition of their cruelty made impossible. The evil Germany has brought upon the world is appalling, and the necessity of stern dealing, just retribution and coercive measures to prevent such evil's repetition is obvious."

It is good to hear such words from a religious leader who not so long ago was speaking in terms of passive resistance and the power of moral suasion. Such forthrightness is a testimony to the patent viciousness of the Nazi New Order and an indication of the widespread recognition that moral sentimentality must not obstruct drastic judicial surgery.

I have just read Michael Sayer's and Albert Kahn's *The Plot Against the Peace* in which they retell the story of the Leipzig trials after World War I, when the accused successfully advanced the plea that they were not morally responsible for having carried out the orders of their superiors. Muffing badly these test-cases, the War Crimes Commission of that day never brought action against the higher-ups, and the key military and industrial planners of Germany were left scot-free to reorganize the Third Reich for another try at world mastery. Such a tragedy must not be repeated after World War II.

Some days ago I saw the brief IWO film on Buchenwald and the Soviet film on Maidanek, and the other night was among the guests of the Writers' War Board at a showing of two of the longer documentary films prepared for the Army. The first gives the camera record of the German concentration camps, torture galleries and elimination centers in the territory liberated by the Americans. In France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Germany the story is equally hideous and the total impression of a common program unmistakable. The second film was an indoctrination film for GI's going into Germany—one of the simplest and most effective jobs of its kind that I have ever seen. I have written the War Department that I believe these two films should not only be released to the general public but should be shown in such a way that the American people would feel a moral obligation to go to see them. Nothing could more immediately rally the conscientious support of our country behind a program of long-term responsible control of Germany. There must be no abortive Leipzig trials this time. The key individuals responsible for the Nazi program must be held to account or our civilization will be directly consenting to its own destruction. That these horrors were part of a national war program is no justification and no defense; if anything, they go to show that fascist

war has reached a depth of moral irresponsibility where it can no longer be tolerated by humanity. It has got to be extirpated. If that extirpation requires radical shifts in national thinking and in the possession of social and economic power, then such shifts should be encouraged.

The German General Staff came out of World War I with the feeling that its defeat was due primarily to logistic weaknesses and that with the perfection of new military weapons and psychological techniques a second attempt at world conquest could meet with success. The arrogance of the German generals in surrender and the attitudes of many civilian elements indicate that a similar temptation is certain to strike fire again. Furthermore, the political jockeying in Central Europe and the increased anti-Soviet agitation in the United States suggest that there are still shortsighted individuals and powerful group interests who might even encourage such a German renaissance. The best antidote is the close cooperation of the United States government with the leaders of those nations that have suffered most from German expansion in a stern and unrelenting program for the prosecution of war criminals, aimed at nothing less than the liquidation of the entire planning inner circle of the Pan-German enthusiasts, economists, industrialists, financiers, journalists, educators and politicians. The German General Staff, as this group is commonly called, must be permanently destroyed as well as the minor thugs and party henchmen directly responsible for the administration of the concentration and elimination camps.

THAT the Russians understand this is made clear in a long and illuminating article in *War and the Working Class* in which a proposed basis for collaboration between the western allies and the Soviet Union is the joint control of Germany and the extirpation of fascism on the continent of Europe. The Russians realize the difficulty of establishing a common agreement as to positive objectives in Europe; surely, they suggest, we can at least find common ground in the control and destruction of the enemy we have been fighting! For most Americans that is a sound proposition to which they will respond. But I think of one editor who, when our troops were still lined up along the Rhine, had the baldness to say in my presence that the war against Germany was unfortunate because our real enemy was the Soviet Union. It has not surprised me to find his sheet in recent weeks pouring out its steady vilification of every Soviet move in eastern Europe, applauding Tory policy in Greece and Poland and Trieste, and congratulating the American delegation at San Francisco on their success in getting the concept of hemispheric regionalism written into the United Nations Charter. And such an editor is one of a not inconsiderable company.

Military victory has come in Europe, but not victory—not as yet. For that will only come with stable governments rooted in the desires and aspirations of their own peoples, and when living economic and political ties have been created with the Soviet Union of a character that will permit the eventual integration of Germany into the structure of a healthy Europe. Apart from this, Germany will be released from military supervision simply once again to be an evil genie pouring out of the fisherman's bottle to becloud the sky. Next time will we have the power of Solomon's ring to seal him back inside?

WHAT'S GOIN ON HERE ?

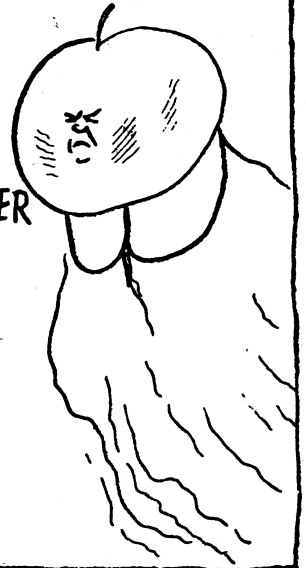
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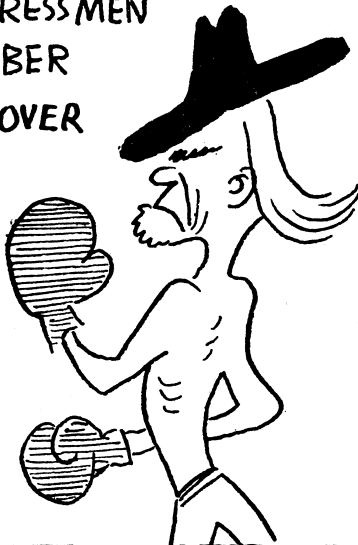
--AND WHAT HAPPENS--

THAT MAN IS
HERE AGAIN -

THE FAMED HOOVER
OF HOOVERVILLE
WANTS TO
ADMINISTER
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IN WASHINGTON D.C.
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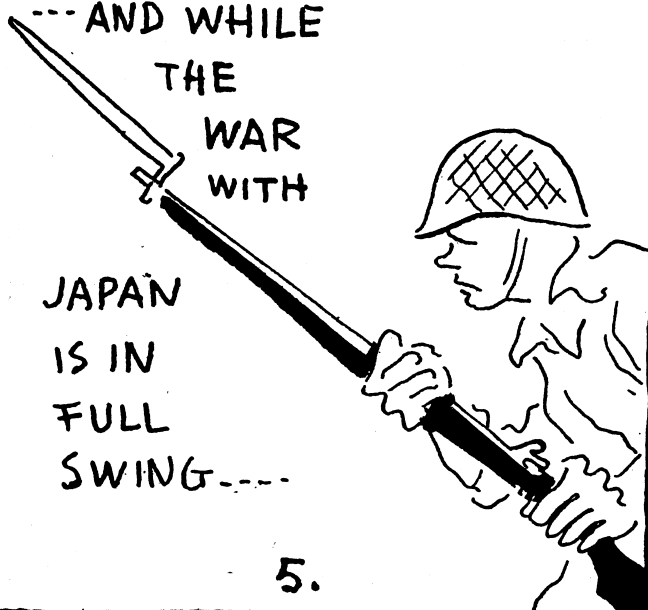


--THOUSANDS
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--A HORSE
AT
SANTA ANITA
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GROPPER -
HOLLYWOOD, CAL.

READERS' FORUM

Marx, Duclos and NM

TO NEW MASSES: I am writing this on behalf of myself and two other subscribers to your magazine. We are seriously considering not renewing our subscriptions.

It is not easy for me to write this letter. You will understand when I state that I have been a steady reader not only of NEW MASSES but of its predecessor, the *Liberator* and the old *Masses* before then. It is easy to break with what NEW MASSES is; not with what it was—and it is this and a sense of loyalty alone that must keep many of your subscribers from cancelling their subscriptions.

Jan De Graaf, as well as L. L., have spoken the truth about your magazine, which is why you answered them in so cavalier a fashion. However, they did not go to the root of its malady. It must be obvious to the staunchest friend of NEW MASSES that, in the words of De Graaf, its recent issues have been "something between a church magazine and an OWI release." But why? The editors are the same experienced journalists and brilliant writers who turned out such excellent issues a few years ago. The staff has not deteriorated. There is only one answer, it seems to me, and that is a Marxist one:

NEW MASSES started its nose-dive with the advent of the new Communist program. This calls for national unity and support of "free enterprise" for a long period after the war, putting the brakes on propagandizing for socialism, on strikes and on all forms of criticisms that might promote class war and lead to friction and disturbance of unity. Under these circumstances, revolutionary criticism and interpretation go out of the window—and, with it, the pith and marrow of the wonderful journal NEW MASSES was—its *raison d'être*. After all, if reformist magazines devoted to "improving" bourgeois democracy are needed, journals like the *Nation* and *New Republic* are sufficiently adequate; they have had much more experience and training in that sort of thing.

The disastrous effects of the new Communist line on NEW MASSES are apparent both politically and culturally. Magil's series on cartels was typical: he actually argued that (a) since cartels are an essential part of world capitalism and (b) since we are committed to support of capitalism inasmuch as the people do not want socialism, therefore (c) we must not attack cartels but support them in the interests of world trade! Thereafter, the magazine dropped whatever pretensions it had to being Marxist and became exclusively an organ of the Roosevelt New

Deal. When Roosevelt died, the semi-hysterical rhapsodies that filled your special issue supplied final proof of this fact. Yes, he was undeniably a great man and this writer loved him and felt a sense of personal loss, also—but was it wise, was it evidence of Marxist leadership, to go completely overboard as you did and exhaust every possible adjective connoting greatness? What will you say when a great Communist leader dies, one who, unlike Roosevelt, had Marxian vision and understanding as well as humanitarian zeal? You could not give him greater praise, as you have already exhausted your adjectives!

Culturally, NEW MASSES has collapsed also, as a reflex reaction to the new orientation. Where are the scorching and luminous poems and drawings of before the war? Nowhere in the world were better poems, cartoons and short stories published than in your journal. It is heart-breaking to witness such a decline. No, Mr. Editor, you can't answer it with a smug head ("We Are Tolerated") or a sarcastic rejoinder in which you call attention to mistakes in spelling. As to literary criticism, this has fallen so low that even the literary editor of the *Sunday Worker* took notice of it some months ago in his column and complained of the dullness and *New Republic* respectability of critics who seem to be afraid of the revolutionary Marxist approach! Unfortunately, he did not try to explain how one can integrate this desired approach with the new line.

The fact that Soviet Russia has become a world power and that the capitalist nations are forced (at least in the present period) to cooperate with her has not changed this fundamental fact: the laws of motion, discovered or elaborated by Marx, continue inexorably to operate in capitalist countries. These forces have certain disastrous effects that can and should be mitigated; they cannot be abolished unless capitalism is abolished. It is because you have turned an about-face on this cardinal Marxist doctrine; it is because you have substituted Teheran for the class struggle and the struggle for socialism that a great artist like Gropper is reduced to drawing comic strips instead of his former inspiring cartoons for your magazine, while your political articles have degenerated to the level of showing that black is black and examining capitalists through a magnifying glass to separate the "patriotic" capitalists from those who are not patriotic (whatever that means).

My friends and I have agreed to withhold action until we see what disposition you make

of this letter. We feel our reaction is typical of many of your subscribers and that it would therefore be to the best interests of NEW MASSES for you to publish it in full and ask for answers and rejoinders. One thing we promise: we will earnestly examine all criticism of the position as set forth above. If we are wrong, we will admit it, for we still believe in Bolshevik self-criticism, a practice we respectfully recommend to the editors.

PHILIP POLLACK.

New York City.

Mr. Pollack is the author of "Careers in Science," recently published by Dutton. His letter was received prior to the publication of Jacques Duclos' article criticizing the policies of the American Communists.

TO NEW MASSES: The remarks of Jacques Duclos on the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States do not indicate as wide a gulf between Marxist thinkers here and elsewhere as might be apparent on superficial reading. The difference of opinion appears to stem mainly from a failure to understand fully the official American Communist position in reference to the capitalist class and, secondly, a tendency to give undue weight to the tactical step of dissolving the party, as such.

At the outset, Browder distinctly pointed out that the domestic class coalition, which is a reflection of the major international war coalition of bourgeois-democratic states and a socialist state, must be a coalition of the working class with the most progressive anti-fascist sector of the capitalist class—and not with the capitalist class as a whole. This is a strategy of splitting the capitalist class to the workers' benefit. Browder envisages no condoning of the reactionary monopolistic wing of capital.

The basis for the success of such a domestic coalition is found in the crushing defeat in war being administered to fascism and the consequent approach to a balance of power between the conservative and progressive world forces. The added prestige and power of the Soviet Union and the working classes, especially in western Europe, has created a situation wherein finance capital may not wish to challenge the people in further armed conflicts—either domestic or international. This being so, it may well be possible to pursue a course leading to socialism by progressively increasing the demands of the workers. Such a course would be "peaceful" only in the sense of averting major armed conflicts or violent revolution. Nevertheless, it would be lacking in a knowledge of the Marxist dialectic to say that this would not be a continuation of class struggle.

Two additional factors are involved in the premise of the American Communist position. First, a period of world peace would greatly facilitate the development previously indicated, in that it would provide additional time for the democratic forces of the world to recover from the war and thus attain the advantage of implementing its acquired

(Continued on page 22)

THE COMMUNISTS TAKE STOCK

By the EDITORS

LAST week we told our readers of the article by Jacques Duclos, one of the principal leaders of the French Communist Party, which criticized the policies of the American Communists and the dissolution last year of the Communist Party of the United States. The article appeared in translation in the *Daily Worker* of May 24, together with a foreword by Earl Browder, president of the Communist Political Association.

The June 4 issue of the *Daily Worker* publishes a resolution by the National Board of the CPA, which discusses the present national and international situation and makes a self-critical evaluation of American Communist policy. The resolution points out that sharp struggle will be required to complete the destruction of fascism "in Europe and throughout the world and to guarantee that the possibilities which now exist for creating an enduring peace shall be realized." It states that with the end of the war in Europe, "important groupings of American capital, which were opposed to German imperialist world domination," are now frightened by the democratic consequences of victory and "are joining hands with the most reactionary and pro-fascist circles of monopoly capital—with the pro-fascist du Pont clique in the NAM."

The resolution sees many of the recent actions of the State Department at the San Francisco Conference and on such issues as Poland, postwar Germany, Trieste, and Chinese unity as reflecting "this regrouping in the ranks of American capital." It also sees reaction on the home front as seeking to block an adequate government program "to meet the human needs of reconversion" and "to avoid the most acute consequences of future economic crisis." The resolution points out, however, that "the conditions and forces exist to defeat this reactionary threat" and urges that the united efforts of the majority of the American people, with labor in the forefront, be thrown into the fight "to influence the course of the nation in a consistently progressive direction." The resolution emphasizes the need to support "every effort of the Truman administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program for victory, peace, democracy and 60,000,000 jobs," while criticizing all hesitations and vigorously

opposing, "any concessions to the reactionaries." Toward this end it calls for consolidating "the broadest national coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces, including all supporters of Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies." The resolution also declares that the building of this democratic coalition and its effective functioning make it essential that "the working class—especially the progressive labor movement and the Communists—strengthen its independent role and activities and display far greater political and organizing initiative." The resolution urges that labor "vigorously champion a program of action that will promote the complete destruction of fascism, speed victory over Japanese imperialism, curb the powers of the trusts and monopolies—advance the economic welfare of the people and protect and extend American democracy." The resolution offers specific proposals for such a program of action. It then states: "This program represents the most urgent interests of the American people and the nation. It is not a program for socialism, which alone can completely abolish insecurity, exploitation, oppression and war. This is an immediate program of action around which all progressive Americans can unite today. It is a program of action which will advance the destruction of fascism, help realize a more stable peace, and greater economic security and democracy."

The second part of the resolution is largely concerned with a critical estimate of American Communist policy since January 1944. It points to the achievements of the American Communists in the battle against reaction and fascism over the years; it declares that "the future of the labor and progressive movements and therefore the role of the United States in world affairs will depend to no small extent upon the correctness of our Communist policy, our independent role and influence, our mass activities and organized strength." The resolution views the mistakes made by American Communists in the recent period as consisting in "drawing a number of erroneous conclusions from the historic significance of the Teheran accord. Among these false conclusions was the concept that after the military defeat of Germany, the decisive sections of big capital would participate

in the struggle to complete the destruction of fascism and would cooperate with the working people in the maintenance of postwar national unity. This illusion had no foundation in life, either in the class nature of finance capital, or in the postwar aims of the trusts and cartels which seek imperialist aggrandizement and huge profits at the expense of the people. This has been amply demonstrated by recent events." This conception led, according to the resolution, "to other erroneous conclusions, such as to utopian economic perspectives and the possibility of achieving the national liberation of the colonial and dependent countries through arrangements between the great powers. It also led to tendencies to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy, to false concepts of social evolution and to minimizing the independent and leading role of the working class."

Concerning the changes that were made in the Communist organization, the resolution states that "coming when they did and coupled with the above revisionist errors, [they] could not but strengthen certain dangerous tendencies toward liquidating the independent and vanguard role of the Communist movement." Even though these errors "did not dominate our wartime policies," the resolution nevertheless finds that "they adversely influenced our work during the war . . . and were tending to disorient the Communist and the progressive labor movement for the postwar period." The resolution pays tribute to "the important contributions" of William Z. Foster "in the struggle against opportunism" and to the article by Duclos. It goes on to say that the most essential pre-condition for enabling the Communist movement to carry out its tasks is "to quickly and decisively overcome our errors and mistakes, especially to eradicate all vestiges of opportunism in our policies and mass work." It calls for "a thorough and self-critical examination of our policies and leadership" by all members and CPA organizations. It warns against "all tendencies towards factionalism, towards distortions and towards weakening the basic unity of our Communist organization," as well as against all sectarian tendencies. The resolution concludes with a pledge "to do everything to destroy

(Continued on page 22)

NM SPOTLIGHT

Reconversion in Danger

SINCE the death of President Roosevelt our reconversion policies have been drifting in the direction of the free play of natural economic forces that ominously recalls the last postwar depression. Chairman Krug of the War Production Board last week compared our economy to a jig-saw pattern in which the various pieces will automatically move into place if left alone. Fred Vinson, director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, in a report made a week earlier appeared to share similar views in his over-optimistic picture of the reconversion problem. The War Labor Board in the meantime is marking time on the already acute issue of reconversion wage policy.

In the light of these *laissez-faire* trends President Truman's message to Congress calling for higher unemployment insurance rates is a heartening countermove even though it deals with only one aspect of the problem. The President points out that reconversion to peace is a part of the war and that the nation has moral obligations to demobilized war workers which cannot be shirked without damage to the entire national economy. His message to Congress emphasizes that the fifteen dollar and eighteen dollar maximum weekly unemployment benefit payments prevailing in most states are totally inadequate and constitute a serious gap in the reconversion program. He recommends that the weekly rates be raised to not less than twenty-five dollars, that they extend over twenty weeks, that they include workers not now covered, and that federal aid be granted to states for this purpose. Opposition to these proposals is already developing in Congress and it is evident that considerable prodding from the folks back home will be necessary to get action.

Unemployment insurance rates provide a good point of departure for the redirection of the reconversion policy back to the Roosevelt perspective of 60,000,000 jobs, backed up by sound and realistic planning to achieve this goal. It is evident, however, that the personal intervention of President Truman will be required to reverse the disastrous course indicated by Chairman

Krug. His report proposes to remove all controls over raw materials not needed for the war against Japan on the not very novel theory that the best way to readjust our economy for peacetime production is to let nature take its course. This view represents a departure from the carefully planned controls provisionally contained in the various reports of James F. Byrnes, former director of the OWMR, which were designed to guide the reconversion process with a view to maintaining the wartime wage levels and take-home pay so as to prevent any drastic decline of consumers' income at a time when it is needed most.

Added to Mr. Krug's dangerous complacency is the failure of the War Labor Board to act on the upward revision of the Little Steel Formula and the concerted reactionary campaign to discredit the price regulation structure which is already being undermined by the growth of black market activities. It is clear that the various agencies responsible for the conduct of the war and for reconversion do not follow a coordinated plan which was implicit in the creation of the Office for War Mobilization and Reconversion.

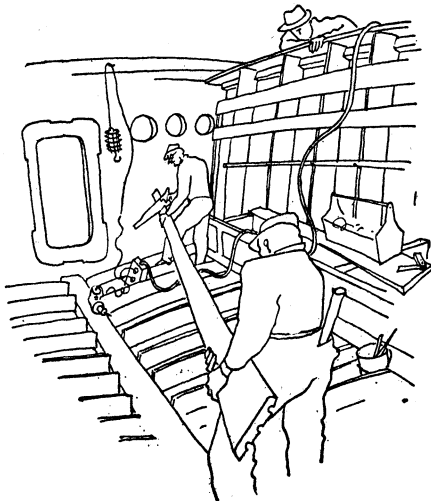
Directly bearing on the reconversion problem is the positive program formulated last week by the Small Business Advisory Committee of the Department of Commerce. Secretary Wallace has approved the committee's proposals for threefold aid to small business, consisting of wide tax reductions, government

guaranteed long-term loans, and a continuous program of information guidance and advice from the Commerce Department. Favorable congressional action on these proposals will, according to Mr. Wallace, assure a proper place in our economy of small business. However, unless immediate steps are taken for over-all guidance of the entire economy during the difficult reconversion period, the various partial plans will not be realized. The situation calls for the initiative and leadership of the labor movement, backed by all enlightened Americans, if we are to avoid sharp dislocations, an artificial boom and ultimate collapse.

Stettinius' Excuses

MR. STETTINIUS' speech from San Francisco last week sounded very much like the product of a man with a troubled conscience. His ineptness in handling critical issues at the security conference is now a notorious fact. In his own way he is singularly vain and too susceptible to the flattery of such clever reactionaries as Senator Vandenberg. Nevertheless, his talk did indicate that he was fairly cognizant of the widespread discontent over the retreats from the Roosevelt policy, the rising anti-Sovietism in the State Department, and the persistent failure of some leading policy makers to show an independence from Churchill's backtracking in Europe. Stettinius was, therefore, rather apologetic. But apologies merely underscore the unforgivable railroading of Argentina, as the *Washington Post* of June 2 described it, into the company of the United Nations. This is one blunder which will haunt Stettinius as long as he holds office and many are even beginning to believe with Walter Lippmann that Stettinius has outlived his usefulness.

The challenge to Stettinius now is to match his words with appropriate action. If he feels that one function of American policy should be to mediate differences among the Allies, then he must stop intensifying these differences. For that is exactly what he has done these past several weeks by joining Churchill's inglorious bumbling in Trieste, in Syria and Lebanon, and in the deliberate distortions of the Crimea



Konzal.

contract as it applies to Poland. He must call to account the Nelson Rockefeller, the Avra Warrens, the Averell Harrimans of his department. These three have gone off the deep end with their anti-Soviet talk and they reflect the dismay which sections of American capital feel over Europe's advancing democracies and the Continent's refusal to be dominated by imperialist politics.

One thing Stettinius' speech proves beyond doubt. The greater the pressure on the administration in Washington, the greater the possibility that foreign policy will be redirected into more fruitful channels. That pressure has risen considerably as is attested by the delegation of four Congressmen, led by Rep. John Coffee, who last week bluntly spoke their mind to Acting Secretary of State Grew. Later Coffee charged that some cartel interests in this country were preparing for war against Russia. That, to put it mildly, is not far-fetched. The question is how far this sentiment has infected official circles. And only the most vigorous official action to the contrary can reassure the millions who wonder.

Speed the Fight

THE abolition of second-class citizenship in the USA is being fought for at a pace which is dangerously slow. The 218 signatures that have just guaranteed the discharge for the third time of HR-7, the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill, from the House Rules Committee onto the floor of the House, have taken far too long to acquire. And if the history of the last two efforts to make the bill law, when the measure passed the House only to be talked to death in the Senate, is not to be repeated, the campaign for its passage will have to have real tempo. This begins with making sure your Congressman is on the floor Monday, June 11 when the proposal to make HR-7 the order of business the following day arises.

The corollary battle for the bill establishing a permanent national Fair Employment Practices Act, reported favorably out of the Senate Education and Labor Committee recently, has also been weak. So weak that even a progressive like Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida only a week ago could be found backing a "substitute" proposal by that champion of negotiated-peace-with-Japan, Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio. The enemies of decent Americans, white and black, are busy and well organized to sabotage, sidetrack, and amend to death

The Levant Crisis

THINGS are not often what they seem to be and the Syrian and Lebanese tempests are cases in point. The British with a finely cultivated moral fervor seemingly defend the Levantine states against villainous France; the French, not given to quoting scripture, say almost crudely that they are defending their mandates against grasping Britain; and the United States seemingly descends on all this as mediator and special prosecutor in behalf of Syrian and Lebanese independence.

Only by a deft use of mirrors can all three positions be maintained. The fact is that the British Foreign Office has been patently hypocritical from the start to the uncertain finish of the whole affair.

Britain has had an age-old rivalry with France in this area of the world—a rivalry that runs back many decades before Britain suddenly discovered last week that the Syria-Lebanon difficulties menaced her military supply lines to the Far East. Messrs. Churchill and Eden know that the French are weak and the present moment appears to them as good a time as there ever will be to take advantage of that weakness and extend British imperial interests beyond Iran, Iraq, Egypt and Palestine. For a Foreign Office instrumental in jailing thousands of Indians demanding their country's independence, Britain's new pose of concern about the independence of Syria and Lebanon is hardly convincing. If anything, the British fear that genuine independence will upset the British appellation in the Arab countries and even undermine in time Britain's management of the Arab League.

AS FOR the French, DeGaulle's colonial officials—with some important exceptions—show an amazing capacity for doing the wrong thing. If the root of the trouble is a difference of opinion over the terms of a treaty which the French offered the Levantine states, then the stupid way to settle the difference was the employment of force. There is no denying the justice of the Syrian and Lebanese claims that the new French treaty, instead of giving them complete independence—the core of the whole matter—places nothing

but a new kind of mandate over them. On the other hand, many Syrian and Lebanese nationalists are ill-advised in leaning on Britain to secure their independence. It may turn out that they may break the fetters of French control only to find themselves subject to the British.

THE United States, of course, comes to the dispute with the cleanest hands among the three powers, but here too, after attempting the role of mediator, Washington has ended by becoming the tail to this particular British Middle Eastern kite. The irony of it is that the British and Americans have been at sword's point over oil and other resources in the Arab world, but apparently find it convenient to string along with each other, leaving for another occasion the grand diplomatic battle as to who will control what. The British and Americans have practically seen eye to eye on the trusteeship and colonial issue at San Francisco and their agreement on the Levant dispute surprises no one.

What has been happening in Syria and Lebanon runs beyond the confines of their borders and touches millions of dependent and semi-dependent peoples in Africa and Asia. It is also at the center of fresh efforts at imperialist aggrandizement. It can do us no good either in prestige or in moral leadership in the Pacific war—a war that affects most strongly the whole of the colonial world and in which we need the assistance of colonial peoples if it is to be won quickly and conclusively. Mr. Churchill may believe that the Syrian-Lebanese issue would be settled by an Anglo-American big stick waved at France. It may be—until the next time, when a new crisis will arise in Syria or in Lebanon or elsewhere. The Levant affair is a world problem if only because failure to settle it equitably affects the world's peace. And because it is a world problem it can only be solved satisfactorily by agreement among the states involved and with the five leading powers who have undertaken the major responsibility in maintaining the peace. The achievement of genuine independence for the Levantine states will be one index to how well a future security organization will function.

End Relations With Argentina

THE truth about Argentina is finally breaking through the steel of censorship and the fog of diplomatic obfuscation. The New York *Times* of June 1 publishes a cable by its Buenos Aires correspondent, Arnaldo Cortesi, which underlines the moral betrayal engineered by Secretary of State Stettinius in forcing the admission of Argentina to the United Nations Conference. Cortesi, an ultra-conservative journalist who managed to work for seventeen years in Mussolini's Italy, had to smuggle his dispatch out of Argentina in order to prevent the censors from killing it. Among the facts he reveals are:

No sooner had the Argentine government "declared war" on Germany and Italy and signed the Act of Chapultepec of the recent Inter-American Conference than "it deprived the Argentine people of what small remains of freedom they still possessed"; the "war declaration" was used as a pretext for "a campaign of intimidation by wholesale arrests of prominent citizens and severe measures against any newspaper that dared to raise its voice in protest"; censorship of all communications was reestablished April 28—only two days before Argentina was wangled into the San Francisco Conference. In fact, states Cortesi, "things have happened in Buenos Aires recently that exceed anything that this correspondent can remember in his seventeen years' experience in fascist Italy." And he adds that these brutal repressions are "direct violations of the commitments that Argentina assumed when she signed the final acts of the Mexico City Conference."

If many of these facts have hitherto been concealed from the American public by the Argentine censorship, they certainly were known to the State Department, which has its own sources of information. This makes all the more reprehensible the action of our government at San Francisco which cannot be explained away by the verbal wrist-slapping administered to Argentina in Mr. Stettinius' broadcast the other night. Only action of a different kind can wipe out this shame and reverse a policy that nurtures fascism in this hemisphere after we have shed so much American blood to defeat it in Europe. It is time to return to the Roosevelt policy. The American people should inform President Truman and Secretary Stettinius that they want diplomatic and trade relations with the Peron-Farrell gangster regime severed immediately and its admission to the United Nations and the San Francisco Conference cancelled.

these bills on which so much depends. It will take overwhelming popular demand to defeat a clique which openly proclaims it will conduct a five-month filibuster to gain its ends. The measure to insure democratic employment practices becomes all the more essential as the problems of layoffs and reconversion increase.

The same evil little clique who have kept the FEPC bill bottled up in the House Rules Committee have just succeeded in the cancelling of the Budget Bureau's request for the appropriation for \$599,000 for FEPC under the War Agencies Appropriation Bill, excusing the act with phony arguments about "pending legislation." The bill now comes up in the Senate, and strong appeals to all Senators to see that this essential agency is provided for are in order. Above all, it must be made clear

to President Truman that the country is overwhelmingly for this measure and that he should throw the full force of the administration behind it.

History Lesson

DISTRESSED because the Soviet delegation ran away with the moral honors at the San Francisco Conference, the New York *Times*' "Topics of the Times" columnist assures his readers that the Soviet showing is ephemeral. It won't stand, he says, against the evidence of history which, by his interpretation, shows that freedom is a Western thing. Where, he demands, was the Magna Carta issued? England. Where was the Declaration of Independence proclaimed? The USA. Where were the Rights of Man announced? France. He omitted the em-

barrassing fact that all were the results of revolutions; that all these revolutions were vilified in their time; and that the latest revolution was in Russia, out of which has come the Soviet Constitution, the most advanced charter of liberties yet written into human law.

More of the Same

WE HOPE that no one will be misled into thinking that the appointment of T. V. Soong as premier of China solves any of the basic issues confronting Chungking. Soong has had a highly contradictory political career and his liberalism is more myth than fact. At San Francisco, where he heads the Chinese delegation, those who listened carefully might have heard Soong expound the idea that Chungking must be supported against "Bolshevism." There is also reason to believe that Soong has been a factor in the deterioration of American policy on China—he has had the ear of our ambassador, General Hurley. Soong's statement, after he was made premier, that he would follow the same policies Chungking has been pursuing until now should of itself arouse deepest suspicion.

As a matter of fact, Soong has been more or less the premier of China for the past few months. Chiang Kai-shek's decision to announce Soong's appointment now seems to be directly related to the impression that the Generalissimo is trying to establish abroad that the Kuomintang is changing its ways and will admit democracy into Chinese political life. Nothing is, of course, farther from the truth. Chiang proposes to hold a constitutional convention next November. This will be a farce of the first order because the delegates will be strictly Kuomintang controlled and will not be representative of all the Chinese people. For one, the Border Regions will hardly accept representation in a convention where the members have not been popularly elected; and for another, the draft constitution which Chungking is offering is so obviously backward that only the feudal bigwigs could accept it. Under the Chungking draft constitution a national congress would meet only every three years.

If Chungking really meant business, it would first establish a democratic coalition government as the best evidence of its intentions to relinquish the Kuomintang dictatorship. Short of that all reshufflings of cabinets are so much eyewash. While there has been an improvement in Chinese military operations, it is small indeed compared to

what China is capable of if it were unified and if Chungking did not obstruct the national desire for a solid front against the enemy.

Here and There

UGLY evidence of the virus with which the Nazis have inoculated Europe was the anti-Semitic demonstration by returned slave-workers in Paris, obviously instigated and organized by home reactionaries. And here in America Clare Booth Luce put the fallen Goebbels' anti-Soviet mantle on her stylish shoulders just as responsible government officials found it advisable to warn against anti-Soviet incitements.

• We do not relish President Truman's conference with Herbert Hoover. A Hoover-influenced food relief in Europe, as was demonstrated by his performance after the first World War—a performance now being glamorized by the Luce press and other reactionaries—would again attempt to starve out emerging democracy.

• That reaction can be checked was shown anew by Rankin's licking in his own committee investigating the Veterans' Administration, which lifted the contempt proceedings against the liberal journalist, Albert Deutsch.

• The "dollar decency" which sets Hays office standards has just been demonstrated anew by the barring of

We Accuse, an indictment of Nazi war criminality put together from Soviet film documentaries. Any "shock" this could give a movie-goer would be the shock of truth which would arm Americans against fascist brutality; but the Hays office prefers shocks for profit and okays "shockers" so efficient in driving children to nightmares and hysteria that psychiatrists have protested against them.

• We think it is in order to congratulate the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, for an attitude toward the USSR progressive enough to make it *non grata* to such a Soviet-baiter as Louis Fischer, who has resigned as contributing editor of that magazine.



FRONT LINES

by COLONEL T.

THE FORCE TO BEAT JAPAN

PRESIDENT TRUMAN's message to Congress last week outlined the task lying ahead of us in the business of beating Japan to her knees and it is worth underscoring here the salient points of his remarks.

The President said that within the next twelve months about 2,000,000 men would be discharged, thus reducing the Army from 8,300,000 men to 6,300,000 men and raising it at the same time to approximately 7,000,000 through calls on Selective Service substantially above the level of requirements for actual replacements. The President also estimated the Japanese available effectives at some 100 combat divisions, with a total of some 4,000,000 men under arms and several million more available. The Japanese have more than 3,000 combat planes and can still produce them at the rate of 1,250 to 1,500 per month. The Japanese Navy is now reduced to a fraction of its former self.

Incidentally, the disposition of the Japanese effectives as estimated by the New York *Times* experts is as follows: Japanese Islands—1,650,000; Manchuria, Korea and North China—1,125,000; Central and South China and Formosa—900,000; Burma, Indo-China, Thailand and Malaya—345,000; Netherlands Indies—215,000; Southwest Pacific—110,000; Central Pacific—100,000; Philippines

—60,000; Ryukyus—130,000. This means that about 1,000,000 of the enumerated 4,600,000-odd men are about to be cut off by the severing of the land and sea routes between Tokyo and Singapore, leaving us to contend in the decisive campaign with approximately 3,500,000 Japanese. Of these at least one-third are pinned down in Manchuria, Korea and Inner Mongolia by the presence of General Apanasenko's two Red Banner Far Eastern Armies. This leaves us about 2,500,000 Japanese to tackle north of the Tropic of Cancer, where the main campaigns are bound to develop.

As to the forces we will hurl against these Japanese troops, the President had this to say: "The joint chiefs of staff . . . have decided that our Army can deliver its heaviest blows in the Pacific and win final victory most quickly with a strength which a year from now will be about 7,000,000. By maintaining our Army at this size, we shall be able to more than double the force we now have in the Pacific and hurl against the Japanese an overseas force larger than the 3,500,000 men who united with our allies to crush the Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe."

It is thus clear that, if these plans are carried out, only a few hundred thousand American troops will remain in Europe on occupation duty. To confirm this, the President said that we in-

tend to move 3,000,000 men out of Europe during the coming year.

The assurance that we will use "a force larger than 3,500,000 men" against the Japanese means, in my opinion, that it has been decided to fight both on the mainland of China and on the mainland of Japan. It would be impossible to deploy such a force in Japan alone. Thus it would seem that a compromise "Army-Navy" plan, including action in both theaters, has been adopted.

It is obvious that President Truman could not divulge specific operational plans in his message. However, he said that our military policy calls for:

1. Pinning down the enemy forces where they now are and keeping them divided so they can be destroyed piecemeal. This might mean quick amphibious actions in the East Indies and Indo-China, with the British acting in Thailand, near the Isthmus of Kra, as well as heavy aerial action against the Hankow-Canton corridor to prevent heavy enemy withdrawals to the north for concentration of forces north of the Yangtze. The Hankow-Wuchang-Hanyang area, which is the real hub of the enemy north-south railroad communications and his east-west river communications, should be a prime target;
- (2) Concentrating overwhelming power in each segment which we attack;
- (3) Applying relentless and in-

creasing pressure in order to prevent the enemy from resting, reorganizing and regrouping. This would necessarily mean that extensive operations of all types will develop this very summer, with Formosa, Shanghai and Kyushu the possible targets.

THE redeployment of enormous masses of men and material halfway around the globe (14,000 miles on the average) will put a tremendous strain on the Navy. Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration, as the President pointed out, that in amphibious operations it takes between two and three sailors to put one soldier or marine ashore. It takes half a million tons of shipping to put one division ashore in an amphibious assault. (Sixty-eight million tons of food and equipment were shipped to Europe by us in this war, or about eight times more than during the last war.) The Navy, at the collapse of Germany, did not have any surplus personnel. This is why "there cannot be even a partial demobilization" in the Navy until Japan is defeated.

Aside from assisting and supporting our amphibious operations, redeployment, etc., and in addition to direct strikes with gun and plane against enemy objectives, the Navy has done a tremendous job of destruction of enemy shipping. "The Japanese merchant marine," said the President, "in spite of a large program of building, has now been reduced to less than a quarter of its pre-war size. In fact, we have sunk more Japanese merchant tonnage than they had at the time of Pearl Harbor."

Of air action against Japan the President said this: "Our Army planes and our Navy ships and planes are now driving Japan out of the air, and when our strategic Air Force reaches the Pacific in full might it will demolish the enemy's resources of production. Our strategic bombardment of Japan is now well beyond its initial phase. . . . Substantial portions of Japan's key industrial centers have been leveled to the ground in a series of record incendiary raids. . . ."

It is nobody's secret that the strategic bombing of Germany did not produce the results which had been promised and even advertised as fact. Take for instance the alleged "ghost-city" of Hamburg, which was discovered to be operating its surface transportation at an eighty-five percent level after having been reported practically non-existent,

or the I. G. Farben mammoth plant in Frankfort-am-Main, which did not even suffer a broken window. The bombing of Japan is, however, likely to produce much better results because: (1) Our Superforts are much more powerful than those we had in Europe; (2) the Japanese terrain is not so conducive to going underground; (3) the Japanese have no slave labor in the numbers the Germans had for repair work; (4) Japan's area is much smaller and its industries are much less dispersed than were those of Germany, especially when Germany actually owned all of Europe. Therefore, one can say without fear of overoptimism that the effect of our strategic bombing of Japan will be incomparably greater than its effect on Germany.

To sum up, it may be said that the full redeployment of our forces in the Pacific will not be nearly complete before the end of the year. There is every reason to hope that the strategic bombing of Japan, the final severing of the Japanese lifelines (sea and land) between the northern and southern theaters of the Far Eastern war and the naval, air and possibly amphibious action of our forces in the Kyushu-Formosa-Shanghai triangle (*i.e.*, in the area of the East China Sea) will this very summer and fall create conditions under which by Christmas Japan will be reduced to a desperate stand, with its back to the wall and without the slightest hope of gaining anything at all except by an intricate "anti-Red" maneuver. This was the kind of maneuver Hitler attempted in order to prevent the landing of Allied forces in western Europe which took place exactly a year ago this week.

Communists Take Stock

(Continued from page 17)

fascism and reaction, to advance the cause of American and world democracy, the cause of national freedom and social progress."

This resolution will now be discussed by the membership of the CPA. The members of the National Board who voted for it were Morris Childs, Benjamin Davis, Jr., Eugene Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James W. Ford, William Z. Foster, Gilbert Green, Robert Minor, Robert Thompson, and John Williamson. Earl Browder voted against the resolution, Roy Hudson abstained, but later issued a special statement of support, and William Schneiderman was absent.

Marx, Duclos and NM

(Continued from page 16)

power. Second, as far as the American domestic scene is concerned, the Communist program looking toward a possibility of revived capitalism hinges on several distinct preconditions. The hand of cooperation is offered to progressive capital. It must accept! The capitalist system must solve the unemployment problem by a greatly augmented foreign trade, raising the wage level, and developing public works and social security insurance. It must not fail!

To take another view, the capitalist system is to be *on trial*. Should it fail to act correctly the whole scheme of cooperation will fail, and, as Browder explained, the Communists and the working class will then have to resort to any necessary measures to protect the popular interests. At any rate, says Browder, no one will be able to say that the Communists tried to create chaos.

Therefore, the question of socialism was not raised now or immediately after the war. Every effort was directed toward demonstrating the good faith of the Communists in giving capital a chance to prove its ability—or, as the case may be, its incapacity—to build prosperity.

One of the measures adopted to establish the sincerity of the Communists was the dissolution of the Party. Duclos may be on safer ground in criticizing this move, yet the importance he gives to it seems out of proportion to the main programmatic thesis. The line now followed, it is true, could be followed to quite the same extent by maintaining the name as a "Party"—yet the desire to make nomenclature correlate with form is not open to excessive criticism. Through dissolution of the Party, as such, it does not follow that all has not been done "to intensify its activity in the sense of developing an ardent national and anti-fascist policy," and in consolidating and extending its political influence, as Duclos would believe.

In summation, given a mutual understanding of given facts and proposed strategy, it would seem quite possible to reconcile the views of Duclos and Foster with those of Browder, Minor, and others. The whole prospectus is based on the utilization of certain objective conditions in conjunction with transient elements. Quite naturally, then, the present American Communist policy in venturing new fields ahead cannot be finalized. When the war has been won it may be necessary to reevaluate policy in the light of new conditions. So far it seems too early to say that present conditions, disturbing though some are, portend a failure of coalition strategy and a final fling for power by imperialism.

Chicago.

CARL VON DER LANCKEN.

Mr. von der Lancken is educational director for the Chicago region of the United Shoe Workers-CIO. He has also been a lecturer on political theory at the University of Tulsa and Counsellor with the National Labor Bureau.



GENTEEL FASCIST: SECOND PHASE

By JOEL BRADFORD

THIS book is the second volume of Santayana's autobiography, the first volume of which was the subject of a vigorous debate in these columns last year.* The debate itself ceased when Santayana, from his convent in Rome, told American newsmen that the Italians "are not on a high enough social level to become good fascists." With these words Santayana settled forever the question whether the phrase "genteel fascist" could reasonably be applied to himself. It certainly can.

I do not claim any special shrewdness in having thus denominated him. Into all such matters there enters a certain element of luck, and moreover Santayana has made an entire career out of escaping classification. His philosophical system, as he tells us in the present volume, "is not intended to found a sect and will never do so. It aspires to be . . . the expression of a reflective, selective, and free mind." "Reflective" means that one thinks a little, "selective" means that one accepts some statements and rejects others, "free" means that one disagrees in various respects with everybody. It is a position of apparently enormous security. It is urbane, enticing and futile. "The world forgetting" involves, as a necessary consequence, "by the world forgot."

The Middle Span will give no comfort to Santayana's defenders, for it sets forth the same dreadful ideas as all its predecessors. Furthermore, blemishes have begun to mar the lovely ivory of his style. He now permits himself sentences like the following: "In the Middle West I was more honored, even giving once the Baccalaureate Address, and at Wisconsin being welcomed twice and receiving an honorary degree"; or, "Everyone was pining for the blessed moment when they should at last be transferred to Paris; but meantime they would pretend that Lyon was the light of the world."

At the same time, there is no comfort really for Santayana's opponents. What profit can there be in pointing

out, with tedious repetition, the same mistakes, the same aristocratic follies? It is very like what Johnson said about abusing dead scholars: "Since they can neither feel nor mend, the safety of mauling them seems greater than the pleasure."

Nevertheless, we are at a time when the gains of an anti-fascist war are themselves imperilled, when deadly schisms are beginning to appear among the victors, when the very men who have trumpeted throughout the press the purity of their democratic motives are seeking to halt the growth of popular government in Europe. In such an epoch democracy can never be out of danger, and the human race, after six years of bleeding, must still confront (and combat) the possibility of further wars. In the continuing crisis one must attack the continuing enemy. Repetition will have to be a disadvantage endured. For in his autobiography George Santayana presents himself as an attractive embodiment of ideals which must die, if democracy is to live.

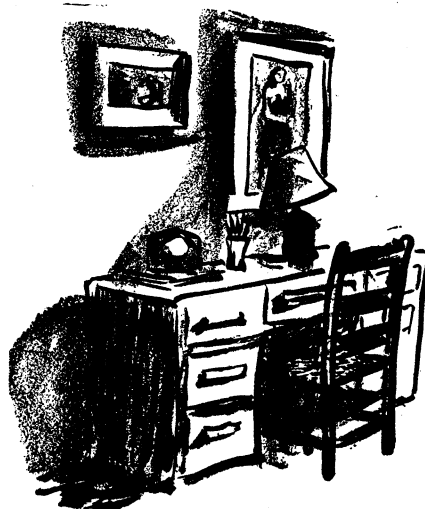
Consider, now: Is it a gain or a loss to America when a distinguished philosopher tells his readers that the Declaration of Independence is a "salad of illusions"? Is it a gain or a loss when Santayana, writing of Lord Russell's profanity, says that "his language showed that the society of workingmen had not been wasted upon him"? Is it

a gain or a loss when Santayana's course in the *Philosophy of History* is said to have attracted "perhaps thirty men, many of them Jews"? The racial identification is logically irrelevant and must be put down to deliberate political intent.

OBSERVE, once more, what racism can do to our philosopher's "understanding" of philosophy: "The Jews, and even Spinoza with them, fell into both littleness and arrogance: into the littleness of being content with anything, with small gains and private safety; and into arrogance in proclaiming that in their littleness they possessed the highest good, heard the voice of absolute truth and were the favorites of heaven." The description of Spinoza as little and arrogant is as fantastically absurd as if you were to call Plato illiterate. I have no doubt that the absurdity will vary only in degree for others among the Jewish people. But certainly the racist poison springs very naturally from a man who tells us that there were three good things in Germany (*circa* 1886)—"the uniforms, the music, and the beer."

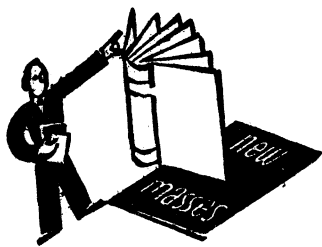
Defenders of Santayana insist that he is an aristocrat rather than a fascist. The distinction seems to me, as time goes on, less and less worth laboring. What difference can it make to a democrat whether his opponent has the ideology of the Middle Ages or that of twentieth-century reaction? Yet, if the distinction is to be accepted, and if Santayana is to be placed in the less opprobrious category, I suggest that we may divide that category still further. There are aristocrats and aristocrats. The English variety have a living part in society, because they merged with the bourgeoisie. Other aristocrats—the Spanish among them—are mere useless hulks surviving from a dim antiquity.

Apropos of this, it may be interesting to recall an observation of the Duke of Wellington, who himself embodied *in excelsis* the attributes of aristocratic Britain. "The fact is," he said, "that the grandees are just like my servants or your servants. They are very good-



Nat Low.

* THE MIDDLE SPAN, by George Santayana. Scribner. \$2.50.



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natured, good-humored people, but they have no idea beyond the Court. It is really extraordinary how exactly they have both the good and the bad qualities of menials. They think the little Court distinctions the summit of happiness. When I went to see the King after the war at Madrid, I was presented to him as a grandee. The Duke de San Carlos said to me beforehand: 'You are to be received with the greatest distinction.' I said, 'Very well.' Afterwards he said: 'Were you not delighted? Did you observe, that as you came in, the Guards stamped with their feet; and are you aware that they only do so to people of the very highest rank? You must be quite happy.'" (From Stanhope's *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*.)

There is a delicious blend of sense and humor in the Duke's "Very well." But a man who takes seriously the pale glories of Spanish feudalism will arrive, like Santayana, at quite different conclusions. He will recognize the futility while embracing the glories. The loss of real and temporal power forces him to cast upon eternity the emblems of his rank. He has nothing to do but exhibit culture, and his philosophizing turns into a pleasant defense of social irresponsibility: "It is better to put up with things than to be responsible for them. We may leave responsibility, like vengeance, to God who made us and made the world and seems not to be disturbed at the result." This is the ultimate wisdom of George Santayana.

For my part, I have not that acquaintance with the mind of Deity which would enable me to note the presence or absence of concern for humankind. It is plain, however, that Santayana has none of it, and apparently not even the ghastly names of Dachau, Buchenwald or Maidanek will restore it to him. I know of no way to make a man *care*, if he lacks the gift of sympathy, even though, lacking it, he is something less than a man. But we can certainly protest when reviewers depict him as a "civilized intelligence," and we can resolve that he will not be our guide and philosopher, as he surely would not be our friend. And if he insists that "in each person I catch the fleeting suggestion of something beautiful, and swear eternal friendship with that," we shall have to wonder what fleeting glimpses of beauty he may have found in Mussolini and Hitler. That he found *some*, we need not doubt.

I have dwelt thus long upon the social poisons, because these will con-

tinue active when the narrative parts of the book have been forgotten. The *dramatis personae* are, however, very odd. Whether they were odd in fact or odd as seen by Santayana, I cannot really tell. From Lord Russell, who has a whole chapter, through the four Oxford Dons, through the various expatriates, to the Harvard faculty, the people are very much like characters out of Henry James, though drawn with much less acuteness and detail. One gets a curious sense of the real turned fictional, and of the fictional having regrettably been real. The narrative is indubitably absorbing, and the reader will find himself somewhat reconciled to what the world now is by thus considering what the world once was. Life in our years is full of evil and of pain, but at least it is not trivial.

The autobiography thus in progress will be, at its end, a monument to a man, a class, and a point of view. We shall see written upon its stone the actual meanings of Santayana's loftier works. We shall see how snobbery and unconcern, how diffidence and vanity, could clothe themselves in philosophical concepts and produce a universal enchantment, under which thousands of readers enjoy the ecstasy of thinking great thoughts with the ease of thinking nothing at all. What I see upon the stone, however, is a judgment somewhat more true than useful, and I will commend it to all who eat the insubstantial bread of literature and philosophy: Aristocrats, like the earthworm, are interesting chiefly when dissected.

What of Europe?

EUROPE NOW, A FIRST-HAND REPORT, by H. V. Kaltenborn. Didier. \$2.50.

EUROPE FREE AND UNITED, by Albert Guerard. Stanford University. \$2.50.

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE, by Johannes Steel. Henry Holt. \$3.

MR. KALTENBORN made a six-week tour of Europe, looking for anything that could nourish his prejudices. He has put the results into this superficial, dull and stupid book whose dangerous conclusions, as presented in a last chapter significantly entitled *New Conflicts Loom in Europe*, can be summarized in the following quotations: "I welcome the help of the Vatican in preventing the spread of Communism. . . . Europe's more conservative forces, the Vatican, the British Empire, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, can check the spread of Communism only through cooperative action."

For Guerard, on the contrary, the existence of both socialist and capitalist forces within Europe is no obstacle to a united, democratic Europe. He holds that both should and must collaborate in European reconstruction. Dealing with fears of reviving nationalism, he points out that when nationalism stands for the interests of a people against oppressors, "nationalism and democracy are twins"; and that nationalism is not inimical to internationalism except when perverted to condone imperialism.

The weaknesses in Guerard's book lies in putting so many of the political problems it considers in terms of abstract principles unrelated to any material basis. This keeps him from making any real consideration of modern industrial capitalism, the specific new qualities of Nazism, or the nature of this war and of the peace that is emerging. Consequently the author's proposals are confused and contradictory. Further, although he advocates the punishment of Nazi leaders and Junker militarists, he practically leaves out the whole problem of the economic, political, administrative and ideological disarmament of Germany, since to him the main evils are force and power politics in the abstract.

"Not Germany alone," he writes, "should be doomed as an overlord: the spirit of overlordship, the hateful Big Four delusion, must be eradicated everywhere in the world." Thus he believes "inequality among powers is the chief cause of war" and argues that to have peace the world must be divided into regional unions of equal strength in which no power predominates. These regions are to be America, Europe, the Soviet Union, China, India and possibly Indonesia, with the European bloc including England but excluding the Soviet Union because "the Soviet world and Europe are different and . . . for an indefinite period, they had better remain friends, but apart." But such a united, non-Soviet Europe could too easily be transformed into the Nazi dream of an anti-Soviet Europe.

THE book by Johannes Steel, though not a profound work, is the most important of the three. Its chapters are really independent articles providing background material on the nations of present-day Europe. The chapters on Poland, the Balkans and the Baltic states offer interesting and little known information, and in themselves warrant use of this volume as a handy reference.

But on some of the other European

states, Steel's presentation is dubious. In particular he puts forward the Prussian Junkers and the German general staff, not the German industrialists, as the directing forces of not only modern German history but also Nazi ideology and methods. His solution is to destroy Prussianism and pan-Germanism by federalist decentralization and even dismemberment of Germany.

Though he does not neglect the industrial aspects of Nazism—in fact his chapter on the "German Economic Colossus" is excellent—he does not relate it to the history of Germany, the Junkers and the general staff. It stands as an isolate. His solution of Nazi control of industry is to shoot most of the Nazis and then to socialize the German economic plant with its international ramifications by some vague international organization of the Allies. In his preface—which takes the place of a nonexistent conclusion—he comes out for Premier Smuts's proposal for "two great Federal Unions, one directed from Moscow and the other from London." Where Germany fits in, he does not say.

Thus three authors from different viewpoints come to the same conclusion: namely, the separation of Europe into two poles. This is obviously not a solution for a united, democratic Europe, and the danger of such proposals, whatever their good intentions, can hardly be exaggerated. PAUL ROSAS.

Five Worlds

FIVE YOUNG AMERICAN POETS, *Third Series*, 1944. *New Directions*. \$3.

YOUTH is not a very satisfactory common denominator in *Five Young American Poets*. To be sure, all the contributors share in one form or another a feeling of youthful dissatisfaction, be it with themselves or with the world as they have found it. And they all write of love. Beyond these points the similarities are hard to find, although in the period covered by the poems the whole youth of the world has been undergoing the same intense experience of fighting to save a world in which poetry, among other things, can exist.

Response to this tremendous common experience does appear in the poems of Eve Merriam, to whom is given the first position in the book. Miss Merriam writes original, vigorous political poetry, and in a more lyrical vein, she quite unselfconsciously admits loneliness and love for her absent soldier-husband. All her work she splashes with images, sometimes placed in startling juxtapositions—



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just for the hell of it. Obviously, Miss Merriam has a good time writing, but in her poetry there is a serious concern for the world as it really is, particularly as it is now when there is a war on. If the war poems are not all patently morale-building in intent, many of them are indirect expressions of a woman's isolation from the center of a great struggle she understands. NEW MASSES readers who recall Miss Merriam's frequent contributions in this magazine will be pleased that through her, timely material has been included in a volume which, except for one other contributor, might just as well have been written on the moon.

John Frederick Nims, intellectual, clever, remote, is the second contributor. His close-packed lines reveal an active, probing mind—but a mind which, insofar as it has attained a point of view, is inhibited by rejection of the essentially human values. Bitter satire of many vulnerable aspects of our imperfect world appears in poem after poem, and lacking any perception of the beauties evocable from what is necessary in the world here and now, Mr. Nims fastens his hope on religion to fill his abjectly confessed "nothingness."

In a similar melancholy vein, but using lighter, more lyrical, more conventional concepts, are the poems of Jean Garrigue. That is not to say the level of communication is higher than in some of the other not-too-easily-understood contents of *Five Young American Poets*, although one senses a potential simplicity in this poet's work. And lurking behind the prevailing tone of groping and frustration is capacity for sensuous delight.

In Tennessee Williams, the book's prevailing emphasis on sex takes an unnatural turn. Using a private set of images and symbols, Mr. Williams comes back again and again to fascinated elaborate treatment of sexual aberration. Separated by it from the great mass of mankind, Williams lavishes ingenuity on decorating his prison walls with vistas which even he, in moments of understanding or self-pity, seems to realize are illusory.

Also resentful, but in refreshing contrast to Williams' fetid, introverted world, are the much more objective poems of Alejandro Carrion, a young Ecuadorian. Appearing on opposite pages are his original Spanish verses and their translations into English. From the latter (and no doubt to a greater degree from the former) one discovers a poet of happy protest. His world is a lush and lovely place, but a place in which the

people cannot yet live the good life. To this he roundly objects. At the same time his fluent writing shows man's capacity for joy. The abundant imagery of this young South American concludes the volume on the same healthy level on which the North American, Miss Merriam, opens it. PHILIP STANDER.

On Jewish Problems

JEW IN THE POSTWAR WORLD, by Max Gottschalk and Abraham G. Duker. Dryden Press. \$3.

IN SLIGHTLY more than 200 pages the authors, members of the American Jewish Committee, have attempted a factual history of the role of the Jewish people in the last twenty-five years; a survey of world politics for the same period; a summary of Palestinian history; and a survey of the future of the Jews.

A relatively clear picture of the situation of the Jews of Europe prior to World War I is followed by a description of the Nazi use of anti-Semitism as a weapon, along with anti-Communism, in their drive for power. It is all the more unfortunate that the authors find it necessary to resort to a subtle form of anti-Communism. And although there is a liberal sprinkling of commendation of the Soviet Union for its outlawing of anti-Semitism and its establishment of Biro-Bidjan, the major part of their discussion of that nation is skillfully distorted. "The abandonment of the German Jews to their own fate by the democratic governments and the Soviet Union did not serve to divert Hitler," the authors write, "or to dull his appetite for further power." Omitted is the role Litvinov played in the League of Nations, where he continuously castigated the Nazis and fought for collective security.

One of the reasons for the League of Nations' failure was its hostility to the USSR; but, the authors attribute it to "the hostility of the USSR to the League, which ceased only with Hitler's advent to power." Such misstatements might be overlooked as unfortunate errors, if there were not so many of them.

The authors display some understanding of the necessity of unity in coping with the problems facing the Jewish people but unfortunately they do not apply this understanding in their presentation of the situation in this country. Completely omitted from their account of the various Jewish organizations is the work of such groups as the Jewish Peoples Committee, the Jewish-

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American Section of the IWO and the Committee of Jewish Artists and Writers. However, the book contains much valuable factual and statistical information. GILBERT LAWRENCE.

Worth Noting

THE newest volume in the *Builders of the American Nation* series published by International Publishers is *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*. Like the other volumes in the series it will be a selection from the writings, speeches and fireside chats of its subject. The selection was made by Dr. Philip S. Foner and the book is introduced by a comprehensive interpretive essay by NEW MASSES editor A. B. Magil, analyzing Roosevelt's contribution to America and the democratic world.

THE great Danish writer Martin Anderson Nexø, who found a refuge from Nazi persecution in the Soviet Union, has just returned to Denmark. While in the Soviet Union, this Nobel Prize novelist, world famous for his *Pelle the Conqueror* and *Ditte, Girl Alive*, finished two volumes of his new novel. Returning to Denmark, Nexø stigmatized the growing flood of anti-Soviet reports as "one of the forms of the evil propaganda of the pro-fascists."

AN INTERESTING exhibit is being held at New York's White Collar Center under the auspices of The Book Guild of the United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO. It is a display of book windows arranged by the noted book window display designer Alfred Van A. Van Duym. They include displays on books dealing with the war effort, the United Nations, art and music, children's books, etc.

STUDENTS of the Children's Art Training Center at Tashkent in Soviet Uzbekistan will soon receive needed art materials as a result of a *Herald Tribune* award of \$200 to the book *Little People in a Big Country*, which consists of paintings by the children and text by Norma Cohn. Author and artists will share equally in the award, which was made in the course of the *Herald Tribune's* Children's Book Festival to the "best picture book for younger readers." Miss Cohn selected the pictures from a collection received from Uzbekistan by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Part of the collection was exhibited last fall at the Museum of Modern Art.

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FILMS OF THE WEEK

By JOSEPH FOSTER

AFTER a long string of second-raters, Paramount has finally rung the bell with *Medal for Benny*. Beginning as a standard romance between Arturo de Cordova and Dorothy Lamour, you fear you are getting the same old boilerplate; but as it warms up to its main theme, fresh and original qualities emerge. *Medal for Benny* is based on one of Steinbeck's *paisano* stories, dealing with the Spanish-Indian descendants of California's first settlers. Here the *paisano* is more the exploited, impoverished member of a minority group than the quaint object of tourist slumming that he is in *Tortilla Flat*.

The plot is simple. Benny, the unseen hero, gets a posthumous Congressional Medal for heroism. The Chamber of Commerce sees in this act a chance for a little commercial battenning. Begins the blatant, venal process of readying Benny's father for the medal acceptance ceremony. It will never do to stage it in the neighborhood of the dilapidated *paisano* shacks, so the old gent is moved into a fine house which he thinks has been bought for him. This plan blows up when the old man starts giving away furniture to his friends. The film has some incomparable sequences as the old man realizes that the valor and death of his beloved Benny is being used to boost sales of "hot dogs and real estate." The vulgarity of the Main Street businessman on the scent of the kill has seldom been more artistically demonstrated, nor has Hollywood caught with better effect the shrill jabber that attends the fabrication of the phony social front. There is a single shot of the old man stiff in a new suit, a derby and starched collar, showing no gladness but only bewilderment over the whole hocus-pocus. He can understand affluence that comes from selling a boatload of fish, from an inheritance, and even from a robbery. For these are the ways by which money is made; but not this kind of glitter. When they stick one of those fair-ground sombreros on his head for a publicity picture, his bewilderment turns to pain. You see it in the expression of his face, the sag of his

shoulders. Here, indeed, the insensate money-grubber engulfs the essential dignity of the simple man, which reasserts itself in the skillful and moving finale.

J. Carroll Naish, who plays the old man, is one of the more serious actors in films. His Italian soldier in *Sahara* was a rare piece of work. He uses his body beautifully to express his reactions, working his shoulders, head, hands and eyes to full advantage.

HAVING scored a resounding hit in *Holy Matrimony*, it was to be expected that sooner or later Monte Woolley and Gracie Fields would team up again. They do so in *Molly and Me*. But in this new collaboration, Reginald Gardiner, as his butler, steals the laurels from the bearded one, who acts as though he were still finishing the dessert in *Dinner at Eight*. He roars and sneers all through the picture to show that he is a tough-hearted old curmudgeon, and the main business of the other characters is to reconcile him to his son and get him to regard the world with kindly eyes. Both Gracie Fields and Reginald Gardiner, always clever performers, impart to the film a gayety and bounce that make of *Molly and Me* fair entertainment, despite the hackneyed plot and the Woolley theatricalisms.

VAL LEWTON, one of Hollywood's more sensitive producers, and specialist in shockers, leans heavily on Robert Louis Stevenson for his material. *The Body Snatcher* is an excellently contrived character study. In true Lewton style the horrors, the supernatural occurrences, proceed from a study of the mind rather than from theatrical externalia. In its artful use of the camera, this film creates more suspense than a dozen movies like *The Unseen*.

The action is laid in the early nineteenth century in Scotland where a law has been passed making it a crime to exhume cadavers. However, many a medical man needed "specimens" for laboratory work, and each doctor had his own "body snatcher." On the Rialto screen, the snatcher is Boris Karloff,

and he gives his doctor a pretty time of it. Said doctor quiets his conscience with the knowledge that dissection is necessary if healing is to progress. But Karloff, finding grave robbing too hot, takes to manufacturing corpses and the doctor, already implicated, has to go along. As the murders increase, his intensifying struggle with his conscience makes for an interesting cinematic exhibition in psychological reactions. It is sufficiently well done to hold your attention on the two men themselves, apart from the gore in which they are immersed.

"CHINA SKY" is purportedly based on Pearl Buck's novel of the same name which I haven't read; but I am willing to bet a Max Lerner editorial against your old seed catalogue that the name is the only thing book and film have in common. An American doctor in China (it could just as easily be Saskatchewan) is in love with his assistant and his wife turns up. Through excessive usage, the corners of the old triangle have become so sharpened that they can bring pain to the hide of any bystander, no matter how tough, and that probably includes you.

ANOTHER item that you can well do without is something at the Strand called *Pillow to Post*. The original play, *Pillar to Post*, from which the movie was made, was a miserable effort to snatch some fun from the rooming shortage that faced Army wives when visiting their husbands. Why it was ever bought by Hollywood is a mystery, even in the face of the queer antics that rule many of the buying departments. Vincent Sherman's direction and some of the acting, particularly that of Ida Lupino, who reveals herself a comedienne of talent, is first rate, but all is wasted on a trashy, infantile story.

Martha Graham Dances

TWO works new to New York were presented in the recent week of dance repertory by Martha Graham and her company. Both were commissioned and then performed at the Coolidge

Festival last fall in Washington, and the music for "Appalachian Spring," by Aaron Copland, won the Pulitzer prize.

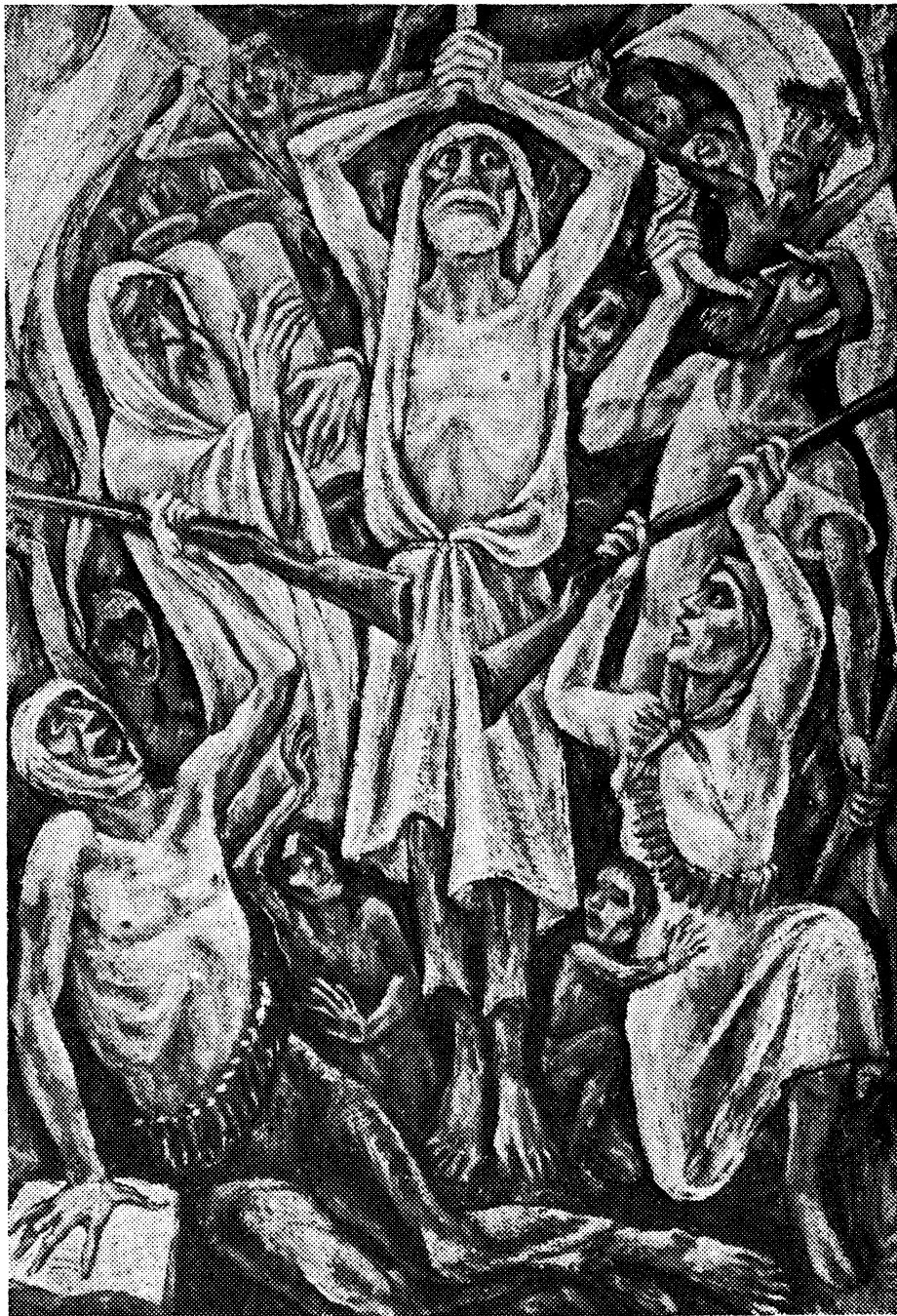
"Appalachian Spring" is one of Martha Graham's most expressive works. The program note tells the entire story: "Part and parcel of our lives is that moment of Pennsylvania Spring when there was 'a garden eastward in Eden.' Spring was celebrated by a man and a woman building a house with joy and love and prayer; by a revivalist and his followers in their shouts of exaltation; by a pioneering woman with her dreams of the Promised Land."

And that is what it is: the celebration of Spring, of the pioneering spirit in America, of a man and woman in love, of the exhortations of a revivalist, of the benign exultance of the pioneering woman and the young husbandman and his bride who have come to the land to build and to grow into dignity and completion themselves.

"Herodiade," the other new work, has music by Paul Hindemith. Here, Miss Graham has returned to the realm of the subjective, where the gropings of the mind and keenly remembered agonies are thrust into the open by fragments of distraught movement and emotional passages which add up to a tense portrait of neurosis. "The scene is an ante-chamber where a woman waits with her attendant. She does not know for what she waits; she does not know what she may be required to do or endure, and the time of waiting becomes a time of preparation. A mirror provokes an anguish of scrutiny. . . . With self-knowledge comes acceptance of her mysterious destiny. . . ." Is this "mysterious destiny" life, or death, which is accepted so tragically, so heroically? One never knows, and the work, despite its well-wrought and finished structure, leaves it all unresolved. Or, are life and death synonymous to Miss Graham, and the entrance to either an act of immolation?

"Appalachian Spring" and "Herodiade," to paraphrase one of the program notes, are both essentially panoramas of "poetic experience" rather than legends of incident. And unless the onlooker is willing to yield to the demands of this kind of movement imagery, he is likely to be puzzled and even disappointed in works which have had such widespread praise.

This is stated not by way of criticism so much as a guide to the understanding of Martha Graham—unquestionably a unique and brilliant figure in the dance world—who, almost by the same



"The Warsaw Ghetto," by Emanuel Romano.

token, can evoke as much confusion as appreciation on the part of her critics.

There are those—many of them astute and intelligent people—who find that Miss Graham speaks a "private language." There is no use denying that many culture-loving people do not, cannot, understand her and feel quite frustrated when they attend her recitals—which they do out of deference to her reputation as well as out of honest eagerness to find the key to comprehension.

It seems to me that if you are willing to accept that vocabulary of movement which is peculiar to this artist, and seek out those strands of communication

which bind her choreographic language to your emotional experiences, then you will be deeply moved, for example, by "Appalachian Spring." Then you will find a tender passion in the relationship between the Husbandman (Erick Hawkins) and the Bride (Martha Graham). You will respond to the dignity and pride of the Pioneering Woman (May O'Donnell), and be warmly amused by the friendly yet frenzied exhortations of the Revivalist (brilliantly danced by Merce Cunningham), and his quaintly possessed followers. Above all, you will begin to appreciate the tremendous creative power which fashions the entire work, which moulds distinctive



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dance characters with such expertness, which has such dynamic control of the medium and can compound dance image on dance image, moving the visual sequences forward, as a poet does with words; until the "poetic experience" has been completely externalized.

Gerard Manly Hopkins isn't an easily grasped poet. The contrapuntal mastery of Copland is not always gentle to the ear—nor the abstractions of Picasso acceptable to the untrained eye. The dance world, too, has produced works of high artistic merit which do not fall into the immediate range of one's comprehension. Nevertheless, to those who make the conscious effort to understand, a profound emotional experience may very well be the reward.

Frankly, this reviewer is *not* one of Miss Graham's unqualified admirers. And that is so despite my unreserved appreciation of her great skill, her deeply poetic mind, and her unswerving drive toward valuable experimentation. Certain of her works arouse my warmest admiration. I must confess, however, that too often the arena in which her concepts expand is distant and alien to me, and I am left unmoved by the conflict. Seeing the works of Martha Graham might have enlarged my esthetic horizon; I do not think they have ever deepened my cultural base.

FRANCIS STEUBEN.

Notes on Music

"THE QUIET DON," Ivan Dzerzhinsky's version of episodes in the great Sholokhov novel, was given its first New York performance by the Russian Grand Opera Company on May 27 and 29 at Carnegie Hall, and proved less than the successful evening I had anticipated. There were good intentions and plenty of ambition; some good bits of solo and choral singing and fine conducting by Michael Fiveisky; but these were insufficient to vault the hurdles of inadequate rehearsals, maladroitness, and poor acting. The text of the opera, which deals principally with the love affair of Grigory and Aksinia, scarcely catches the sweep and power of the epic movements of the world war and the Russian Revolution depicted in the novel. Actually it is static and somewhat slow and undramatic in character.

So far as Dzerzhinsky's score is concerned, one must make allowances for the disabilities under which it was presented. Even at that, it is neither highly original nor spontaneous, except in spots.

The choral passages are beautiful and have movement. But the lyrical portions and solo, as well as the orchestral parts, sounded pretty conventional. Popular taste has already, and correctly, marked for approval three or four of the songs, especially "The Quiet Don" and the stirring "From Border to Border." Of course, there may have been other portions of merit, but these were obscured by ineffectual performance and confusing stage business. I imagine that the conclusion of the second scene, in which chorus and soloists combine in a moving farewell, might have stood out under more favorable circumstances.

The cause of Russian music and of the composer would perhaps have been better served by a modest concert version. What the work might have lost in vividness and color, it would have gained in musical quality.

THE Gabriel Faure Centenary Concert sponsored by American Relief for France had the advantage of a superb body of musicians, inspired by one of Faure's most distinguished pupils, Robert Casadesus. Mr. Casadesus participated in all the three compositions performed, the *First Quartet in C Minor*, *La Bonne Chanson* (set to poems by Verlaine and sung by Martial Singher), and the *Violin and Piano Sonata in A Major*. His spirit pervaded the entire evening, and does credit both to himself and to the memory of his master. This concert does not, however, alter the general impression one has of Faure's stature. He was a very competent, talented composer, skillful and thoroughgoing, but not a great genius. The piano quartet was beautifully played. It is pretty, dashing and tuneful. The Verlaine songs—a much severer test for a composer—suffered from Mr. Singher's heavy operatic delivery; in their own right, however, they scarcely reached the lyric beauty of the verses which inspired them.

FREDERIC EWEN.

On Broadway

"FOXHOLE IN THE PARLOR" has good intentions but is not a good play. It is not good in the way many well-meaning movies are not good. The writing draws its passion from the contemplation of an idea rather than the examination of people. There is not a character in the play, and the writing often drops to the level of a soap opera. And yet, for a reason that escapes me, it holds interest. Perhaps this is due

to the overtones of the problem being dealt with. A young pianist (played by Montgomery Clift, who will be remembered for his masterful job in *The Searching Wind*) returns home from the war. He has been in a mental hospital and his artist neighbors, when they learn of it, make every effort to ease him gently into civilian life. Complications, however, arrive with an older sister (played by Grace Coppin) who comes from Seattle to manage his life. She looks upon him as insane and nearly drives him into that condition by mocking his idea and treating him as an incompetent.

His idea, which amounts to a compulsion, is that he has the responsibility of preventing another war. Through a third of the play he is engaged in composing a speech to be delivered to the San Francisco Conference by a Senator, the father of the woman next door.

The conflict of the play is apparently meant to lie in the soldier's intense hatred of war as against the apathy of civilians unmoved by the possibility of another war. What actually occurs, however, is a play about a soldier who feels deeply but cannot say what he means. All he comes through with are some rather standardized and generally accepted peace sentiments. Elsa Shelley, who wrote the play much as she did *Pick-Up Girl*, has not provided any opposition that could generate dramatic conflict. Everyone on the stage rather agrees with the soldier. And the situation is resolved not in these terms but by the hero falling in love with a model and being released of his tension through that mystical experience.

The acting is not all of a piece. Montgomery Clift seems to have settled upon a style of understatement so extreme as to make him monotonously nervous. Even a psychoneurotic has his calmer moments. Grace Coppin does well with the role of the sister, a role without spine or logic. As the model who loves the soldier, Ann Lincoln is sometimes over-lyrical with her eyes and insensitive in delivery, but generally she makes her character point. **MATT WAYNE.**



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