

# PALESTINE'S JEWISH WARRIORS

by ALBERT WIENER

# NEW MASSES

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NOVEMBER 21

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## WHAT THE BALLOTS REVEALED

*The lowdown on your vote. Why Dewey received nearly twenty-two million. Where FDR got his strength.*

by A. B. MAGIL

## MEXICO MARCHES

*A first-hand report from below the Rio Grande.* by ANDRE SIMONE

## DEBATE OVER AIRWAYS

*Stakes at the civil aviation conference.*

by KURT CONWAY

## WHAT AILS THE MOVIE CRITICS?

by JOSEPH FOSTER

# BETWEEN OURSELVES

LIKE all publications that devoted a great deal of energy and space to the elections, NEW MASSES also made its pre-election prognostications. On Monday evening, editor A. B. Magil, in the presence of editor North and your correspondent, in the column of an election chart headed "My Own Guesses," gravely put down the states he thought would go to Roosevelt, those to Dewey, totalled the electoral votes, predicted the total popular vote and what percentage would go to FDR. Then he folded the chart and carefully sealed it in an envelope. That was to forestall any later accusations that the chart had been tampered with after the returns were in. As the envelope was being locked into a drawer, Joe North said, "In the main I agree with your selections. I disagree on Missouri. You put the state in the Dewey column. My scouts tell me that its in the bag for FDR." "I hope you're right," said Magil, "but we'll see."

Came the day after election and the chart was brought from its hiding place. Friends, the prognostication was nothing short of political wizardry. Magil predicted that 430 electoral votes would go to Franklin D. Actually, he received 432. He prophesied that thirty-five states would go to the Democrats. Actually the count was thirty-six. Of course, there was a little discrepancy on the matter of individual state selections. Magil picked three states—Idaho, Minnesota, and Missouri—for Dewey that were won by Roosevelt, and he was wrong on Ohio and Wyoming for the President. He hit the total popular vote of 48,000,000 on the nose, but strayed somewhat on the percentages. The Magil figure was fifty-five percent for FDR, whereas the vote was about one and a half percent less. As the congratulations were being passed around, Editor North cleared his throat. "On that Missouri pick, now. . . ." But Magil was not to be denied. "That is purely a cavil. I guessed 430 electoral votes out of 432. Who can do better? After all, am I God?"

We asked Magil to what he attributed his success. "I have nothing against restaurants," he offered by way of explanation, "but it was home cooking that did it. That and the fact that I have been reading the NEW MASSES every single week for years." I am not one to turn my back on a moral, especially when it leaps into my lap, if, therefore, you want your friends and neighbors to know the political score, have them buttress the evening meal with a regular diet of NEW MASSES.

Incidentally the silliest figures of the election were Emil Hurja and Herbert Brownell. In 1940 Hurja predicted a Willkie landslide; this year our soothsayer assured the world that Dewey would win by over 2,000,000 votes and over 300

electoral markers. (By the way, does anybody pay this man for his work?) Brownell gave out idiotic statements taken seriously by the New York Sun and other papers that Dewey could not fail. His optimism increased from day to day. He offered incontrovertible proof that state after state were swinging towards Dewey, and on the last day told the Republican camp that its worries were over. New York and Pennsylvania were a cinch. Even at 1 AM Wednesday morning, after most Republican papers conceded the victory, Brownell couldn't see how Roosevelt could win.

TO GET back to the fresh air, I would like to dwell on the NM subscription campaign, which has been under way some time now. Curious to know how our readers felt about the idea of a contest, etc., NM sent out a questionnaire. Eighty-five percent of the answers favored the idea, ten percent didn't see the need for what they considered a highfalutin' stimu-

lus for getting subs, and promised to get some without asking for prizes. Five percent were against the idea, but didn't say why. Incidentally, less than one-fifth are interested in the trip to Washington, favoring instead, books and prints. I confess I was a little surprised by this reaction. To my way of thinking books and prints are more or less accessible. But a trip to Washington during the historic weekend of the inauguration (and free)—there is something that comes along rarely. Most of the readers interested in the trip to the capital live west of the Mississippi. All you need to do to win this Grand Prize is to turn in the greatest number of subscriptions between now and the first of the year. Subs you order as Christmas presents for your friends will be counted in. Of course, many people will find it difficult to leave the city for one reason or another. For those people, our print and book selections are indeed worth having. At any rate, there is still ample time to join the contest (see page 25 for details). You will not only win a prize but, by increasing our number of readers, will be building NM into a more powerful instrument for the tough days to come. Let's go!

J. F.

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## WHAT THE BALLOTS REVEALED

By A. B. MAGIL

**I**F ETERNAL vigilance is the price of liberty, the people of America proved exceedingly vigilant on election day. After nearly three years of war they refused to stultify the sacrifice of their best sons by letting America's enemies gain a shattering political victory at the moment when on the battlefield they were being driven inexorably toward total defeat. The plain people of America refused to betray their own great heritage and the friendships of their comrades-in-arms for a mess of reactionary potage. In choosing Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth term they chose a path, a destiny—the mountain peaks of the future rather than the dismal swamp of the past. They measured up to their massive national and world responsibility. They proved that, contrary to the claims of Hitler and Mussolini, contrary to the calculations of the Republican master minds, a people is not a mannikin: history cannot be manipulated by pulling strings.

Now that the election is over, it seems fantastic that there should have been any danger that America would foul its own nest. Yet that danger was real, a reality which both our allies and our enemies had to reckon with. Never in all history did so much depend on the casting of ballots. And never in all history did so many millions in other lands participate in an American election with their thoughts, their fervent hopes, their very silence. In Britain, Russia, China, France, throughout Latin America expressions of relief and joy at the outcome were universal. Foreign Minister Jose Serrato of Uruguay expressed the feelings of the peoples of all countries when he said: "I am sure that if Uruguayans had voted in the United States elections, they would have supported Mr. Roosevelt to the last man."

As this is written, many details remain to be filled in, but the main elements of the election picture are clear. First, it is evident that when all the soldier ballots are counted, the total will fall not far short of the nearly 50,000,000 cast in 1940. This confounds the

men of small vision (including originally the Gallup poll experts) who believed that the American people were so indifferent to their own fate and their part in world affairs that large numbers of them would fail to participate in one of the most crucial elections in our history. Had it not been for the disfranchisement of many servicemen and war migrants, the vote would have undoubtedly set a new record.

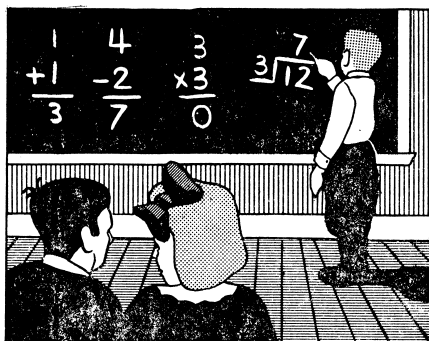
Secondly, the mandate was decisive. President Roosevelt won by a landslide in the electoral college, receiving 432 out of a possible 531 votes. But as in the war election of 1864, the popular vote was much closer. In the final tally the President's plurality will be between three and four million. Undoubtedly this would have gone over the four million mark and possibly approached the nearly five million plurality of 1940 had the disfranchised servicemen and war workers, two groups among whom pro-Roosevelt sentiment runs stronger than in the population as a whole, been able to vote. This is apart from what might have been expected from those "normally" disfranchised, the several million Negro and white victims of the poll tax, who would have voted, if they could, overwhelmingly for FDR.

The extent of the election mandate cannot, however, be measured merely by considering the President's actual and potential vote. There is no doubt that millions of those who voted for Governor Dewey, probably a majority, took him at face value when he

sought to give the impression that the Roosevelt foreign and domestic policies were his own. Because of this, a clearer gauge of popular sentiment may be found in the congressional elections where the voters were in many cases presented with unambiguous alternatives. The congressional results are proof of the nature of the mandate and greatly fortify that mandate. The Democrats scored gains out of all proportion to the closeness of the presidential battle, winning a plurality of more than fifty in the House for their largest advance since 1932. In the Senate they retained their former comfortable majority.

But the statistical analysis does not begin to indicate the quality of the change effected in both houses of Congress. Among the faces that will be missing in the next Congress will be some of the most notorious defeatists and obstructionists in both parties, including four Dies committee members; to name only a few (some of whom were eliminated in the primaries or voluntarily withdrew in advance of certain defeat): Representatives Ham Fish, Martin Dies, Stephen A. Day, Fred Busbey, Joe Starnes, John M. Costello, James Wolfenden, Senators Gerald P. Nye, Robert R. Reynolds, Rufus Holman, Henry Cabot Lodge, Bennett Champ Clark, James J. Davis, John Danaher, and Guy Gillette. The men who replaced these obscurantists are practically all strong supporters of the Roosevelt foreign policy. Three other Senate isolationists, Taft, Tobey, and McCarran, had close calls. The isolationist bloc in the upper house made only one gain, the election of Homer Capehart of Indiana, crony of fascists and anti-Semites, though he ran behind the GOP national ticket in that state.

So conservative a commentator as Arthur Krock, who favored Dewey in opposition to his newspaper, the *New York Times*, which supported the President, states in his column of November 10: "The defeats administered Tuesday to a number of members of Congress . . . are being accepted here as



"Poor Elmer, looks like he'll never get over listening to Dewey's speeches."

specific and intentional punishment for stubborn isolationist records." And he points out that "as a consequence of the fate of certain congressional candidates last Tuesday, the statement seems accurate that never before in this country's history has there been fairer political weather for our effective adherence to a world order that will work."

In other words, the voters took Dewey's slogan, "It's time for a change" and acted on it in reverse: instead of changing the President to make him conform to a reactionary Congress, they went a long way toward changing Congress to make it cooperate with the President who represents the will and interests of the nation.

That the threat to America was hurled back on November 7 was due in a large measure to the emergence of a pro-Roosevelt coalition of a truly national character. This was not an organized alliance, but consisted of independently functioning groups with a common aim. The backbone of the coalition was the labor movement, with the CIO Political Action Committee playing the most dynamic role. Though the GOP strategists tried to make it appear that only the CIO, to which they prefixed the word "Communist," was supporting the President, the broad, all-class, nonpartisan character of this support was evidenced in the activity of such groups as Businessmen for Roosevelt, Farmers for Roosevelt, the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt, the American Labor Party, the Independent Non-Partisan Committee for Roosevelt and Truman, the Independent Republican Committee for Roosevelt, as well as in the stand taken by such leading Republicans as Senator Ball of Minnesota, Walter Lippmann, and the Wall Street banker, Frank Altschul. Together with the Democratic Party these groups constituted the true win-the-war-and-peace party in the election, the counterpart in our time of what was represented in 1864 by the coalition of the Republican or Union Party, the War Democrats, the Union Leagues, the Democratic Republican Workingmen's Association, the Unconditional Union Clubs and the Union Lincoln Associations.

Thus the victory of President Roosevelt, like Lincoln's triumph in 1864, is a nonpartisan *national* victory, serving the interests of all classes and all sections of the country. It is at the same time an *international* victory over a bold and well-organized attempt to

disrupt the United Nations, prolong the war, and undermine the peace.

**W**HAT about the Republican campaign? Its distinguishing characteristic was pointed out by the President: its use of Nazi fear techniques to stampe the voters. I was present at the convention which launched the GOP bid for power. That convention slammed the door of the Republican Party in Wendell Willkie's face and let Colonel McCormick in by the back entrance. The rejection of Willkie was open; the welcoming of the McCormicks had to be covered up. Hence the Dewey candidacy, the candidacy of a man without opinions, without too visible a record on the major issues, a custom-built candidacy which could face two ways and employ progressive phrases to gain reactionary ends. The leading speech at that convention was not made by Candidate Dewey; it was made by Herbert Hoover. It was Hoover who said: ". . . the Communists and the fellow travelers are spending vast sums to reelect this regime." It was Hoover who spoke of "independent actions by Russia which seem to be the negative of restored sovereignty to certain peoples." It was Hoover who assailed the Teheran conference as "power politics and balance-of-power diplomacy." It was Hoover, in other words, who fashioned the broad political design of the Republican campaign. And it was Clare Boothe Luce with her GI Jim speech who provided the emotional fires to heat up this cold fare and make it pleasing to the most fastidious fascist palate.

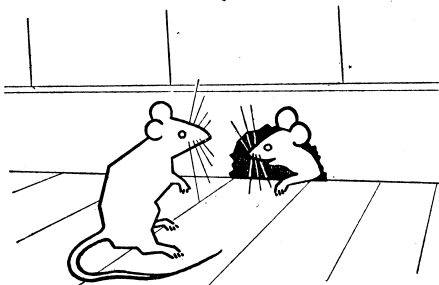
But Candidate Dewey made his own great contribution to this assault on the American mind: a political machine to carry it through. He pushed aside the bumbling Harrison Spanglers and installed men of the Herbert Brownell type, men without convictions but with plenty of brass, drive, organizational know-how—men who are dangerous because their social ignorance is equalled

only by their lack of scruple. These men approached the problem of making Dewey President and Commander in Chief in the greatest crisis in our history in the spirit in which advertising men approach the selling of an ersatz product, but without the handicap of being compelled to abide by the regulations of the Federal Trade Commission and the normal decencies which govern the advertising business. They believed with Hitler that the public is a congenital sucker and that by concocting certain slogans, playing on the right fears, manipulating the proper prejudices, and telling big enough lies often enough they could goldbrick their man into the White House. They failed. And their failure is testimony that even with the best technique that money can buy it is no longer possible to invent a President of the United States. It was possible in 1920 and in 1924, but not in 1944—not in the sixth year of mankind's war against fascism.

Of Dewey it can be said that after the best case has been made out for him—and the best case, as the New York *Herald Tribune* demonstrated, requires the most devious logic—one must ask the question which the *Herald Tribune's* distinguished ancestor, the New York *Tribune*, asked in 1864: "If General M. [McClellan, Lincoln's opponent in the election] is a true man, why is every traitor his noisy champion?"

Yet the fact remains that millions of honest men and women, many of whom showed real perception in the congressional contests, nevertheless were seduced into voting for Dewey. The majority of the voters rebuked the GOP attempt to panic the country with what the New York *Times* called the "spurious issue" of Communism. But large numbers either believed these hoary myths and hence voted the Republican ticket or supported Dewey despite their disbelief and despite the overtones of anti-Semitism and anti-alien prejudice that were injected into the GOP Red-baiting. They voted for him too despite the fact that Dewey demonstrated clearly in his address at the *Herald Tribune* Forum and in his Boston speech that this anti-Communism was something more than a domestic question, that it was directed against the Soviet Union and against all our other allies which have Communists in their governments.

When one considers that President Roosevelt ran on a record of brilliant achievement in the war and before



Tony

"I wish they'd stop calling Pegler a rat—my kids keep asking questions."

that in the peace; that his name is identified with the most constructive era in American life since the Civil War; that his role is central in the war strategy of the United Nations and in all international planning for peace; that in political resourcefulness, campaigning talent and human warmth he is without a peer among our public men; that his opponent was a mediocre careerist who inspired no confidence or enthusiasm even in his supporters—when one considers all this, then, despite the positive over-all results of the election, the size of the Dewey vote must be cause for alarm. This vote was built up by many factors, including unlimited cash, the activity of the press and the exploitation of war difficulties. However, to me it seems that one of the principal factors which meant the difference between a large vote and the kind of vote that Landon received in 1936 was confusion about the question of Communism. This is true even if it could be shown that the Red scare did not directly influence any large numbers to cast their ballots for the Dewey-Bricker ticket. But the fact that Dewey's and Bricker's anti-Communist tirades and smearing of Sidney Hillman did not disqualify them in the eyes of millions of their adherents is in itself an expression of that confusion. For in no other country outside of the fascist dictatorships could a candidate for the highest office in the land attempt to make Communism the principal issue in this year of 1944 and get away with it to such a marked degree.

It seems to me that this considerable measure of success was also partly due to the fact that the confusion on the Communist question was not limited to the Dewey voters, but was likewise prevalent to some extent among sections of President Roosevelt's supporters. There were, in fact, some pro-Roosevelt politicians, like the leaders of the Liberal Party, whose frenzied Red-baiting provided Dewey with some of his deadliest ammunition—deadliest in terms of its effect on the minds of the voters. It is an open question just how many of the votes which were cast for Mr. Roosevelt on the Liberal Party line—most of which would have gone to FDR anyhow—were cancelled out by the votes which Dewey won with his anti-Hillman, anti-Communist quotations from David Dubinsky and the *New York Post*.

The confusion which enabled Dewey to squeeze votes out of the dry husks of the Red scare was further evidenced in the unfortunate, even if well-



Soriano

**"And now, Mein Fuehrer, will you say a few words on how the American elections were stolen?"**

intentioned, way in which certain supporters of the President sought to combat the anti-Communist demagogy. One longed for some one to get up and puncture the bugaboo in the way that Basil Harris, president of the United States Lines, did on a recent occasion. When called up by Roy Howard's *New York World Telegram* and asked whether he wouldn't withdraw as a speaker at a banquet in honor of Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union, because Smith and Joseph Curran, NMU president, were allegedly "notorious Communists," Mr. Harris replied: "So what?" This was the spirit in which the reply to the Dewey-Bricker ranting should have been made.

Yes, the Communists supported FDR's reelection even though neither his administration nor his policies are Communist. So what? In Britain the Communists support Churchill, in France De Gaulle, in Czechoslovakia Benes. Why shouldn't they? They are fighting the Axis and therefore have a legitimate place beside all others, of whatever political persuasion, who are fighting the Axis. A reply of this kind would have helped pulverize the fraudulent Communist issue for millions of voters and would have deprived the GOP cabal of a potent weapon.

The Red scare, as Earl Browder has pointed out, "was only half-answered for the main body of voters." And that is one of the reasons why the large Dewey vote must continue to cast a

shadow over the future even though the perspective as a whole has been vastly improved by the President's reelection and the changes in Congress, as well as by the release of new vigorous political energies which will outlast the campaign.

We now face the great tasks of the war and of the peace. A much broader national coalition, including a majority of those who voted for Dewey, must be gathered round the President and the constructive forces of both parties in Congress to build on the foundations that have been laid. Reaction will seek new ways of gaining its ends, will attempt to sow new dissensions, and will utilize the Rankins and Tafts who still remain in both houses of Congress in an effort to nullify the popular mandate. But the new Congress and the vote of confidence in the Commander in Chief strengthen the prospects of successfully meeting this challenge. The hastening of victory in Europe and Asia, the ratification of America's unreserved participation with all necessary powers in a world security organization, the passage of legislation that will adequately deal with the human factor in reconversion, the adoption of measures to assure peacetime jobs and an expanding economy, the implementation of FDR's bill of economic rights—all these will require unity, hard thinking and hard work, devotion to country above everything else. And they will require continued vigilance against those irresponsibles who failed in 1944 but will try again.

# I GIVE YOU MY WORD . . . by JOSEPH NORTH

## LET BYGONES BE BYGONES?

**I**F I WERE a wandering minstrel, as our friend Winston Churchill put it, I'd roam the land telling a story that goes something like this: there was an incendiary in my home town who tried to burn down his neighbor's house one night and failed because the latter was a vigilant man. The next morning the fire-bug showed up with outstretched hand and said brightly to his neighbor: "I'm willing to let bygones be bygones. You got the damn fire out. Okay, I've no hard feelings, believe me." And somewhere in the tale Thomas E. Dewey would figure prominently.

I think that story needs telling. There is something repulsive in these expressions, rampant since the election returns are in, about letting bygones be bygones. "It was campaign oratory and we're good Americans and good Americans are good sports. So shake." The electoral contest is no Ivy League classic in which the captains rush at each other after the whistle and shake hands. It is a historic action with life-and-death values, and those who spoke had an eternal responsibility to America. When Dewey told America that Communism was the issue, that was no forward pass. And when he told our soldiers that the President planned to keep them in the Army indefinitely he was contributing toward undermining our Army's morale and Goebbels could ask for nothing better. There is an ugly word for all this, and I say that Messrs. Dewey and Bricker and Hoover and the publishers who supported them share a moral guilt which requires judgment.

Of course, I'll be glad to shake with the grass-root Republicans who voted GOP because they thought Dewey meant it when he said victory, durable peace, and prosperity. But I submit there is no charity in my heart for the men who braintrustered the Republican campaign because I know what they *meant*. I would strike down the outstretched hand of a firebrand who tried his damndest to destroy my home, put my family on the county, and then came to me with a smile of Uriah Heep: "It's all over. Let's be friends."

**I**T'S not all over, and we're not friends. Is it trite to say there exists a national, a political morality as well as the personal? Anyway, I'll say it. Is the unsuccessful arsonist to be excused because he failed? I believe the Republican standard-bearers and those behind them revealed a moral irresponsibility that is shocking. These political hit-and-run drivers require national judgment. They drove the Big Lie at us and now they want to escape. When they told our nation that Communism is the issue they knew as well as you and I that that is false and that this charge is Item One in the Hitler lexicon. Just compare their campaign theme with the Himmler manifesto of the other day and weigh the perilous likeness. They said that the President had lied us into this war and they dexterously slipped over the notion that our Commander in Chief was responsible for Pearl Harbor. When they injected anti-Semitism into the campaign somehow I saw the fitful glares of the Lublin pyres.

The words of *Mein Kampf* paved the way for Maidenek's crematorium. America heard the words of *Mein Kampf*. . .

I say these things are on the record and they cannot, at risk of our security, be ignored. I say that the record must be studied so that America is spared forever the recurrence of this frenzy of partisan politics which can lead to disaster. I say that record must become every citizen's property lest America's guard go down again, and it is my contention that these mealy-mouthed pleas to let bygones be bygones serve the plotters' purpose.

I say they are waiting for the next chance and I believe they should never be given that chance. And the only guarantee that they won't is *understanding*. Only thus can we achieve the nonpartisan unity imperative for our nation's happy future. Ignorance will cheat us of our destiny.

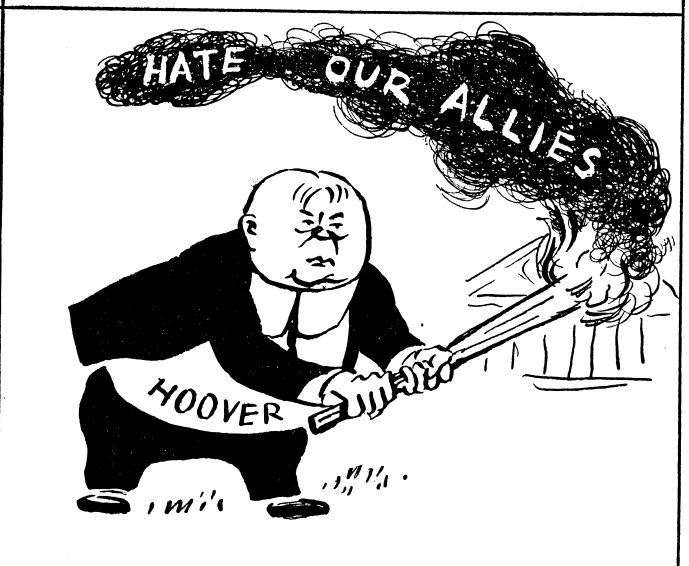
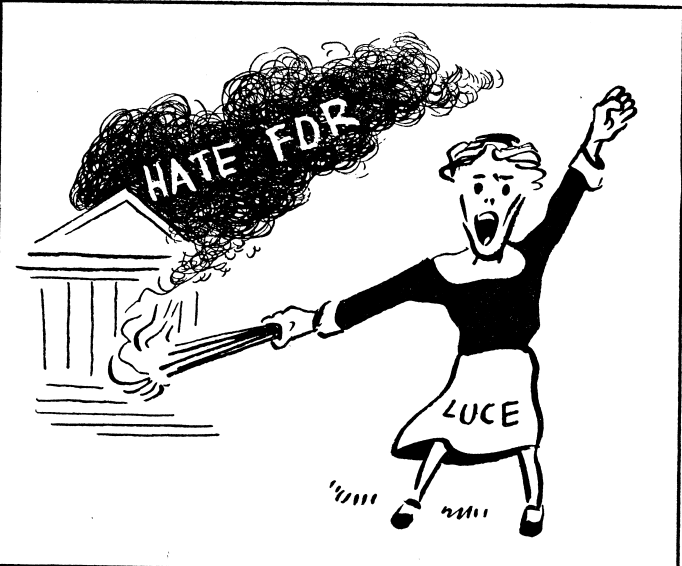
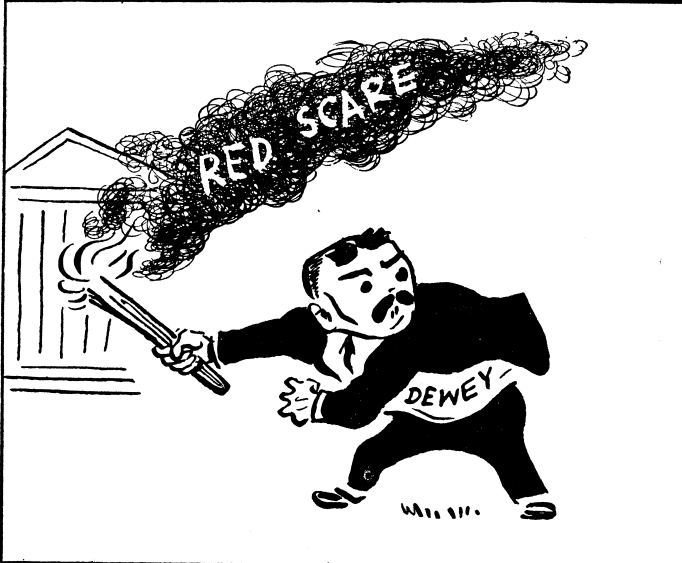
Consider the biggest lie of the campaign that the Communists were about to take over. I say it is high time every responsible citizen bestirs himself to ascertain what the Communist stands for. Isn't it a matter of elementary common sense to seek original sources and discover for oneself what Earl Browder is talking about? Isn't it time to shun the *Reader's Digest* version of Communist policy and plumb the truth for yourself? Can you believe the commercial press' evaluation of the Communist when you have found that press so wanting on other crucial facts of the day? A whole literature is available and I recommend for primary reading Mr. Browder's latest book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*. And if you want further proof, check back on Communist policy through the *Daily Worker* and see for yourself what their stand is on all the issues of our time. Then ponder the Communists of France, of Yugoslavia, of Italy, of China (not to mention Russia) and put two and two together. It's high time the readers of our national press find these things out for themselves, for I fear most publishers won't be much help. And once the grass-roots Republican knows the facts of life, he will never be bait for the contention that PAC was Communist or that Franklin Roosevelt cleared everything with Sidney Hillman who cleared everything with Earl Browder.

The lessons of this campaign are yet to be learned. Remember this: Dewey did get more than 20,000,000 votes. And remember this: the Commander in Chief will need an army of civilians, equipped as well as servicemen, to overwhelm the mighty problems of today and tomorrow. And a citizen's armor is *understanding*. The *Journal Bulletin* of Providence, R. I. spoke truth when it said the day after election: "We must expect isolationism will again seek to throttle collaboration, and to defeat that attempt the President will need a strong and continuing public opinion, both Republican and Democratic, to win the peace."

**T**HE ultimate moral of the '44 campaign is this: "Greater love hath no man for his country than to lay down his prejudices for it." That, obviously, is the summit of patriotic achievement. We came nearer to disaster than it is comfortable to contemplate: we approached chaos because a band of politically immoral men sought to climb to power on America's prejudices. They must be indicted for posterity, but I know that indictment will never stick unless America thinks through its prejudices. A prejudice can never survive a fact. And the fact is available.

# KURTAINS ON DER KAMPAIGN :

— BY GROPP 24 —



# ELECTION DAY NOTEBOOK

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

I SPENT part of election night in the Presidential Ballroom at the Statler hotel here in Washington, after reading in the *Times-Herald* that open house would be held there and it would be the "major party of the evening." It was given by the Republican State Committee for the District under the direction of Treasurer Joseph C. McGarraghty, who was quoted by the Patterson paper as saying: "If Dewey wins early we'll close early; if it takes him longer to win we'll stay longer."

Mr. McGarraghty may still be there for all I know. But when I arrived shortly before midnight most of the crowd had gone and there was a steady trickling away of mink-coated women with large bosoms heaving under orchids and gardenias. One of them hung on the arm of a sour looking citizen and complained audibly: "I bet money he'd stay in the White House just so I could be glad to lose."

I sat outside the ballroom for a time and watched them come out and stand around. A rather dessicated grand dame told a completely silent male that we shouldn't feel too sorry for ourselves, just think of the French. A man joined them. "We were just talking about the poor French," she said.

I went inside and sat in the rear, my Roosevelt button covered by a topcoat. Huge pictures of "Our Next President" and "Our Next Vice President" looked out at us from front and side. A man wrote on an enormous scoreboard and a tired youthful voice, now edged with bitterness, came over a loudspeaker from the front of the hall. "We would like to say now that Mr. Dewey has picked up 10,000 votes in Connecticut," he said, adding, "and most of the commentators say that the vote is strictly the labor vote—so far."

A sign said the meeting was sponsored by the Young Republicans. Most of the women who had stuck it out until midnight, though, were distinctly matronly. The men appeared gloomier, if anything, than the women. I saw Ralph Moore, farm bloc lobbyist whose last venture was representing the smelly American National Democratic Committee in Washington, waddle out. The smile which is part of his professional stock-in-trade was gone. He

looked out glumly from his little eyes. When last I had seen him he had said this time they'd get Roosevelt—and they'd get Eleanor even if they had to shoot her.

"Well, I guess this *is* news," the voice of the commentator, getting colder by the minute, was heard saying. "Sidney Hillman says—" and he continued spitefully quoting Hillman. When he wound up with Hillman's description of the Dewey campaign as one of racial incitation and bigotry, there was only a faint snicker or two. By this time only a handful of persons were left. "It seems that fellow Wagner is jumping ahead," he said gloomily.

One middle-aged woman tried a skip or two down the aisle, saying for all to hear, "Well, Ohio did it—went right down the line." But this little burst of native pride got her nowhere with that crowd. She was stared at coldly.

Around 12:30 the young man announced firmly: "Governor Dewey has just announced that he will not concede the election." A few hands clapped, but more guests got up to go.

WITH late election returns it became even more evident that isolationists were the special target of the voters, in the Midwest as well as far West and East. Among those to recognize this was the *Washington Post*, which publisher Eugene Meyers had employed to help Dewey. Pointing to the retirement of Senators Gerald P. Nye (R., N.D.), James J. Davis (R., Pa.), John A. Danaher (R., Conn.) and Guy M. Gillette (D., Ia.), the *Post* went on to say: "House casualties of men who failed to go along with the President's pre-Pearl Harbor foreign policies were proportionately high."

A NUMBER of Chicago *Tribune* candidates went down to defeat. One was Rep. Fred E. Busbey, member of the Dies Committee and author of a speech entitled "Wake Up America!" a slogan of various fascist groups and numerous defendants in the current sedition trial. Excerpts were printed on a postcard and the postal franks of thirteen Republican Congressmen and women, including Clare Luce, John Taber, Harold Knutson, and other dangerous

foes of administration foreign policy, were used to blanket the country with the divisive material.

ANOTHER *Tribune* stooge, Chicago financier, and spokesman for Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward, Charles S. Dewey, former financial adviser to the Polish government, was defeated. Dewey introduced the resolution to investigate the seizure of the Chicago Montgomery Ward plant. He wrote the minority report of the committee, signed by all the Republicans on the committee, in which he carped about dictatorship and mentioned in passing how some British monarch, who long had infuriated the people by differing with Parliament, lost his head on account of those differences. Well, it is not FDR's head that has fallen but Mr. Dewey's. Who will carry on for the *Tribune* in leading the attack on the Bretton Woods conference is not clear at this writing. Dewey was not invited, but he appeared at the conference as a kibitzer and subsequently introduced a bill by which he proposes to accomplish all that the BW conference would accomplish—without that bothersome item of international cooperation. It is called a bill "to extend the functions of the Export-Import Bank of Washington, and for other purposes."

THE recent campaign speeches of Stephen A. Day, Illinois Congressman-at-large, whose former publisher was that of indicted Nazi agents, the notorious house of Flanders Hall, were big news in the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* did all it could to help Day, but he went down to defeat.

Victor over Day was Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, daughter of the late sculptor, Lorado Taft of Chicago, and wife of the professor-alderman who is now with the armed forces, Paul Douglas. This is a double blow to the *Tribune*, which never liked Douglas.

SEN. SCOTT LUCAS (D.) returns to the Senate and Richard J. Lyons returns to the virtual obscurity from which the *Tribune* yanked him. Lyons was given lots of campaign support by Sen. C. Wayland Brooks, who himself was pretty obscure before he worked on the prosecution of Leo Brothers for the



murder of Jake Lingle, a *Tribune* reporter and collector for the underworld syndicate. Brooks' speeches were almost indistinguishable from Day's. A *Tribune* headline over a speech Brooks made Oct. 18, for instance, read: "F.D.R. COMPLETE FLOP AS 'CHIEF' IN WAR: BROOKS."

THE last time I saw Rep. Calvin Johnson of Illinois, I narrowly missed running into one of the *Tribune* political writers (forgive the redundancy—the cooking editor is virtually the only non-political writer on the *Tribune*) with whom Johnson was so chummy. Well, Johnson was beaten (PAC supported winning Melvin Price), and it is nice to think of it in view of his skillful hatchet work on UNRRA, his anti-British attitude and, because of that, his phony concern for the Indian masses. Coming from a steel area, he was anxious to do business with the Soviet Union after the war, and his ideas on the subject were impressive. But on every other phase of foreign policy he was super-reactionary. I asked about trade with South America, I remember, and he replied, "What, do we want to have a world-wide WPA?"

A HAPPY thought is the anguish which must be visiting Norris Poulson, California Republican who was licked by Ned Healy. Poulson made such reckless speeches in his campaign that the *Los Angeles Times*, leading western Republican daily, was forced to publish two retractions. Among other words which the *Times* had to eat were Poulson's claims that Rita Hayworth and Olivia De Havilland received \$5,000 each to speak on a CIO-PAC broadcast opposing his election. Hayworth and De Havilland, it developed, had appeared on a broadcast sponsored by the Hollywood Democratic Committee, and they did so out of the sheer joy of helping defeat Poulson.

K. C. ADAMS, who sees that the John L. Lewis line is followed in the *United Mine Workers' Journal*, and writes many of the most poisonous editorials, was overheard by this correspondent telling two girls farewell two mornings after election. It was on a street-corner in Washington and Adams said yes, he was going away in two days on a long vacation, and might not return at all. We see how he feels.

APPARENTLY the elections have had a demoralizing effect on the Dies

committee, which retains a large staff working on the top floor of the old House office building. A telephone call through the Capital switchboard brought the response that "no one answers at the Dies committee." The defeat of Busbey leaves the committee in a sad way. The primaries did away with Dies, who didn't risk running, Starnes of Alabama, who was beaten by a CIO attorney, and Costello of California. The Republicans were expecting lots from Busbey, who was grooming himself as a worthy successor to Dies. Busbey apparently was keeping informed on the Reds up to the end—the last time I was in his office I noticed the day's issue of the *Daily Worker* lying alongside the *Chicago Tribune*.

THE defeat of Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York is the prime example of the election's routing of Red-baiters,

### Letter from Muncie

*The following letter was sent to our Washington editor, Virginia Gardner, by Joshua Thompson of Muncie, Indiana. Miss Gardner related the story of Mr. Thompson in her article, "Klansmen Crusade for Dewey" (NEW MASSES, October 31). Mr. Thompson, a Negro whose son was arrested on a trumped-up rape charge, was threatened by a lynch mob. Told it was the CIO, he remarked he knew better, that he was a CIO member himself.*

DEAR Miss Gardner: I wish to thank you and your co-workers for the interest that has been taken in behalf of the minority groups. I am especially concerned about the citizens of Muncie, Indiana. I trust that the interest that is aroused will cause the much needed federal investigation that we hope for.

I am a veteran of the Spanish American War and a member of the CIO. I have always been a Democrat. I firmly believe that my people should have as much protection as any other group.

We appreciate the fact that your group has exposed the forces that are working here. We pray that your organization will continue the good policies it has undertaken.

Anything that you can do to help the situation here will be greatly appreciated.

JOSHUA THOMPSON.

and recalls an example of how well informed this Berlin favorite is. The last time your NEW MASSES correspondent was in Fish's office he inquired, before granting an interview, "Let's see, who is the editor of NEW MASSES now, Max Eastman?" He was told no, Joseph North, who would not appreciate being mistaken for Max Eastman. Incidentally, a telephone call interrupted the interview, and Fish said yes, he was selling his Washington house. He paid \$18,000 or \$20,000 for it, and he would be satisfied if he got that much for it. "Leaving Washington, Mr. Fish?" he was asked after he returned the receiver to its hook. He insisted he wasn't a bit nervous about his reelection, though—that he just wanted to sell his house.

MARITIME union members, among others, are rejoicing over defeat of Melvin J. Maas of Minnesota, ranking minority member of the House Naval Affairs Committee. He did a smear job on the unions in the Guadalcanal hoax. Apparently his St. Paul district didn't like the frequent Maas invectives against our ally, Great Britain, or his continual sniping at the war in the guise of his "Pacific First" line. Frank T. Starkey, Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate, beat him.

CLARE LUCE, whom Vice President Wallace called an aging glamor girl, will have nothing but good looks in common with Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, former actress and staunch administration supporter. The Illinois Mrs. Douglas and Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, elected in Connecticut, make no such pretensions. But PAC warmly supported Mrs. Woodhouse, and just as firmly turned thumbs down on Luce despite her desperate pleas to UAW Pres. R. J. Thomas. Mrs. Woodhouse is a former Connecticut College for Women professor.

THE Washington delegation remains good, with the Democrats picking up another House member, replacing Fred Norman, and now including Hugh DeLacy, president of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, outstanding progressive.

NUMEROUS committees were saved from being headed by reactionaries when their chairmen pulled through. Thus the return of one of the Senate's

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# MEXICO MARCHES

By **ANDRE SIMONE**

Mexico City.

**T**HE democratic forces of Mexico have undertaken a far-reaching reorganization of their strength. It began at a National Assembly called by the three pillar-groups of the country's political life: the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), the CNC (Peasants' Federation), and the CNOC, which represents large sections of the middle class. And from this assembly a program has been evolved which takes Mexico's many critical problems from the monopoly of smoked-filled rooms into the fresh air of public opinion. It was Lombardo Toledano, head of the CTAL (Confederation of Latin American Workers) who presented the proposals of the three organizations to the several hundred assembly delegates, many of whom were newcomers to the national scene.

What they formulated was a detailed charter to raise the country's cultural and economic life. First there is the need for industrialization equal in importance only to the need for the modernization of agriculture. They proposed also the continuation of land distribution; fair adjustment of wages; and help to the middle class. Furthermore, the program advocates the elimination of illiteracy and a vast expansion of the entire school system; extension of social insurance; rehabilitation of the railroads; formation of a merchant marine, establishment of commercial aviation, and improvement of the network of roads and highways. And not least, in order to free the country from imperialist influence, the assembly program insists that new regulations for the investment of foreign capital must guarantee that investors will unconditionally respect Mexican sovereignty and limit themselves exclusively to productive work. It is, of course, another tribute to Lombardo's keen political perception that he saw this program as being practicable only in a country that is completely independent and safe in a world not menaced by aggression.

The democratic unity which the National Assembly represented has not been forged overnight. It is the product of a series of events, some very serious, which have shaken many democratic leaders out of an overlong period of complacency. The country has been in ferment



Vicente Lombardo Toledano

for more than a year. The privations of war, the extent of which is not entirely grasped by foreign observers, and the skillful use which the Sinarquists and their better-mannered twin brother, *Accion Nacional*, made of widespread discontent created an atmosphere of instability in which "anything might happen." The attempt last spring against President Camacho's life was the most spectacular danger signal. But it was soon discarded as an isolated incident, the work of a lunatic.

Strangely enough things had to happen in Cuba to make Mexico's democratic leaders move. Everyone here was certain that Fulgencio Batista's great popularity would carry his candidate to victory, even against the great handicap of Cuba's serious economic difficulties. The election of Professor Grau San Martin came, therefore, as an electrifying surprise. If the problem of living in Cuba was difficult, what about Mexico, where prices of most commodities have skyrocketed and where hardly a day passes without some vital necessity unavailable?

Mexican reaction took great comfort

from events in Cuba. The Sinarquists indulged in outbursts of threatening language. In an article, "This Is Not a Government," their paper called upon the army to disobey the authorities and asserted that a Communist revolution was planned for the beginning of July. Meanwhile the more talkative Sinarquists whispered that they would be in power at the latest by the end of July.

In June President Camacho acted. Sinarquist meetings were outlawed, their paper banned. At first their leaders did not take these measures too seriously. The day after the ban *El Sinarquista* was on sale again. Then it went underground. But the more talkative among them continued to predict: "You will see what you will see."

**I**NDEED, shortly afterward army Captain Benito Castaneda Chavarria tried a *coup d'etat*. He presented himself on a Sunday night in the barracks of the 2nd Artillery Regiment in Mexico City under the pretext of collecting his things before going on a service trip. But instead he hauled the soldiers from their sleep, calling for mutiny against the government. For half an hour the situation hung in the balance. Then the officer on duty arrested Castaneda. Twenty-four hours later the rebel was court-martialed and sentenced to death.

The reactionary newspapers tried to present this incident as an isolated case. That was not easy. For at the same time disturbing reports came from the Sinarquist stronghold in Guanajuato. Alarming information arrived from the President's own state of Puebla and from Lazaro Cardenas' state of Michoacan. Previous reshuffling of the military commands, which had puzzled observers, now found their explanation. So did the extensive inspection trips which the indomitable democrat, Defense Minister Lazaro Cardenas, had made through the country.

The death sentence against Castaneda was commuted by presidential decree to expulsion from the army. He left the military camp with his insignias torn off, but a free man. The Sinarquists circulated the story that a crowd greeted him as though he were a hero. When the captain, escorted by motorcycle police, arrived at home his wife, who has a

small stand in one of the city's markets, presented him with an envelope. He found in it a thousand pesos. President Camacho had sent them.

It was no doubt a gesture in generous Avila Camacho style. But not everybody understood it that way. For days the habitués of the cafes wisecracked: "Do you want to make easy money? Why not try a mutiny?" But if it was a gesture of generosity, it was not one of appeasement. The wire-pullers of reaction who took it for that were very much mistaken. They were taught better, and quickly, when they went headlong into the Battle of the University.

Education is Mexico's most heatedly discussed subject. Many of the fights in the country's recent history have revolved around it. The clerical reactionaries understood that once entrenched in the National University they could exert great influence throughout the country. For it is in the highest educational institution of Mexico that many political leaders are developed. For two years the National University suffered the regime of that sleek, long-time addict of Nazi theories, Rodolfo Brito Foucher. He converted it into a stronghold of *Hispanidad*—the new window-dressing for fascism, since Hitler's defeats have made it impossible to defend it openly. Brito Foucher's speeches were a never-failing seismograph for the turns which the Vatican and Francisco Franco considered necessary because of the changes on the battlefronts.

Reaction in Mexico has followed these leads obediently. When victory for the United Nations became obvious, Hitler could no longer be called "an instrument of God." Instead, reactionaries started to think how to use the democratic triumph for their own ends. Overnight attacks on Franklin D. Roosevelt disappeared from the front pages. Overnight Brito Foucher professed friendship for the United States. During a lengthy stay in Germany he had been taught the principles of Nazism. Now he pretended to have forgotten about them. Instead he discovered "the great merits of the colonial epoch and the undying solidarity of *Hispanidad*." He placed his friends in key posts at the University. He bolstered his regime with a strong group of bodyguards, to whom he paid twice what faculty members were receiving.

When reaction considered the time ripe for a test of forces they chose the University as battleground. Brito Foucher, by tricky maneuvers, tried to impose upon the University's largest department, the National Preparatory School with 5,000 students, a veteran

turncoat and protege of the clerical fascists, Antonio Soto y Gama, as director. More than thirty years ago this man had served as an adviser of the revolutionary, Emiliano Zapata, who gave the country the first comprehensive program of land distribution. But since then Soto y Gama moved toward the right until he landed on Brito Foucher's lap.

Faculty and students of the Preparatory School refused to work under the new director. Since Lombardo Toledano, one of its former officials, moved towards progressive goals it has fought and won many battles against reactionaries. In the dispute that started one student was shot by Brito Foucher's followers. Indignation swept the director out of his office. The University divided into two camps in the real sense of the word. While Brito Foucher's guards held the Medical Faculty and proclaimed a nonentity as rector, the progressive professors and students occupied the Law Faculty and the Preparatory School and elected Manuel Gual Vidal, a well known liberal, head of the University.

At this stage President Avila Camacho took things into his hands. He proposed that the last six rectors elect a new one. All shades of opinion were represented among the six. The most outstanding democrat was Ignacio Garcia Tellez, Secretary of Interior under Cardenas, Labor Secretary under Avila Camacho, and actually head of one of the country's most slandered institutions, the Institute of Social Insurance. Fou-

cher's crowd pushed Gomez Morin, leader of *Accion Nacional*.

The six electors were put under terrific pressure by the whole reactionary press. For some time it looked as if a milder version of Brito Foucher would emerge as new head of the University. Fortunately Garcia Tellez stood fast. Fortunately also the President and his liberal Minister of Education, the poet Jaime Torres Bodet, were firm against any repetition of Brito Foucherism. Thus one of the country's finest scientists, the archeologist Alfonso Caso, was finally chosen as rector.

The test of force which Brito Foucher and the men behind him wanted turned into a victory for democracy. It was even more important, in view of the unification of democrats that has been developing here steadily over the past several months. Last May the Communist Party in its national convention laid the base for close collaboration with the Party of the Mexican Revolution (PRM), the government party, and the CTM. In a great meeting the President of the PRM, Senator Antonio Villalobos, praised the patriotic spirit of the Communists and their contribution to progress in Mexico. The secretary general of the CTM, Fidel Velasquez, assured the CP of his organization's sincere desire for fraternal cooperation.

The unification of the teachers was the next step. With Lombardo Toledano's help one great union was organized, which comprises all teachers from the cities down to the smallest villages in the country. Its head is Carlos Chavez Orosco, a historian and former Undersecretary of Education.

For a long time Lombardo Toledano has thought of creating a new organization, which would unite all the Marxist groups of the country. It was a hard job. It took three months of labor, but it was crowned with full success. The Lombardistas, the supporters of Narcisso Bassols, former Mexican Ambassador to Madrid and Paris, the Communist Party, and individual Socialists founded the *Liga Socialista*. Lombardo is its head. It is not a party but a body for the study of national and international problems, based on the principles of Marxism. It will not put up candidates for election, nor will it interfere with the internal affairs of any of the anti-fascist organizations. It strives for complete economic and political autonomy of the nation and for full support of the war against the Axis.

It considers that since "Mexico is a semi-colonial country depending on foreign imperialism and with strong rem-

*Our private pigeon brought us the following copy of a note to the "New Yorker":*

**T**O "The Yorker": I shall never again read your "Profiles" with the same pleasure as before I knew that the word was your commercial property, just like "Sante" and "Serutan."

May one still use it in conversation?

Spelled backwards, does it mean back view?

Very truly yours,

Long-Time Supporter of Both  
Your Plagued Houses

P.S. Is it true that the town of York in northern England is about to take action against our city?



Sketch by Julian Levi.

nants of a feudal past of slavery, neither the international circumstances nor the internal conditions make feasible at this period in the nation's life the installation of socialism in the country." Thus the full weight of the League, in which the left wing of Mexican democracy is moulded into an entity (with the Communist Party continuing as an independent organization) will be thrown entirely into the fight for strengthening democracy.

The democrats' desire for unity was

also forcefully evident in the annual presidential message to Congress. Avila Camacho's attitude was expressed in the phrase that the "revolution is not presenting itself to Mexican public opinion as the accused. There is no lack," he said, "here as in other regions of the world, of open agitators who want to turn the difficulties which the war brings about into a condemnation of our revolution. These agitators, whoever they are, have been completely mistaken." "The revolution," the President declared,

"will pass this trial not only undamaged but ennobled and invigorated, because we answer not with words but with acts the elements which try to darken the horizon of our community."

The national anthem had scarcely faded out when those who try "to darken the horizon" made another assault on democratic thinking. The speaker of the House of Representatives, Herminio Ahumada, answering Camacho's message, attacked the governmental party and tried to exonerate fascism from the guilt of the war. He declared that the war is a product of civilization, thus denying that it is the result of Nazi imperialism's bid for world domination. The real author of Ahumado's speech was his father-in-law, Jose Vasconcelos, once Obregon's brilliant Secretary of Education, but now reaction's not so brilliant fountain-pen—filled with the ink of anti-Semitism and the "New Order."

The occasion was well chosen. The attention of the nation was fixed on the presidential message. As president of the session, Ahumado was supposed to express the opinion of representatives and senators. That is why his maneuver had to be exposed immediately. He was expelled from the PRM and removed as president of the House of Representatives.

There is a job to be done in the structural reorganization of the PRM. It must be made fit to carry through the new program. Most observers agree that it must change from a purely electoral machine into a body with individual membership and with a full-blooded internal party life. Much work lies ahead to get this done. But it is imperative, if the new program is to become reality.

"Rarely," the President said in his message, "has one country had so much to do in so little time." But the chances are that it will be done. Never since the war began have Mexican democrats worked under better auspices. Their unity has reached a higher stage. Slowly but steadily they are taking the initiative from the hands of reaction. They have in Manuel Avila Camacho a president who with all his human warmth realizes that the time for half-measures has passed. They have in Lazaro Cardenas a defense minister who will not permit the army to fall under subversive influences. And they have in Lombardo Tolledano a leader who fully grasps the country's main problems: maintenance of democratic unity, struggle against fascism, social, economic, and cultural advancement, as well as complete national independence.

# DEBATE OVER AIRWAYS

By KURT CONWAY

ADHERENTS of the policy of world unity laid down at Teheran may have been shocked by the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in the international civil aviation conference in Chicago. There are obvious and important reasons for the USSR's absence and I shall attempt to describe them later. But first let us try to get a clear picture of the fundamentals dominating the conference and the background against which it is taking place.

Pre-war global aviation was a tangle of conflicting interests and endless squabbling over rights—with all these reflecting the politics that led to war. The original International Air Conference—officially known as the Convention of the Regulation of Air Navigation—got nowhere at all although its decisions were ratified by thirty-three states. Little if anything could have been accomplished anyway because aviation was in its infancy and no important aspect of world trade depended upon it. Two decades ago the world was not laced with the invisible lines of airborne commerce and it was only after aviation grew up that critical problems presented themselves. Plainly, then, the present conference has been called to straighten out the difficulties that have been accumulating over the years and if possible to avoid their sowing dragon's teeth. Trade—and aviation trade is a vast segment of international commerce—must move faster, more efficiently and with as little friction as possible and the commercial airplane is one great means of fulfilling these objectives. The Chicago conference is aimed at facilitating all this. It is a laudable objective, certainly in keeping with the spirit of such international meetings as Bretton Woods. In my opinion, however, the absence of Soviet experts eliminates the very factor which might have solved many controversies over the methods to be employed in speeding the development of airborne commerce—controversies involving conflicts of trade interests among several powers.

The Chicago conference has already revealed in general the policies of the bigger nations which are participating in it. Great Britain presented its views in a recent White Paper and Lord Swinton, chief of the British delegation, repeated them at the meeting. They cen-

ter largely on demands for a strict international air authority with power to control air traffic and restrict competition if not eliminate it entirely. The American approach is directly opposed to the British, and Adolf Berle, head of the US delegation and Assistant Secretary of State, has made it known that this country insists on free competition by nations on all the world's airways. The American conception of an international authority is one limited to *technical* regulation of flight with purely consultative powers in matters involving air politics and air economics.

The Canadians have offered a plan somewhere halfway between the British and American proposals. Canada's aviation position is a strong one because most great circle air-routes pass over her territory. Various other plans have been offered, notably a proposal from Australia and New Zealand for international ownership of the air—a proposal which will hardly be adopted or even considered.

The air pocket created by the absence of Soviet representatives leaves the British and the Americans as the main contenders for the moment, and a compromise may be effectuated. This will happen, of course, if it happens at all, after debate and wrangling. But whatever the outcome it is perfectly clear that despite the desire for eventual air cooperation, narrow trader interests are still playing the important and decisive parts. The American plan is designed to give the US as much international air trade as possible. America is preeminent in the air, possesses an overwhelming number of planes, a tremendous aviation industry, and all the airfields and equipment she needs around the globe.

These facts stymie the British effort to get their share of air trade. Britain is not a world air power in the same sense that the US is. Her aviation industry is several years behind the American. The war has, of course, increased British airborne commerce and she would like to maintain it by regulating it at current levels. To some extent, Britain is able politically to block American attempts at free and unregulated flying because of the expanse of her present air routes. But the fact of the matter is, and this alarm has already been voiced by Lord Swinton, that with-

out economic and political regulation the British would be beaten hands down by American aviation. The US is in an unexcelled position to "git thar fustest with the mostest" planes.

WHILE Soviet representatives have conducted bilateral talks with Washington officials, her policy so far as I know has not been stated in print. But it is clear to me that the conference in Chicago cannot solve any problems permanently as long as no Soviet delegates are present. The fact that the USSR originally accepted the invitation to participate in the conference indicates that she considered it vital. Her refusal finally to join because Portugal, Switzerland, and Spain were also invited is an index to how seriously the USSR is opposed to having any truck with fascist dictatorships or with any anti-Soviet capitals such as Berne. Adolf Berle did not invite the fascist government of Argentina to attend. Then why should such invitations be extended to Spain? By refusing to attend the USSR is making certain that the silhouettes of commercial airplanes crossing her territory do not become the shadows of machine-guns and bomb racks and that future meetings of an international character do not include Hitler's friends—friends who have aided him with troops, war materiel, and anti-Soviet propaganda.

One may get an idea of how Soviet public opinion feels about such blunders from an article by Prof. Voskresensky which appeared in the authoritative *War and the Working Class* (No. 12, 1944). He says in part: "Free and unregulated flights over foreign countries are the opening for big possibilities of misuse and aggression against the national interests of separate states—possibilities of reconnaissance and spying, of violating customs and frontier rules." There is no desire here to interfere or obstruct international air collaboration but merely to make sure that sensible steps are taken against future aggression from the air.

Participation of Soviet representatives in the Chicago conference would undoubtedly have gone far toward preventing any permanent disagreements and done much toward the development of workable plans. The Russians are vitally

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# PALESTINE'S JEWISH WARRIORS

By **ALBERT WEINER**

ON THE map, Palestine is only a tiny pink spot—pink, because that is the color usually given by the map makers to Great Britain and her empire, though Palestine is, of course, not a British possession but a mandated territory. With its area of 10,429 square miles it is only slightly larger than Maryland, while its population of 1,600,000 is somewhat smaller than that of the Free State. Nevertheless it has been as important in this war for the Allied cause, strategically speaking, as such vast countries as Egypt or Iraq. For Palestine protects one flank of Britain's life-line, the Suez Canal, and the Haifa terminus of the oil line which transmits this war's most desired stuff from Mosul to the Mediterranean Sea. Palestine is the front door of the vital roads leading to the Russian Caucasus, via Turkey, Iraq, and Persia. Last but not least, the country is the link between Europe on the one hand and India and Australia on the other hand, the base for the organization of large-scale military campaigns, the center for the training of servicemen, and the storehouse for much-needed war material.

But geography is not all that counts. It is the people that decide the importance of a country. In this war, it is Palestine's half million Jews who make it an arsenal of democracy. For the Arab majority keeps aloof—excepting a comparatively small number actively aiding the Allies—and excepting the fraction of Arab chauvinist followers of the ex-Mufti, Haj Amin Effendi El Husseine, formerly of Jerusalem, now of Berlin. The presence of the watchful Jews probably foiled the Axis plans of turning Palestine into a second Iraq (where the Premier, Rashid Ali el-Gailani Bey, revolted with the help of the Luftwaffe against the British). And the Yishuv—the Hebrew term denotes the entire Jewish settlement in Palestine—stands in the front ranks among the United Nations as far as its proportional contribution to the war effort is concerned.

Let figures speak. According to the latest available statistics, of the 41,000 Palestine residents serving in the military, naval, and security forces, 30,000 are Jews, the remaining 11,000 being Arabs and members of other ethnic groups. Being twice as numerous as the

Jews, Palestine's Arabs would have had to put 60,000 soldiers in the field to match the Jewish contribution. A total of 23,324 Jewish men and women, and 8,745 Arabs, are with the British forces, 5,790 Jews and 3,818 Arabs with the local auxiliary police service. Of the 23,324 Jews in the British forces, the majority are in the army; 930 are in the Royal Navy, and 1,700 in the Royal Air Force. Three thousand Jewish women are in the Palestinian Auxiliary Territorial Service, the PATS, comparable to our WACS; and 450 in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF). Those who are not impressed by these figures should remember that the British Expeditionary Forces in Greece numbered only 30,000, and that during the Libyan campaign there were never more than 45,000 men in action.

But these figures do not tell the entire story. It should be borne in mind that these 30,000 are *volunteers*, as conscription is not feasible in a mandated territory. In proportion to the Jewish population of Palestine, that number would be equivalent to a volunteer army of more than 8,000,000 in the United States! The number of Palestinian Jewish soldiers would be much greater had the Yishuv been permitted to raise a Jewish army serving under Jewish officers and a Jewish flag. Three days before the outbreak of the war Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, sent a letter to Prime Minister Chamberlain, pledging the full cooperation of the Yishuv and declaring that "the Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies." In September 1939, no fewer than 136,000 volunteers enrolled

for service at offices set up by the National Jewish Council of Palestine. That registration of people between the ages of eighteen and fifty included 50,000 women, and altogether about eighty-five percent of the adult population. But the British government, trying to appease the Arabs, declined the offer under the flimsy pretext of technical difficulties, such as lack of equipment. Instead, Jews and Arabs alike were permitted to enroll in the British army. Thereupon a peculiar problem developed: the army authorities were unable to cope with the volume of Jewish volunteers, and the young men and women had to wait for an opportunity to join up.

THESE volunteers distinguished themselves on various fronts hundreds or even thousands of miles away from their homeland. A contingent of Palestinians, mostly Jews, was shipped to France in February 1940. At first employed in transport work, they were later armed and were among the troops which covered the retreat of the Second British Expeditionary Force from St. Malo. Palestinian Jews participated in the campaigns in Greece, Crete, Egypt, Abyssinia, Eritrea, Syria, Libya, Tripoli, Tunisia, and Italy. There is no space to reveal more than a few episodes of what Pierre van Paassen ironically termed "the best-kept secret of the war." Of the 1,444 Palestinians who covered the retreat of the British in Greece and were captured by the Nazis, 1,023 were Jews. General Wavell praised his Palestinian units which "performed fine work, preeminently at Sidi Barrani, Solum, Fort Capuzzo, Bardia, and Tobruk." A Jewish unit, under Commander Osterman-Averni, a Jewish officer, took Bardia and captured 9,000 prisoners. Five hundred Jewish engineers, commanded by Major Felix Liebmann of Tel Aviv, were laying down a minefield at Mechili, in a Libyan desert, when they were attacked by German and Italian tanks and bombers. Ordered by General Montgomery to finish their job and to hold the field at all costs, they repelled the attacks for four weeks. When they were relieved by Free French forces under General Koenig, only forty-three men were left. Twenty German-Jewish refugees were dressed in German uniforms and ordered to

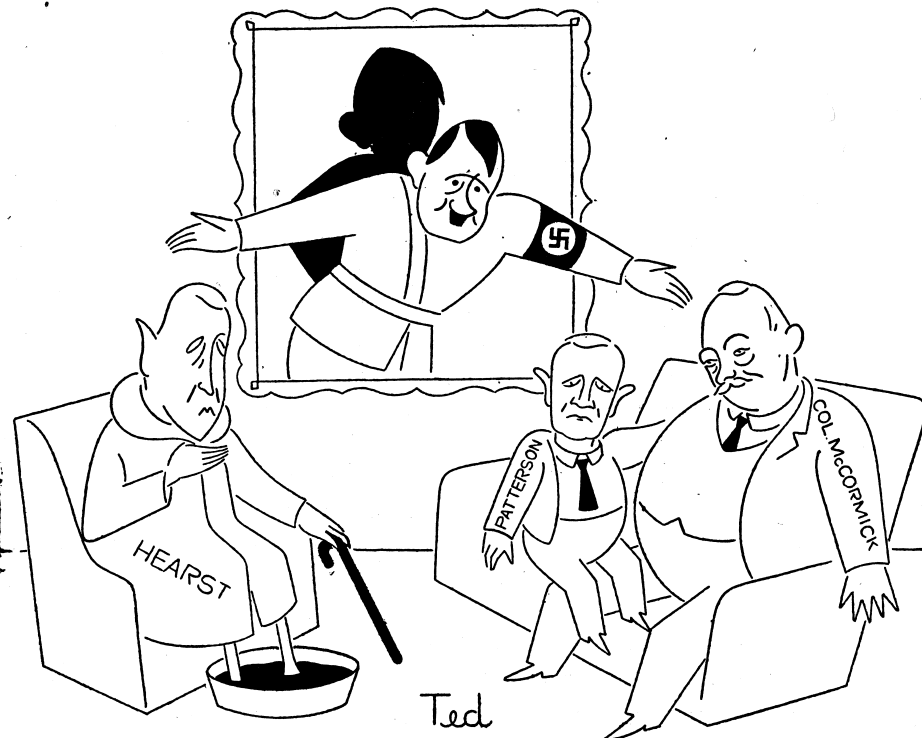
ON NOVEMBER 7 the people made their voices heard and won a great victory. They can win another great victory by raising their voices in behalf of Morris U. Schappes, still unjustly imprisoned. Write or wire Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, at Albany, N. Y. urging him to free Schappes now!

mix with soldiers of the Afrika Korps in order to find out the disposition of Rommel's troops at El Alamein; all but one were discovered and shot after having killed many Nazis themselves. A mixed unit of Jews and Australians saved the hard-pressed French soldiers under General Leclercq, under the blazing African sun. In Eritrea, Palestinians gallantly covered the left flank of the British advance to Keren. Most of the men who composed the "suicide squads" that demolished enemy fortifications night after night and brought back valuable information, thus contributing to the defeat of the Duke of Aosta, were Palestinian Jews.

One of the most colorful figures in this war was the Zionist leader, Frederick Hermann Kisch. Having been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel at the end of the first World War, he was reactivated with the rank of brigadier as chief engineer of Montgomery's Eighth Army. He was killed while leading a party which cleared away the land mines before Bizerte, enabling the Eighth to advance and take the city. Montgomery said of him: "No soldiers in this army served more faithfully and gallantly." During the British advance into Vichy-held Syria in 1941 fifty settlers from Hanita in Northern Palestine were chosen to accompany the Australian vanguard as scouts; they helped the Allies recapture Kuneitra, the key position on the main road from Safed to Damascus. Two Jewish units from Palestine were among the first Allied troops to land in Italy.

Palestinian Jews serve as engineers, officers, sailors, stokers, motor mechanics, and technicians in the Royal Navy. Jewish-owned vessels patrolled the Palestinian shores as minesweepers. When in August 1941, the *SS El Fath* caught fire in an enemy air attack near Famagusta, Cyprus, the four Jewish officers succeeded in saving the freighter. "The Palestinians working with the British Navy," declared Commander Mitchell, naval officer in charge of the Palestinian ports, "were so eager to come to grips with the enemy that one of the greatest difficulties was to impress upon them the importance of work on shore bases and depot ships."

Heroism and self-sacrifice can be shown also in noncombatant military services. After the collapse of France, the Jewish Agency, on British request, furnished 1,500 mechanics and specialists, including drivers, to the highly dangerous service in the Libyan desert.



"Cheer up, pals, I'm still running."

Young PATS handled heavy lorries that carried supplies to the Allied troops. Husky Jewish stevedores, trained in the ports of Tel Aviv and Haifa, unloaded the war material shipped to North Africa. "You are unloading history," Churchill said to them on his visit to Tobruk. Jews constructed roads across the deserts, and airdromes in Egypt. Jewish volunteers prevented the destruction of the oil refineries of Mosul when the Iraq government helped the Luftwaffe make the country a German *Gau*. Jews lugged oil and gasoline from Haifa and Mosul across Syria and Sinai to the sands where Monty's mechanized forces were waiting. The El Alamein defenses were constructed chiefly by Jewish engineering units.

THE story would be incomplete without mention of the hinterland's amazing activities. Working three shifts a day, Palestine's workers have increased the country's production by almost 300 percent since 1941. Over 75,000 workers are now contributing to the war effort in more than 2,000 factories and more than 5,000 handicraft establishments. Palestine's total industrial output for 1943 was valued at 120,000,000 pounds, nearly half of which consisted of strictly military supplies ordered by the British army. Highly skilled Jewish workers produce precision instruments, shoes, bandages, medical supplies,

ambulances, soap, cement, automobile parts, barbed wire, X-ray apparatus, trucks, buses, concrete ships, hand grenades, mines, and other indispensable articles. Their repair shops take care of disabled British and American tanks. Jews extract from the Dead Sea the rich deposits of bromine and potash essential to the manufacture of gunpowder and fertilizers, drugs and chemicals, soaps and glass. Palestinian Jewry presented the Red Army with two tons of bromine products extracted from the Dead Sea.

The heroic exploits of the Red Army have also aroused the deep sympathy of the Yishuv, which consists to a large extent of Russian-born Jews or the children and grandchildren of emigrants from Russia. In 1942 a check for £10,000, collected by the General Federation of Jewish Labor (Histadruth), which comprises more than 120,000 workers, was presented to the USSR. In the same year, organized Jewish labor founded the V-League which aims at "increasing the direct participation of Palestine in the aid given to Russia and the democracies in the common fight against fascism, and to enlist Russia's support for the national and social rehabilitation of the Jewish people in Palestine." More recently, the V-League gave to Russia a fleet of Palestine-built, well-equipped ambulances which were driven to Teheran by Jewish chauffeurs.

## American Choice: Nov. 7, 1944

My people laugh, laugh deep in the sound of war.  
My people breathe, breathe deep in the midst of grieving.  
Sharp as the anguish, deep is the song at the core.

I tell you, I was among them, proud at the news.  
I say this joy was a terrible sword at the enemy.  
I learned: no matter the grief, my people choose  
the life of their believing.

I learned: no matter the cost in song or blood,  
no matter the crush in heart or the crash in wing,  
my people choose, yes, yes, my people choose  
tomorrows that sing.

Think deep. Think fast, America. We've taken  
the wider blue of sky, broad rivers flowing  
over a wedding of lands, and the earth child growing  
tall by the song of this union. O My Land,

this is a choice to build a dream upon.

This is the freedom road. Hold on. Hold on.

LOLA PERGAMENT.

Behind the soldiers and industrial workers stand the men and women who feed them. Since the outbreak of the war, the Yishuv has doubled its agricultural output as well as the area under irrigation. All men and women not engaged in fighting joined the agricultural army. Since September 1939, more than forty new food producing settlements have been established. Prior to the war, Palestine depended largely on imports. But when shipping was curtailed on account of Axis U-boats, Palestine enormously increased the output of its wheat-fields and vegetable gardens, its fisheries, and poultry farms. Significantly, it was little Palestine that rushed to the aid of big Syria by sending her food supplies immediately after her occupation by the Allies. Experts believe that if Palestine continues expanding her agriculture, she might be able some day to export food to starving Europe—that is, if the restrictions on the sale of land to Jews, imposed by the infamous White Paper of 1939, are eliminated.

**H**IGHLY respectable too is Palestine's contribution to scientific warfare. Many of the preparations, including

mapping and surveying, which led to the Allied victory in North Africa, were made by Palestinian experts. The Hebrew University placed its entire medical and scientific staffs, as well as its marvelously-equipped laboratories, at the disposal of the British. Army courses are offered in tropical and subtropical diseases, army surgery, and camp sanitation. An important discovery—the use of animal tissue extract for the healing of wounds—was made in Palestine. The Sieff Institute of Industrial Chemical Research at Rehoboth produces acetone and butyl alcohol by applying fermentation to a part of Palestine's large unexported citrus crop. Palestine produces synthetic Vitamin C and much-needed drugs such as anti-malarials and hypnotics to replace the Dutch East Indies quinine, unavailable since the Japanese occupation.

In a sense the offer made by Weizmann five years ago was recently accepted by the British government. In a speech in the House of Commons on Sept. 28, 1944, Churchill declared: "The British army in Italy includes also Palestine units. Here I would mention the announcement that the government

has decided to accede to the request of the Jewish Agency for Palestine that the Jewish brigade groups should be formed to take part in the active operations. I know there is a vast number of Jews serving with our forces and the American forces throughout all the armies, but it seems to me indeed appropriate that a special Jewish unit of that race which has suffered indescribable torment from the Nazis should be represented as a distinct formation among the forces gathered for their final overthrow. I have no doubt that they will not only take part in the struggle but also in the occupation which will follow."

Palestine's importance will not be ended when this war is over. At the peace conference, it will have to be heard like other groups and nations that fought the fascist aggressors. Palestine will have to be opened to thousands of homeless men and women, unable or unwilling to return to their former homes, just as during the war the country received Polish-Jewish children, stranded at Teheran, and thousands of others who managed to make their way over the Black Sea or the Mediterranean Sea. Palestine's well-organized labor movement will undoubtedly be a leading factor in the progress of the Middle East and carry further that organization of Arab workers it has undertaken during the last few decades. Her numerically strong liberal and leftist elements will seek contact with similar groups in England and the United States, as well as closer ties with the Soviet Union. Needless to say, the Yishuv will fight unceasingly for the abolition of the ill-famed White Paper of 1939, that child of appeasement born during the Chamberlain regime, and in this fight it will have allies in all countries. In every phase of the work of building an enduring peace Palestine will want to play its part, striving to be a model state in slowly changing Asia. As a pamphlet, *After the Victory*, published by the American Zionist Emergency Council, summed it up: "The character of the Jewish homeland is the guarantee of its unique value in the creation of the network of democracy which must be woven about the world. Jewish Palestine belongs naturally to the brotherhood of progressive communities which must become the guarantors of our civilization. In this all-important respect the creation of the Jewish homeland unites the need of the Jewish people with the need of the world."



# A BRITON LOOKS AT US—AND VICE VERSA

By MICHAEL THOMPSON and ROBERT BERLIN

*The two letters which follow were written one by an English soldier about America, one by an American soldier about England.*

RECENTLY, I have had the good fortune to spend another furlough within the hospitable borders of the United States of America. Previously I had traveled in the Middle West and along the Pacific Coast, visiting among other famous places the renowned Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and most glamorous of all, Hollywood. Now my cup is full. I have realized one long-harbored ambition and my memory is full of the wonders which are New York City.

In Great Britain, under more normal conditions, it is given to only a few of the more privileged classes to have the opportunity of wide travel. However, as a result of the present conflict many of our boys have been to strange lands which they would otherwise never have seen. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan has resulted in thousands of Britishers visiting Canada. Many others have received similar training in the United States. Consequently there are today in the Royal Air Force young men who have a working knowledge of North American affairs, which it is to be hoped in the future will lead to a closer cooperation between our countries.

The visitor to foreign shores is very often obliged to keep his opinions to himself and while in Rome to do as the Romans do. Still I feel that the people of this land are well able to take criticism—in fact they welcome it and are very critical of themselves. So here are some of my honest impressions of how the American people live.

I find that one of the most interesting aspects of New York City in particular is the fact that so many nationalities and races are represented by its populace. Certainly New Yorkers lose no time in telling the visitor that they have the largest buildings in the world, the largest hotels, the largest markets, the biggest cafeterias, the biggest stores, in fact the biggest anything, so it follows that this magnificence should also include the variety of the inhabitants themselves.

This presents the New Yorker with a rich and exciting life and possibly accounts for the broad worldwide attitude which the thinking man there seems to possess towards human affairs. To a certain extent the whole nation is able to share this richness, but nowhere is the excitement so concentrated as it is in New York. I recall hearing Paul Robeson singing the patriotic "Ballad for Americans" which contains the essence of the American people. I see a great mass of humanity, a cross section of all the countries of the world, living together on one continent, divided into forty-eight states and joined together by one flag, the potent symbol of a common desire to perpetuate the progress of man in every field of endeavor. The people now stand at the crossroads. The destiny of world democracy is in their hands; indeed in the next few days it will be decided—for all of us both here and in Europe, the heartfelt urge is for the right turning to be taken.

The people are not without their domestic troubles. There are great problems to solve. Their very origins demand that adjustments be made on all sides and I think that the progressive American has the opportunity here to show his mettle, to come forth and add his might to the struggle for what is right.

WE IN Great Britain as a people have had the reputation of being aloof—even unsociable in our relations with one another. Since the outbreak of war, however, and especially since the advent of the "blitz" and the more recent epidemic of the "doodle-bugs," the common danger confronting the citizens of London has made it possible for them to get closer together. People living for years next door to others they had never spoken to even over a common garden fence, now find themselves joining their neighbors in air raid shelters, under housing conditions which provide them with unparalleled opportunities for mutual assistance and friendliness. When I was last in England I was fully aware of this remarkable change in the British tradition, but there is no comparison between this sociability and the type of easy-going acquaintanceship which is the feature of American life—especially in the West.

Even in New York, where I had heard that people were more inclined to ignore the visitor, I have never had reason to complain of a lack of friendly greeting. I have been amazed, nay thrilled, to be received by representatives of every stratum of society with the utmost courtesy. Everyone has been kind to me. I have been treated and feted with overwhelming generosity and have been glad to answer the many questions which have been put to me out of an honest interest on the part of the New Yorkers to get to know the British. I am happy to have been in New York and I am grateful to its people. I like them.

My entry into the city was made through the Lincoln Tunnel. The fame of its engineering had reached us long ago in London, but the beauty of its approaches were breathtaking. On the Jersey side the long sweeping spiral highway was lined with sleek automobiles and streamlined buses which seemed like toys in the studio of a futuristically minded movie producer.

Times Square was my next highlight. I have since heard it referred to as "Can you find it?" The humor of this was made apparent to me when I boarded the subway for Times Square and emerged from the depths only to find myself in the middle of 42nd Street. My first impulse was to doubt the veracity of the nameplates on the subway station. All this has since been straightened out in my mind and I have learned that it is enough for a place to be given a name by the people of New York for that name to stick regardless of whether the features it implies exist or not.

I visited some of the numerous cantens which the city offers for the use of servicemen. I learned that the Americans are generous in the extreme to all their men in uniform and that members of the Allied services are more than welcome to all that they can offer.

I was disappointed to discover that Broadway had so little to offer in the way of straight drama. The movie industry and the tempo of modern life seem to demand the musical extravaganza in preference to serious plays and I sincerely hope this will not continue to be the case. Broadway is one of the arsenals of the playgoing world and should the theater continue to feature productions similar to the current ones,

an old established and well-loved art will die.

I made numerous journeys on the New York buses. I walked for miles along the streets which are canyons. I gazed at the towering piles of steel concrete on all sides. I looked into the shop windows until my eyes bulged and ached with the strain. I could not help thinking of the people at home, of real rationing and privation. The people of New York are lucky. Their soldiers, like ours, are fighting a desperate war, but their civilian population, unlike that of London—and all British cities—is no worse off than if the war were on another planet. True, a few foodstuffs are scarce, but this is nothing compared to British rationing. Other so-called necessities of life abound in the New York stores on all sides, and at very reasonable prices, which alone is a consideration.

I enjoyed many of the hours combing New York's bookshops. The variety of classical and modern publications seemed to me to be unending, while the mass of material pouring off the daily presses, staggered me. I envied the reading population of the city its fine opportunities for recreation and education.

I was invited for lunches and dinners at fashionable hotels and restaurants, by many kinds of people. Some of the leading citizens of Harlem introduced me to a social evening and dance. There the quality of the dance music impressed me as being superior to anything we have in England. I was struck with the fine sense of rhythm in the dancers I saw. Many of them possessed beautiful singing voices. I have never seen anything happier than a group of their smiling faces. Here I must pause to congratulate the American people on the manner in which they are tackling the problem of color and racial discrimination. They are handling it along straightforward lines, bringing questions which arise out into the air where they can receive light and be given intelligent consideration. In such respects, we British have much to learn. There is always a tendency to seek the dark path and shun the straightforward approach. So all hail to the truly democratic American progressive!

I HAVE heard from many people that there exists in the USA a strong anti-British feeling. This must not be. The keynote of every true American's feelings towards the English masses should be that kind of honest desire for amicable and peaceful relations which I have

found so prevalent among Americans.

I am very grateful to all the grand people I have met on this continent—whom I shall always remember for the magnificently sincere welcome they have given me.

MICHAEL THOMPSON.



Alzira

NEVER in my wildest phantasies could I have dreamed that I would be living as I am living now. As I sit now, I look out upon an English garden, dedicated to victory, with grass greener than any I've seen at home, and at the end of it a grim reminder that life is indeed real and earnest here, a grass covered mound that envelops an Anderson air raid shelter, a corrugated iron casing that protected these people through the blitz, that has seen them conquer fear and fight on through blackness into the dawn. Here everyone, from the oldest to the youngest, knows the horror of fascist engendered destruction. We cannot fail to win with these people on our side. We owe them a measure of gratitude that one who has not lived with them cannot properly conceive. We cannot reckon their part in our common struggle in terms of dollars or goods any more than we can the sacrifices of the Russian people. Whatever we may have to pay for victory, every American boy who returns to his home must know that it is the little people of this little island who suffered and sacrificed and bled that he might know the incomparable joy of a safe and happy reunion at home.

I AM, for the time being, living with a wonderful English family. There is my landlady, Mrs. F. and her son, Jack. Mrs. F. whom I call "Mum" is tiny and energetic and alive. She keeps me toeing the line. A few minutes after the first introduction, she told me, "From now

on, you are my boy, American Army or no, and you'll do as I tell you as long as you are in my house. You'll get to bed on time—no galivanting, mind you—and you'll get up on time. You'll help me out in the garden, if I need you, and if there's something to be got from a shop, I'll say, 'Bob, run up to the corner,' and you'll run." Then, I knew I was at home, and how I've enjoyed it!

Jack is a wonderfully talented boy of twenty, who is deferred because of diabetes. He is an amazing artist, and does a great deal of work for the government. They have a system here whereby different towns raise enough money to commission a warship which is to be named for the town, and Jack paints a picture of the ship for the particular Town Hall. He does beautiful work and is quite well paid for it. He is not only an artist, however, but is in all ways a very wide awake young man and a mine of information on all sorts of subjects. He is not only an only child, but has been the principal source of income since his father died three years ago. Both mother and son are a wonderful pair.

I have my own room, a comfortable bed, a bureau and a wardrobe, carpet on the floor, and the bathroom next door. What more could I ask?

When I see these people go through a normal day, I think back with shame to the grumbling and complaining I heard back home. Here, everything except bread is rationed. There is no such thing as an A card here. There is no such thing as pleasure driving. There is no waste of food, no waste of paper, no waste of water or of fuel. Everything is saved; everything is conserved; everything is utilized. And with all the scarcity, people are always inviting us to share with them; share their rationed tea and biscuits and butter. It is simply beyond belief, and tremendously humbling. "Mum" would not think of letting me go to sleep at night without a snack of bread and fish paste and tea, or perhaps some chips (French fried potatoes). It hurts to take, so I do what I can by buying cake or cookies or paste (which we can buy without coupons) and thus I do my small part. If you could send me some tea, and coffee, and even more priceless, a little steel wool, it would give me such pleasure to give it to Mum. And if you would find any chocolate, it would be a godsend. We are rather strictly rationed on candy here.

ROBERT BERLIN.

November 21, 1944 **NM**

# NM SPOTLIGHT

## Behind the New York Tally

PERHAPS the saddest blow of all to Governor Dewey, next to losing the election, was the vote in his own state, New York. With the state Democratic Party still suffering from the paralyzing effects of the Jim Farley regime and with large numbers of the servicemen disfranchised under the Dewey-contrived war ballot law, the GOP machine had expected, if not actually to carry the state, at least to come close, and possibly to unseat Senator Wagner. But though the total New York vote fell slightly below the 1940 figure, President Roosevelt's plurality increased from 224,440 to 316,013, and Senator Wagner, despite the doublecross of the top hierarchy of the state AFL, smothered Thomas J. Curran by a margin of about 400,000. All this represents a distinct threat to the Governor's reelection prospects two years hence.

The decisive factor in the large New York vote for Roosevelt was undoubtedly the work of various independent groups, notably the American Labor Party and the CIO unions. The ALP vote for FDR, 388,608 in New York City and 486,436 in the state, topped all previous records. Yet the influence of the ALP was only partly reflected in its vote, for the hard plugging that it and the unions did was undoubtedly instrumental in bringing out many citizens who voted for FDR on the Democratic or Liberal Party lines. A surprise was the large vote polled by the Liberal Party, 308,858 in New York City and 320,631 in the state. Together with the ALP total, this constitutes an independent vote of more than 800,000, a formidable balance of power. The new party is very weak organizationally and our hunch is that its good showing is largely attributable to two factors: the votes of many thousands of independent Republicans who responded to the appeals for the Liberal Party made by Russell W. Davenport; and the vast sums expended by the organization on radio time, advertising, and direct mail, apart from the fact that in the New York *Post* this party possesses virtually a daily organ. The Liberal Party spent about \$250,000 in its New York State cam-

paign, which compares with total contributions of \$284,156 received by the CIO Political Action Committee nationally up to November 1.

The leaders of the Liberal Party, who split away from the ALP when the membership overwhelmingly rejected their Russia-hating policies, are hoping to capitalize on their vote for the future. If, however, they believe that the votes for FDR on their line constitute an endorsement of the maniacal anti-Communism by which they rendered such invaluable service to Dewey, they are in for a rude awakening.

### Farmers and the Future

THE traditional Republican grip on the Northern agrarian communities is an important factor explaining the record vote cast for Governor Dewey. The old Republican traditions coupled with the virtually unchallenged anti-labor prejudices among the farmers proved to be stronger than the economic gains and the prospect of a larger measure of economic security achieved under the New Deal. Taking the Southern agricultural sections into account it cannot be said that the farmers comprise an anti-New Deal bloc. As a matter of fact the *Fortune* survey for the first week of October revealed that forty-six percent supported Roosevelt. Senator Truman and Wallace amply proved during the campaign that the economic interests of the farmers have been served well under the Roosevelt administration.

If the promise of a better postwar America is to be achieved it is indispensable that the great majority of the farmers be won over to the general alliance of all the progressive groups and classes. There exist no basic rivalries or economic reasons to account for the anti-labor prejudices among the farmers. Their vulnerable and groundless antagonism can and must be overcome. Senator Truman gave the best example of how this can be done when he pointed out that full employment and high wages result in larger demand for agricultural products and raise agricultural prices. Neither the CIO nor the PAC

paid adequate attention to the task of winning the farmer's good will and his vote for the President. The earlier CIO efforts in that direction have not been continued on the scale the situation calls for. The problem of arousing the latent progressive forces in the agrarian communities and uniting them with labor and the general progressive movement is an urgent task that must be tackled in a planned and consistent manner and begun without delay.

### Culture and Politics

AMONG the cobwebs swept away by the 1944 elections was the archaic notion that professional people should stay aloof from politics. America's professionals, fully aware of culture's stake in this election, arrived at a verdict against reaction and acted on their decision; they organized and worked all over the country. They filled the great election rallies in Madison Square Garden with the finest talent of Hollywood and Broadway, and repeated that performance only in slightly smaller scale from San Francisco to Boston. They wrote songs—"Don't look now, Mr. Dewey, but your record is showing!" They put out a preelection paper, *The Independent*, whose contributors were some of America's most distinguished critics, short story writers, poets, and cartoonists. In New York, the artists held an exhibition of work reflecting the seriousness and depth of the campaign issues. They put on radio shows that crowded out the commercials. Some of them, like Helen Gahagan Douglas, even ran for Congress—and won. From William Rose Benet to Frank Sinatra, America's arts and letters fought a magnificent political battle.

Dozens of professional committees also worked quietly and hard at the less spectacular but equally necessary tasks it also takes to win an election. The Doctors Committee of the NCPAC sent out 10,000 letters in New York alone to fellow physicians. A Social Workers Nonpartisan Committee for Roosevelt sent another 10,000 to fellow social workers. There were Advertising Men and Women for Roosevelt, a Screen Office and Professional Workers' Committee for Roosevelt, the Book Industry

Committee for Roosevelt, countless independent professional committees embracing all sorts of specialists. America's intellectuals recognized overwhelmingly the menace that threatened their future and their country's future, and acted. In no single area were the real issues at stake so accurately reflected. The little Albany prosecutor mustered one big Hollywood performance with Ginger Rogers, some elephants and a yellow roadster, the complaining columns of Louis Bromfield, a paid ad signed by Gary Cooper and not much more. The laughter, the song, and the life was all with Roosevelt.

## Marshal Stalin Speaks

**I**N A WEEK of the most exhilarating news made by the American electorate, Marshal Stalin's speech may have had a muffled reception in this country. It would be too bad if this magnificent address were not given the most careful study. Its authorship, its sweep, the light it sheds on a number of pivotal questions make it one of the most important statements uttered during the war. Not only does Marshal Stalin summarize with the greatest pride the remarkable military achievements of his people and explain the origins of their patriotism, but he tells how the fulfillment of the Teheran agreement had its reciprocal effects on Allied operations in the east, west, and south to the point where Germany is now on the verge of disaster. This he attributes to coalition warfare and coalition politics that are producing an ever-growing solidarity of the United Nations and the grand alliance which leads them. "There can be no doubt," Stalin noted, "that without the unity of outlook and the coordination of action of the three great powers, the Teheran decisions could not have been realized so fully and exactly."

In a nutshell, here is the great lesson of our time both for the military tasks that still remain and for the guaranteeing of the world's future security. On this latter point Marshal Stalin went directly to what is the core of a realistic and practical security system. Not only must Germany be disarmed but at the disposal of a security organization must be an adequate armed force to avert or liquidate aggression and to punish those guilty of it. Nor can such an organization be a repetition of the innocuous League of Nations. And above all such an organization can do its job only "if the great powers, which have borne on their shoulders the main burden of the

war against Germany, will act in the future also in the spirit of unanimity and concord. It will not be effective if these essential conditions are violated."

In devising security plans, particularly those that emerged from Dumbarton Oaks, Stalin, with characteristic frankness, mentioned that there are differences of opinion. "One should not be surprised," he said, "because differences exist, but because there are so few of them and that they are as a rule solved almost every time after the united and coordinated action of the three great powers. . . . It is known that more serious differences existed for us on the question of the opening of the second front. But we know equally well that these differences were solved in the long run in a spirit of complete agreement. I can say exactly the same concerning the Dumbarton Oaks conference."

Undoubtedly the gaps that were not closed at that meeting will be closed at the forthcoming reunion of the three chiefs of state. President Roosevelt will now be able to attend with all the moral and political strength the victory at the polls gave him. Other differences will also be discussed and resolved. One of them that looms large involves Iranian oil. This is a complex matter. The USSR asked the Iranian government for oil concessions and was denied them by its tory premier. The British have large oil interests in the area and American companies are also competing for Iranian reserves. At this distance there is little information to guide intelligent opinion but it is a serious problem that will require the utmost in good will for its solution. While the other points on the triplice agenda are not known they will certainly range far and wide and as they concern Europe they will cover the German settlement as well as the Balkans and Poland.

One aspect of Marshal Stalin's speech that has evoked considerable discussion here is his reference to Japan as an aggressor nation. This characterization is, of course, nothing especially new because leading journals of Soviet public opinion, notably *War and the Working Class*, have said as much on other occasions. But coming from Marshal Stalin himself, it is an indication of how profoundly the Soviet state is concerned

with affairs in the Far East. Japanese militarism has always been a threat to peace-loving people everywhere and the USSR knows that Tokyo's imperialistic ambitions are not confined to the territory it has already plundered. It is, however, absurd and profitless to speculate now on the Soviet Union's entering the Pacific theater of war. Her blows against Hitlerism have reverberated to the Japanese islands and the Soviet's Siberian armies are keeping crack Japanese troops from action in China. Suffice it to say that Soviet authorities are maintaining the keenest vigilance and that the close of the war in Europe may answer many questions that of necessity remain open at present.

## France Returns

**M**R. CHURCHILL's visit to Paris and the invitation extended the provisional government to send a permanent representative to the European Advisory Commission are both guidemarks of France's steady revival as an important world power. In European affairs she is, of course, a leading state and Allied cognizance of her position is one stage in the reordering of the continent. Undoubtedly the step to bring her into key Allied councils is the outcome of discussions among the Big Three who at one time or another had differences of opinion about policy towards France, but fundamental agreement is now obvious. This unanimity of approach is important in view of the fact that within the French government there have been tendencies toward making the country the broker between the USSR and the West, toward making her the pivot of a bloc consisting of France, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and towards arranging an exclusive alliance between Paris and London—the latter receiving considerable support in certain British circles. There have been other moves as dangerous as these three—dangerous because they smell to high heaven of power politics—but General De Gaulle and Foreign Minister Bidault have recently taken pains to repudiate them.

The internal French scene is hardly the one of *Sturm and Drang* pictured in many American newspapers, especially the *New York Times*. Its Paris correspondent, Harold Callender, is now waging a one-man campaign to obliterate the Communists, but we are confident that since Hitler and Laval could not do it neither will Callender. Mildly put, his dispatches are full of distorted information and lack every quality which



might be called objective. Undeniably there are divergent points of view on how effective the government has been in pressing the reconstruction program, in punishing the quislings and a host of other matters. The Communists are justifiably critical of the government's high-handed manner in dissolving the Patriotic Militia and its failure to consult the Council of National Resistance before issuing the dissolution decree. Vichy influence and Vichy disciples still hold important places in determining French affairs and no patriotic Frenchmen will stand by quietly until they are removed. The Communists insist, as do the other parties, that the Vichymen be cleaned up quickly, but that does not mean that they no longer believe in national unity. In fact they are among its best defenders and their criticism of the government is designed to weld an even stronger unity. While the government's step in permitting Maurice Thorez, head of the French Communist Party, to return to France was taken in rather slipshod fashion it is, nevertheless, a token of the fact that neither the government nor the Communist Party have disowned each other even if Harold Callender hits the ceiling daily in saying otherwise.

### Trouble in the East

THERE has been much talk of the grave threat facing the Allied forces

in the Far East from the tragic deterioration of the Chungking government.

China, however, is not the only problem of the military phase of the Far Eastern war. Huge armies and amphibious forces are based upon the British colony of India. Long hostility between the British rulers and the Indian people, the British refusal to give an inch in the matter of independence, their transparent strategy of keeping the Indian people divided in order to forestall political progress, the excessively backward condition of India's economy, the utterly futile theory that military operations can be divorced from political matters—all these things make India just as great an obstacle to the Allied campaign as the most backward elements in the Chungking clique.

In this connection Drew Pearson has turned up another interesting document, a second letter to President Roosevelt written by Ambassador Phillips while he was in India. In it he suggests that British approval be sought for a conference, presided over by leaders of the United Nations, at which an attempt would be made to break through the present deadlock. It is evident that this suggestion was not pursued, doubtless because the President wished to do nothing to mar the harmony of US-British relations. All that, however, was before D-Day. With the rapid acceleration of the war against Japan it would seem that the time had come when a solution of the India prob-

lem must be vigorously promoted. In the long run it would strengthen rather than weaken US-British relations, for the alternative of retaining the present status quo is a longer and tougher war.

### Puerto Rico's Triumph

FOR the past year a virtual stalemate has existed in the Puerto Rican legislature, for while the democratic forces held a bare majority of one in the Senate a reactionary coalition of Republicans, Socialists, and Liberals held a similar narrow majority in the House. Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner in Washington, moreover, has been the notorious Bolivar Pagan, a Socialist whose task seems to have been to misrepresent his people and to confuse the American public and officials as to the real interests of the colony.

But now a sweeping victory has been won at the polls by the people of Puerto Rico. In the face of an unprincipled campaign waged by the reactionary opposition, the Popular Democratic Party, representing the Island's pro-war and democratic forces, captured both houses of the legislature by overwhelming majorities and elected a new Resident Commissioner to Washington. Of a total of 19 Senate seats the *Populares* won 17; of a total of 39 seats in the lower house, they took 37 and possibly 38. For this great victory, heartiest congratulations to our Puerto Rican friends.



## FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

# BEFORE THE BIG PUSH

NOVEMBER 7, 1944 is bound to go down in history as the date of a great United Nations twin-victory. While it has always been the rule of this department to stick closely to the purely military line, it is impossible at this stage of the war, when the transitional period from war to peace is close at hand, to desist from injecting the political aspect into a war analysis.

On November 7 President Roosevelt received the mandate of the people of the United States to continue the co-operation of the United Nations in the postwar period. Thus Germany has lost its last hope in dividing its opponents. On the same day Marshal Stalin's speech on

the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union was broadcast to the world. In this speech the Marshal clearly underwrote, in the name of the USSR, the unity of the Allies in peace. The two events fit snugly into one picture, which is the picture of the doom of fascism. Finland, Rumania, Iran, Switzerland, Sweden et al., have already taken the cue—some by reshuffling their governments, others by taking measures not so friendly to Germany.

And now—as to the war itself. On the eve of the great and imminent Allied winter offensive against Germany the forces of the enemy, according to Mar-

shal Stalin, are distributed thus: the Germans have 204 divisions on the Eastern Front (of these 180 are German and twenty-four are Hungarian) and seventy-five divisions on the Western Front. If we measure the length of both fronts (eliminating the inactive length of the Finnish front) we find that the enemy has approximately one division for every five and one-third miles on both sides of Fortress Europa. Assuming that the Red Army and the Western Allies have a proportionate force to oppose the Germans, we come to the conclusion that at last a certain *equilibrium of effort* has been achieved in the East and in the West. *Such an equilibrium is*

a prerequisite of the application of coalition strategy. Thus there is every reason to feel sure that a big combined smash is near at hand. It is reasonable to assume that this time both the western and eastern blow will be delivered simultaneously, which has not been the case so far. (From June 6 on the Allied and Soviet main blows have been alternating in time.)

The eyes of the world right now are focussed on Metz and Budapest. However, it seems to this observer that the main blows will come on the northern wings of both fronts—on the Neder Rijn and on the Narev-Vistula, i.e., at the entrances to the North German plain, in the middle of which Berlin sits (300-odd miles away from Arnhem and from Pultusk). General Patton's offensive in the Metz area will hardly become a strategic breakthrough simply because this sector faces the strongest part of the inverted Maginot Line and the whole Siegfried Line. The same reasoning applies to the sector to the south.

Thus it would seem that the direction of the future main blow lies in the Nijmegen sector, in Holland. Here the port of Antwerp, as soon as it is made available by "delousing" and dredging of the Schelde estuary, will pump manpower and materials into the Nijmegen salient, which will thus become the sector with the shortest land supply line of the entire Western Front. The distance from Antwerp to the front is at least four times shorter than the distances from any other Allied-held port to the front.

ON THE other side of Germany, the Soviet offensive in Hungary and Slovakia, dangerous (for the enemy) and spectacular as it is, cannot administer the death blow to Germany, if only because it is based on a tremendously long line of Soviet communications. The Soviet base at Odessa is 600 miles from the front and the base at Lvov is 400 miles away; all the lines between the bases and the front run across Bessarabia, Rumania, and the Carpathians which are notorious for their poor rail network.

Thus the offensive in Hungary will not knock Germany out, but it will do the following things: in itself knock Hungary out of the war, deprive Germany of Hungarian food, continue to pin down and detract a number of German divisions from the decisive fronts. It has already in fact demolished the entire German position in the Balkans, forcing the enemy out of Greece where he retreated in the face of British and

Greek troops advancing from the south. It has already broken the German hold on Yugoslavia where the enemy is reduced to a bare holding-on to the railways through which he intends to get out. With Marshal Malinovsky threatening the defense lines on the Drava and Sava from the rear, Germany on the eve of the all-out Allied winter offensive is standing at bay on the Rhine, on the Vistula, on the Upper Danube and on the mountains of Slovakia.

The Nazi's European edifice has collapsed, with the exception of the Scandinavian position which is in a bad way, too, and will have to be relinquished before long because the Germans are no longer undisputed masters of the Baltic Sea. Furthermore, this position has lost much of its importance with the loss of the ports of Petsamo and Kirkenes from which the enemy was threatening the Allied line to Murmansk.

Squeezed into a strategic box which is now little more than Germany proper, the German military and political leadership has spat again—the V-2 bomb and the *Volksturm*, or Home Guard. It is highly improbable that either will prove very effective militarily. The V-2 is a wingless rocket bomb. It weighs twelve tons, of which nine are propelling fuel and three-explosive mass. The V-2 attains a velocity of 3,500 in the stratosphere, ascends almost vertically to fifty to seventy miles, swishes through the stratosphere and plunges back into the atmosphere. Then its propelling fuel is cut off by radio in order to reduce the speed of the descent and to make the bomb invisible at night. The V-2 is reported to land with the speed of some 900 miles per hour, time and a half faster than sound. Thus it always moves in advance of its own sound (leaving the sound waves it produces behind) and cannot be detected by any sound-catching devices. It is "there" before you hear it. However, the tremendous speed of its descent reduces its effectiveness because the bomb buries itself very deep into the ground before exploding and most of the energy of the blast is directed upwards. A photograph of a V-2 crater shows it to be almost cylindrical in shape, more like a well than a crater. The length of the V-2 trajectory greatly increases the effect of the wind on the flight and the latter can force the bomb off its course by many miles. Furthermore, the aiming of the bomb is itself very approximate. As one observer put it: "The Germans are lucky if they can hit England."

The German *Volksturm* has already been tried in East Prussia, and by Russian reports has not proved so hot. It cannot play a serious role in a "regular" war. As to guerrilla war in Germany itself, the small size and high development of the country and the absence of any real "wilderness" makes such a war extremely improbable. Thus the military "spittle" produced by Berlin has mainly a nuisance and home-morale value. Militarily it means little.

THE Japanese High Command seems to have chosen to make the Battle of the Philippines a sort of Battle for Japan. The enemy continues to reinforce his garrisons on Leyte with suicidal stubbornness and now has a whole army on Leyte (probably not far from 100,000). There are about 150,000 Japanese on Luzon. All in all, the enemy has probably at least 300,000 in the Philippines.

As the Japanese chose to risk three-quarters of their navy in the Battle of the Philippines, so they are choosing now to risk about one-third of their army there. However, all this does not mean that we are in a tight spot on Leyte. Quite to the contrary. The enemy is on the defensive, even if his defense is being reinforced. Unable as we are at present to fight and destroy the Japanese army in China, we probably welcome the Philippine operation as a huge "poultice" which draws choice Japanese formations to a place where we can destroy them. This, of course, means, that the battle of Leyte and the Central Philippines in general will not be an easy matter. It is to be regretted that the press has been permitted in the beginning to blow its trumpets a little too loud.

We had the advantage of surprise. We have the advantage of numbers and equipment. We have naval and air superiority (if not supremacy). But the enemy has the advantage of short lines. The campaign will be bitter.

In China things are still going badly. The new American commander there, General Wedemeyer, put it mildly when he said that the situation is "not irretrievable." Our big air bases at Kweilin and Liuchow are gone. The enemy may soon have a clear right of way from the Yangtze to the border of Indo-China. His defenses on the coast of China are being rapidly reinforced, at least around the big ports which we will need when we land in China. Thus in the Philippines we are battering the Japanese with a steel mallet against an anvil thus far made of putty.

# READERS' FORUM

## Compensation for the Junkers?

**TO NEW MASSES:** In his book *The Time for Decision*, Sumner Welles proposes that East Prussia be given Poland. He also attempts to answer the question of what will happen to Eastern Prussia's German population and its property. He writes: "In any readjustment of so radical a character, the resultant transfers of population must take place over a reasonable period of time under the direct supervision of the international organization. Any individual who desires to remove from one sovereignty to another must be afforded free opportunity to do so, with a guarantee of full and equitable compensation for such property as he is unable to remove, or of which he may be deprived."

It, therefore, follows that the East Prussian Junkers will have to be compensated if they are deprived of their property by the Poles or if they go to Germany. But the question that arises at once is: Who should compensate them? The Poles? Shall the Poles be obliged to pay the East Prussian Junkers millions of dollars? I doubt that a Polish government can be found to do such a thing. Mr. Welles may argue that the Polish government can demand from the Germans that they compensate the expropriated German Junkers. But if the Germans would not do that what then? Should the armies of the Allies force the Germans to compensate the Prussian Junkers? What a spectacle that would be! The Allies acting as debt collectors for the Prussian Junkers!

But perhaps there will be a German government that will stand ready to compensate these Junkers? That would be worse yet. What kind of government would it be that would give the Junkers, the traditional source of German reaction, millions upon millions of dollars? What would the Junkers do with the money? They would hardly contribute it to the Salvation Army but use it instead to finance reaction. A future German government that would compensate the Junkers would only repeat the history of 1918-1933. Of course, a future German government would have the obligation to compensate the small people of Eastern Prussia. But the Junkers? Why the Junkers?

And what goes for the Junkers, if they were compensated, would eventually be demanded by the German industrialist, banker, the big German iron and coal magnates. If the Allies do something to their property, they would claim compensation either by the Allies or a future German government. That may go so far that the Germans may not be

able to pay reparations to the countries they have devastated because they would have to use the whole of their national economy to repay their traditional warmongers—the basic forces of German imperialism.

It is my impression that Mr. Welles is overly benevolent. Humanity is not going to lose any sleep over the fact that the German Junkers, and the German trusts and banks will not be compensated. As a matter of fact, so far as I can judge the situation, there are quite opposite intentions with regard to the German warmongers. And if the Germans should regain their reason, I hope that they will have something better to do than finance those who brought their country its most terrible disaster. In my opinion should the Germans follow Sumner Welles' advice they should be prevented from doing so by force. We don't in the future need a compensated German imperialism.

HANS BERGER.

New York.

## Mr. Trent Dissents

**TO NEW MASSES:** Henry Black's recent article "Guide to Magazine Readers" [NEW MASSES, August 15] is significant for the complete ignorance the author shows of the subject of magazine indexing and of the way in which periodicals are chosen for indexing.

Mr. Black's assumption that the *Readers Guide* is responsible for the lack of material on labor, Negroes, and Jews is entirely false. Every librarian knows that the *Readers Guide* indexes only those magazines which librarians ask to have indexed and for which libraries are willing to pay. The H. W. Wilson Co. periodically sends out questionnaires (which have included some of the magazines Mr. Black mentions) to libraries asking which periodicals are to be indexed. Each librarian at that time has an opportunity to vote on additions and cancellations. From this questionnaire, the list of periodicals is made up. The Wilson Company makes no changes otherwise.

Let Mr. Black, who is so earnest in his desire for fair play, investigate his charges before accusing persons of bias. If anyone is guilty of his charges, it is we librarians who make the lists of magazines to be indexed. This attack on the *Readers Guide* is as ridiculous as to criticize the telephone directory for not listing persons without telephones.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Black did not first submit his article to Miss Ostrowsky, his co-worker, whose sensible comment in the NEW MASSES for August 29 is very much to the point.

ROBERT M. TRENT,  
New York. City College Library.

## Mr. Black Replies

**B**EFORE my article was published, I had an extended correspondence with officials of the H. W. Wilson Company concerning the vote by librarians on periodicals to be indexed. Lists are sent only to a small sample of *Readers' Guide* subscribers. Only head librarians or Order Department Librarians are permitted to vote, and even they may vote on a particular title only if their library already receives it. (Most librarians believe that indexing service should be available before they subscribe to a magazine.) No attempt is made to stimulate discussion of the general problems involved. The whole procedure is heavily weighted against the inclusion of new materials.

It is misleading to say that librarians—implying, presumably, all professional librarians—decide what periodicals are to be indexed. Actually, only a small—and not necessarily representative—group votes. But the central point is that the *Readers' Guide* is not meeting current needs. Technical problems are incidental. The Wilson Company, of course, is fully responsible for the content of its publications. If one set of administrative policies does not produce indexes adequate for the needs of a country at war, the company must develop policies that will meet our needs. Winning the war is far more important than maintaining even the oldest policies.

Mr. Trent's attitude is puzzling. He seems more concerned with attacking me than with aiding the war effort. The problem is to make available the experience and opinions of much wider groups of the American people. What does Mr. Trent propose to do about it? The most important single step that can now be made in this area is the provision of adequate indexing services.

HENRY BLACK,  
New York. Librarian, Jefferson School.

## Regretfully Yours

**TO NEW MASSES:** I find that in a letter I sent you last August I misquoted the final sentence of Granville Hicks' review of *Teheran*. The correct version is: "Pessimism is obligatory." My version was: "Pessimism is *de rigueur*." My comments upon the snobbery of the language were therefore altogether irrelevant.

One learns—and by the hard way—the folly of carrying a quotation in one's head, where imagination may play upon it. My apologies to your readers and to Mr. Hicks.

JOEL BRADFORD.  
New York.



# 'THE RAINBOW'—AND SOME CRITICS

By JOSEPH FOSTER

WHILE most of the commentators, including those of the *Times*, *Tribune*, *PM*, *News*, and others, regarded *The Rainbow* as a genuine work of art reflecting the true nature of the war, the Nazi soldier, and the Russian people, a minority group were filled with anxiety and unhappiness by the film—in the name of art, of course.

Manny Farber, film critic of the *New Republic*, for instance, found *The Rainbow* to have "as little tolerance, love, mercy, dignity, breadth of understanding, or nobility as any work of art I have ever seen."

Usually, Mr. Farber is not so direct in his language. Ordinarily his style is full of the abstruseness characteristic of literary snobbism. But when he writes about Soviet movies he abandons all belletristic pretense. In such instances, he wants no one to misunderstand his critical (*sic*) reactions.

As for his indictment of *The Rainbow*, I confess I am puzzled. Could he possibly mean that the Soviet citizen shows no tolerance, love, or mercy for the Nazi? Incredible as that may sound, it may be exactly what he means. "The Nazis are shown only as craven murderers," he complains. Of course they have been known to indulge in the lesser social arts of rape, willful destruction of cultural landmarks and plain thievery, and I must confess that the Nazis in *The Rainbow* do not pause for such comparative amenities. So maybe Mr. Farber is right. Also, says our esthetic purist of the *New Republic*, "... More than a dozen crimes are done [by the Nazis] completely without provocation." The Nazis are such gentle fellows that they would never harm a fly unless really goaded beyond human patience. Maybe the victims of Lublin sneered at the Nazi uniform and were thus punished for their temerity. Maybe the murdered of Maidenek blew spitballs at a German sentry. It might be that those who perished at Vilna, Odessa, Smolensk, Warsaw, Lidice, or hundreds of other places were equally

provoking. Mr. Farber ought to be able to tell us about that. All the Russians want to do about Nazism is kill Nazis, he protests. "This results for the audience in no understanding of the problem of the Nazis."

You might expect that a critic (God save the name!) who complains about injustice for a murdering beast would not be above a little misrepresentation. One would gather, if he hadn't seen the film, that somewhere along its course there was a sequence that debated the postwar future of the Germans. Of course, there is no such incident. For the benefit of our supersensitive guardian of Nazi rights, let me point out that the struggle of the villagers against the occupying garrison is *as much a part of the war* as a guerrilla attack or a battle between regular troops. Maybe he would like one of our boys to pause at the very

moment of shooting a Nazi soldier and say to himself, "This guy is a problem. Hadn't I better discuss it with somebody, maybe Farber, before I shoot?"

Towards the end of the review Farber grudgingly admits that the technique of the film produces a "couple of situations that are developed in a full, firm way and produce some genuine movie meaning." One of these, which he confesses is an emotionally moving scene, he regards as "nearly successful." Thus one scene has genuine movie meaning and is emotionally moving. But it is even then not successful. Only nearly so. By this time the prejudice of the man is obvious. He is not writing a movie review so much as an attack on the Soviet people. Who he is, what his antecedents are, I do not know, but behind his ill-mannered writing (he calls the little four- and five-year-olds who



Listening to Russian music on Central Park Mall. One of a series of twelve paintings by Phillip Evergood depicting the story of American-Russian friendship, created for Russian War Relief's 1945 calendar. On view at the ACA Gallery.



resist the Nazis "unpleasant") I detect the mephitic odor of Trotsky or Dubinsky or both.

Farber was not alone in his distress over the crude behavior of *Rainbow's* Soviet characters. Alton Cook of the *World-Telegram* moans that "you sit wondering how many generations it will take to restore sanity to people who want to shout such bitter venom about their temporary conquerors." The insane people are not the Nazis with their incredible program of destruction, but the Russians who fight back. It might well be that such "insanity" by the Red Army and the Soviet people made it possible for him to continue writing his precious nonsense in safety. It could easily be regarded as one of the less pleasant by-products of victory.

This piece would not be complete without mentioning the masterful conclusions of Miss Creelman of the *Sun* who finds that "so much terrorizing, all in the space of one picture, tends to make the film seem exaggerated. But there is no doubt of the frightening hatred behind the production." The Nazi atrocities which she refers to time and again in an offhand manner tend to make you disbelieve their existence, but the hatred *behind* the production she finds frightening. Frightening to whom? Thus, like Mr. Cook the lady is distressed by the ungentlemanly hatred of the Russians for the invader.

All three reviewers, you will notice, have one thing in common. They all find fault with the Soviet people, but never once object to the German invader. From such people you will never get a valid estimate of the artistic and objective value of any Soviet movie.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

## Films of the Week

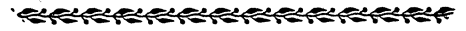
THERE is increasing reluctance in Hollywood to make new war films, since the belief is general in the studios that a year from now (the length of time required to spawn and distribute a film) the war will be over and the subject tiresome to war-weary audiences. The alternatives are escape films (*Frenchman's Creek*, *Kismet*, *Greenwich Village*) or films dealing with, at least approximately, the realities of a postwar world. This second type is inescapable and is so recognized by the movie manufacturers. But how to handle these themes by way of box office potential has them by the hip. I exclude of course the minority group of courageous producers who recognize the

simple truism that a picture dealing with the concerns of the people in *honest* fashion will be a popular and hence successful picture. But until such a yardstick is provided, the "hamburger boys"—a quick fry on both sides and the picture is done—will evade their responsibility by smothering the social problem in tested formulas. Thus we get such films as *The Impatient Years* (reviewed in *NEW MASSES*, October 10) and *I Love a Soldier*, both hearty exponents of the boy-girl now-I-have-her-now-I-haven't *Hockfleisch* school of production.

The latter film, now at the Paramount, while not strictly engaged with an after-the-war theme, bears on that period, since the emotions of the characters are shaped by postwar possibilities. In any event, the war is used only as a wafer-thin backdrop, kicked full of holes by the antics of the principals. *I Love a Soldier* raises the problem of duration marriages. It asks a number of questions which, if properly explored and answered, might have made an adult film. As it is, the issue is lost in the chase, and never seriously thereafter embarrasses either the author or director. In order to keep the misunderstandings between the paramours at the proper pitch, childish devices that were derided a decade ago are here used with all stops out. Neither audience nor cast can take them with even the grain of make-believe seriousness needed to make some movies go down. Some day the producers who make such films will realize it and desist from following an impulse which they feel might make them a quick buck.

"THE MASTER RACE" is not a good film for other, but equally tested, reasons. It has been called a gallant failure by some, a courageous failure by others. I do not agree with these qualifiers, since to do so would be to admit that the failure was inevitable, its mistakes unavoidable. All unsuccessful films are regrettable, but in the case of *Master Race* it is doubly so, since it poses a serious problem in a serious manner. It is not concerned with the settlement of Germany after final victory, as is the general impression, but with the rehabilitation of the ruined cities of Europe, politically and materially.

The film opens with a member of the Nazi High Command instructing a group of subordinates on the technique of keeping alive the strains of disunity throughout Europe. This work is to keep the enemy weakened until a Fourth



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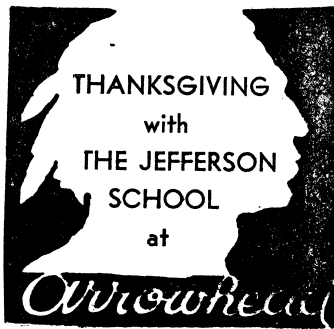
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Reich is able to wage war on the world once again. To show how it is to be done, this representative of the High Command picks himself a small village in Belgium and goes to work. The resultant struggle, historically true or not, might have provided first-rate drama. The behavior of an emancipated village faced with the problems of disunity might have contributed some insight into the technique of solving such problems—provided the characters were permitted to work out such behavior in a soundly conceived dramatic structure. Here is where the film breaks down. In order to get the plot unwound an anti-fascist native lets himself become a tool of the Nazi almost without a struggle. He sees his village ruined, his friends killed, himself stuck away in a Nazi horror prison, and yet without a murmur lends himself to a series of connivings that would make the most rudimentary anti-Nazi shudder. Here is a classic example of plot determining the character rather than personality defining behavior. The falseness of this technique creates false character, of course, and makes subsequent action unbelievable. Such a weakness is doubly damaging in a film like *The Master Race*, because it violates not only dramatic soundness but historic veracity as well.

The plot requirements as set down in this film lead to other implausible relationships. The wealthiest woman in the village is the wife of a collaborator, yet when the village is liberated not one single inhabitant shows an interest in her existence. She is allowed to harbor the Nazi without creating a ripple. A boy fighting in the underground woos

her daughter—a character, by the way, which has no outline at all, not even a theatrical one. There are other incredibilities of this nature, but I think I have made my point.

Herbert Biberman has indicated, by his statements throughout the film, that he is a man of political discernment. What baffles me is that one of his understanding should be guilty of such faults in dramatic structure. (He wrote the original story, helped in the adaptation and directed the film.) My guess is that he attempted to crowd too much into one picture, and hence gave himself no time for the proper development of character and situation. There are at least four ideas in the film that might have made full length pictures if treated separately. The fight of the villagers to preserve unity could make a film in itself, without resort to the contrivances of melodrama. So could the struggles of the young guerrilla in his attraction to the daughter of the collaborator. One of the women in the film bears the baby of a Nazi soldier. Her reaction to this child as it grows up, the attitude of the villagers towards her and the baby could make an excellent movie. How to treat the Nazi prisoners in this community would make valid film. But all these elements are so jammed together that none of them gives life to any of the personae or their impulses as they move through the picture.

It is unfortunate that the political clarity and sentiments that animate much of the dialogue should be wasted on so much artificiality. Perhaps Mr. Biberman will try again. J. F.

## ON BROADWAY

THE three plays under consideration in this week's panel might well be reviewed by a psychoanalyst. In each of them, the conflict grows out of the insecurity of an individual who consequently seeks stability by embracing an illusion. Teta, the cook in *Embezzled Heaven*, creates the image of a personal priest who will insure her entry to heaven. Elwood P. Dowd, the friendly schizoid in *Harvey*, evokes a six-foot rabbit who will attract toward him the quick interest of those about him. And Mrs. Sturdevant, with her silver cord showing in *Sleep, My Pretty One*, does not outlive the illusion that she can forever bind her son.

The story of Teta's violated faith that she could buy her way to God's footstool by paying for her nephew's education for the priesthood is scarcely a play. Rather it is a fable, a fable somewhat pretentiously dressed for its simple moral and too often dull and obvious. Dowd's story is a hilarious fantasy. And Mrs. Sturdevant's is a melodramatic bore. Perhaps their degrees of entertainment account for the phenomena that whereas no one, who did not already have it, left *Embezzled Heaven* with a belief in heaven, and all were repelled by Mrs. Sturdevant's neurosis, all of us who came to *Harvey* incredulous of the existence of a six-foot rabbit left convinced

that we had not only seen him, but that we were seeing him up and down Broadway. Indeed, we debouched among the crowds and taxis as happy at being insane as Elwood himself.

It is unfortunate that L. Bush-Fekete and Mary Helen Fay's adaptation of Franz Werfel's best-selling *Embezzled Heaven* reflects so little of the psychological depth and suspense in the novel. Most especially so because we do not often get a chance to see Ethel Barrymore; and here she is in an untheatrical tale which gives her acting-space only in the first act, retires her behind a number of lesser exhibitors in the second act, and almost wholly smothers her in a third act, which has twenty minutes of Vatican ritual and perhaps ten minutes of pertinent drama.

Another who is on stage all too briefly is the great German actor Albert Basserman, who plays the Pope with such great authority and human dignity that he dwarfs the imposing audience chamber Stewart Chaney built. The Theater Guild has surrounded these two with many excellent performers, among them lively Sanford Meisner, Martin Blaine as the young priest who helps Teta overcome the blow to her heavenly aspirations, Bettina Cerf, and Wolfe Barzell, who comes out of the Yiddish theater to do an old Jew in a manner entertaining enough but a trifle too caricatured and pointed.

The part of Teta's nephew, who cheats her over a period of thirty years into believing that he is using her money to become a priest, is played by Eduard Franz. However, it is written superficially and played in a style that puts his knavery on too commonplace a level to seem more than a low stunt. B. Iden Payne staged the play with evident competence, but its static nature would have borne down a genius.

AS FOR *Harvey*, written by Mary Chase, presented by Brock Pemberton, and directed by Antoinette Perry, it is all Frank Fay and Josephine Hull, but especially Frank Fay. It is largely due to Fay and, I am sure, to Miss Perry that though we begin the evening tolerantly amused at Elwood P. Dowd's mild hallucination, by the time the third act is over we believe we have seen Harvey, the six-foot rabbit who actually never appears, and have taken him into the more fabulous interior of our lives forever. Nor do we feel particularly sensitive about it, because even the psychiatrist who undertakes to cure Dowd

of Harvey's companionship himself falls victim to Harvey's charm.

But to get back to Frank Fay—and *Harvey* is practically all Fay or fey, however you spell it—his conception of Dowd is so quiet and amiable and ingratiating and altogether reasonable that after a while, he appears to be the only being with sense and a point of view in the community. Mary Chase has provided him with wonderful lines. Fred Irving Lewis, as the psychiatrist who nearly takes to his own couch, Tom Seidel and Janet Tyler as the lovers, and Josephine Hull, of course, provided him with enviable foils. But when the fun is over, you will remember only Frank Fay—and Harvey—and that should be enough for the most insatiable taste. Best of all, but typical in style, is Dowd's story of how he happened to meet Harvey. He had just poured a dear friend into a taxi, he says, when he heard his name called. He looked around and there leaning against the lamppost was a six-foot white rabbit with his legs crossed. As Fay relates it, "I was not in the least surprised. For when you've lived in a town for forty years, many people know your name."

There is nothing much to say about *Sleep, My Pretty One*, except to regret that Pauline Lord should have returned in such a hopeless vehicle. The cast is competent, Roy Hargrave directs well enough, Raymond Sovey's rooms are good theater; the fault is all Charlie and Oliver Garrett's, who simply rewrote an old plot without grace of creative imagination. HARRY TAYLOR.

### Miracle of the Ghetto

LAST year it was the Yiddish Art Theater which brought us one of the few anti-Nazi plays of the year. Today, it is again a Yiddish theater group, the New Jewish Folk Theater, which dramatizes the nub-reality of world conflict: the struggle to the death of either Nazis or freemen. Under the direction of Jacob Ben-Ami, it has chosen to present one of the most heroic incidents of the war of liberation, an epic which heartened the whole Allied world and particularly the underground fighters on the European continent: the unyielding stand to the last of the Warsaw ghetto. A challenging theme, with the heart's blood of humanity in it, a theme which should have made for a play, savage, terrible, white-hot with man's belief in his dignity, a play like an arsenal to all freedom lovers, like a beacon on the mountain of our time

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Before we examine H. Leivick's *The Miracle of the Warsaw Ghetto*, let us glance briefly at the factual strip of the rising in the spring of 1943. When the Nazis first entered the city, there were approximately 400,000 Jews in the un-walled ghetto. The Nazis proceeded to herd every last Jew as defined by the Nuremberg law into a tightly constricted corner of this inner city. They built a wall about it, barb-wired it, mounted machine guns commanding all approaches. They sat on every least phase of life within the caged community. Now, they began bringing to it Jews from all the conquered countries until at the end of 1942 there was a ghetto population of 600,000 souls. Since by this time they had completed all arrangements for exterminating these people, they began entraining them for the gas chambers at the rate sometimes of ten and twelve thousand men, women, and children a day. At the eve of the Passover feast, there were left in the ghetto only 40,000 people, the youngest, the strongest, those whom the Nazis had held to the last as slave labor. It was these younger men and women, many of them undoubtedly French, Belgian, Czech, Dutch, who rose out of the frightful disintegration of dignity and morale, to find the courage and weapons with which for forty days and nights they challenged the coordinated might of several divisions of Nazi infantry and tanks and bombers. By their deed, though not one of them was left alive, they succeeded in breaking out of the ghetto walls into the stream of freedom's fighters everywhere.

MR. LEIVICK, who is a noted Yiddish poet and dramatist, approaches his massive theme in a reverent mood and succeeds in conveying much of the grandeur and heroism of the Warsaw epic. In the old teacher, Isaac, he has created a vigorous and inspiring personality in whom the spirit of the ancient Maccabees joins with a pungent folk simplicity to make him a leader of his people. The slogan which Isaac inscribes on the wall of the synagogue: "Jews, Do not Despair," becomes an affirmative summons to action which sweeps away the counsel of passivity and despair given by Isaac's former pupil, Israel.

Apart from the character of Isaac, however, it cannot be said that the author has been too happy in his choice of protagonists. The chief difficulty is that too much of the action of the play de-

velops through old religious Jews and centers in a synagogue; the young men and women, among them many from western countries, who actually organized and carried through the Warsaw uprising, appear as shadowy and largely anonymous backdrop figures. Mr Leivick evidently sensed this weakness and attempted to overcome it by presenting the political leaders of the revolt, one representing the Socialist Bund, another the Communists, and a third the Zionists. Through these figures the author sought to express the unity which was achieved among the three principal political groupings. The fact that the idea of unity is given such emphasis in the play is important. It is unfortunate, however, that this unity remains on the plane of declarations and conferences among three men; one does not see it as an organic part of the action of the play. Moreover, both the Zionist and the Communist, particularly the latter, are stiff, two-dimensional figures. Only in the case of the Bundist is there an attempt at full-blooded creation. Certain of the scenes involving the Bundist, Yechiel, his wife and children, are moving and give the audience an insight into the thousands of personal tragedies that go to make up the gigantic tragedy of the Jews under Nazism.

Through the character of Israel Mr. Leivick sought to convey the conflict between action and inaction within the Jewish people. I am afraid this is a highly intellectualized concept which had no roots in the reality of the Warsaw Ghetto. Certainly it was entirely valid for the author to include a character who opposes struggle and advises passive resignation. However, this character is so strongly emphasized that he appears almost as the alter ego of the Warsaw Jews. His later transformation into an audacious fighter as a result of the Nazi murder of the girl he loved, while by itself not incredible, is presented with mystical trappings that make it unconvincing. And to see this almost impalpable creature finally assume the leadership of the revolt and, at the curtain, uplifted to become its noblest expression, tends to obscure the courage, the clarity, the wisdom, the resourcefulness with which the Warsaw men and women fought their way out of the ghetto and into the world.

The production is well directed and mounted in pictorial settings by H. A. Condell. Neither Jacob Ben-Ami as Israel nor Berta Gersten, who plays the wife of the Bundist and mother of the

girl killed while trying to reach the Polish underground, give anything important to their parts. Menachem Rubin is excellent as the old man Isaac and contributes the best acting of the play. Isidor Casher, Michael Goldstein, and Abraham Teitelbaum are merely competent in the roles of the political organizers of the uprising. Michael Gibson and Dora Weissman are admirable in bit parts.

Despite its faults, *The Miracle of the Warsaw Ghetto* is a serious contribution to anti-fascist drama. Its presentation required imagination, courage, and enterprise of the highest order; its subject is both timely and magnificently timeless; it is of the tissue and heart of Jewish existence. The New Jewish Folk Theater and Mr. Ben-Ami deserve credit for having produced it. H. T.

## RECORDS

COLUMBIA has spanned a gap in the field of recorded Wagnerian literature with an album of excerpts from the last act of *Tristan and Isolde* (MM 550). Practically all of Act III, as given by the Metropolitan, can now be heard on records by sandwiching this new set between the Prelude, by Weingartner and the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (Columbia 69805D), and the *Liebestod*, sung by Kirsten Flagstad in Victor Album DM 644. Older recordings of the act completely lack the technical clarity which the music requires.

Lauritz Melchior, whose heroic tenor voice has fantastic power, is dramatically thrilling, as actor and singer, interpreting his great Tristan. Herbert Janssen's mellow baritone records very well as the worried Kurvenal. An anonymous Isolde adequately cries out her few lines at the sight of her dying lover. The accompaniment is by two separate orchestras, the Colon Opera Orchestra, conducted by Roberto Kinsky, and the Columbia Orchestra under Erich Leinsdorf. They do their jobs capably, though they are sometimes overbalanced by the voices. Indeed, in certain passages the orchestra plays as a background to the singers. Such a state of affairs offers no resemblance to Wagnerian opera-house performance, living or dead. But then again, it is a rare recording that captures the perfect blend of voice and orchestra and it will probably gratify many to hear

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unadulterated Melchior. This recording is not the worst offender and in every other respect can be recommended highly to those who form the standing room lines at the Met on a Wagner night.

“TWO MOZART ARIAS” (Victor 10-1104) is in the nature of a bonus to the album of selections from Mozart operas sung by Elizabeth Rethberg and Ezio Pinza, issued at the end of last year (Victor M783). It is certainly a welcome one. Pinza's mocking, boisterous tone is very effective in the “*Se vuol ballare*” from Act I of *The Marriage of Figaro*. He changes easily to a more sentimental style in “*Bei Mannern welche Liebe fuehlen*” from the first act of *The Magic Flute*. Mme. Rethberg collaborates in that one to make it a beautiful duet—Mozart carrying off most of the honors, as usual.

In Arcangelo Corelli's *Sonata in F for Organ and Strings* (Victor 10-

1105), the beautiful precise strings of the Arthur Fiedler Sinfonietta (Boston strings) and the delicate organ of E. Powers Biggs add another to their list of treasured recordings of the Italian masters of the Bach period. There is no other available recording of this work.

A reissue in album form of two single records is the *Double Concerto in D Minor* by J. S. Bach (Victor DM932). The recording is unclear in spots, but the performances of Yehudi Menuhin and Georges Enesco, with an orchestra led by Pierre Monteux, make up for it, especially in the overpoweringly moving largo.

Columbia's set, with Joseph Szigeti, Carl Flesch, and Walter Goehr's orchestra (MX90), is more spirited, and the violins collaborate with much understanding. However, the nasal metallic quality of this recording makes the Victor album the decided choice.

JOHN KITTON.

# MEXICO'S FIGHTING PUPPETS

IN MEXICO's campaign to raise the political, economic, and social levels of her people every medium is being used. One of the most effective means of education is the use of puppets. Through the Secretariat of Education three groups in Mexico City, and others throughout the country, are reaching thousands of people with simple but effective plays that teach while they entertain. The three groups in Mexico City, which I observed at work, are *El Nahual*, directed by Roberto Lago; *La Laterna Magica*, directed by Ramon Alva; and *El Comino*, directed by the latter's sister Maria. The seventeen puppeteers comprising the groups are all talented artists, making the puppets and sets as well as performing. The average pay of these versatile puppeteers is ten dollars a week.

The three groups are an outgrowth of a company formed in 1932 by artists who discovered puppetry to be an excellent political weapon as well as an art medium. Among the founders of the group were Leopoldo Mendez, one of Mexico's leading engravers and a contributor to NEW MASSES. An American, Abel Plenn, later director of the Federal Theater's Children's Theater also worked with the group. The first play they produced gives an illustration of how they adapted political propaganda to puppets. The play was titled *The Giant* and showed how one of three brothers, growing much larger than the

other two, exploited them until they were forced to unite and kill him. In 1934 the group received support from the government through the then-Secretary of Education, Narciso Bassols, now one of the leaders of the Marxist *Liga Socialista*.

Today the groups play in schools, hospitals, trade union halls, and community centers. Their major campaign currently is tied up with the drive to eradicate illiteracy. Another project is the teaching of correct health habits. One play given by *El Comino* shows vividly how this is done. The leading character, a schoolboy, has very long hair. As a result he never knows the right answers to the questions asked by the teacher. She insists he have his hair cut. A barber puppet arrives and cuts his hair right in front of the audience. Relieved of his mop, the boy becomes a veritable quiz kid! The audience roars with laughter—but the lesson sinks in and the fashion trend is to short hair.

Other plays teach the proper use of the toothbrush, the importance of bathing regularly. For the older groups there are plays which keep alive Mexico's folklore, based on authentic Mexican and Indian legends. In addition to playing for children, the puppeteers are also building an adult repertoire, which includes Moliere's *The Physician In Spite Of Himself*.

New York and several other cities

will have an opportunity to see their work, as Roberto Lago and Lola Cueto are planning a tour with some of their material the early part of this winter.

GILBERT LAURENCE.

## Election Day Notebook

(Continued from page 9)

two outstanding champions of progressive legislation, Wagner of New York, saves the Banking and Currency committee from John H. Bankhead II of Alabama. (Carter Glass' health would have prohibited his serving.) In the event of a Dewey victory it would have gone to Charles W. Tobey, who squeaked through after strongly coming out in favor of the Bretton Woods conference and campaigning hard on what slim claim he had to votes for defense measures. He knew he had to offset his isolationist record or go down.

Defeat of Nye and Davis removes two members with the worst isolationist views from the Senate foreign relations committee. Wagner and Thomas both are members of this committee; as were two Democratic isolationists, Gillette of Iowa, defeated in the election, and Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, beaten in the primary.

WITH Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina, unexcelled as a negotiated peace advocate, refusing to run in the primary, the chairmanship of the Senate Military Affairs committee falls to one of the Senate's most distinguished progressives, Thomas of Utah, who was reelected. To head the Military Affairs Committee he will have to give up the chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee.

## Airways

(Continued from page 13)

concerned in the methods for conducting air trade and they are vitally interested in getting that trade started and kept moving. They are also interested in seeing that all nations involved get a fair break in order to prevent the endless wrangling leading to political conflict. The USSR stands second to the United States in aircraft production. She also has the strongest air position from a geographical point of view, for her territory covers many of the most important global air routes. And without Russian cooperation world aviation cannot grow with the speed that technical achievements have already made possible.

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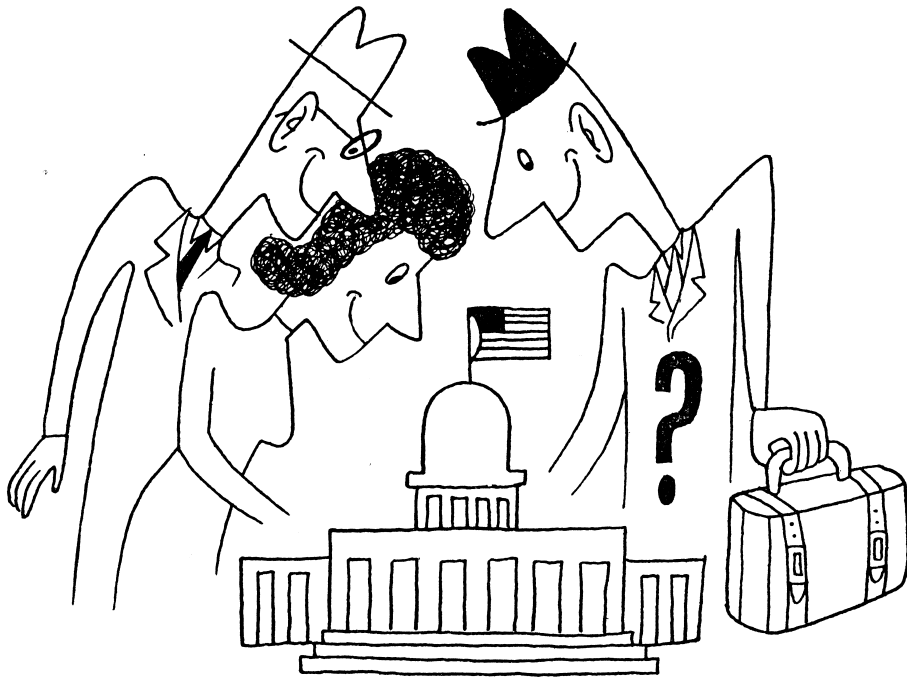


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Or you may win a prize of a splendid new book for only 2 new yearly subs. Or a print by a famous artist for 5 new yearly subs. Or, you can solve your Christmas gift problems by giving *New Masses* subs to your friends, and still get credit on the contest. See page 25 for details. Contest ends December 31, 1944.

**THERE IS STILL TIME! LET'S GO!**