

A JEW LOOKS AT HIS AMERICA by JOSEPH NORTH

JANUARY 16
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NEW MASSES

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SHOULD WE RECOGNIZE THE LUBLIN GOVERNMENT?

by ABRAHAM PENZIK

An outstanding Polish authority tells how the new government was formed and what it has done. A reply to the emigre Poles in London.

Also in This Issue: *Louis Aragon* writes on *Andre Gide*; *The Dies Committee Phoenix*, by *Virginia Gardner*; *FDR's Great Message*, by the *Editors*; *Romain Rolland: Journey's End*, by *Nathan Ausubel*; *The New Bases for Peace*, by *F. J. Meyers*.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE other day a couple of beefy, red-faced characters, resembling the private dicks of mystery fiction, wandered into the office looking for the "man in charge." They said they "were connected with the race tracks" (we never found out in what capacity) and had come because they were told that we were a magazine of protest. They didn't explain their presence in so many words, but that was the gist of it. We were a little puzzled about the connection of NEW MASSES as a protestant and the racetracks, but not for long. They wanted us, they said, to do something about the new ruling—the closing down of racetracks for the duration by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. It was very unfair of Mr. Byrnes, they declared. Think of the horses! Horses are no good unless they can run. We thought of the horses but we remained unmoved, and they changed their tack: there were also the people.

That stumped us for a moment. Could we have overlooked an issue in the ruling? "What people?" we asked, tentatively.

"Why, all the people that were thrown out of work when the tracks closed down. The stableboys, trainers, jockeys, grooms and others. Ain't they human?" They pressed forward as though to overpower any silly last-minute resistance to the logic and reasonableness of their complaint. We pointed out that these people could get work in essential industry, and help the war effort. They snorted at the idea. But didn't they think it was important to consider the war first, we asked? After all, shipping horses from Kentucky to Florida and from east to west was taking up valuable freight space, space that was needed for the transportation of vital goods. And didn't they think it was necessary to curb needless travel when passenger trains were at a premium? They did not.

They tried a final shot. How about morale? People at home had to be happy, and the ponies were sure doing their part. Look at all the people who were buying bonds. The way they saw it, the happier these people who went to the races were, the more bonds they would buy. We confess it was certainly a novel argument, and when we smiled at it, they thought they had us. But when we allowed as how we thought horse racing not the most important thing in the world just now, and that the ruling should have been made at least two years ago, they stalked out muttering something that sounded like where did we get our reputation for justice?

FINAL notes on the subscription campaign: Pauline Gitnik, among the oldest of our readers, is leading to date with a little better than forty to her credit. Her closest competitors, each of whom has

between twenty-five and thirty, are from Los Angeles and San Francisco. Miss Gitnik's total, she assures us, would have been much higher if she had not had to spend part of the time in the hospital. But even then she was not inactive. We just received a letter from her which we reprint in part:

"I am more than sorry that I had to interrupt the getting of subs. But I am leaving Mt. Sinai Hospital soon and hope to pick up where I left off, to go on getting more subs. The NEW MASSES must grow, must reach larger and larger numbers of readers. We need NEW MASSES because of its place in the fight today. We need NM because it splendidly clarifies the so-much confused world situation.

"With best wishes for a happy and victorious New Year to all you dear friends,
"PAULINE GITNIK.

"P.S. The enclosed sub is from a ward patient who is to be discharged this week."
"P.G."



Here is a New Year card sent to Joe North and the magazine. That plainly includes our readers as well, so we are sharing it with you here. It is from Pvt. Dave Gordon, husband of our Business Manager, Lottie Gordon. Dave is continuing the battle from where he left off in Spain, with General Patton's army somewhere on the Western Front.

J. F.

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SHOULD WE RECOGNIZE LUBLIN?

By **ABRAHAM PENZIK**

Dr. Penzik is an outstanding Polish socialist and author of several works on Polish political and legal questions.

LAST summer while Mr. Mikolajczyk, the former premier of the Polish government in London, was in Moscow holding his first conference with Marshal Stalin and delegates of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PCNL) I published in *NEW MASSES* [Aug. 8, 1944] an article containing suggestions that there be a reconciliation of the two rival groups. It so happened that several days later the PCNL submitted to Mr. Mikolajczyk proposals for a reconciliation which did not greatly deviate from mine. Both the proposals and my suggestions offered the same principal condition for a fair solution of the Polish question—namely, the repudiation of the illegal Constitution of 1935 on which the London government is based. The creation of a provisional government in Poland on the basis of the legal Constitution of 1921 to replace the government in London and the PCNL was to be the next step. While I suggested that in the provisional government all democratic members of the Polish emigre government who are not hostile to the Soviet Union be included, the delegates of the PCNL proposed that only four of the London group be given places.

Mr. Mikolajczyk's power of attorney was such that it was not possible for him to accept these proposals or to reject them. He returned to London and after long deliberations with his colleagues in the government he submitted counter-proposals to Marshal Stalin instead of presenting them to the PCNL. These very counter-proposals were not only unacceptable but they did not even constitute a basis for further discussion. The Polish emigre government refused to repudiate the Constitution of 1935 and suggested that the Workers Party (Communist) be given a few portfolios in a cabinet with Mikolajczyk as premier—and this only after the liberation of Warsaw. President Raczkiewicz with

his "uniform and indivisible power" was to remain in office.

When no word came in reply either from Lublin or Moscow, Mr. Mikolajczyk, urged by Mr. Churchill, made his second trip to Moscow in October of last year. After many conferences in Moscow with Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill and delegates of the PCNL in Moscow the differences between the two rival groups "were narrowed," but no agreement was reached. After Mikolajczyk's return to London new deliberations took place which ended abruptly with his resignation as prime minister.

While the emigre government was still deliberating, quarreling and making academic plans for the future, the PCNL was hard at work in rebuilding liberated parts of Poland. First of all it concluded agreements with the Soviet Union similar to those signed by the Czechoslovak government, which granted to the PCNL the right to administer liberated Polish territory not considered as a military zone. The Soviet Union committed itself to equipping a Polish Army of a million strong. Both the Soviet Union and the PCNL accepted the Curzon Line as a basis for the settlement of the border question between

Poland and the three Republics: the Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania. The Soviet Union promised to support Poland's demand for ethnographic and historic Polish territory in the west up to the Oder River and to parts of East Prussia. This basis for a solution of the Polish border question—a solution that is just primarily for ethnographic reasons and is in the interests of both Poland and the Soviet Union—was not and is not objected to by either Great Britain or the United States.

The PCNL took over devastated Polish territory whose people were starved and exhausted. There was no Polish administration left by the Germans, no community councils, no schools, no universities, libraries, hospitals, kindergartens, no theaters, factories. Difficult tasks faced the members of the PCNL. Not all of them were experienced in administering a country even in peacetime. They had to begin organizing and building everything from the bottom up. The only organization already existing was the Polish Army created by the Union of Polish Patriots in the Soviet Union under General Berling's command. Because of their patriotism, devotion, self sacrifice, and with the support of the people and the material help of the Soviet Union, the members of the PCNL have in a relatively short time and under indescribable conditions achieved results surpassing all of their own and the world's expectations.

THE PCNL has organized state and district administrations, has dissolved the so-called "blue police" which collaborated with the Germans and in its place organized the People's Militia. It has encouraged the people to elect their own rural, urban and provincial councils. It has restored law and order. It had to fight famine and prevent anarchy, political as well as economic. Both were avoided because of the energy and great ability of the members of the PCNL, their sensible and tactful handling of so many difficult situations. They had to fight the black-market and



Eugene Karlin

inflation; feed the people and satisfy the land-hunger of the majority of the peasants. Under the control of the PCNL and with its encouragement and help, many factories began working. Hundreds of thousands of workers in large and small plants, either privately controlled or under state administration, are already employed. The Lublin Sugar Refinery is in operation. Other refineries, namely, those in Grabow, Wezyczyn, Klemenczow and Przeworsk are under repair with operations to be resumed in the near future. The output of crude oil in the Krosno district has reached seventy percent of the pre-war level. The Polna agricultural implement works have begun operations. The power systems in many cities are working. Forty thousand persons are now employed in the Departments of Ways and Communications, Post and Telegraph. Another 26,000 are employed in the railway administration. Large landed estates are already divided and distributed among 100,000 peasant families with war invalids, children and relatives of fallen Polish soldiers given preference. This procedure is going on to the full satisfaction of the peasants.

PCNL reorganized the courts, it restored Polish judges to their offices and rank, organized rural and district courts, and restored jury trials which the so-called Constitution of 1935 abolished. Hundreds of elementary and high schools were opened. The Catholic University of Lublin with the Reverend Father Kruszynski as Rector has opened its doors to students. Another university under the name of the famous Polish scientist, Marie Curie-Skladowska was organized in Lublin. The Warsaw School of Engineering temporarily in Lublin has begun the registration of students. A medical school was opened in Praga. The Central Pedagogical Library has been opened with 9,000 volumes in Polish, Russian, English, German and French. Most of them are valuable books which were hidden from the Germans by former staff members. A Polish Architects Association with Professor Lech Niemojewski as chairman was organized. Hospitals for civilians, as well as rest and convalescent homes for army men, and for children have been opened. The largest are located in Otwock near Warsaw.

Of course, everything so far is carried out on a small scale because adequate relief from abroad is lacking. Some relief has come from the Soviet Union even though the Russian people are greatly in need of relief themselves.

Some medical supplies for children came from Sweden. Clothing from progressive Polish organizations in the United States has also been sent to liberated Poland. Other Polish-American organizations and particularly Polish War Relief in the United States refused to ship supplies to liberated Poland for sheer political reasons.

The Lublin authorities have been raising and training an army of over 250,000 men, whose needs have to be met. This army has already fought heroically and is now poised for a winter offensive in Poland shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army.

WHILE the PCNL has worked intelligently and accomplished unexpected results, the Polish emigre government with Tomasz Arciszewski as prime minister and with no participation in it of the leaders of the Peasant Party in London, still counts on a military conflict between the United States and Great Britain on one side and the Soviet Union on the other. This government is made up of the three former Socialists, Arciszewski, Kwapinski and Pragier, whose hostility to the Soviet Union is well known; two extreme nationalists, Berezowski and Folkierski, whose fascist allegiance and affiliations are also well known; two Christian Democrats, Sopicki and Kusnierz, the latter, now Minister of Justice, was called in Poland a "clubber" because he instigated beating of Jewish students at the University of Cracow; one Pilsudski follower, Count Tarnowski; and finally General Kukiel whose action in the spring of 1943 was the direct cause of the severance of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish emigre government. This government "was more concerned about its formal legitimacy than about Poland's future" asserts Mikolajczyk's new weekly, *Jutro Polski*, according to the *New York Times* of Dec. 31, 1944.

It still is concerned with that matter first and foremost. When the Polish Home National Council in Lublin with the participation of 150 delegates from both liberated and occupied Poland—the latter came to Lublin despite the great risk involved—decided Dec. 31, 1944, to change the status of the PCNL to that of a provisional government, the Polish government in London once more reiterated that it is the only legal representative government of Poland, and asserted that the Provisional Government in Lublin is a self-appointed body.

There is a reason for the concern of

the emigre government "about its formal legitimacy." That reason is simple: the government in London is *not legal*, because it is based on the *illegal* Constitution of 1935 which has never become law and particularly not constitutional law in Poland. Nothing happened in exile which made this constitution legal. The fact that Mikolajczyk and his colleagues and the present Premier Arciszewski and his friends also in London now recognize the legality of the 1935 constitution although they and their parties did not recognize its legality in Poland before the war does not change the matter. It is difficult for the former premier and more difficult for the present premier to admit that their government was and is not legal. The emigre government was not organized according to the provisions of the only binding and legal Polish Constitution of March 17, 1921, and does not abide by it. That constitution contains democratic provisions, many of them similar to the provisions of the Constitution of the USA. It guaranteed all the freedoms that the American Constitution does. The Polish Constitution of 1921 was not legally changed or abolished. The requirements for the change or abolition of this constitution are as follows: "A change in the constitution can be enacted only in the presence of at least one-half the constitutional number of members of the Diet (Sejm and the Senate), and by a majority of two-thirds of votes. The motion for a change in the constitution must be signed by at least one-fourth of the constitutional number of members of the Sejm (the lower House) and must be announced at least fifteen days in advance." (Article 125.)

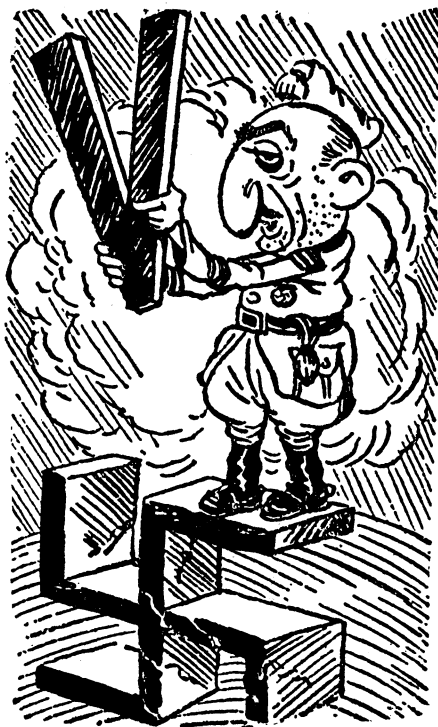
After the overthrow of the legal Polish government in 1926, Marshal Pilsudski wanted to become president, but through a legal procedure, and after a change had been made in the Constitution of 1921 which would endow the president with unlimited power. He could not achieve such a drastic change in the constitution legally. The majority of the Diet were against it. Threats and imprisonment of many outstanding liberals in a military fortress at Brest Litovsk did not bring the results Pilsudski desired. Election abuses such as stuffing ballot boxes, falsifying election results, etc., did not give to the government party (Sanacja) in the elections of 1930 a majority of votes in the Sejm, needed for a change of the Constitution of 1921. The Sanacja then decided to act against the provisions of the Consti-

tution of 1921, and its representatives in the Sejm in the absence of representatives of the opposition parties adopted measures which were then imposed upon the people of Poland as the Constitution of 1935. *None of the requirements for changing the Constitution of 1921 mentioned in Article 125 were met.*

The former President, Moscicki, who was elected president according to the democratic provisions of the Constitution of 1921, designated as his successor Mr. Raczkiewicz, on the basis of the provisions of the Constitution of 1935. Moscicki then resigned from office. The Constitution of 1921 does not provide for the designation of a president by anybody, particularly the president in office. According to its provisions, the marshal (speaker) of the Sejm, takes over the president's office in case the president resigns, and he, the speaker, holds office until a new president is elected. If we accept the 1935 constitution as invalid, and this we have to, we must consequently repudiate the authorities who derive their power from that constitution, particularly the whole Polish government in London.

It seems superfluous to mention that the so-called Constitution of 1935 is anti-democratic because it endows the president with unlimited power. According to its provisions, it cannot be changed or abolished without the consent of the president. It excluded the provisions making all citizens equal before the law and made the Polish Diet (Sejm and Senate) a one party affair. It created a totalitarian regime and it would again pave the way for one party rule by the followers of Pilsudskiites and their associates, the extreme nationalists.

Of course, I do not claim that the Lublin provisional government is legal in a strict sense and that it complies fully with the provisions of the binding and legal democratic Constitution of 1921. But it is at least as legal as the French provisional government, if not more so, and everything has been done *under the existing war conditions* to observe as far as possible the provisions of the 1921 constitution. The president of the Provisional Government is not an appointee. He was not designated or appointed by any political party or by a former president-dictator. He was elected by 150 delegates of the Home National Council (provisional parliament), who represented all legal political parties: the Peasant Party, the Workers Party, the Democratic Party and the Polish Socialist Party. They represented all classes: the businessmen, the peasants, the work-



From "CTC"

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ers, the intellectuals, professionals, etc. President Boleslaw Berut, who was elected in such a manner, nominated the Provisional Government with Edward Osobka-Morawski, chairman of the Polish Socialist Party, as prime minister. This government is made up of seventeen members. Four of them are Communists, five are Social Democrats, five are from the Peasant Party, two are Democrats, and one is a member without party affiliation. It is worth mentioning here that the chairman of the Peasant Party, Maslanka, and the secretary of that party hold the post of vice-premier and minister of interior respectively.

It is small wonder that the announcement about the creation of the Provisional Government at the Congress of the Peasant Party, held in Lublin at the time, brought to their feet 1,500 delegates who cheered and sang the Polish national anthem.

This Provisional Government was created *along democratic lines* now possible, and in compliance with the popular demand initiated by over a million members of the cooperatives of whom only one-fourth are affiliated to different parties. This government is the sole legal authority expressing the will of the Polish people. It proved that it possesses the confidence and support of the overwhelming majority of the people. This refers to liberated Poland with a population of 7,000,000, of whom

2,500,000 are townfolk and 4,500,000 are peasants. American, British and French correspondents confirmed that.

What about the Polish government in London? Can this government prove its claims? It cannot. It is a fact that in liberated Poland it has but few followers. Nine-tenths of the men from the so-called Sosnkowski's Home Army and half of its officers have joined the army of General Zymierski who is the minister of national defense in the Provisional Government.

Claims of either the emigre government or the Provisional Government in Lublin concerning their support by the people in occupied Poland cannot be proved with any certainty. But it is my belief that the attitude of the people in the occupied areas will not differ from that of liberated districts of Poland. This belief is based on the experience in liberated parts of Poland and the statements of the delegates to the Home National Council in Lublin from occupied Poland.

The Polish government in London seems to comprehend its peculiar situation and therefore it has launched through the Polish Telegraphic Agency a desperate attack against the Lublin provisional government. The Agency has declared that "freedoms of speech, of assembly, and of political action do not exist in these areas" which the Provisional Government administers, that "the administration of territory cleared from German occupation is in the hands of the Polish Workers Party acting under various names." The foreign correspondents who were in "these areas" will ridicule that statement when they read it. Of course, there is no freedom of speech and assembly for Polish fascists and semi-fascists, for the friends of minister of interior Berezowski, or of Colonel Matuszewski who recently wrote in the underground newspaper *Szaniec* the following message: "God save us from want, fire, disease and *democracy* and then we will protect ourselves from the Germans in the west, the Russians in the east, and the Jews in the center."

A country which has suffered so much under the Nazi yoke and a people who know well what German fascism means, cannot permit other Poles to disseminate fascist ideas. Fascism in all its forms must once and for all be rooted out in Poland. The fact is that all political parties based on democratic principles and championing democratic ideas have unrestricted freedom of speech and assembly. This is reflected in the existence of a free press and the increasing number of Polish dailies, weeklies and

monthly periodicals in liberated Poland—all published by different parties and organizations. Here is a list of some of them: The official *Rzeczpospolita* (*The Republic*), of Lublin, official organ of the PCNL, now of the Provisional Government; *Robotnik* (*The Worker*), the Polish Socialist Party daily; *Głos Ludu* (*People's Voice*), daily organ of the Polish Workers Party; and *Zycie Warszawy* (*Warsaw Life*), Democratic Party daily published in Praga, liberated suburb of Warsaw. The weeklies appearing regularly include *Odrodzenie* (*Rebirth*), literary weekly; *Zielony Sztandar* (*Green Banner*), central organ of the Stronnictwo Ludowe (*Peasant Party*); *Wici* (the *Dispatch*), weekly organ of the rural youth organization; *Trybuna Wolności*, (*Tribune of Freedom*), weekly publication of the Polish Workers Party; *Barykada Wolności* (*Barricade of Freedom*), political weekly of the Polish Socialist Party; *Młodzi Ida* (*The Youth is Coming*), fortnightly of the Provisional Central Committee of the youth organization; *Tur*, publication of the People's University; *Buletyn Praski*, informational bulletin of the Warsaw-Praga district; and *Zagon Ojczysty* (*Native Land*), fortnightly organ of the Lublin Agricultural Chamber.

Another proof of freedom of assembly and press in liberated Poland is the number of meetings, conferences and congresses called by all four political parties in the government and by many social and cultural organizations which have sprung up. The 1,500 delegates at the Congress of the Peasant Party represented hundreds of thousands of peasants who are not Communists. The 223 delegates of the Congress of the Polish Socialist Party were not Communists either. The Democratic Party, which is similar to the Liberal Party in England, has no Communist tendencies. These three parties and the nonpartisan member represent a majority (thirteen to four) in the Provisional Government.

The assertion of the Polish Telegraphic Agency that all these parties constitute "the Polish Workers Party under various names" is not true. It is slanderous and aimed at postponing the recognition of the Provisional Government by the two great western democracies and at creating dissension among the Allies. Let us hope that the Polish emigre government will not achieve its goal. Let us hope that the mistake will not be made again of playing ball with Vichy, and later with Darlan and

(Continued on page 31)

ROMAIN ROLLAND: JOURNEY'S END

By NATHAN AUSUBEL

Men and women who love freedom and truth and the gentle arts of civilization are mourning the death of Romain Rolland. We who loved him, and in a modest way shared with him the vision and the battle for a society free from exploitation and war, grieve over his passing as over a beloved father, or elder brother, or comrade. Someone called him "the watchful conscience of thinking men." But he was much more than that: he was an inspirer of youth, a trumpet call to arouse apathetic men to danger, a valiant fighter drawing upon himself the deadliest fire of the enemy, a clear voice calling on all those who love mankind to rally and band together and stand firmly, never doubting in the ultimate victory. Such a man remains deathless for he has left his impress upon the struggle itself, upon the hearts and minds of millions of workers and honest intellectuals. They remain his inheritors.

Rolland was the writer as man of action. For him there could be no arbitrary cleavage between art and life: they represented a harmonious unity. The stream of his active life merely overflowed into his books. As with the Greek philosopher Protagoras, man was the measure of all things and his happiness was the greatest good. Rolland's writings, therefore, were never superstructural or reflections from a narcissine mirror. On innumerable occasions his pen became a sword to wield on behalf of mankind. He clamored for justice to Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottsboro boys. He cried out against the slaughter of Chinese Communists by the Kuomintang butchers. His was the most impassioned voice against fascism. Loyally he defended the Soviet Union against the slanders of the intellectual jackals of reaction. How fond he was of the saying by that liberal revolutionary leader of 1848, Victor Hugo:

"None of us has the honor of living a life all to himself!"

Like his great French contemporary, Anatole France, Rolland made his complete identification with the working class relatively late in life, at a time when other writers grow senile and creep into their comfortable sleeping-bags of conformity while waiting for death. It was then that Rolland regained his youth. It marked his greatest growth, his most tranquil affirmation. With the ringing clarity of a bell he addressed himself on May Day in 1934 to the intellectuals of the world, urging them to close ranks with the workers against their common foe, fascism:

"We are flesh of their flesh," he pleaded. "Their independence, their power, is our independence and power. They are the trunk of the tree, of which the tasks of science, of literature, and the arts, are the branches. If the trunk is injured the branches wither. The intellectual privileged class, which betrays the common cause for the sake of the honors and advantages which the exploiters lavish upon them, are like the cut flowers that are put in vases. After glowing brilliantly for a short while, they wither away, are burnt up. Appeal to life against death, against that which kills, against those ravagers of humanity: the forces of money drunk with gold-lust, the imperialisms drunk with power, the dictatorships of the great companies and the various forms of fascism drunk with blood! Let us unite! Let us close our ranks! Humanity is in danger!"

Rolland was one of the moral architects of the world front against reaction, the mighty dam against the fascist flood. The dam held!

And Rolland held too.

Throughout the Nazi rape of France and the four interminable years that followed—years tortured into a nightmare by fascist mass-murders and the manhunt, by pillage and national humili-

ation—Rolland preserved his spirit intact. He did not allow himself to sink into a despair that paralyzed and bankrupted other intellectuals. He was not the man to embrace the philosophy of pessimism as a convenient evasion of duty or as an escape from the tormenting reality. He *worked!*

Unlike those intellectual Cassandras and soul-scratchers, men without a sober knowledge of life, without recognizable social principles, without a fibre of faith in the people's strength and goodness, Rolland refused to lament. The cosmic mourner's role did not fit him. That was a role created out of romantic egotism for *recherche* spirits, for "individualists" with delicate organisms whose roots, instead of being in life, were in the air.

Rolland always warned that philosophical pessimism was the road that led only to negation and disaster. Knowing that, he courageously followed the road to affirmation—and life.

It can easily be imagined what Rolland thought of the escape into death of his dear friend and erstwhile disciple, Stefan Zweig. By his suicide the latter presented a gift to fascism. He gave them a ready-made victory by default. Why did he take his life? He was not in Nazi Germany, but in the beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro. A host of anti-fascist friends and literary admirers vied with one another in kindnesses to him and his wife. He was in no physical danger, in no material need. His health was good. He had a devoted wife who loved him so much that she chose rather to leave the world hand in hand with him than be left alone behind. In every civilized country thousands of men and women read and revered his writings. They looked up to him as to an important cultural leader, teacher and guide. But what a sardonic lesson he taught them! *Defeat*. To what a haven he guided them! *The grave*.

The real seeds of his self-destruction lay, not in cynicism, but in pessimism. Stefan Zweig never had a genuine faith in the masses. His skeptical divagations led him only into a morass of confusion. He always was a little rueful, although never hostile, about Rolland's warm-hearted devotion to the Soviet Union. He was downright shocked when the author of *Jean Christophe* accepted the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. He was panic-stricken when Rolland, determined to practice what he preached, finally became a Communist.

Throughout his life Zweig, following the pattern of philosophic individualism

that was brought to a fine boiling-point during the nineteenth century by Max Stirner and Nietzsche, had constructed for himself a private pantheon. He decorated it with a choice collection of the heroes of the mind and the spirit. What the world needed, he believed, was more great men, more saviours—a "Republic of Free Spirits," a wise, altruistic *elite* rather than mass movements.

Actually he never had faith in the successful outcome of the struggle against fascism, in the triumph of the United Nations over the fascist coalition. He never believed that the humane, democratic forces in the world were sufficiently strong and purposeful to cope with the Nazi plague, or, granting victory, to create a better world based on peace and justice. The rust of intellectual skepticism disguised as "truth-seeking," of Schopenhauerian pessimism paraded as "idealism," of Buddhist quietism represented as "above-the-battle"—that was what killed Zweig! To escape the inexorable implications of his pessimism he had to take his own life, for he was a good man and very sincere. Ironically enough, he did this shortly before the Red Army shattered the fascist storm at Stalingrad.

At the time of the betrayal of France to the Nazis Rolland was already seventy-four and a very tired and battered old man. He was racked by

chronic illness; his strength was fast ebbing. Wisely he sought refuge from the Men of Vichy, as from the Nazis, in the little town of Vezelay in the Yonne Department.

The author of *Jean Christophe* had always been a courageous yes-sayer to life. Ever since his youth he had stood in compelling need of affirming, of giving generously of himself, of constructive doing, of moving forward. That is why during the four years of his solitary life at Vezelay he did not remain idle. He wrote a book about Charles Peguy, the eminent French poet, who was the bosom friend of his youth in Paris. Those who are familiar with the mind and character of Rolland cannot doubt that this book is an act of moral and intellectual affirmation against the fascist barbarians.

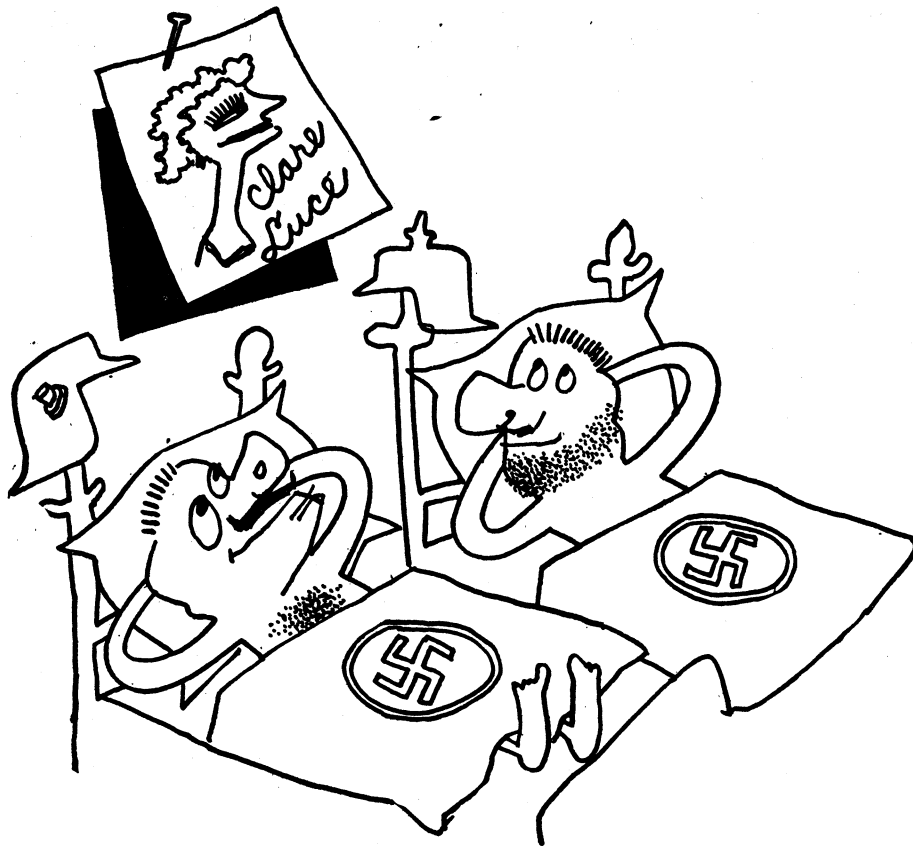
Rolland had a symbolic mind; he also was a modest man. He always held up for emulation, to himself as well as to others, the noble examples of wise and good men in history. In *Clerambault*, written during the first World War, he recalled a startlingly similar experience to his own.

It happened amidst the convulsions of the league organized by the French common people in the sixteenth century to regain their lost liberties. Everywhere in besieged Paris people lay dead or dying of starvation. Grief-crazed mothers were crying that the



Romain Rolland (left) conversing with Jacques Duclos, leading French Communist, at the dedication of a stadium erected in Rolland's honor at Clamecy. Duclos delivered the chief address on this occasion.

From the French magazine "Regards"



Jamison

pikemen were eating their children. Nevertheless, with their terrible cries still ringing in his ears, the gentle Guillaume Du Vair, recalling his duty to the whole nation, sat down with a resolute spirit to write his moving dialogues, *Of Constancy and Consolation During Public Calamities*.

Guillaume Du Vair and Romain Rolland—the tradition of the moral will fulfilling an urgent social duty is a chain of gold stretching link upon link through the generations of thinking men.

SIGMUND FREUD, wise in the elusive ways of the hidden mind, marveled over the moral phenomenon that was Romain Rolland. "Unforgettable man," he asked, "by what efforts and sorrows have you lifted yourself to such a height of humanity?" The question was purely rhetorical, for Rolland was no enigma. By sheer passion, character and intelligence he made a whole, an integrated man of himself in a disintegrating society. The striking traits of Rolland were his courage to accept change, his hunger to grow. Life for him had always been a dynamic force. He was never afraid of advancing—he was afraid of standing still. "I have always been on the move," he once wrote, "and I hope never to stop as long as I live. Life will be nothing to me if it is not movement—straight ahead, of course! And that is why I am

with the peoples and the classes who are working out the course for the river of humanity, with the masses of organized workers and their Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. They are being carried forward by the irresistible surge of historical evolution. And I obey the same destiny."

The evolution of Rolland's social philosophy and his emergence from the bookish sanctuary into the rough-and-tumble battlefield of the world was not without much preliminary wrestling with self, doubting and digression. The very fact that he had doubts and stilled their troubling, that he persisted on his way towards the goal even if he sometimes went astray, made his final triumph more glorious. Yet one thing may be discerned in all the contradictions and inconsistencies of his thought and conduct, especially during his early years: a preoccupation with everything that ennobles the life of a man.

The motive force behind all his ideas was love for mankind. In *The Triumph of Reason*, for instance, he has Adam Lux, an apostle of the French Revolution, declare: "The human soul cannot exist without love." Neither could Rolland. As he so wisely expressed it once, in his youth he glorified truth above everything; later he preferred the quest for greatness, but then his vision opened wide and he perceived that far more

than truth and greatness he loved mankind. He had at last found the main highway to his goal.

In his youth Rolland had heard the great masters of French literature; Daudet, Goncourt, and surprisingly enough even Zola, say disdainfully that the problems of war, peace and political discussions meant very little. Art alone was their concern and their duty. Although their passions were stirred briefly by the injustice done to Dreyfus the Jew, they soon forgot about society in their esthetic Bohemian preoccupations, and left the field to the reactionaries Maurras and Barres. No wonder Rolland went astray himself for years, found a dismal refuge from corroding skepticism in Tolstoyan nonresistance.

How Rolland despised those intellectuals who did not have the courage of their convictions, who out of cowardice and selfishness turned away from society's mortal struggle, only to discover in the end that with their neutrality they had helped bring about the very evils they wished to escape. What scorn and pity he heaps on his characters, Julien Davy and Bruno Chiarenza, in *L'Âme Enchantée*! Thoughtful, logical men both, yet they hold back. They refuse to act. Oh, they see everything clearly, to be sure, but they are jealous of what they call their "individualism" and intellectual "independence." And so, ironically, in trying so desperately to preserve these values they proceed to lose them.

Rolland speaks plainly to intellectuals. He goes to the very heart of the matter: "Let us say it: Action is the end of thought. All thought which does not look towards action is an abortion and a treachery. If then we are servants of thought we must be the servants of action. And we should seal here the union of those intellectuals worthy of the name with those who are the very substance of living action: the working people."

★

An American soldier in an unoccupied German town found copies of the "American Mercury" in one of the hastily abandoned houses. We can be sure that Goebbels' purchasing agent who procures this commodity so precious to the Nazi war effort will put in an increased order for the January issue. Nazi (and Samurai) morale will receive potent stimulants from the Lin Yutang smear of the Chinese Communists and from Andre Visson's cynical speculations on United Nations disunity in his article, "Why England is Wooing Russia."

THE DIES COMMITTEE PHOENIX

And some notes on the War Labor Board

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

NO TIME was wasted in bemoaning the fast one pulled by Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.), in getting an amendment to the House rules making the Committee on Un-American Activities a permanent standing committee of the House. A delegation from the CIO called on Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.), the next day on the need of manning the committee with top personnel. Reports are that he agreed. The amendment is broad enough that a committee composed of win-the-war Congressmen could do a constructive job in going after fascist elements in the country.

That the coalition of Republicans and poll taxers which followed Rankin was allowed to win the surprise attack on the administration forces represented, according to Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.), "a failure on the part of the pro-democratic forces to consolidate the victory attained in the election." But while it "portends no good, there is a better situation now than has existed before," he said. "We are numerically stronger. There still is a lot of day-dreaming and complacency, but the fight lies ahead—this is just a Pearl Harbor."

The CIO and the railroad brotherhoods will join forces in seeing Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr. in the hopes that some of the more progressive Republicans be appointed by the GOP Committee on Committees. The CIO Legislative Committee at once went to work about seeing Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee, who pick the Democratic personnel of all standing committees.

Seven of the Democratic members of this committee voted against the Rankin amendment, six voted for it, and Chairman Robert L. Doughton (D., N.C.) and Rep. John D. Dingell (D., Mich.) did not vote (Dingell was not there).

I VISITED Rep. John J. Cochran (D., Mo.), who took the leading role in fighting the amendment, with the valuable aid of Majority Leader John W. McCormack (D., Mass.), who opposed the Rankin move on the ground that not in 150 years had Congress set up a

standing committee by such a maneuver. Both Cochran and McCormack are Catholics.

Cochran did not think that the vote represented a true test of administration strength in the new Congress, and believes that the Southerners who joined forces with the Republicans (who are anxious primarily to smear the administration) will not vote with them on all issues. It was Cochran who indicated during debate that the new committee will not get the funds for the wide-scale witch-hunts indulged in by the Dies committee.

Cochran warned the House, moreover: "The Dies committee ends today; there will be no Dies committee after today unless the House creates such a committee. The gentleman from Mississippi (Rankin) desires not to extend the life of the Dies committee but to create a new standing committee of the House. This new standing committee of the House will have no assistance whatsoever until the Appropriations Committee provides the assistance."

In answer to my query Cochran said that the moneys of the old Dies committee reverted to the Treasury at midnight after the first day of the new Congress. The thirteen persons on the staff were dropped from the federal payroll at the same time.

And what are the prospects for the new committee continuing the expensive investigations of the Dies committee, which Cochran said had cost the taxpayers in all about \$675,000, including upkeep for offices in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles and in Texas? Here is what he told the House: "I say that under the rules of the House the Legislative Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee would recommend a clerk or two clerks or what it desired and that would be carried in a deficiency bill; but there would be no money in a lump sum voted for the standing committee of the House under the amendment that the gentleman has offered."

It is significant that the Appropriations Committee, which handles appropriations for all standing committees, as apart from the select committees, is headed by Clarence Cannon (D., Mo.),

who voted against the Rankin amendment. The Legislative Subcommittee, which would consider appropriations for the new standing committee, is headed by Emmet O'Neal (D., Ky.), who also voted against the amendment.

In any event the new committee will not be headed by the unspeakable Rankin. I was in his office the following morning waiting to see him (he declined to be interviewed by NEW MASSES on the grounds that he was tied up) when an eager gray-haired lady entered and asked if she could apply to Mr. Rankin for a job on the committee. "Mr. Rankin won't have anything to do with it. A chairman hasn't been appointed," she was told, and departed, breathing her determination to pursue her quest. If Rankin had introduced a successful resolution to set up a special investigation committee, instead of a standing committee, the quaint House custom would make him its head. And he could have served despite his chairmanship of the standing Veterans' Committee. But he cannot head two standing committees, and he would be loath to give up the Veterans' Committee chairmanship.

AMONG the new faces seen in the ranks of those voting against the Rankin amendment was that of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Negro minister of New York. Presiding over Powell's office is pretty Miss Hattie Freeman, a Negro girl who has worked as Powell's secretary for fourteen years. Born in New York, this is her first trip to Washington.

Should the new committee demand any sizable sums for operations, the Appropriations Committee would have to ask for a rule from the Rules Committee, and the House would have to vote on it. But veterans of the House apparently consider this most unlikely. In that event there would be an opportunity to mobilize opposition to the use of funds for a typical Dies witch-hunt, or some fresh attempt to smear the CIO or the administration. In the past Dies' opponents put up a better showing in votes on appropriations than on extending the life of the committee. And this time the vote on the Rankin amend-

ment, 207 to 186, registered a larger negative vote than any Dies resolution or appropriations measure had previously received.

It is significant how many representatives from poll tax states voted against the Rankin amendment. Even Malcolm C. Tarver of Georgia, who the same day introduced a bill which would omit aliens in any census taken for apportionment purposes, thus reducing the number of Representatives the North would have in the House, voted against the amendment. From the Texas delegation, six voted against it. These included Wright Patman, Joseph J. Mansfield, Albert Thomas and three new legislators: Judge J. M. Coombs, who replaced Dies, Maj. Johnny Lyle of Corpus Christi, elected (with the help of labor) while he was in the thick of fighting in Italy, and who said he had to stay to finish a job when told he was elected (he did, too); and Tom Pickett of Palestine.

THE Clerk of the House, to whom the Dies records must go for safe-keeping, can put them in the Library of Congress or make any other disposition of them to preserve them. Cochran, in discussing this, told me, "They have a lot of stuff over there which doesn't mean anything. A lot of mailing lists. Why, I get all sorts of literature here, I don't know why. I even used to get literature put out by that Pelley [William Dudley Pelley, a defendant in the Nazi sedition trial here] outfit. Does that mean I was a member?"

II

ALTHOUGH applauding the tenor of the report of War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes concentrating on the need for a supreme all-out effort in the next six months to defeat Germany, CIO and AFL spokesmen voiced doubts regarding certain proposals he made. Byrnes made it clear that the President's powers to seize war plants (which he has under both the War Powers Act and the War Labor Disputes Act) should be retained. But it was felt that any legislation to give the War Labor Board powers to enforce its decisions might result in practice in the President's finding it more difficult to order seizure. Despite the intent of the law, a situation might result in which the President would be loath to seize until the WLB had been given every chance to enforce its decisions. At present there are some sixty or eighty

compliance cases, or those not yet officially stamped as compliance cases, kicking around the board. Faced with the possibility that any case in which the employer resisted compliance might become a court case, the board would have to institute more formal methods. Instead of oral hearings, and the present informality, if the board thought it must perfect its record at every turn its present personnel shortages would be made more acute. Besides all this, it is felt that any monkeying around with the act might invite a flood of miscellaneous amendments.

EVEN as it is, the WLB's delays in moving cause tremendous strains among workers who are determined to abide by the no-strike pledge. The packinghouse case, which is pending was certified to the board about a year and a half ago. Now if the board were given the right to get an injunction from the courts enforcing an order in a case of noncompliance, even if the content of the order were not reviewable, it is conceivable that it might take two years before a case was decided, if it was carried to the Supreme Court. It took two years for the National Labor Relations Act to be declared constitutional, two years after the act went into effect. In the meantime, what would happen to the union in a plant where the management had decided not to comply but to test in the courts the new legislation allowing the WLB to enforce its decisions? The present delays in WLB procedures doubtless would be increased in the process of carrying out the legislation.

IN MOST of the known industries where shortages of manpower exist wages are extremely low—in the cotton duck industry, for example. Moreover, cotton textile manufacturers haven't been anxious to make cotton duck. There hasn't been as much profit in that as in other lines—even with OPA granting a price increase. WMC Chairman Paul V. McNutt's office recently announced that top priority rating was to be accorded the rubber tire industry and the United Rubber Workers-CIO were enrolled in a pledge for all-out effort. But at the same time WMC said the chief need was for laborers, maintenance workers and other unskilled workers. The case is typical. Laid-off skilled workers cannot be asked to work at reduced classifications. What is needed is for the WLB to adopt some system of providing an extra incentive to fill

low-wage jobs critically required for the war program.

OWI Labor Press Service recently stated that of eight top priority production programs of Navy equipment, seven were dependent on vast quantities of castings for vital components. The WLB, after the case had hung fire for a year or more, moved to raise wages to spur arms production. It announced it would approve raises for foundrymen up to ten cents an hour above minimum bracket rates in foundries certified as requiring such action. But union spokesmen say that in all those cases the going rates are at least ten cents above the minimum brackets. WLB acted not only too late but did too little to relieve the situation.

EIGHT CIO internationals will send representatives working on the manpower problem to a conference January 13. President Murray has written to Byrnes asking him to have sent to the conference detailed information as to exactly where and in what amounts manpower is needed. Copies of the letter were sent to WPB, WMC and procurement offices officials, and many of them were invited to attend. Meanwhile individual unions have obtained lists from WMC and the Army and are checking on the situation on a plant to plant basis. This is the most realistic way to approach the problem.

The AFL, through a manpower program headed by Louis C. Hines, has found 45,000 workers and supplied them where needed, since November, in some eighty-five plants. AFL Research Director Boris Shishkin suggests that if Congress would allow transportation costs to be paid by the government, unions would be speeded in their job of supplying workers to the local areas where they are needed. It has been found that in some cases plants had been dismantled which are now being put back in production. Cutbacks are continuing in certain spots, which increases the difficulties. And there are various cases such as one in Rhode Island where a plant advertised for thousands of workers, hired only 500 of those who applied, and fired them a few weeks later. Shishkin pointed out, however, that the unions could and would do the job needed for the emergency, just as they did at the outset of the war, when for instance the building trades supplied 350,000 workers virtually overnight.

A JEW LOOKS AT HIS AMERICA

By JOSEPH NORTH

WITH a few twists of the dial I can get Berlin on my short-wave set and fill the house with the gutturals of *Rassenhasse*, but I must turn it down tonight because the children are asleep. They sleep peacefully tonight and that is as it should be. But a few brief weeks ago this evening I looked at them in the cribs and wondered. I have often tuned my short-wave set in to Berlin, but during the election campaign I didn't. I didn't because I could hear the mumbo-jumbo of *Mein Kampf* over every major network and it wasn't necessary to hunt down Dr. Goebbel's broadcasters to know what the Propaganda Ministry was saying.

I heard enough of Julius Streicher's gospel to last me a lifetime and I heard it in the flat accents of a mid-western governor and in the more adroit circumlocutions of a man from Owosso, Mich. It sounds no different in English, but it assumes an immediacy which is well-nigh dreadful when you are looking at your children.

Because I am Jewish I listened with perhaps a shade greater reaction when I heard the words "alien-minded" and "foreign-born" and "Clear it with Sidney" (who was born in Lithuania and studied for the Rabbinate, remember?) And I wondered when I looked at my children in their sleep, one born in Brooklyn, one in Waterbury and one in Manhattan, what tomorrow held for them.

"He means you," I couldn't help thinking when I looked at the youngsters and heard Bricker on the air. So this is *Mein Kampf* in English, I thought, and I pondered how brief a span it was from the word of *Mein Kampf* to the deed of Lublin. And I thought of the baby shoes neatly piled row on row in the anteroom at Lublin. Fantastic? That word is an anachronism nowadays: the good Berlin *Juden* thought it was fantastic a brief few years ago.

Thanks to a vigilant America and its staunch allies, I do not believe we need suffer the horrors of the Third Reich here. But I believe that we cannot rest tranquil on the election results. We have won one battle, yes—in the long contest between civilization and retrogression—but there is much hard fighting in store.

Much. The fires of racism were fanned here during the campaign and it is my contention that they will not automatically die out because the ballots have been counted.

The men of evil befuddled enough Americans to garner a vote of 22,000,000. And who can tell how many of those millions were inoculated with the virus of racism? Too many, of that I am sure. And though these have suffered setback, and cannot give their rabid impulses free rein, still they can do more than enough damage.

I SEE it every day: I saw it some months ago when my nine-year-old son returned from school and asked me what is wrong in being a Jew. A gang of kids, he said, beat up every kid that says he's a Jew. Why? he asked me. "What have the Jews done that's wrong?" And then I knew that the innocence of childhood was over, and that we must begin from the beginning.

Where to start? I know that it is a question that knocks on the consciousness of millions of Americans who come from Jewish stock. Many of us had identified ourselves with Jewry, only in passing, so to speak. We are Americans, we thought securely, and our Jewishness was something out of the past, a tie with our parents, a sort of vague realization that there were fifteen millions of us in the world, five millions in America, that we had (or our parents had had) a common language, Yiddish, and that the word "ghetto" belonged in the Middle-Ages with Torquemada, or in a far-off Europe of dead czarist days.

We suffered, or most of us did, a certain diluted anti-Semitism in our growing years, but we felt confidently that that, too, belonged to the past and that some day in the near future it would be as dead as Jefferson Davis. Oh, there was the Klan, and Gerald L. K. Smith and Charles E. Coughlin, but they belonged to the lunatic fringe and had little influence. Yes, we were Jews and proud of it and we knew that our people, small in numbers, had given the world Spinoza, and Marx, and Mendelssohn, and Heine, and Bergson, and Disraeli and Haym Solomon. And farther back, Isaiah and Moses and Job and Jesus. And some of us learned Yiddish and most of us didn't, and some

belonged to the Young Men's Hebrew Association and to Hadassah and most of us didn't. We were Americans and reveled in that great fact.

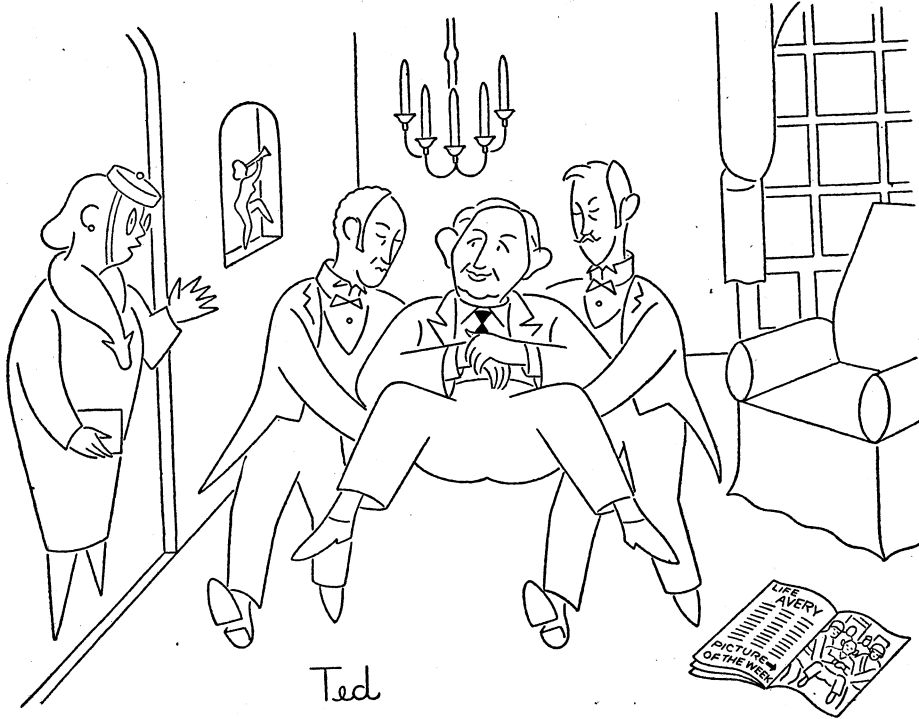
And then came Hitler.

And in August, and September, and October, of 1944 A.D. in the United States of America our major networks and our great organs of the press and the braintrusters of one of our great parties said things that did more than lend aid and comfort to Gerald L. K. Smith and the twenty-nine in Washington indicted for sedition. And to underscore the words came the dread cables from Lublin and Treblinka. And we have learned that the logic of *Rassenhasse* has laws of its own, laws that lead inevitably to the gibbet and the crematorium.

Fortunately, most of America is on the *qui vive*. And a coalition has sprung up behind our Commander-in-Chief which aims to end forever the peril of barbarism. And our staunch soldiers are warring on the battlefields so that all Americans will live free men. And the men dying are named Johnson and Johanson and Piccoli and Ostrowsky and Goldberg. That is the main reality of our time. But there is another. And that is the recessive but dogged racism that lurks in vast portions of our populace and flares up when we least expect it. It is here and it is real and we must contend with it.

THERE are some among us who believe that we can hush-hush the racists, the anti-Semites, into political paralysis. I say those who think so are tragically wrong, as Weimar Germany and world history since has shown. The only way we can meet the peril of *Judenhasse* is to face up to it. It exists, and to combat it we are obliged to adopt several and related courses of action. First, we must combine with all other democratic Americans to war upon the indigenous fascists so that our country can remain and become stronger, impregnable from outside and from within. Secondly, we can help that democratic front best by coming to it unitedly, all Jews, whatever their shades of difference, in harmony on the essentials of our time.

Thirdly, to achieve the total harmony of all Jews, it is incumbent upon



"I'm just rehearsing."

us to know ourselves. The total unity of Jewry can best be achieved by recognizing our community of interest, our common heritage, our common experience, our common goals. Which implies our obligation to study the pertinent facts about our people, to learn our achievements, to master our history, to recognize the common struggle of our folk through the ages. We must know the common denominator of our Jewishness as part of the common denominator of America. We must say as Ilya Ehrenburg, the great Jewish writer of the Soviet Union, has said: "I am a Jew. I say this with pride. Hitler hates us most intensely, which is a feather in our cap."

I say all this because I know that we have questions to answer. When my son came to me after the gang beat him up and asked: "What is wrong with being a Jew?" I knew I must answer him. I must tell him that America is Jew and Gentile, Negro and white. And it is as right to be one of these as any of these. And that the greater pride and knowledge one has in knowing why he is one of these, makes him all the better an American.

I must tell him that a democratic nation treasures the varied cultures of its minorities; it derives strength from the strength of their convictions, from the pride in their birthright. And America is strong with the strength of the united cultures of its many sons of va-

ried origin. That is America and I want my son to know that.

I WANT him to know the reasons, to master them. I know that many in America have been left an evil heritage. We saw it in the campaign of the defeated in this election; and it would be naive to believe that those defeated will fold their tents and sneak away into political oblivion.

They will fight. For history has shown us that as progress surges on, reaction battles all the more fiercely. It has never surrendered, it must be conquered battle by battle. And it will wage war relentlessly, in secret when it cannot fight in the open, and the hate of the Negro and the hate of the Jew and the hate of the foreign-born and the hate of the workingman hang on tenaciously, and all of these are parts of the fascist complex. We must face that. The fact that the majority of our people have mastered the ancient prejudices does not imply that our job is done. A sizable minority, and many of them in high places, nurse their prejudices, and bide their time to cleave our nation's unity, and one of their major weapons is to disseminate their hate of the Jew.

So to make my son a strong warrior, a better American, he must know America in all its aspects. And Jewry is one of them. And he is a Jew and the haters of the Jew will never let him forget that even if he should want to.

I would no more advise him to forget his Jewish origin than I would expect a Negro to tell his son to deny his Negro heritage. Flight from reality is not only cowardly, but it is folly. It cannot be done, as the history of our people in the many tragic years has evidenced.

And so I want to make it possible for my son to know everything about America, and that means about Jewry as well as everything else. I want him to know, fully, completely, without any shadowy vestige of doubt, that being a Jew does not make him any the less American. And that being a Jew gives him special obligations to work with fellow Americans of similar origin. And he can work best with them, unitedly, by knowing why he is a Jew. I want him to know our history in America and Jewry's many triumphs over ageless tragedies; I want him to know our heroes and our sages; to know the unconquerable spirit of his people which endured the Diaspora, the Inquisition, the Gestapo and stands today with all the heroic peoples of the world battling tyranny and knowing that man, in all his rich variety, will conquer in that battle.

I want him to understand the deathless spirit of that pious old Jew Ehrenburg wrote about, who was buried alive by the Germans near Korosten: "His head towered above the ground, and the wind played with his beard. He sang before he died, extolling life, and his last words were, 'Green grass lives longer than Nebuchadnezzar.'"

I want him to understand that spirit, and know how to work with all Jews whatever their political or religious preference. Thus he will help build the unity of Jewry, which is an integral part of building the unity of all Americans.

For after this war is done, there will still be fighting of another kind to wage: the fight against ignorance, prejudice, hate. The fight for America's unity. And I know that the essence of morale is understanding and conviction. And thus, the Jew, strengthened by knowledge, will be fortified against any shocks the future may hold; he will be an American at maximum.

This article appeared originally in "Freedom," the English magazine supplement of the Yiddish daily newspaper, the "Freiheit." We are republishing it because of the considerable comment it evoked, and we present it to our readers for discussion.—The Editors.

THE NEW BASES FOR PEACE

By F. J. MEYERS

THE conferences at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran were the full reversal of Berchtesgaden and Munich. But history never moves in simple circles. The solid agreement, the mutual struggle of a socialist country and the capitalist democracies lifts the Munich-Teheran circle into an ascending spiral. Not only does it reverse the Nazi-bred policy of anti-Comintern alliance and Munich appeasement; it makes possible a profound transformation of the relations of the past twenty-five years between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world, between the imperialist countries and the colonial countries, between capital and labor in every country.

From the end of the last war the hope of reactionary circles that the socialist Soviet Union could be destroyed gave ominous form to the structure of world politics. The united advance of the allied armies from east, west and south bears witness to the fact that these reactionary dreams of twenty-five years are shattered, that the fascist solution is doomed, that the Soviet Union is here to stay. It bears witness also that, despite efforts to distort and frustrate its meaning, this objective fact has penetrated and become part of the subjective attitude of the overwhelming majority of those who will decide the policies of the capitalist nations, including a decisive section of the capitalist class. The very basis of international relations is thus fundamentally transformed.

But such a change in the relations between nations means a far-reaching change also in the character of political and social relations between classes within our own country and every capitalist country. For the military destruction of the main fortress of fascism brings with it the defeat of the most reactionary, the fascist-minded, of every other country in the world—whether through their physical destruction or complete expul-

sion from political life, as in France or Yugoslavia, or through the opportunity it presents decisively to discredit them politically, as in England or the United States. It therefore makes possible within the United States, as elsewhere, national unity for democratic progress between labor and the now decisive non-fascist section of the capitalist class, together with the middle classes.

It is toward an understanding of this historically unprecedented situation and toward the evolution of a program for America under these circumstances, that Earl Browder's book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, is directed. This month marks a year since Browder first projected his ideas concerning postwar problems which were later developed in greater detail in his book. On this occasion it will perhaps be useful to discuss the most important of those ideas.

With forceful clarity Browder develops the thesis that the unity signalized at the Teheran conference guarantees victory and lays the foundation for a postwar program for the united American people which can bring about expanding production, rising standards of living, increased democracy, and a prolonged peace both internationally and in class relations at home. But the execution of this program will not be automatic. The Teheran conference was not a magic talisman. It represented a definite and decisive stage in a long fight. Its possibilities can be realized only through the continuation of that fight against all who for whatever reason are opposed to the policies of national unity and world democratic coalition, and give hope of reemergence to the fascists. They are the enemies of democracy and progress, whether they are capitalists of the Pew-McCormick pattern, "labor leaders" of the John L. Lewis breed, or "left" politicians of the Social-Democratic-Trotskyite camp.

This struggle for national unity is at the same time the struggle for total victory in the war and for a stable and long-lasting peace. Such a peace, arising from the democratic character of the war and the victory, can provide the confidence which is a necessary condition for an economic program of expanding production. Such an economic program is in turn the only stable foundation for the development of political unity and democracy.

THERE is unfortunately a certain defeatism and cynicism in the air today in many intellectual circles. Its proponents see no hope for the solution of our economic problems, no way of averting unemployment of twenty or thirty millions after the war, the triumph of reaction, the defeat of democracy. Browder's approach is in the sharpest contrast to this pessimism. Although he in no way minimizes the magnitude of the problem of achieving full employment, which depends in turn upon consuming the product of our enormously strengthened productive machine, he believes that humanity has reached a level of intelligence sufficiently high to solve it. It is from this viewpoint that he approaches the economic problems of the postwar.

Other reviews in the *NEW MASSES* have dealt in detail with the content of his economic proposals. In brief, he estimates the quantity of productive output necessary to insure full employment, and presents a plan for attaining the new markets to guarantee such production. The figures at which he arrives are of necessity rough approximations, but they indicate the immensity of the problem: \$90,000,000,000* of *new* markets above pre-war consumption, twice the entire national income in 1932. Browder's solution involves, to begin with, the development of foreign markets of roughly \$40,000,000,000 annually, predi-

* Alan Sweezy, in the September 5 issue of the *NEW MASSES*, states that Browder here overestimates the magnitude of the problem. While I agree with Sweezy that the exact figures do not change the nature of our economic problem, I cannot agree that we are concerned with a task of an essentially different order of magnitude than Browder projects. In fact, approaching the calculation from a somewhat different angle than he does, it is possible to come to very similar conclu-

sions. On the basis of the researches of the Department of Commerce's *Survey of Current Business*, the National Industrial Conference Board, and others, we can estimate a labor force after the war of some 55,000,000 (this allows for a continuous minimum of 2,000,000 unemployed and an increase of more than a million in the armed forces over pre-war numbers). Allowing for *normal* increased output per man-hour since 1940 (as analyzed by S. Morris Livingston in "Postwar

Manpower and Its Capacity to Produce," *Survey of Current Business*, April, 1943), if we then compare this estimated labor force for 1946, with its estimated output, to the actual employed labor force in 1940, with its actual output, we find that it will have a productivity forty-six percent higher than in that year. To achieve full employment, therefore, it will be necessary to reach a gross national product forty-six percent higher than in 1940. We thus arrive at the figure of

cated upon a democratic program of reconstruction and the building of industry in Europe and the colonial countries. But even such enlarged perspectives for foreign trade will only solve half the problem. He demonstrates on the basis of hard economic necessity that we must also find ways of approximately doubling domestic purchasing power through a substantial rise in the income of the population at home and vastly increased educational, health, and social services.

On the question of foreign trade, the great contribution of Browder's book is that he gets to the bottom of the problem. Casting aside traditional limitations, he points out that the demand exists abroad, the productive machinery is here; all that is needed is a policy which will provide the credits and marketing arrangements to make the demand effective. This is not the "international WPA" the GOP propagandists paint it. It is a matter of hard-headed business, the extension of credit from which American industry can get both profits and a 100 percent return on its investment.

Professor Alan Sweezy has already commented on the value of Browder's realistic handling of the question of cartels. I think another particularly trenchant contribution is his treatment of one of the most critical points in the postwar economic and political outlook, the relations of British and American capital. If we are to achieve a world market of the volume which is essential to American and world prosperity, then the present obsolete colonial system, particularly in Asia, must go. The main obstacle is the fear of British capitalists that if they relinquish their traditional colonial control, they will be smothered in the colonial market by the overwhelming strength of American industry. Since it is of life-and-death importance to American capital that broad colonial markets be developed, it therefore must come to such agreements with Britain on the sharing of the world market as shall remove this fear. This is the only way in which British capital, which is the weaker, can be induced to surrender voluntarily its historical colonial monopoly.

Thus, the responsibility for the progressive development of the colonial world rests first of all upon America. Our strength gives us in this case, as in so many others, the decision both of our own prosperity and the prosperity of the world.

IMPORTANT as are Browder's proposals for foreign trade, they are put forward primarily as an immediate and transitional solution, and even for this purpose only a partial one. In the immediate postwar period, at best half of the extra productive capacity for which we have to find new markets can be absorbed abroad. And this will be only a transitional solution because, as the productive power of the rest of the world recovers and grows, as we begin to receive the profits and amortization from our foreign investments, we ourselves will have to consume what we produce, or its equivalent in foreign goods traded for our exports.

Despite the fact that more attention has been devoted to the proposals for foreign trade, in the last analysis it is upon the domestic program of a sharp and unparalleled increase in consumer purchasing power that Browder's position rests. Such a rise in the standard of living is no longer a matter of separate economic group interests—of labor, the farmers, the white-collar workers, etc. It is a burning political issue for the nation as a whole because national disaster can only be avoided by providing this market for our productive machine.

Criticism has been made, on the one hand, that these are impossible, visionary, "socialist" proposals: on the other hand, that it is a "betrayal of Marxism" to put forth such a program as possible of achievement under the capitalist system. Far from being "socialist" proposals, in the sense of measures designed to introduce a socialist system of production, they are the only kind of measures which can maintain the capitalist system today. The alternative is a profound depression, far more disastrous than that of 1929, which would shatter the American economic system to its foundations.

And yet, at the same time, these are Marxist proposals. They are based on scientific Marxist analysis which sees the world as it is today, not as it was a hundred or twenty-five years ago, sees it dynamically, not through hardened generalizations which were true once but lose meaning if they are not developed as the world changes. Browder, with scientific objectivity, points the most practical, indeed the only possible, road of progress in the circumstances of today; and he does not turn back in horror from that road just because the interests of decisive sections of the capitalists lead them in the same direction.

Marxism is a guide to labor in its struggle for progressive aims for itself and all humanity. Marxists foresee a system of social ownership of the means of production—socialism—as an eventual higher stage of man's economic relations. But that eventual higher stage is not an abstract ideal goal from which they derive their whole program, as utopians do. It is rather itself a solution derived from an analysis of the problems of society and the direction of its development.

In the same way that this eventual goal is derived from the analysis of the historic dynamics of social development, so, against the general background, in any given period the program for progress arises from the existing situation, the direction of social development, and the practical possibilities of achieving progressive goals at that time. Toward such a program and such progressive goals Marxism points the road. Whoever stands in the way of these goals stands in the way of progress and becomes the enemy of labor and of all progressive humanity. Whoever moves in the same direction is a friend and ally.

Marxism does not dictate that we should pick enemies for the sake of having enemies and fight them for the sake of a fight. The history of the past twenty-five years and this great victorious war have created conditions where dominant sections of the capitalist class are finding that the most practical direction in which they can pursue their own interests is a progressive one. If they fol-

\$165,000,000,000. This is \$85,000,000,000 greater than the gross national product for 1938, the last pre-war year.

But even this figure is, if anything, low, as it does not take into account the *abnormal* increase in output per man-hour due to the extraordinary technological progress during the war—an increase I have heard variously estimated as twenty-five to fifty percent overall, instead of the twenty percent assumed by

Mr. Livingston on the basis of normal growth. \$90,000,000,000 as the excess national output over and above the pre-war total would seem more likely to be an underestimate than an overestimate.

Nor is there any question here of confusion between net national income and gross national product, as both Mr. Sweezy and Mr. Norman Levinson have claimed. The figure of \$90,000,000,000 is derived from a com-

parison of actual and estimated gross national product and manpower-output figures for 1940 and 1946, from which we draw the conclusion that a gross national product of \$90,000,000,000 greater than pre-war must be absorbed.

This amount must be absorbed in one way or another, consumer goods or capital goods. New markets must be found for it—and that is all Browder said.

low a course parallel to labor's course, then they become labor's allies. They become part of a coalition of national unity which benefits the entire nation and carries it forward upon the democratic road.

They can see in the awful mirror of German disintegration that the fascist road is fraught with doom. They are beginning to grasp the fact that the vastly increased market opened up by a democratic program nationally and internationally can more than compensate for the Hooverite fruits of a depression of living standards at home and colonial super-exploitation abroad. If these are the circumstances today, and I believe they are, then Browder's proposals are not only possible under capitalism, they become a necessary program for those who wish to preserve capitalism.

BUT, it is argued by others, how can Browder, a Marxist, maintain the possibility of this program? It denies the Marxist theory of economic crisis, with its further development in Lenin's theory of imperialism! Such criticism proceeds from an abstract basis and ignores one of the key phenomena of our time—the intensification of a historic social tendency, the passing over of economic problems into the political. The causes which have led in the past to economic crisis, first on a national scale and in the period of imperialism to imperialist war and general crisis, unquestionably still exist. But the political developments of the last twenty-five years have changed the conditions in which these causes operate. They have created a situation where it becomes possible to work out a concrete program to alleviate and postpone that crisis today and for a long time ahead. A thorough analysis of this question is necessary, and I hope to return to it in a future issue of the *NEW MASSES*. But one thing is certain: any would-be "Marxist" who wants to refute Browder's economic proposals cannot do it by dogmatically parroting descriptions of fundamental tendencies without regard to the changes which new conditions and conscious human action bring about in the operation of these tendencies. He can prove his point only in the real world, only by demonstrating the impossibility under today's conditions of achieving the quantity of foreign trade and domestic purchasing power Browder envisages.

It is true that Marxist theory shows that the factors operative in capitalist society tend to produce economic crisis, and points out how society can eventually overcome the operation of those



factors completely and finally. But its very understanding of these inner contradictions of capitalism at the same time enables it to find the measures necessary to alleviate and postpone their effects when world conditions make this possible. To paraphrase a remark of Browder's in *Teheran*, I am sorry for those who see in Marxism a theory of how to create crisis.

The tremendous economic problems before us, Browder emphasizes, will not be solved by passively waiting with folded hands for some mysterious action of mechanistic forces. They will be solved only by the concerted action of a unified America in a coalition of nations directed toward securing a prolonged peace internationally and democratic development in each nation. He analyzes at length the political problems involved in this perspective in Europe, in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and in this country. He stresses throughout the necessity of doing away with all remnants of feudalism and semi-feudalism, of colonial oppression and the persecution of minorities, as the essential condition for economic expansion.

In a treatment at the same time sweeping and penetrating, he shows how in our country national unity can be maintained and extended after the war if these great issues become the center of progressive democratic activity. He gives a key to the approach to every political problem as it arises today. That key is the stand of a group or an individual upon the issues of democratic national unity and international coalition for the perspective opened at Teheran, irrespective of party or class or previous political alignment.

Upon this basis the book (published last spring) discussed the 1944 elections and sounded the note of nonpartisan welding of national unity behind President Roosevelt against the forces of opposition to the national interest and the coalition of Teheran, gathered around

the standard of McCormick, Hoover, and Dewey. The election campaign and the great victory of November 7 has now conclusively demonstrated the need of that unity and the correctness of this approach.

Earl Browder's book brings clarity to the problems of today because he makes a scientific search for truth about the world and constructs his program upon reality. These are solid foundations for a successful, democratic national policy.

It is a book for the serious discussion and consideration of all America. It is at the same time a challenge to American Marxists further to develop their science in and for America. A full and deep understanding of its ideas and proposals requires a profound study of the changes in society through which we are moving; and only with such an understanding can the new problems which will rise every day and every month be solved.

The changed world scene demands the working out of many new theoretical concepts, which Browder indicates and which lie at the foundation of the program of American Communists today. I mention what seem to me among the most important of these: a further development of economic theory, and particularly of the theoretical picture of the imperialist epoch, to show in detail how and why the character of international economic relations is changing and can be changed; an analysis of the new factors affecting the development of economic crisis; a basic theoretical consideration of the changes in the role of the state in a period of decisively expanding democratic power of labor and the people within the framework of capitalist society and alongside of the power of the capitalist class. New development of the theory of the state was already becoming necessary at the time of the Peoples Front and the Democratic Front. Today it is overdue as a weapon to combat liberal cynicism and the remnants of anti-parliamentarianism in labor's ranks—a tremendous danger in a period when the electoral and legislative struggle is the decisive method for all democratic forces.

Along these lines, *Teheran* sounds a call to American Marxist thinkers to put their science at the service of the nation. Such a development and expansion of Earl Browder's pioneering contribution into a body of scientific theory can play a most effective part in molding the glorious future of our country.

A POLITICAL COMPASS

By THE EDITORS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's message to Congress is large in conception, wise in its insight into the problems that confront America and the world, firm in its grasp of the tasks before us. It is a strong balance-wheel for our national thought and action at a time when difficulties and dissensions have caused some people to lose perspective and teeter on the edge of pessimism and panic. One of Mr. Roosevelt's great virtues has always been a sense of proportion. We do not recall any speech in which it is more notably displayed than in this message on the state of the Union. This is leadership of the very highest order, worthy of this monumental war and of the peace to come. It is leadership which puts to shame those few self-righteous newspapers and individuals who, regarding themselves as more advanced than the President, have by their irresponsible criticism and lack of faith helped the reactionaries.

The message may be said to fall into four parts: a review of the strategy and progress of the war since Pearl Harbor; manpower recommendations to end shortages in war industry and in the nursing personnel of the armed forces; a discussion of foreign policy; and reaffirmation of FDR's bill of economic rights and of the peacetime goals of 60,000,000 jobs and high production.

In his review of the war the President performs a real service in making it clear that "it was right militarily as well as morally to reject the arguments of those shortsighted people who would have had us throw Britain and Russia to the Nazi wolves and concentrate against the Japanese." The timeliness of Mr. Roosevelt's defense of our basic strategy is evident from the fact that even at this late date the defeatists have not given up their efforts to save Nazism's neck by changing that strategy: only the other day Representative O'Konski of Wisconsin demanded on the floor of the House that we withdraw all our troops from Europe and concentrate them against Japan.

Of the President's manpower recommendations the most controversial is the National Service Act. NEW MASSES supported this recommendation when FDR made it in his message a year ago, and we support it again today. Though we would have preferred the inclusion

of additional proposals, such as the taxation of unreasonable profits and the cost of food law which Mr. Roosevelt urged last year, we don't think support for national service legislation should be contingent on any *quid pro quo*. The President makes it clear in his message that labor's rights would be protected, that the compulsory powers would actually be used only in rare instances, and that the voluntary system would serve as the foundation for the future solution of the manpower problem. We feel the situation is too grave for bickering over past mistakes; progressives would be better advised to help assure the proper kind of national service legislation—something quite different from the anti-labor Austin-Wadsworth bill of the last Congress. We like the *Daily Worker's* suggestion that an immediate conference be convened of representatives of labor, industry and the government agencies involved, to work out the necessary legislation, and other procedures. As an interim measure we also support FDR's request for legislation to utilize in the war effort the 4,000,000 men now classified as 4-F. And of course the amendment of the Selective Service Act to permit the induction of enough nurses to assure proper medical care for our boys.

IT is in its elucidation of foreign policy that the President's message rises to superlative heights. In clear and cogent language, which is a rebuke both to reactionary disrupters and to liberal confusionists, the President cuts through the fog of rumor and doubt and indecision and sets our course firmly on the path projected at the Teheran conference more than a year ago. ". . . we propose to stand together with the United Nations not for the war alone but for the victory for which the war is fought. It is not only a common danger which unites us but a common hope. Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples—and the people's hope is peace. . . . It will not be easy to create this people's peace. . . . We have seen already in areas liberated from the Nazi and fascist tyranny what problems peace will bring. . . . The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we become conscious of differences among the victors. We must not let those dif-

ferences divide us and blind us to our more important common and continuing interests in winning the war and building the peace."

In these words the President was affirming his faith in the *permanence* of the United Nations alliance, and, while frankly facing the fact that differences do exist—he specifically mentioned the Greek and Polish situations—he set these differences in proper perspective: they are less important than the "common and continuing interests" at stake in the war and the peace. And he warned that we must not "exploit and exaggerate the differences between us and our allies, particularly with reference to the peoples who have been liberated from fascist tyranny." Earlier in his message he said: "The wedge that the Germans attempted to drive in western Europe was less dangerous in actual terms of winning the war than the wedges which they are continually attempting to drive between ourselves and our allies." He pointed out that "evil and baseless rumors against the Russians" and against the British bear the trademark: "Made in Germany."

In his illuminating discussion of the much abused term, "power politics"; in his warning against perfectionism as no less obstructive to a durable peace than isolationism or imperialism; in his assertion that the Atlantic Charter is no slide-rule but that its principles are vital and this country will use its influence "to secure so far as in humanly possible" fulfilment of those principles; in his statement that "we and our allies have a duty . . . to use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the people's right freely to choose" their government and institutions; in his declaration that despite the problems of the liberated countries, the United Nations must drive ahead to set up the permanent world security organization whose foundation was laid at Dumbarton Oaks—in all this Mr. Roosevelt spoke as the great democratic world statesman he is. It is up to all Americans, irrespective of political affiliation, to use his address to advance most rapidly toward our 1945 goals: victory in Europe and "the substantial beginning of the organization of world peace."

NM SPOTLIGHT

The Byrnes Report

MR. BYRNES' report to the President and Congress on the work of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion is a meaningful document. It was no doubt designed as the grand background to the President's report to Congress. The dominant note is of urgent and undivided attention to war production. It contains a frank admission of last summer's general over-optimism, pointing out that too much emphasis was placed on reconversion, some of which must be undone. The only concrete new proposal to increase manpower for war plants was to bring pressure on 4F's.

The significance of this report lies in its review of the magnificent achievements of our war production and the ability of the government to stabilize the economy under difficult war conditions. There is today two dollars of income for every dollar's worth of civilian production, and yet there is no inflation. During the last war prices rose sixty-two percent, according to official statistics, and this time only twenty-six percent. The contrast is important even though in both periods the living costs were well above official figures. The report highlights the signal success of social regulation of the private enterprise economy, in a period pregnant with inflationary dangers. The country must never lose sight of this achievement and the means whereby it was made possible—government regulation in behalf of the entire nation.

Mr. Byrnes did not, however, ignore the problem of reconversion nor propose postponing congressional measures to provide for a successful transition to peace economy. He reviewed the plans already prepared and called for speedy consideration of the Bretton Woods proposals to enlarge our foreign trade. He recommended new measures to further aid small business and suggested easing of their tax burdens. He also proposed the liberalization of unemployment benefits and the giving of greater powers to the War Labor Board (the latter, however, being of doubtful value).

It is unfortunate that he made no proposals to raise the workers' buying power beyond increased unemployment benefits, especially since he predicts a

considerable drop in take-home wages when the European war ends. Mr. Byrnes' report would have been far more significant had he included the far-reaching proposals of the Senate Murray Committee to realize 60,000,000 jobs and full production. For that crucial problem cannot be ignored by the government office charged with the reconversion to peacetime economy.

Dewey Words

MANY political observers could only stand in admiration at Governor Dewey's performance before his state legislature last week, when he presented his proposals for 1945. The little man can make nothing, or very little, sound very good. Though many will be taken in by his fair words, few should fail to see that he is bidding for reelection in 1946, as prerequisite to 1948.

After a few minutes' concentration on his plethora of fair words and pious promises, one is impressed by their avoidance of action. Never do today what you can get a commission to study tomorrow, and for the next year or two, seems to be a Dewey motto. As the American Labor Party pointed out, Governor Dewey, after two years in office "largely occupied in pursuing his political ambitions," proposed eight committees and commissions to further "study" such immediate issues as minimum wages, state aid to education, public welfare, veteran care, agriculture, revision of the judicial system, migrant workers and medical care.

The governor did raise the salaries of state employes, an action he could scarcely avoid without losing face inasmuch as these employes had waged so powerful a pressure campaign (quoting Dewey's own presidential campaign speeches). There was an upward adjustment in workmen's compensation as well. But his most brazen performance was his proposals concerning the \$840,000,000 unemployment insurance fund. With an eye to continued support from "those who count" he suggested that employers pay lower rates—and at the same time urged greater benefits. He put this proposal forward by plumping for the "merit system," in which employers affording steady employment would pay less than firms

which have frequent layoffs, a nice-sounding dodge favorable to large-business interests.

Teachers, particularly, will be interested in his stated advocacy of revision of the outmoded Friedsam formula which governs state aid to education. There is a history to this proposal which teachers will recall: they combatted the antique formula last year and forced a modest revision upward then in the state appropriation. That pressure has evoked the Dewey sentiments regarding revision, but the catch is this: once again it is referred to a special commission for "study."

Another sample of Dewey duplicity was his recommendation that the present soldier vote legislation continue and that a constitutional amendment be adopted permitting merchant marine and other civilians with the armed forces to vote. Such an amendment (considered unnecessary by many authorities) would take two years for passage, by which time the 1946 elections would be over.

Dewey had many fine things to say about postwar works, but he proposed nothing tangible. He did reveal that the Department of Public Works was fashioning a program of \$800,000,000 for construction and repair of highways, though the governor did not specify the number of years in which this amount would be spent. Although this program is generally well thought of, it was obviously a sop to the upstate GOP county chieftains and a threat as well: "Work for me in '46, or else you'll not get any of this appropriation."

All in all, a typical Dewey performance: the fair words were to immobilize public pressure for various improvements while waiting on the manifold commission reports. And when those reports are in, they can be shoved through the GOP legislature before the people bestir themselves. In brief, Dewey at his best.

Voice of a Quisling

THERE is a hard-bitten reactionary minority of wealthy business leaders in our country polarized around the leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers, and one of their chief spokesmen is their former president

Frederick C. Crawford. This gentleman has a long appeasement record. Now that we are facing tough fighting and some reverses on the Western Front he comes to the aid of the enemy with cunning appeals for a negotiated peace. Mr. Crawford has just returned from a tour of Belgium and France. Both countries, he insists in a speech to the New York State Chamber of Commerce, prospered and experienced a consumer's boom under Nazi occupation; in fact, an unnamed French conservative told him that in another year the workers would have accepted Nazi domination as a blessing. He announces that the underground in Belgium and France consisted of Communists and underworld con-

victs, and explains that the misunderstood collaborationists were simply good businessmen whose plants have prospered and expanded under Nazi rule and who got in trouble with labor. In conclusion Mr. Crawford assured his audience that there is no foundation for lasting peace in Europe, hence "let us be realistic."

It is not difficult to track down the meaning of Mr. Crawford's realism. Back in 1939 after another tour of Europe he returned to praise Mussolini and assure America that the danger of war was mere newspaper talk. During September 1942, he attended a confidential NAM gathering where he, among others, wildly applauded the following attack on the war economy regu-

lations of the administration: "If we are to come out of this war with a Marxist brand of National Socialism then I say negotiated peace now and bring Adolph Hitler here to run the show. He knows how. He's efficient. He can do a better job than any of us and a damned sight better job than Roosevelt. . . ." In 1943 his firm, Thompson Products, Inc., ran an ad in the *Saturday Evening Post* praising Chamberlain and the Munich policy of appeasement. The record is much longer. Mr. Crawford's new appeal for negotiated peace is the continuation of a consistent line that becomes more open and bold with each difficulty encountered on the road to victory he fears so much.

Britain's Dilemma

THE easiest and the most fruitless way of answering the charges made against the United States by influential sections of the British press, particularly *The Economist*, is to join in the fracas with ill-tempered rejoinders embroidered by a high moral wrath. Self-righteousness on our part will not restore Britain's position in international trade, nor will it bring back her dead, nor will it save her from the terrifying fear that she is slowly and surely becoming a have-not nation.

It is our impression that much of the editorial eruption in London's newspapers was officially inspired. There is no doubt that Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Eden's loss of prestige at home over their miserable handling of the Greek affair and their heavy-handed blundering in internal Italian politics has set them to worrying over the fortunes of the Tory party. Our State Department's refusal to become partners in the business of curbing the desires of liberated peoples has also hurt the case of the two key figures in the British government. And what *The Economist* in effect is now saying is that Mr. Churchill is hardly to be blamed for protecting British national interests in the Mediterranean and that he also has every right to protect them against American economic power. Thus the Prime Minister was doing the only thing he could do; he was acting selflessly to straighten out the lion's tail after the twisting given it from the other side of the Atlantic. This attempt at exonerating Mr. Churchill leads to *The Economist's* fatuous statements about Allied strategy in Europe, to which strategy Mr. Churchill, it hints, did not agree. It tacitly proposes that Montgomery take over Eisenhower's command; it blames the slowness of the campaign on the Western Front on the use of American troops in the Pacific.

All this represents a most serious collision in Anglo-American relations. It is a sharp turn away from the

days when many of the same Britons who now lambast America were trying to weld an exclusive Anglo-American alliance. But the way to heal British wounds is not to pour salt on them. When all the verbal fat is trimmed away, there remains the rivalry between the two nations over postwar markets. All the sour bickering consuming tons of newsprint is part of a huge bargaining process with the tough American traders who are giving Britain the squeeze. This in part explains why the British government has opposed the industrial rehabilitation of Italy at present. The Americans are ready to go into the Italian market with their wares and the British are not. Britain's trade problem, in a nutshell, is how to regain the more than half of her export income she has lost in the course of the war; in other words, how to rebuild her destroyed creditor position in view of the fact that her foreign investments are almost completely liquidated, while the United States after the war will have a surplus of shipping capacity and an industrial plant that can outproduce the British hands down.

IF THE basic problem of Britain's postwar foreign trade is not solved then we will see the Greek incident emerge again in other forms and in other places. It will do no good to lecture Britons about high moral principles and how Dumbarton Oaks will give them what they need. No one can eat moralisms. The world security plan will prove a success only if it has solid economic foundations that are the reverse of those which American representatives attempted to construct at the recent civil aviation meeting and the Rye business conference. It is this country's job to take the initiative and sit down with the British and plan, in conjunction with the Soviet Union, an expansion of world trade—the only solution which will reassure Britons and preserve the peace to come.

The Spanish Question

LAST week thousands of New Yorkers, gathered in Madison Square Garden, called on our government to break relations with Franco's fascist regime and thus wrest from Hitler a weapon against us in Europe and in Latin America. Initiated by the Nation Associates, the meeting's sponsors also included the CIO, American Business Congress, Union for Democratic Action, American Labor Party, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, American Newspaper Guild, American Committee for Spanish Freedom, Abraham Lincoln Brigade, American Slav Congress, United States Student Assembly, and the Free World Association.

Among the speakers were three Catholics, Dr. Francis E. McMahon of the University of Chicago, Quentin Reynolds, and James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO; as well as Freda Kirchwey, editor of the *Nation*; Dr. Thomas Mann; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Negro Republican; and Rep. John M. Coffee, sponsor of a resolution to sever diplomatic relations with Franco Spain, whose powerful address stirred the large audience. The broadcast from London of the speech of Dr. Juan Negrin, prime minister of the last republican government of Spain, was banned by the British government, but its text was read to the meeting.

This was a good beginning. But the movement for Franco's isolation will develop most effectively if certain wrong emphases that cropped up in a number

of speeches are eliminated. To make President Roosevelt or the State Department the center of attack, as Miss Kirchwey, Frank Gervasi and one or two others did, and to talk as if our relations with Spain express the basic character of our foreign policy today is to distort the picture and to weaken the cause of democratic Spain. On the contrary, the effort should be directed toward enlisting popular support for bringing our Spanish policy into harmony with our general anti-fascist foreign policy. It was also decidedly unhelpful for Dr. McMahon to raise the bugaboo of "leftist dictatorship" as the possible alternative to the overthrow of Franco. And while Dr. McMahon embraced such reactionary emigres as Prieto, Barrio and Maura, no one mentioned that the core of the fight for Spain's liberation is the Supreme Junta of National Unity set up in Spain itself.

Open Wound

THE Greek tragedy continues without let-up and the new Greek premier, General Plastiras, is adding his special brand of blood and thunder against the Greek people. Instead of a lessening of strife and an attempt at harmony between the government and the patriotic forces, Plastiras now threatens to organize an army to annihilate the EAM-ELAS. He has made no attempt to discuss or even consider the ELAS peace terms. Plastiras is obviously not interested in compromise because his orders from Whitehall as transmitted by General Scobie are to keep

the National Liberation Front out of the cabinet until it is nothing but a paper affair, weak and ineffective. It is clear then that Mr. Churchill's flying trip to Athens was one of those diplomatic gestures which solved nothing, for nothing was intended to be solved. By seemingly trying to mitigate the outburst of British and world criticism, the Prime Minister has in fact added tinder to the Greek fire by supporting Plastiras with bayonets just as he did Papandreou. General Scobie's arrogance, his absolute determination to destroy the resistance movement, his deliberate failure to impress on Plastiras that both the police and the other armed units must be cleansed of fascists leaves the ELAS no alternative but to continue fighting.

British opinion, which for a moment became less vigilant in the belief that Mr. Churchill was really attempting to repair the damage he had done, is again expressing itself forcefully. Last week the *Manchester Guardian* wrote: "We cannot accept the military view that this is nothing but an armed rebellion against the Greek nation which must be put down by force. The men who are fighting us are as good Greeks as any others and would not be fighting now without some powerful cause." If you have not sent one already, a letter or telegram to the British Embassy in Washington will help to make the British Foreign Office understand that its behavior in Greece is hurting the progress of the war and that every British soldier and gun in Athens is that much less with which the Nazis have to contend.



FRONT LINES

by COLONEL T.

WHAT THE RED ARMY IS DOING

DURING the last two weeks of 1944 the German army captured approximately one-twenty-fifth of the territory of Belgium. During the same period of time the Red Army captured an area equivalent to the entire territory of Belgium. And still, strangely enough, there are a lot of people—some of them supposedly responsible—who claim that the German army has performed a "miracle" while the Red Army is doing "too little."

I discussed the achievements of the Wehrmacht in these columns last week. There is little that I can add to that appraisal of the situation, except that the dispersal of German effort which has become apparent during the week between my last article and the present one points up still more the complete strategic failure of the Rundstedt gamble. During the last week the Germans, having been stopped in the bulge, attacked on the Alsace-Lorraine front and

now have attacked on the Maas front near Venlo. Their thrust in the direction of the Saverne Gap cannot bring them any real strategic results because even the recapture of Strasbourg (and even Belfort) would not change the general situation in France and would not alter the balance of forces there. Such a balance remains unfavorable to the Germans because Rundstedt's gamble cost him more men than its repulse cost the Allies. As to the Bulge itself, it is being

whittled down from all sides. Of course, such a method of dealing with it does not create prerequisites for a battle of encirclement and annihilation and is more in the nature of a battle of attrition. However, in view of the Allied superiority in men and arms, a battle of attrition cannot fail to turn against the enemy in the long run.

Thus three weeks since the day Rundstedt threw the dice it is clear that he has not achieved any strategic goal whatsoever and that he is not in a position to do better in the future. However, it is to be hoped that our side will go over to the offensive on a grand scale before long. Our failure to do so up to now is being explained by some people by the fact that the Red Army has been "doing little" since it stopped on the Vistula in August. Let us see whether this is true or not.

Having reached the big bend of the Vistula on a broad front by August 1 and established a strong bridgehead across the Vistula west of Sandomir by August 18, the Red Army began its gigantic march to the Danube, around the Carpathians, on August 22. This march is now culminating in the battle of Western Hungary. This operation must be viewed as the most daring *strategic outflanking of an entire enormous enemy front*. Simultaneously with the execution of this vast operation, the Red Army pinned down great German forces on the Narev and captured Praha (September 14), cut off and isolated some twenty-five German divisions in Latvia (early October) and pinned down more German forces by its stab into East Prussia (end of October). This large scale operation went on with piston-like movements on a 1,200-mile front, *with the strategic center of gravity in the South*.

Here it is interesting to note that such thoughtful military observers and writers as Max Werner foresaw as early as 1939 that the strategic decision in the East would develop precisely in the southwestern sector of the front, even if they did not go beyond expecting it in the Ukraine and Galicia and did not dream of a decisive battle in Hungary.

To fight the battle of Hungary and Budapest the Red Army came 650 miles in four months, around the Carpathians, across countless rivers—including the Danube—across rugged mountains such as the southern Transylvanian Alps (near the Iron Gate), the Czerhat, Buekk and Matra ranges, etc. All this at a rate of better than five miles a day.

On the way the Red Army encircled and destroyed a large army group near Kishinev (twenty-two German divisions and several Rumanian divisions), important groupings between the Ipoly and Hron and inside the bend of the Danube, and finally encircled about 100,000 Germans and Hungarians in Budapest where they are being exterminated. German relief attacks from the direction of Komarno are being warded off and contained at this writing.

In connection with the appraisal of the grand strategic meaning of the Soviet offensive in the Southwest between the end of October and the beginning of January, several things must be understood. *First*, this operation is in full accordance with modern military concepts which teach that *maneuvering on the enemy strategic flank must be stressed as much as maneuvering on his operational and tactical flanks*. By marching around the Carpathians and into the valley of the Danube the Red Army emerged deep on the flank of the strategic German group operating in western Poland, and the operations in and around Budapest have carried the Red Army to the gateway of the valleys of the Danube and the Morava which divide the Alps and the Carpathians. Thus the Red Army has won positions for a still deeper strategical envelopment of the German right wing in the East. The Red Army now has the opportunity to penetrate into Austria and into the western part of Czechoslovakia. Germany is faced with the danger of losing these highly developed industrial and agricultural regions. The Red Army will also have the opportunity to break into Germany from the south—near the headwaters of the Oder and Elbe—and drive along the shortest route to Berlin.

IT SHOULD not be forgotten that the occupation of the Hungarian lowlands opens possibilities for an attack on the German lines of communications supplying the German army in Italy—the Vienna-Villach-Venice line, for instance. Here possibilities of the Red Army joining hands with its allies on the Po are not to be discounted.

Second, the Balkan march of the Red Army has knocked out of the war practically all of Germany's satellites. The economic meaning of the loss of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia to the Germans is very great. Wheat, cattle, oil—industries of no mean importance—have been lost to Germany. *Third*, Bulgaria and Rumania not only

bowed out of the war, but were turned against Germany practically overnight. *Fourth*, the highly efficient, even if under-equipped, Army of Liberation of Marshal Tito received direct support from the left flank of Marshal Tolbukhin. This support took the form not only of reinforcement by troops, but of a flow of equipment, food, clothes and, last but not least—moral encouragement in the realization that a powerful, efficient and profoundly friendly ally was fighting at their right elbow.

While the strategic meaning of the Soviet march to Austria far transcends the importance of the Battle of Budapest, the latter should also be viewed in itself as a remarkable example of military operational skill, second only (and perhaps not "second," but equal) to the Battle of Stalingrad. The battle is an example of war of maneuver at its best.

After the breakthrough of Marshal Tolbukhin across the Danube south of Budapest, a short lull set in. The Germans blared that they had "stopped" the Russians between Lake Balaton and Budapest. Yet, the German High Command was fidgety and switched large reserves to this front. On the eve of the renewal of the Soviet offensive on both sides of Lake Velencez, the Germans brought up two more tank divisions and one cavalry division with a great number of self-propelled guns.

But the tempest of Soviet artillery swept the German defenses and a break-through was effected. The German defenses were pierced in two directions. Marshal Tolbukhin crashed through to the Danube northwest of Budapest and thus the encirclement of the enemy army group in the bend of the Danube was effected. A few days after, Malinovsky crossed the Danube north of Budapest and joined with Tolbukhin, who had crashed to the river from the west. Thus the entire surrounded enemy army group was cut in two. A few days later the group in the mountains north of Budapest was liquidated. Now the annihilation of the original 100,000 Germans and Hungarians in Budapest is proceeding while heavy German counteroffensive blows northwest of Budapest are being beaten back.

Thus it may be said that while Rundstedt was simply "putting on a good battle," the Red Army was cracking the bottom of Fortress Germania. This is the gist of what happened in the war in Europe during the last three weeks.



ON ANDRE GIDE

A Communication by Louis Aragon and a Review by Alan Benoit

(In a letter recently addressed to Claude Morgan, editor of the Paris weekly "Lettres Francaises," Louis Aragon expresses his surprise at the fact that the author of "The Counterfeiters" continues among the contributors to that publication. The following is a translation of excerpts from Aragon's letter.

I KNOW that Gide has never written for *Je Suis Partout* [notorious French fascist weekly], nor has he completed the work of his *Return from the USSR* by recruiting members for Doriot's French Nazis. I know too that, although Philippe Henriot paid tribute to the "high conscience" of Andre Gide precisely because of his *Return*, many people will say that my reasons for criticizing him are a little too obvious. Nevertheless, that will not stop me from protesting against what I consider a scandal: namely, that a paper bearing the name of Jacques Decour [founder of the publication, shot as a hostage by the Germans], issued with such courage and amid so many dangers, should triumphantly include the name of Gide on its roster, while we still mourn the loss of so many underground writers who fought by our side.

... People may not understand me, they may not want to understand me, if in glancing over Gide's *Journal* I note first what shocked me in it and what may seem admirable to others: Gide's sudden zeal, at the end of 1940, to study the German language. People will say that he wanted to read Goethe in the original, as in fact he has done in the course of the past few years, with an almost concentrated fervor—as if the triumph of German arms made it incumbent on him to read *Faust*, *Werther*, and *Hermann und Dorothea*. And to quote them in the text. The point is arguable; and there will even be some people who find it very fine, a very great, and a very noble gesture. I will not pause over that. Nor at certain comments on Hitler and *Mers-el-Kebir* which, however Gidian they may be, are certainly written in a laudatory tone. For is not admiration of Hitler's

genius the mark of that type of conscience we came to know after his return from the USSR?

Perhaps some will agree with me in finding certain passages shocking, such as this one: "If German domination assured us of abundance, nine Frenchmen in ten would accept it, and three or four among them with a smile. . . ." Or: "But why talk to the peasant of France's intellectual patrimony? Has he any awareness of this patrimony or that he has inherited it? What peasant would not willingly accept Descartes and Watteau as Germans, if that would make him sell his wheat for a few cents more?" Or on a July 14: "After all, patriotism is no more constant than our other loves. . . ."

Perhaps I will be accused of bad faith if I point out that, exactly one month and two days after the Armistice of 1940, Gide discusses the "German in general" and notes that he "is less apt at drawing than at music." Bagatelles, bagatelles!

But there is something else which needs no comment: I refer to a statement written on September 5, 1940. Nor can one argue that Gide was prevented from expressing himself because he was living under German occupation; for he published it in May 1944 (and do not forget that Gide is a man who weighs every one of his words). Here he stands revealed—even the tell-tale reference of Goethe is not absent: "To adjust one's self to the enemy of yesterday is wisdom, not cowardice; it means accepting the inevitable. *Untersuchen was ist, und nicht was behagt* (Examine what is: not what is pleasing), Goethe says excellently. Whoever kicks against the pricks of fate, is caught in the trap. Why bruise one's self against the bars of the cage? To suffer less from the narrowness of the jail cell, one has only to stand in the center. I feel in me unlimited possibilities for accepting: they in no way commit my essential self. It is a much greater risk to allow one's self to be governed by hate. . . ."

Why bruise one's self against the bars of the cage? It reads like a good line of

verse. Who ever said that Gide has no lyric gift? There is a poetry of abjectness; let us be grateful to him for having shown us what it is like. . . .

On Sept. 28, 1940, Gide wrote: "If tomorrow, as I fear, all freedom of thought—or at least the expression of that thought—is refused us, I shall try to convince myself that art, that thought itself, will lose less than if freedom is excessive. Oppression cannot debase the best minds, and as for the rest—what do they matter? Long live repressed thought! It is during non-liberal epochs that the free spirit reaches the highest degree of virtue."

Long live repressed thought! Oh you who died, Saint-Pol Roux, Bergson, Victor Basch, Georges Politzer, Marc Bloch, Max Jacob, Benjamin Cre-mieux! And you others who matter so little to Gide, you the nameless ones of Tulle, of Oradour-sur-Glane, of Ascq, of Lidice, and of Lublin—what do you say of the virtue of Andre Gide, the free spirit?

LOUIS ARAGON.

"Imaginary Interviews"

AMONG other things, this little volume acquaints us with the fact that Andre Gide was not silent during the hard days of the German occupation.* According to Gide's editor and translator, Malcolm Cowley, these interviews were printed in Gide's column in *Le Figaro*—"the best and almost the only outlet open to serious writers in the Free Zone." Though not explaining how this little niche was opened for Gide under the flourishing culture of Vichy, Cowley does undertake a defense of these pieces. According to him, Gide "discovered that honest political judgments could be printed in Vichy France, so long as they were presented in the guise of literary criticism."

Patriot French writers are now being heard from on this matter, as the preceding article, by Louis Aragon, testifies.

* IMAGINARY INTERVIEWS, by Andre Gide, translated by Malcolm Cowley. Knopf. \$2.00.

Even without their testimony Cowley's deductions remain insufficient to insinuate Gide into the resistance movement. Gide is much too frank about himself: the evasiveness of his writing is a much better record of the abject state of indecision into which he has sunk than a testament of his ability to cope with Vichy censorship. If this book offers as its principal interest that Gide was deeply opposed to the betrayers of France, Gide might just as well have been silent—nay, better been silent—for no resistance document of the war is as vacillating, feeble and futile as this.

THE last item in the book is a section of *Pages from a Journal* entitled "The Deliverance of Tunis." What does Gide have to say here where it is at last safe for him to unburden his mind, and appear without disguises? Shall we now hear of those things that even his subtle allusions could not hint of in his column in *Le Figaro*? A friend has told him that he could now play an important role in North Africa, exert an influence. And Gide? "Even if I were less tired, I should not feel myself in any way qualified for political action. For one thing, I haven't a clear enough picture of the dissensions that are now coming to light; for another, I am too uncertain in my own mind to propose any sort of equitable middle course. . . . I cannot take part nor do I wish to get entangled in the struggle that can be foreseen. I fear that France, or at least the liberated part of France, will be divided for a long time by bitter rivalries. I fail to see what 'declaration' I could make which, if it remained sincere, would not be of a nature to offend all parties."

There is surely no need to add comment to this statement. Its forebodings of struggle, its hands-off attitude, and the absolutely candid final sentence tell the story of the social isolation that the one-time columnist of a Vichy paper has come to. If French culture had solely to rely on such tenders of the flame during its hour of darkness (Cowley says: "Simply by talking about literature, in his own subtle fashion, Gide had affirmed his belief in the older French values"), the flame could have expired in his presence, but the voice would have gone droning on about French prosody, the subjunctive, the virtues of obscurity in verse.

There is an element of self-defense in Cowley's defense of Gide. After all, Mr. Cowley too, before the menace of American reaction, called this

a defeated generation; and he too posed the preoccupation with literature in its apolitical aspects as the best way for a writer to function during a reaction.

The suggestion has been made that these dialogues between Gide and his imagined collaborationist interviewer may be taken as an expression of the conflict between the two halves of a decidedly dual personality. But in this conflict not only is there no resolution, there is not even the tension of opposition. Gide's ambivalence here, at least, appears to have found a balance.

In examining the *Journal* and other things written by Gide in the time of the German occupation and thereafter, Ilya Ehrenburg found the record ugly and unsavory. What he said then—and the questions Aragon asks now—may shock those who once found in Gide's probings of the conscience the consolations of kinship. But this epilogue to a career now ended cannot be forgotten nor forgiven. As Ehrenburg says, "There is no need to strip Andre Gide naked; he has bared himself, and it is revolting to look at this Narcissus who revels in his own moral ugliness."

This judgment of Gide during the collaboration is, of course, not retroactive. Gide is the author of several notable books and once played an important role in French culture. A turning point came with his attack on the Soviet Union, and the *Imaginary Interviews* follow on the path then set. In it there are traces of a literary grand manner, but nothing of the grandeur of literature.

ALAN BENOIT.



The Unended Song.

THEY LOOK LIKE MEN, by Alexander F. Bergman, edited by Joy Davidman. Ackerman. \$1.50.

WHEN a first volume of poetry appears, it is the critic's exciting job to explore for strong points and weaknesses, to make predictions, and, if sufficient talent is revealed, to greet the new author with a ringing *Salud!* Unfortunately, *They Look Like Men* is published three years after the death of Alexander F. Bergman at the age of twenty-nine. The task that should have been thrilling becomes extremely sorrowful. Just thirty-one poems: beginning, growth and finish; faults never to be corrected, talents never to be set free.

Miss Davidman's arrangement of the poems, it seems to this reviewer, loses sight of the autobiographical chronology which would give the volume much of its power. The closed door should have been at the beginning along with the whole series of hospital-bitter lyrics. In this poem the young tubercular patient's history is traced back to his job, where the "doctor at the company dispensary" examined him, "gave him pills and sent him back to work." Bitterly he describes the drab, shut-in hospital existence: the narrowness of the corridors, the horrible routine, the hopelessness. Night is particularly painful—when the last visitors are gone, the lights go out, "and all the bridges crossing from the living world are down." Throughout the early poems this bridge is ominously present: he has joined a world of death. Time moves too swiftly; it must be measured preciously, desperately: "The three weeks of our lives. . . ." In a decade when it was fashionable for poets to sneer at reality, the living moment, as something insignificant from their vantage-point of eternity (until man's love and hate, hope and sorrow, the very colors of earth, lost all meaning for them) the slowly-dying Bergman wept:

*How can we hold the sudden
the rare moment
that slips forever
through sieves of fingers and eyes?*

It is too late, always too late.

*We see the world as it is
in one glimpse, completely beautiful.*

Then the curtain falls.

Powerlessly he beats his fists against death; aware that for him there is:

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*No sound but my own wail
wild without shame
protesting the chemistry of death.*

This would be the point where so many honored poets leave off, with morbid hymns to inevitability (as in Jeffers) or an artificial pose of exultation in death and denial of life (as in Yeats). But Bergman, lacking their supreme love of masterful technique, possessed instead a quality which they could never share: a pity for the suffering of innocent people, a deep feeling of understanding and comradeship for all humanity. Even when the hospital door closed behind him, his mind involved itself with more than his own misfortune:

(In the clinic waiting room):

*The iron benches empty, leaving
no trace
of all the multitudes whose weariness
they held.
They fill with new faces
but the tale is old,
the filed indexes fatten on the people's
miseries . . .*

In time the very nature of his enemy has changed. Decay and ruin are not only within himself and the nearby patients. He recognizes the forces of death at work within society:

*The fires of the people are smoke
Their houses of stone are dust,
And the beautiful ships they
wrought
poison the sea with rust. . . .*

And so his spirit crosses the bridge back into the living world. Here he sees his people betrayed over and over, with sermon, advertisement, news gossip, diplomacy. Wielding a tremendous hammer of irony Bergman lashes back, in a magnificent piece called "Sunday 1937"; and in "Radio Interludes":

*WHAT TIME IS IT, BUD?
I've got to know because today
I'm still alive . . .*

*IT'S TEN A.M. IN BERLIN
and all's well by courtesy of Neville
Chamberlain.
Christ, the world is growing old
and polite,
and time so scarce it's given out
like little drops of sweat.*

*Here, all you listeners, have a few
hours,
a few days, and you with better
jobs
take a year or two.
You're on the dole now
by courtesy of Rome-Berlin-Tokio*

and certain people in the USA.

*When you hear the first bomb
it will be exactly
zero hour.*

In some of the other poems, so simple, tender and direct is his expression that we sometimes feel the heart trembling in our hands. It is a big heart—that can include multitudes; a brave heart, that can feed us strength; a heart sure enough to mock the poetasters peddling despair. Modestly he looks upon his work and murmurs:

*Here lies his heritage
Here the unended song
Here the half-lifted arm holding
the hammer never descended.*

Too modest. Before he had finished writing, the hammer more than once had been made to descend. It is late to thank our Sol Funaroff and our Alexander F. Bergman for the heritage they gave us; at least we can keep their slender volumes on an easy-to-reach shelf, and study their love, their vision until we are worthy of it.

AARON KRAMER.

The City Lived

LENINGRAD, by Alexander Werth. Knopf. \$2.50.

THE defense of the city of Peter the Great and of Lenin will no doubt be described in countless books which will form an unforgettable Epic of Leningrad. One of the first of them is the book by Alexander Werth. This Russian-born English journalist went to Russia in a grim Arctic convoy in May 1942. His familiarity with the country, his knowledge of Russian and his perceptiveness made his correspondence outstanding, and his previous book, *Moscow War Diary*, ranks among the best of the books about wartime Russia. It was inevitable that Leningrad, his native city—he was born there, of a British mother and a Russian father—should draw him, and that his book about the heroic city should be impregnated with a deep love for and a warm understanding of the Leningraders. *Leningrad* has the intimate quality of recognition and memory and the warmth of affection to add to the virtues of first-rate reporting.

Werth was the first foreign correspondent allowed to go to Leningrad, when part of the German siege arc was still intact, in September 1943, and he visited it again in February 1944, after the siege was broken and the battle-

front had moved far to the west. It is what Werth saw on these two trips that makes up his book. The focal point, however, is the epic of the siege.

The defense of Leningrad is unique not only for its duration—almost 900 days and nights, from August 1941, to January 1944—but even more by reason of the unequaled cultural importance of this city and of the character of its population. Leningrad is the second capital of Russia. Its three-and-a-half million inhabitants make it the fifth largest city in Europe. But its architectural, artistic, scientific and historical treasures, together with its natural setting, make it one of the great world centers, comparable to Paris or London.

Every Red Armyman who fought with his back against the wall of the city knew that. Every civilian knew it too—every man, woman and child of whom the poet Tikhonov, himself a Leningrader, said: "If you were to make nails from these people, there would be no harder nails in the world." Workers formed nine divisions, and these citizen-soldiers broke the enemy onslaught in the autumn of 1941 at the southern gates of the city. Four of the nine divisions were entirely wiped out.

The mobilization of the population for the defense work has never been surpassed. Popkov, the chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, said: "It was our people and not the soldiers who built the fortifications of Leningrad. If you added up all the anti-tank trenches outside Leningrad made by the hands of our civilians, they would equal the entire Moscow-Volga canal. During the three black months of 1941, 400,000 people were working in three shifts, morning, noon and night, digging and digging and digging. I remember going down to Luga during the worst days, when the Germans were rapidly advancing on it. I remember there a young girl who was carrying away earth inside her apron. It made no sense. I asked her what she was doing that for. She burst into tears, and said she was trying to do at least that—it wasn't much, but her hands simply couldn't hold a shovel any longer. And as I looked at her hands I saw that they were a mass of black and bloody bruises. Somebody else had shovelled the earth on to her apron while she knelt down, holding the corners of the apron with the fingers of her bruised, bloodstained hands. For three months our civilians worked on these fortifications. They were allowed one day off in six weeks. They never took

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JANUARY 14-31

their days off. There was an eight-hour working day, but nobody took any notice of it. They were determined to stop Germans. And they went on working under shellfire, under machine-gun fire and the bombs of the Stukas."

Much of the book consists of such first-hand accounts. Werth had the best of collaborators; the participants themselves. And he makes a skilled and sensitive use of this material.

We learn from the stories told by factory workers and writers, soldiers and librarians, children and political leaders, etc., an epic that mounts into a miracle; for after enduring such losses, such crushing hardship, Leningrad rises like a city reborn, vigorous and enthusiastic, advancing toward greater economic and spiritual potentialities.

ROY SKLAR.

Laboratory Report

SCIENCE AT WAR, by George W. Gray. Harper. \$3.00.

GEORGE W. GRAY has the know-how on physical and medical science, as he has amply demonstrated in his two previous books, *New World Picture* and *The Advancing Front of Science*. He has a progressive point of view and writes brilliantly—yet with restraint—about the sciences, whether he is discussing our modern seven-leagued weapon, radar, or the microbe-killing drug, penicillin.

Science at War is his laboratory report on the organization and development of science in America since Pearl Harbor. It is encyclopedic in scope, but there is never a dull moment as the author relates the story of our weapons of force.

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Mr. Gray knows that not all of us will come out of this battle unscarred. He gives thoughts to our wounds, both

physical and mental, and organizes the battlelines. Here is the life-giving blood plasma, the microbe-destroying penicillin and the anti-infection sulfa drugs. There is a full shelf of equipment against malaria, which takes 3,000,000 lives annually.

His last chapter on new technical development discusses aeromedicine. Again his imaginative pen sends us into the air—at tremendous heights and flying at great speeds. We get airsick, lack oxygen, get a case of bends, freeze our extremities in the rarefied atmosphere, and finally are forced to bail out or crash. Again he organizes the rescue with flying ambulances, containing special pressure cabins, and we are whisked away to modern, well-equipped hospitals.

For George W. Gray, a progressive science reporter, this is not sufficient, and he includes a discussion of propaganda and the war of ideas. He warns against "Nazi rumor-mongers, who have been effective in promoting anti-Semitism; and their anti-Communist line has fanned old suspicions of Russian integrity." He sees one unwritten war aim. "There are no far-away countries. There is no people of whom we can afford to know nothing. The central fact of our civilization is the essential unity of mankind." These words were written before the Teheran conference. Since then, Mr. Gray's unwritten war aim has become the goal of all progressive society.

JAMES KNIGHT.

Brief Review

MADE IN THE USSR, by William C. White. Knopf. \$2.00.

THIS little book, sixth in Knopf's "Made In" series for young people, tries to acquaint the youth of America with the peoples of the USSR through a brief survey of the arts, handicrafts, and customs that have characterized the various regions since the days of Vladimir of Kiev. There are descriptions of the old village crafts, now experiencing a revival under Soviet sponsorship, a section on the development of Siberia, and a few chapters on Russian painting, music and ballet. Also briefly touched upon are the differences and similarities between the lives of the American and Soviet peoples. While in proportion to the new too much space is devoted to the old, the book is a good introduction for youngsters to Soviet culture.



SOME RECENT FILMS

By JOSEPH FOSTER

DESPITE the fact that the Broadway movie houses are at present deluged by no less than six musicals of varying degrees of insignificance, the first-run houses are showing at least three films that will become an important part of permanent film bibliography: *Tomorrow the World*, *National Velvet* and *Winged Victory*.

Lester Cowan's production of the first-named is a courageous and outspoken attack on anti-Semitism, an issue which, except in *None Shall Escape*, has been scrupulously avoided by all the major studios. The film wastes no time in getting to the heart of its subject. The members of an American family are introduced as they eagerly await their relative from Germany, the small son of an anti-Nazi father and American mother. When he arrives he is asked how he enjoyed his trip. The boy complains that he was forced to sit next to a fat Jewess: a crashing chord of an answer that shatters the complacency of the routine question. The uncle and his Jewish fiancée are confronted point-blank with an unexpected problem. They reassure themselves that though the boy has picked up some Nazi ideas, he will soon get over them in his new environment. They discover, however, that they are whistling against a strong gale. The boy turns out to be a full-fledged Nazi fanatic: The issue is now joined: Nazi ideology against democratic institutions, on the one hand, and the understanding, patience and remedial devices of the family against the will and conditioning of the young Nazi, on the other. In attempting to grapple with all aspects of this problem, the film is most successful in demonstrating how one small fascist with his immoral and unprincipled behavior, his wicked schemes, and cowardly subterfuges, makes mischief in a peaceful community and almost wrecks a marriage and a family. It is less successful in its implied proposals for the solution of the postwar German problem. "If we cannot solve the problem of one Nazi child now," one of the characters says, "heaven help the twelve million of them after

the war." The film suggests at one time or another that what the kid needs is a good whaling, since force is the only thing his kind understand. As the Nazi becomes a good boy only after he has been walloped by one of the boys of the neighborhood, that argument would seem to stand as the most effective treatment of Nazis. However, the film just as often argues for kindness and understanding, for constant examples of decent behavior that might make the boy understand he is living in a different world. But whether advocating force or gentleness, *Tomorrow the World* cannot answer the questions it raises, since the case it selects is atypical. The

boy of the film is, after all, the son of an American mother and an anti-fascist father. By reawakening some of his earlier remembrances of his anti-fascist background, the writers provide a convenient bridge for his last minute reconversion and make his questioning of Nazi virtue psychologically plausible.

The important thing about *Tomorrow the World* is, however, that here at last is a film that discusses some of the problems of our time in adult fashion. Its characters are full-grown civilized members of our society who understand the values of a democratic world and do not hesitate to articulate



"On the Threshold," oil by Moses Soyer. On exhibit to January 20, in his one-man show at the ACA Gallery. To be reviewed next week.

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them. They know the horrors of race prejudice and the dangers that come from a political system that foments it.

Fredric March plays the uncle to Skippy Homier's model of the Hitler Youth. Betty Field does a fine, sensitive job as the Jewish wife-to-be. Skippy Homier and Joan Carrol, as his young American cousin, however, give the film its greatest substance, since their acting brings to life most of the arguments in it. The movie public is greatly indebted to Lester Cowan for this major contribution, and to writers Ring Lardner, Jr., and Leopold Atlas for doing so competent an adaptation of the original Gow-D'Usseau play.

“WINGED VICTORY” is the most ambitious and probably the most successful of all the aviation pictures to date. Coming as it does after such major films as *Air Force*, *Wing and a Prayer*, *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*, it is also, paradoxically, the least effective. There is a something of all the previous films in this latest Air Corps feature, and consequently it contains less surprise and suspense than the others.

By now films dealing with flyers and their adventures, both military and domestic, have taken on a certain pattern in which are included the aviator's relation with his girl or wife, his love of flying, his veneration for his ship, his gallantry, the camaraderie among the members of the crew, the simple democracy among officers and men, the beautiful lack of race consciousness among the Irish, Jewish, Polish, Italian, Anglo-Saxon pilots, gunners, bombardiers, navigators, etc. I do not question the pattern or even decry it. I merely point out that it becomes increasingly difficult to say anything new in this type of film.

Winged Victory, however, is more successful than its predecessors because it says these things somewhat more believably. The sequences dealing with the boys and their wives are handled in much better taste. When one of the women learns of her cadet husband's crack-up, she accepts the news without heroics or a display of the self-conscious chin-up gesture that gives so many of these movie incidents an air of trying too hard. The best parts of the film are those dealing with the training of the pilot students. Sound montage is skillfully applied to library shots of men in training and gives the scenes a documentary effect. Through the use of this technique the film not only reproduces training routines, but recreates the emotional reaction of young recruits under-

going them. The technical problems of flying are indicated only through the specific qualifications for mastering them. In this *Winged Victory* differs from the other films. It dwells more fully on the relationships among the men, and their emotional reactions to their new world. Thus, even though you will recognize a good deal of the pattern from other films, *Winged Victory* is certainly worth seeing.

Films dealing with flying arouse a curiosity about other branches of the services, such as those connected with artillery, tanks and the unglamorized doughfoot. I don't regret the existence of all our fine flying pictures, but I suspect that a film on tank training would be a wow.

IF EVER a film demonstrated the narrative powers of the cinema art form, it is *National Velvet* at the Music Hall. This movie is the quintessential Hollywood product, with all its errors and virtues, its persuasiveness and ingratiating qualities, its addiction to the unintegrated wisecrack, its trick of treating the fairy tale with the air of reality, its technical brilliance and slick finish.

As a fairy tale, it is one that you will readily accept, for the tradition that rules the dreams of its characters is older than the Hollywood success formula and one that you would never disturb. A footless, ragged youngster comes to a small Sussex village on the English coast and helps the daughter of the local butcher win the Grand National. Now the Grand National is the plaything of the British aristocracy, the horsey set, and for an outsider to break through and *win* is tantamount to Joe Blow or his sister winning the Presidency of the United States without money or a political machine. It is a nice thing to contemplate, since it fulfills our dreams of an ideal world, and no one this side of Hitler could ever resist the blandishments of such a story.

The daughter of the butcher is a monomaniac about horses. When she wins a gelding in the village lottery, a hunter who knows how to take the jumps, she begins to dream of her horse in the Grand National. The vagabond, tough, cynical and a man of the world, scoffs at the idea, but catches fire from her enthusiasm. The girl's mother, who had won a prize as a channel swimmer years before, readily gives her the money for the entry fee. Clutching the memory of her glory as an old soldier his medal, she understands her daughter's impulse. Win or lose she can have the

entry money, for money is inconsequential. Only the dream is important.

Comes the great day. Daughter rides the horse and wins. But the excitement is too much for her and she slides from the horse in a dead faint. She is discovered to be a girl and disqualified. Thus the ideal is maintained intact: the glory is hers, and no one cares that she is denied the prize.

Technically, the film is superb. In the racing scene finale excitement rides the audience from beginning to end. As the horses neared the final hurdles, the people all around me were kicking home the winner as though they were at Aintree itself, with their last five pounds on the nose of the favorite. I never before witnessed such audience participation in any picture.

Mickey Rooney as the boy was a complete surprise. He has always been a skilled vaudevillian, but I had not suspected he was capable of such sustained and consistent effort. Anne Rovere is the understanding and philosophic mother. Elizabeth Taylor, as Velvet Brown, the title character, in her appearance and restraint creates an adolescent that fits the story beautifully.

On Broadway

AFTER being shown the door at every Shubert theater in town, *Trio* has at last found a home on the Belasco stage. In a program-bow to his associates, the producer, Lee Sabinson, thanks them for helping him bring *Trio* to Broadway. But Mr. Sabinson and his company deserve public applause. For their victory goes beyond their smaller interest: it is a victory for courage and commonsense in the theater; for the play-adapted from her novel by Dorothy and Howard Baker is an absorbing exploration of a little known phase of human behavior, and a genuine contribution to the theater of our time.

But why all the furore of moral horror and attempted censorship of a theme of love, unusual and perverted though it is, when our theater has at all times welcomed dramas of murder and madness? If lesbianism is to be tried in the moral scale, does it weigh less than the pycopathy of the Jack-the-Ripper in *Hand In Glove*? Is the theater so much more open to the public and so much less adult than a book that what may safely be put between covers becomes dangerous behind a proscenium?

As a matter of fact there is nothing objectionable in the Baker play, either on the surface or in implication. It is so

written and so performed that it seems less a sexual conflict between young Janet's male and female lovers than the age-old struggle between forces of good and evil for the right to guide a growing person. As the play develops, we become gradually aware that Professor Pauline Maury's lesbianism has been determined by the same causes which have frightened her into becoming an academic fraud, a partial plagiarist, a liar, a bully, a snob, a wheedler, a wretched, unscrupulous seeker after pitiful safety: a distorted child grown into corrupt womanhood. And here is the one fault of the play: that though it reveals this personality with such penetrating psychological detail as we have seldom seen since O'Neill, it gives no clue to what originally threw her off the normal track and sent her banging into the blind-alleys of fear. But this is an after-curtain thought, for except for a slight talkiness in the first act, the writing and the acting of the play are so taut and fascinating that we are held to the moment and it seems sufficient in itself.

A great deal of the credit for the artistic success of *Trio* belongs to its director, Bretaigue Windust, and its actors. The slightest error of taste might well have ruined the presentation. Nowhere was this more possible than in the second act scene between Janet and the boy who is trying to infuse her with the courage and self-confidence to break away from what he senses is an unhealthy relationship with the older woman. Lois Wheeler's Janet is a beautiful but badly scared girl, sensitive, high-strung, knowing she is lost and painfully anxious to be rescued. Richard Widmark, as the young student, has a more difficult portrait to draw, for some of his part forces him into the shorthand of symbolizing himself; it is also more restrained and therefore more explosive. It is an interesting commentary that when the boy discovers the intimacy and cries Janet out of his life, the audience reaction is that he is being unreasonable and untrue to himself. He is completely restored to our favor only when he returns to help Janet free herself from Pauline Maury.

But it is Lydia St. Clair's performance of Pauline Maury that stands above every other contributing factor to the success of *Trio*. Miss St. Clair, a notable French actress, has a remarkable ability for interior portrayal. Her voice has an exciting, nervous quality and her hands are sensitive and descriptive. She is in such total possession of the inner sources of her character that though it is by far

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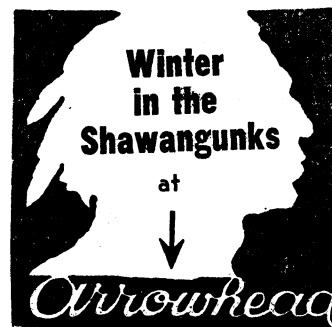
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the most complex in the play, it emerges the most real and whole. When the double disaster of the loss of Janet and the exposure of plagiarism scorches through her in the last act, we actually see her shrivel inwardly.

This review cannot close without mention of Harry Irvine's honest playing of the Dean who hates being implicated in the exposing of the Professor's plagiarism. Stewart Chaney provided the sets and they are, as usual, handsome to look at and easy to play in. Altogether, *Trio* is a very satisfying play, for all that I cannot help feeling that it would have been even more so at any other time than in the midst of the larger conflict going on about it.

A COUPLE of paragraphs on this week's musical openings. The Theater Guild brought in *Sing Out, Sweet Land!*, "a salute to American folk and popular music," book and direction by Walter Kerr, music arranged and original, conducted by Elie Siegmeister, dances directed by Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman, settings by Albert Johnson, and all under the production baton of Leon Leonidoff. With Alfred Drake as the peripatetic singing fool to hold some 200 years together and Burl Ives warbling ingratiatingly, it is a pleasant, though undistinguished, procession of more or less familiar songs. The impression throughout is of a country singing small, quaint and charming during two revolutions, the geographic and economic conquest of a continent, and two world wars. Unquestionably, we could use another cavalcade of song to reflect the gigantic vigor, the fierce love of freedom, the battlesome progressiveness which out of wilderness wrought the miracle of America. I should, for instance, have enjoyed hearing Robert Penn roll one such song out on his stirring baritone. However, the musical at the International Theater, though small and pretty, nevertheless offers an enjoyable evening. Alfred Drake and Burl Ives are tops.

"ON THE TOWN" arrived at the Adelphi to the huzzahs of most of the critical fraternity. Basing the book and lyrics on Jerome Robbins' ballet, *Fancy Free*, Betty Comden and Adolph Green have provided a continuity which actually keeps the story in the foreground through Robbins' vivacious choreography, Leonard Bernstein's brass-bright tympanic score, and Oliver Smith's imaginative sets. With a swift,

gay hand George Abbott has mixed into it such lively ingredients as Sono Osato, who can act as well as dance. Nancy Walker, who is a rough comedienne and helps the rest of the company prove that one doesn't need a voice to sing, Betty Comden, who assists in this impression and is very amusing, and the three sailors in search of Miss Subway, John Battles, Adolph Green and Chris Alexander. Altogether, the sprightliest, danciest, most musically-vibrant show since *Bloomer Girl*. HARRY TAYLOR.

Lublin

(Continued from page 6)

Giraud, and holding off the recognition of the French Provisional Government until recently. The Polish Provisional Government has the same right to demand recognition as did the French Provisional Government or the Czechoslovak government. At least it has as much right as the newly organized Hungarian Provisional Government whose delegates are conferring with representatives of all three great Allies on Armistice terms for Hungary.

The Polish Provisional Government is a temporary government, as is the French Provisional Government, and does not intend to rule indefinitely. The Polish Provisional Government promised the people, as has the French Provisional Government, that a national election will be held shortly after the complete liberation of Poland. In this election the Polish people will have the right to choose freely the form of government under which they wish to live. The elections will be conducted on the basis of the legal and democratic constitution of 1921, which the Polish Provisional Government observes and abides by. Such elections, however, cannot be carried out on the basis of the illegal and anti-democratic constitution of 1935 with its fascist election regulations. And it is this constitution which the emigre government in London embraces. The 1935 constitution would block the exercise of the people's right to choose freely the institutions and government under which they are to live. Certainly it is not the aim of the United Nations or of their men at the fronts to set up or restore regimes founded on fascist or anti-democratic constitutions anywhere, including Poland.

There is no justification for continuing to recognize the emigre government in London but there is every reason to recognize immediately the Polish Provisional Government in Lublin.

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