

SPLITTING GERMANY by COLONEL T.

APRIL 17
1 9 4 5

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

WHO SHALL REPRESENT POLAND?

by **ABRAHAM PENZIK**

A Polish Socialist tells why the Warsaw Provisional Government should be invited to San Francisco

RUSSIA AND JAPAN

by **THE EDITORS**

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Who's Who in the New Czech Government, by Jan Pika; Mr. Biddle's Private War, by Virginia Gardner; A Writer Named Thomas Jefferson, by Samuel Sillen; The ABC of Bretton Woods, by Ralph Bowman; Gadgets and You, by Henry Schubart; The Commentators' Club, by Joel Bradford.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

IN THE days when the world was large and its problems small, the members of the NEW MASSES staff would pop in on each other with easy informality at any hour of the day. But *mutatis mutandi*, as our classical department says. The world changes and we change with it. Our smaller wartime personnel and our increased business and editorial problems have made such informal methods of work a luxury. Time, like other wartime commodities, has become scarcer and demands proper apportionment. A NEW MASSES editor has not only the worry of articles and editorials but is involved in every financial and extra-curricular activity as well. Hence when acting editor A. B. Magil, in the absence of Joseph North, found himself confronted with an endless spate of people requesting his attention on a number of problems (all legitimate) he had to start writing his editorials at three in the morning. Clearly, *something* had to be done. Something was. One day recently there appeared on his door a lock of the most modern design, complete with ticker and buzzer system. Its appearance was not only a simple act of mechanical attachment but it involved priorities, hidden wires, a system of signals and answers, etc. The contraption was so universally admired that Magil had to spend his days explaining the mechanism to all and sundry. It wasn't until the lock was around for a week before people began taking it for granted. But did it save the much-needed time? Not yet—and this is why. The lock is released electrically and operates in the manner of the catch on a lobby door. When you want to enter Magil's office, however, you do not ring a bell. Instead, you rattle the door knob. Sometimes the rattling and the answering tick-tick merge and you have to rattle again. Too, the mechanism is so noiseless (latest word in construction) that unless you are on your toes you are apt to miss the signal. With one thing and another, Magil found that he was fingering the releasing button more often than the keys of his typewriter.

It will not surprise you, therefore, if I tell you that at the present writing Magil is seriously considering the junking of this new system and going back to the policy of the open door. In this event he probably plans to assume an attitude of scowling at the typewriter so that all potential interrupters will see that he is busy. But I can promise you that it will not work; in fact, it will constitute a most retrogressive step. It will be like going back to the horse and buggy because your spark plugs get wet. There is a much better solution, in fact the only one.

Since huge gobs of time are consumed by people who must consult Magil on one matter or another, the obvious thing to

do is cut down the number of such people. How can this be done? Simply by eliminating the reasons for such visits. And now we come to your part in the solution. You (all our readers) probably didn't suspect that you were in on this, but no NEW MASSES problem exists that the readers aren't a part of. As we mentioned above, one of the questions that demand the attention of the editors is the financial one. The plans and schemes that are evolved to raise money quickly are more worthy of a banking institution than of a magazine. But such planning is necessary because our fund drive is not raising its quota quickly enough. Our enemies will gloat over this fact, but our friends will be concerned. Let the lock be the symbol of the fact that the response of our readers must be stepped up. On the day that the last of the \$50,000 comes in, we will let you take the lock away. It will no longer be needed since Magil and the others will be able to concentrate on the actual contents of the magazine and not on its needs.

THE name of NEW MASSES has been appearing in the most diverse places of late. Two fans of detective fiction have sent in tear sheets of stories in which we are part of the *mise-en-scene*, so to speak. In the first, one of the characters, who is a close friend of the hero, turns out to be a constant reader of NM and quotes us no less than three times on the one page we saw. In the second, one of the suspects wanted by the police is a rat and a toady. Among his other shady qualities, according to the author, is the fact that he reads NEW MASSES. Our reputation is a standoff in this field. We do not know the name of either of these books since the information was not sent along. In a recent issue of the magazine *Tomorrow*, there is a story entitled "Great-aunt Lucy vs. Communism." In the page sent to us by mail (we always get only the one page) is the following: "Great-aunt Lucy began barging around . . . to magazine stands in what she called 'the decent suburbs' in order to buy up all their copies of NEW MASSES." What she wanted with all those copies (we hope there were many) we cannot tell you until we get an entire copy of the magazine.

J. F.

NEW MASSES ESTABLISHED 1911

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* On leave with the armed forces.

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Two weeks' notice is requested for change of address. Notifications sent to NEW MASSES rather than the Post office will give the best results. Vol. LV, No. 3. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y. Copyright 1944, THE NEW MASSES, INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Washington Office, 954 National Press Bldg. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions \$5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico; six months \$2.75; three months \$1.50. Foreign, \$6.00 a year; six months \$3.25; three months, \$1.75. In Canada \$6.00 a year, \$3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope.

PRELUDE TO SAN FRANCISCO

By THE EDITORS

Russia and Japan

IT WAS a momentous week, this last one, which saw sweeping advances into Hitler's domain, the brilliant push on the island of Okinawa at the very threshold of the Japanese homeland, the beginning of the final preparations for the San Francisco conference, and the Soviet Union's denunciation of its neutrality pact with Japan. Each of these events separately spelled disaster for the enemy; together they denoted a rising power and unity among the United Nations, an important extension of their global outlook both for war and peace. In Germany signs were at hand of a complete breakdown of Nazi military and political authority; in Japan preparations were being made for desperate moves to evade the consequences of the crushing defeat that were in store.

When the radio and newspapers flashed the news of the Soviet Union's move against Japan a feeling of exhilaration swept the country. We had had no right to ask for a greater contribution to the joint war effort on the part of our heroic Russian allies than they had already made. Not only have they borne the brunt of the struggle against Hitlerism but by maintaining throughout the war a powerful force north of the Manchurian border they had for years immobilized the most ferocious and best equipped divisions of the Japanese armies. Even before the treaty denunciation, the Soviet Union had already made an immense contribution to the war in the Far East.

But if we had no right to ask for further aid in crushing Japan we had the right to hope. And every American had indulged in the hope that his Russian friends could extend themselves that much more so that the partnership which had saved the world from Nazism would save it from Japanese imperialism as well. The Soviet Union, in denouncing the Japanese treaty, officially declared its enmity to the eastern end of the fascist Axis.

The denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese treaty is a sign of the approaching end of the European phase of the struggle. It is a mark of victory for the Red Armies on the eastern front of Germany. But more than that it indicates the tremendously increased power of the Soviet Union, in political, economic and military terms, in being able to assume an especially active role in the Far East while she fights in Europe. Surely such a momentous decision would not have been made had not the USSR strong confidence in the integrity of its alliance with the United States and Great Britain. We may, therefore, welcome the treaty denunciation as marking the further deepening and, in terms of geography, expansion of the United Nations coalition.

The Soviet Union has taken this historic step in conformity with the provisions of the Soviet-Japanese Treaty itself which provides for just such denunciation one year before the treaty's expiration. The pact remains in force until April of 1946. We have no way of knowing what, if any, further

moves the Soviet Union will take in the Far East and we find ourselves in entire agreement with the Office of Censorship in its warning against speculation on this point. Not only would such speculation be fruitless but it might prove dangerous to the war effort as well.

In any case speculation is unnecessary for the effect of Moscow's decision has already made itself felt. Coming at the climax of a series of smashing defeats inflicted by American forces upon the Japanese, the treaty denunciation toppled the "strong man" cabinet of Kuniaki Koiso. Emperor Hirohito then went into conference with his advisers—which simply means that the outward forms of Japanese protocol are being rigidly followed—and summoned Admiral Baron Kantaro Suzuki to form the third wartime government. The choice is an interesting one which suggests "peace" offers in the near future. Suzuki is what is euphemistically known as a "moderate" which means that while he has gone along with the fascists all these years he has not been one of their fire-eating leaders. A cabinet under his direction, obviously, will try to hold things together at home and at the same time appeal to the weasel-hearted appeasers abroad. Whatever he offers in the way of terms we are confident will not be accepted by the Allied command. It is therefore not likely that the Admiral Baron will stay in office long.

While the coalition against Japan has been greatly strengthened by the Soviet's action much remains to be done before it will be prepared for the final stages of the war or for the first stages of the postwar period in the Far East. No political progress whatsoever has been made within China. China remains the weak link in the chain being forged to strangle Japan. We have been flailing Japan with one end of this chain and we shall continue to do so but we shall not be able to apply the final, crushing pressure until the whole circle of the chain is complete and strong. Chungking's failure becomes the more conspicuous as Allied efforts on other anti-Japanese fronts increase. It is a situation which demands urgent and immediate action.

Teapot Tempest

THE staggering moral and political blow delivered Japan by Moscow had its reverberations right in our backyards. For several days running before the denunciation of the treaty a synthetic tension was created by bewildered commentators, intentional disrupters, and a host of doomsday salesmen. The atmosphere was charged with sparks from so-called friction between the United Nations and the Soviet Union over her request for three votes in the proposed security organization and her endorsement of Warsaw's appeal that the Provisional Government be represented at the San Francisco Conference. And then came the flash from Moscow and the gentlemen who distort the news were quiet again.

But they will be back on the job next day or the day

after. It is one of the irrational phenomena of our time that the Soviet Union—the great ally that gave us time to bring substance to our war plans—is in certain quarters never taken in good faith nor is her obvious desire to build an enduring peace accepted without suspicion. That suspicion led us almost to the brink of disaster before and if we should have learned anything about the USSR during the tragic inter-war decades it is that a proposal from the Russians should be considered with the same equanimity, with the same absence of hysteria which greets the proposals, let us say, of France, or England, or China. To be sure there is great progress to record in our understanding of the Soviets. But it rarely fails to happen that when the anti-Sovieteers bunch up and start their business many otherwise decent and cautious people also begin to flail their arms.

This time the outburst was not only directed eastward but it was intended to damage the President because of his commitments at Yalta and because he believes that friendship with the Soviet Union should mean exactly that. Friendship of course does not imply total and complete agreement on everything. Such thinking is utopian and appeals only to those who dwell in a world of fantasy. There are differences between us and the Soviet Union as there are differences between ourselves and every state with which we have solid relations. But the differences in the context of grand alliance are not divisive but in fact incentives to find more and more common ground.

Last week in his remarkable Chicago speech Secretary Stettinius showed the firmest grasp of the problem of conducting coalition war and coalition peace. Speaking of the "difficulties of a political nature that have arisen recently in connection with the San Francisco conference" he said: "I ask you to remember: first, that the United Nations have repeatedly overcome other difficulties far more serious in the last three years; second, that the vital national interests of the United States and of each of our allies are bound up in maintaining and cementing in the peace our wartime partnership; third, that the extent of our agreement is far wider and more fundamental than the extent of our differences. If we keep these facts constantly in mind, we shall be able to keep our sense of proportion."

This precept of diplomacy should be clipped, framed and tacked on every wall. If certain of the doomsday boys had kept their "sense of proportion" there would not have been such bitter tears over the supposed "inferior" quality of the Soviet delegation to San Francisco. Only Mr. Molotov can explain why he is not coming. But does the fact that Ambassador Gromyko will lead several of his countrymen to the West Coast mean that the USSR is not vitally concerned with the success of the security conferences? How absurd it would be to say that it is not. Mr. Gromyko led the Soviet delegation to Dumbarton Oaks, he was one of his government's representatives at the Crimea Conference, he undoubtedly knows exactly what his government wants and what it does not want. His signature will carry the full weight and force of a people who were the political architects of collective security when other states merely paid lip service to it.

If the typewriter prophets here had kept a "sense of proportion" they would not even have had to wait for an authoritative editorial in *Pravda* to tell them that the Soviet Union has no desire to postpone the meeting in San Francisco. Marshal Stalin agreed to the time and place at Crimea and we should by now learn to respect his word just as the Soviet people respect the word of Mr. Roosevelt.

If instead of converting tons of lead into rumors, many

newspapers had kept a "sense of proportion" they would have seen what one of them saw after a little reflection and research: and that is that the request by Moscow for two votes for the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics is a means of recognizing the contribution of those peoples to the war. The conservative *New York Herald Tribune* which started the hysterical fussing over the votes in its news columns, was compelled to admit on its editorial page (April 4) that "Within the vast domain of the Soviet Union there are the beginnings of a real federalism. . . . All men of good will have a real interest in encouraging the individuality of the Ukrainian, White Russian and other constituent Soviet peoples, because in this Russian principle of autonomy within a wider union there may lie the seeds of significant advance in the organization of peoples." The sense of proportion that lies behind these words sees the participation of two autonomous Soviet republics in the General Assembly not as a conspiracy to rule the world with two votes but as a logical development which there is every reason to support.

Where did all the lack of balance and lack of proportion come from? The source of infection was again those who would kill a security organization before it got under way. The bugs can be called "reservation," "amendment" and "review" and those with low resistance easily catch the disease. Mr. Vandenberg and Mr. Hoover still hope that they can whittle down to their own size what mankind has struggled for over the centuries. They despise the idea of lasting coalition; they are terrified by the upsurge of democracy everywhere; they deeply resent the leading role that the Soviet Union is playing in world affairs. And they have a plan of attack: magnify every issue, confuse and befuddle, blow dust into eyes eager to see a calm, orderly future; start another fire at San Francisco; undo what has been done at Crimea by the only powers that can guarantee the world's safety.

There is the plan for which the opposition is regrouping and preparing. And it will take a counter opposition of the greatest weight and force to smash it.



Moses Soyler

WHO SHALL REPRESENT POLAND?

By **ABRAHAM PENZIK**

Dr. Penzik is a well-known Polish Socialist now living in this country and author of several works on political and legal questions.

WHILE this article is being written there is still uncertainty concerning Poland's invitation to the San Francisco Conference. I have not lost hope, however, that my country will be represented. Poland is interested in collective security even more than many other United Nations because of her proximity to Germany. Poland's failure to participate in the creation of an international organization for securing peace would have serious consequences. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many of the obstacles to inviting Poland were artificially created.

Unfortunately, there are two Polish governments. One of them is allegedly legal, resides in London and is still recognized by most of the United Nations, especially by the United States and Great Britain. The other government, which exercises power in liberated Poland and also claims to be legal, is situated in Warsaw. This government is formally recognized by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Both governments claim the right to represent the Polish people and both protested their omission from San Francisco.

The American State Department and the British Foreign Office have stated that a Polish government which would correspond to the Crimea decisions would be invited to participate in the conference. The group in London was irrevocably excluded from the San Francisco discussions. It would be a great injustice to Poland and the United Nations if she were not represented at San Francisco. Poland was the first country to resist Nazi aggression. Her armies are fighting on all fronts. She has suffered great losses in men and material. Four million Polish citizens were exterminated by the Gestapo. She was the first to organize underground resistance that later became the model for other countries conquered by Hitler.

The League of Nations was bankrupt many years before the outbreak of World War II. This was most clearly demonstrated when Germany attacked Poland in September 1939. The League failed even to convene after this accomplished act of violence. Poland was the

first victim of this war; she cannot, therefore, be kept away from the deliberations and decisions concerning the creation of a new organization which will vitally affect her own and the other United Nations' future security.

A seemingly complicated situation can be easily solved so as to make Poland's participation in the conference possible, by prompt adherence to the Crimea decisions. Those who blame the Provisional Government in Warsaw for creating obstacles and for lack of cooperation and good will in the carrying out of the Crimea decisions are incorrect. This government is most interested in its speedy reorganization according to the provisions of the Yalta Conference, and so is the Soviet Union. The reason for the slowing up of the reorganization of the Provisional Government lies elsewhere. It lies in the misinterpretation of the Crimea decisions and in the favoring of certain Polish leaders abroad by certain American groups and by the British Foreign Office. Those leaders have in turn presented unacceptable conditions for their entry into the Provisional Government. No top positions in the government or special guarantees can be given these leaders. They failed to come to terms with the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PCNL) first in August and later in October 1944. When Stanislaw Mikolajczyk was in Moscow in August 1944, the PCNL offered him the premiership of the Provisional Government to be established to replace the Polish Government in Exile and the PCNL. Three other portfolios were offered to the former president of the Polish National Council in London, Professor Grabsky; to a former Minister of Mikolajczyk's government, Popiel; and to one Socialist in exile.

A similar proposal was submitted to Mr. Mikolajczyk in October during his conferences with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin in Moscow. Marshal Stalin had even made some territorial concessions to Mr. Mikolajczyk to encourage him toward a reconciliation with the PCNL. Both conferences as well as the efforts of Churchill and Stalin failed of the desired results.

The Congress of the Peasant Party—of which Mikolajczyk is a leader—held in Lublin in October 1944, with the participation of a thousand delegates,

called upon him to return to Poland and to take over the chairmanship of the party. All this was in vain. Mikolajczyk remained in exile.

On New Year's Eve of 1945, 150 delegates of all anti-fascist and democratic political parties from liberated and occupied Poland chose Boleslaw Bierut, former chairman of the Home National Council, as temporary president of a provisional government. He in turn appointed the Provisional Government, with the chairman of the Polish Socialist Party, Osobka-Morawski, as Prime Minister.

Mr. Mikolajczyk, who missed the bus in Moscow twice before and was later forced by a majority of his colleagues to resign from the premiership of the London government, alleged in his weekly *Jutro Polski* that the Polish Provisional Government is a puppet government and is made up only of Communists. Through this unfortunate step he closed to himself the door to the Provisional Government which until then still remained open to him.

The members of the PCNL and later of the Provisional Government worked hard to liberate the country and to rebuild it. The Polish Army under the command of General Rola-Zymierski, Minister of National Defense in the Polish Provisional Government, entered Warsaw, then the industrial city of Lodz, the ancient cities of Czestochowa and Cracow, the Silesian city of Katowice, and so forth. Representatives of the Polish Provisional Government took over the administration of Pomerania, lower Silesia and the Baltic port of Danzig. The Provisional Government opened schools, universities, and theaters. It helped many factories to begin operations and created jobs for thousands of workers and peasants. It abolished German laws as well as pre-war Polish reactionary laws, and in their place promulgated new democratic measures and carried out many political and social reforms—particularly the land reform long desired by the Polish peasants. It won the confidence of millions of Polish citizens. It also won the confidence of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and of many conservative laymen. The following fact confirms that statement: "General Rola-Zymierski, commander-in-chief of the Polish army, was guest of honor at a dinner given by a group



"Judgment Bound," by Edith Glaser.

of prominent citizens on the occasion of his recent visit to Cracow. Among those who attended the dinner were . . . Archbishop Prince Sapieha, Mayor of Cracow, Fiderkiewicz, Chairman of the Academy of Sciences, Professor Kutrzeba, Rector of the Jagiellonian University, Professor Ler-Splawinski, and President of the Mining Academy, Professor Getel." (*Polpress*, April 3, 1945.)

Mr. Mikolajczyk can no longer hope to be Poland's prime minister in the Provisional Government. Along with the other emigre Poles—who did not participate in the nine-months' struggle for the liberation and rebuilding of Poland and who are nevertheless to join the government according to the Yalta decisions—he must accept the position offered him now by the Provisional Government as well as the reforms and laws passed by that government and the Home National Council.

The three diplomats chosen at the Yalta Conference to help straighten out the Polish situation are to "consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad with a view to the reorganization of the present government." The Yalta decisions concerning the government in Poland (the emigre government was not even mentioned) are clear and under-

standable. They need no interpretation. Jurists—and the writer of this article happens to be one—usually do not interpret provisions which are as clear and understandable as the Yalta decisions in general, and those concerning Poland in particular. Everyone who begins to interpret the latter decisions instead of enacting them as they stand has hardly complied with juridical usage. The matter was thus approached with prejudice toward the Provisional Government in Warsaw and, therefore, was *a priori* destined to result in false conclusions.

I have, however, encountered several interpretations, with the following one repeated more often than the others: The present Provisional Government is to be dissolved and a new government is to be created with one-third of the members to be chosen from the present Provisional Government, one-third from leaders abroad and one-third from other leaders within Poland. Such an interpretation renders nil the Crimea decisions on Poland. The document reads expressly: "*The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader, democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad.*" (My emphasis.) It clearly states that the present Provisional Government is to be reorganized and not dissolved. That is to be accomplished through the broadening

of its "democratic basis" by "the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad." In the Crimea decision it was admitted that the present Provisional Government was created on a democratic basis which needs only to be broadened and not destroyed. It is quite obvious that when we say "broader democratic basis" a democratic basis already exists.

The present Provisional Government has accepted those explicit Crimea decisions. It was and still is the desire of that government that those decisions be acted upon and very quickly. No member of the present Provisional Government has tried to jeopardize the enactment of those decisions.

In my opinion if certain individuals in the USA and Britain consulted instead of imposed their desires, the reorganization based on the Crimea decisions would proceed speedily and smoothly and we would not now have an open question whether or not Poland will be represented at San Francisco.

Even if the reorganization of the Provisional Government is not accomplished in time, Poland should not be deprived of representation in San Francisco. The invitation should be extended to the present Provisional Government, which is backed by all democratic and anti-fascist groups within Poland and exercises actual power in the entire country. But there is still time to adhere to the Crimea decisions on Poland as they stand without any interpretation on the side. Making difficulties for the reorganization of the Provisional Government must cease and then it will be reorganized in accord with the Yalta decisions and be invited to San Francisco in time.

The Big Three know only too well how much the cause of the United Nations will suffer if the Yalta decisions concerning Poland's internal affairs are not carried out on time. The Poles are not asking for favors. They demand the same rights which other nations have. The people of Poland who inspired the United Nations deserve not only to be heard on the question of an international security organization through delegations similar to the French, Czechoslovak, or Yugoslav, but also deserve a seat in the Security Council. The absence of a delegation from Poland in San Francisco would impede the development of an international organization for collective security. Poland must not be treated any worse than a country which recently joined the United Nations or has just declared war against the Axis.

COMMENTATORS' CLUB

MY FRIEND Winthrop writes a column for the *Connecticut Crier*, in which he chronicles the wit of suburban tea-tables. By virtue of this genial practice, he has gained membership in the Commentators' Club, known to irreverent outsiders as "The Excrescences," whither he took me one day so that I might meet, as he said, "a bunch of lovely writers."

We were admitted by a porter in full livery. "This is a friend of mine," said Winthrop, explaining my presence. "You can tell by his hands that he writes, and by his face that he is never puzzled." The porter, apparently satisfied, bowed low; and we proceeded across a floor of rose marble to the basement stairway. "The bar, my boy," said Winthrop. "That's where we writers always start."

After two snifters, followed by as many snorts, we looked into the gymnasium, where several members were athletically engaged. I was much struck by the amount and variety of the apparatus. One member, a lady of excellent muscle, was at that moment practicing upon the flying rings. It was remarkable how she could swing from one position to another and return to her starting point without loss of motion. "That's Dorothy Thompson," Winthrop told me, "the best in the club on the flying rings." There were no less than five sets of parallel bars, on which members were practicing splits, fence-sitting and a kind of rotary somersault. Across one end of the room stretched a tight-rope, which constituted the most challenging exercise of all. Winthrop said that the gymnasium had been closed for a week, recently, out of respect for an editor of *PM*, who, attempting the tight-rope too rashly, had fallen off on the left side and broken his neck.

We proceeded by elevator to the second floor, where the special room for military analysts was situated. The room was bathed in a blinding darkness, in which I soon began to discern vague shapes huddled around faintly burning desk-lamps. On one table stood some fifteen volumes entitled, in phosphorescent letters, *Uebersinnliche Weltkriegstheorie*. A massive form loomed close in the darkness. "This is Hanson Baldwin," said Winthrop, introducing us. "It's a pleasure to meet you, Mr. Baldwin," I said. "What's pleasant about it?" he asked, rather sadly. I had to be mute, for really I didn't know. "What's pleasant about anything?" he went on. "The Germans will soon win the war." I told him I had the opposite impression. "Don't you believe it, sir, don't you believe it! I have proved over and over again that the German army is invincible. Do you question a man who has studied the entire *Uebersinnliche Weltkriegstheorie*?" I said that I did not. "The German army has recoiled like a spring. When it leaps out again—poof! there will be an end to your skepticism." He seemed even pleased with the idea.

"Well, let's look elsewhere," I said to Winthrop; and, as I turned to go, I tripped over the feet of Fletcher Pratt, the naval expert, who was sunk in meditation. Apologizing and stumbling, I reached the door and emerged into a light as blinding as the darkness had been. We walked down the corridor to the "Game Room."

This room was pleasantly painted in pastel colors. On the walls were charming depictions of fairy-tales, except for a central panel, where a photograph of President Roosevelt hung upside down. I noticed first a remarkably large table, of which the surface was full of holes. There were pegs to be driven in and hammers to drive them. That's where we practice hammering," said Winthrop. "See, it goes like this." And he swung vigorously, making a prodigious racket, but with no result except the driving of the peg through the board. Winthrop said that one of the members, a Mr. Frank Kent, was so enamored of this pastime that he devoted whole days to it, taking only fifteen minutes off for lunch.

I would have enjoyed staying to examine a miniature merry-go-round, from within which came very doleful mutterings; but just then there was a rush of feet down the main staircase. "Come on," cried Winthrop. "This is the Hearst hour." We got downstairs in time to see half a dozen men line up before a battery of telephones. An attendant spread a small prayer rug before each; and then, while the clock chimed five, the men knelt in silence, facing slightly northeast toward Berlin and in such a way as to take in a certain portion of Wall Street. The prayer being ended and inspiration received, they took up the telephones and dictated to a central office their next day's columns.

While I was standing transfixed by the grandeur of the scene, my gaze chanced upon a notice lately posted on the bulletin board. It read as follows:

\$50 REWARD \$50
FOR THE APPREHENSION
(DEAD OR ALIVE)
OF JOEL BRADFORD
(THE STINKO-PINKO)
(Signed, Westbrook Pegler)

"Let's go," I said; "we better get out of here." "Yes," said Winthrop, "while we can still walk."

We left. The world outside was bright and sunny, and life appeared to go on just as if the Commentators' Club didn't exist. We walked to the subway in silence, Winthrop absorbed in his next week's column, and I chastened by the thought that, dead or alive, I was worth only fifty dollars.



Herbert Kruckman

MR. BIDDLE'S PRIVATE WAR

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THE lofty marble-pillared courtroom was heavily studded with top-ranking lawyers from government agencies and from labor organizations who had come to hear the arguments in the historic Harry Bridges case.

Among the spectators were many of the same faces seen at another historic argument before the Supreme Court—which resulted in a reversal of the lower courts' decision to cancel the citizenship of William Schneiderman. It also resulted in a great political document—the opinion of Justice Frank Murphy—the meaning of which was distilled in the one line, "The constitutional fathers, fresh from a revolution, did not forge a political straitjacket for the generations to come."

Much has happened since the Schneiderman case was argued. Wendell Willkie, who defended the Communist, Schneiderman, because of his deep conviction that the constitutional rights of all citizens of whatever political beliefs were at stake, is dead. The nation has been at war for an additional two and one-half years, during which, Bridges' own union, the CIO Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, has made a contribution to the war effort praised by military, government and management leaders. The war and the United Nations coalition have progressed to the point where V-E day is not far off and forty-odd nations are preparing to set up at San Francisco a permanent organization to maintain the peace.

Yet here was being unfolded another chapter in what has been called Attorney General Francis Biddle's private war against Harry Bridges. The technical motion before the Court was to grant a writ of habeas corpus to the labor leader, whose deportation Biddle has ordered on the grounds that he has been at some time a member of the now dissolved Communist Party—an allegation which Bridges has consistently denied.

Actually the issues before the Court are manifold and the whole is much larger than any of its parts. As CIO Counsel Lee Pressman said, the liberties of three and one-half million aliens depend on the Court's decision. Are they to be told that if they practice the freedom of conscience, of expression and of assembly guaranteed to them, as well as to citizens, by the Bill of Rights, they will then be deported for precisely that

reason? Moreover, if the Congress and the Department of Justice can single out an individual and change the rules at every step to get him at any cost, is there any reason to believe that the aliens of an entire labor group would be immune from such action?

THE Department of Justice, represented by Solicitor General Charles Fahy, took the view that any Court review of the case should be limited to the constitutionality of the law under which the deportation is being sought. Thus, if there were a reversal, Biddle would be protected against the public's ire. The long hunt and persecution of a labor leader would have been the result of action by Congress and not by Mr. Biddle. But Pressman and Mr. Bridges' attorneys, Carol King of New York and Richard Gladstein, make it clear that it is in the entire sweep of the case that the un-American practice of singling out an individual for especial attack against the accepted rules has prevailed.

At the Supreme Court hearing the justices most known for their progressive opinions appeared very alive to this issue—Justice Hugo Black and Justice Wiley Rutledge in particular. The government maintains that if there is any evidence at all, the evidence should not be reviewed and there is no application of the Constitution's provision that a man may not be deprived of his life, liberty or property without due process of law. Justice Rutledge indicated, however, that where personal rights and freedom were involved, the scope of inquiry perhaps should be greater than where property rights were involved. This would mean that even if some evidence were found, the Court might hold that the standard of proof should be higher.

Now the Court in many cases involving the OPA and the National Labor Relations Board has interpreted the due process clause in a contrary way, allowing administrative agencies considerable freedom from review. It is generally believed that Rutledge, Black, Murphy and William O. Douglas will be favorable to a progressive decision in the Bridges case. Rutledge's stressing of freedom and liberty in the case is consistent with his background as a Quaker and a champion of liberties and American ideals in the Midwest—he was dean of the Washington University Law School in St. Louis and the Iowa University Law School. It is possible they might bring along with them Justice Stanley Reed. And if they did, it is possible that Justice Owen J. Roberts might decide with Rutledge that the Court should be more liberal in granting review even if some evidence were shown—but he might also point out that in the future it should be consistent and practice the same theory in reviewing economic legislation.

Department of Justice gossip runs that if Bridges wins a majority vote, the fifth vote (Justice Robert H. Jackson has disqualified himself) will be that of Felix Frankfurter. This may arise from the fact that Frankfurter many years ago won his reputation as a liberal in immigration cases, notably the Collier and Skeffington case, which he argued, and that he was vigorous in denouncing the Palmer Red raids after the last war, particularly as they applied to aliens. But Frankfurter is known to be close to many figures in Washington who reason that they may indulge in Red-baiting because they are established as liberals—and among them is Biddle.

Take a look at the record of the

RIGHT:

"Boy With a Book," by William Gropper, above: "To enslave a people one must first enslave their minds. The Nazis accomplished this by destroying all true learning and attacking the boy with a book." 

"Honorable Representatives," by William Gropper, below: "A scandalous incident occurred in the House of Representatives after the election of President Roosevelt for his fourth term. Representative Rankin accused Representative Hook of association with the Political Action Committee and the CIO and of being a Communist. Representative Hook replied that Representative Rankin was a "— — liar"; whereupon Representative Rankin leaped forward and punched Representative Hook. There were threats of expulsion of the Congressmen, and Representative Hook even offered to resign if Representative Rankin would do the same for the good of the country. The incident was without precedent in the history of ethics and behavior of Congressmen."

Part of an exhibition of Gropper's paintings at the Associated American Artists' Gallery from April 16 to May 7.



"Boy with a Book."



"Honorable Representatives."

Bridges case. On June 12, 1939 a deportation warrant was issued by the Department of Labor (the Immigration and Naturalization Department then belonged to Labor—later it was transferred to Justice) for Harry Bridges, charging that “after he entered the United States he became and now is a member of or affiliated with an organization . . . that believes in, advises, advocates and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the government of the United States.” In the bill of particulars this was named as the Communist Party.

This already represented one change. For in March 1938, a warrant had been issued charging he “had been” a member. But after the Supreme Court decision in the Joseph Strecker case, holding past membership not grounds for deportation, the warrant was amended.

An exhaustive hearing was held before Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School, by far the most distinguished citizen ever to conduct a deportation hearing. In December 1939, Landis issued a 152-page report, thereafter alluded to by Department of Justice officials as the “so-called Landis opinion,” “an inaccurate statement,” “naive” and “meaningless.” The Landis opinion declared that Bridges was neither a member of nor affiliated with the Communist Party, and his findings were accepted by the Department of Labor and the warrant cancelled and proceedings dismissed.

A parade of liars, criminals and spies rounded up by the Immigration Service had produced nothing. But a few months after the proceedings were dismissed, Rep. Leo Allen (R., Ill.) introduced a bill directing the Attorney General “notwithstanding any other provision of law” to deport Bridges. It passed the House but was defeated in the Senate. The next month, in June 1940, Congress passed the Hobbs amendment to the Immigration Act which made past membership in a proscribed organization a deportable offense. Rep. Sam Hobbs, the author, blandly announced on the floor of the House that its purpose was to make it easier for the Department of Justice to deport Bridges.

On Lincoln’s birthday, 1941, another warrant for the arrest and deportation of Bridges was issued. A new hearing was held, with Inspector Charles B. Sears presiding. Inspector Sears rejected practically all of the evidence as to alleged membership with the exception of the testimony of two men, James O’Neil and Harry Lundeberg. The latter, who is head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, had on three previous



occasions told the FBI he had no knowledge of Mr. Bridges’ political affiliations. Nevertheless, the New York State jurist recommended the West Coast labor leader be deported. The four-man Board of Immigration Appeals of the Justice Department unanimously overruled this recommendation, but Biddle then took the unprecedented step of reversing the board and ordering Bridges’ deportation.

Attorney Gladstein, asked by Chief Justice Harlan Stone if it were established that Bridges believed in overthrowing the government by force and violence, quoted from the government: “The government did not claim that petitioner advocated personally or believed in such a doctrine.” He continued quoting: “Petitioner testified he believed in collective bargaining as a device for settling labor disputes, and that he favored strikes only after other methods failed. . . .”

Why is it that Bridges’ persecutors hounded him for seven years and continued doing so after the Landis report cleared him completely, even going so far as to place dictaphones in his hotel room and intercepting conversations with union leaders on union business after his second hearing? Gladstein said it was “precisely because he gave to his trade union a leadership that was intelligent, sincere and effective, that the interests which he antagonized raised against him the cry of Communism and demanded his deportation.”

Gladstein brought out that, aside from O’Neil, the only witness relied on for the finding of membership was Harry Lundeberg, “as Judge Sears described him, an embittered enemy, who took the witness stand and testified that in his opinion the trade union movement of America would be better off if Bridges were deported.” Yet Biddle bracketed Lundeberg and O’Neil together, and said, “This evidence, it is believed, dispels the doubt.”

Attorney Pressman maintained, contrary to the government, that the amended Immigration Act denied aliens their rights of free speech and assembly. The government, he contended, took the position that the Bill of Rights did not apply to Congress’ authority to deport aliens. “In other words,” he said, “the issue would be raised exactly the same if there were a deportation statute that would have provided that all aliens,

be they Jews or Catholics, who profess their religion, shall be deported, or a statute that provided that all aliens who belong to unions shall be deported.”

Pressman pointed out that the Supreme Court had held that an alien did have rights of free speech under the Constitution when in 1941 it relieved Bridges of a fine for contempt of a state court in California. If Congress gives as its reason for deportation that an alien has exercised his constitutional rights, it is exceeding its power, Pressman argued. “We say that this runs to the heart of the whole issue. . . . In other words, the rights of free speech and assembly are not really rights of merely individual significance; it runs to the entire fabric of our national life as to whether we will or will not protect the exercise of those rights.”

Frankfurter asked, “Is your argument that if it could be made a crime to be affiliated with an organization, Congress has the power to make affiliation with any organization subject to deportation?” Precisely, answered Pressman.

Solicitor General Fahy in his argument loftily said that he would “pass over the question of fact as to whether or not the [Communist] Party, assuming there was membership, advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence.” Then he declared, “It has not been argued to the contrary, orally.” It was not because the Communist Political Association was denied an opportunity to intervene in the case. Fahy contented himself with saying “no reasonable man could possibly conclude” that Biddle was not justified in his findings that the Communist Party did so advocate, etc. It should be said, however, that no reasonable man who had any respect for the truth could make such a charge against the Communist Party or its successor, the Communist Political Association. One of the unfortunate aspects of the Bridges case is that from the beginning it has revolved solely around the question of whether Bridges was or was not a Communist, the implication being that if he was, he ought to be thrown to the wolves. In other words, even the defenders of Bridges have, in a certain sense been forced to argue within the framework of the Goebbels conception of Communism. Mr. Biddle, of course, knows better. It is an alarming sense of values that causes him to devote more energy to “getting” a labor leader of unimpeachable patriotism than to bringing to justice the indicted seditionists whose prosecution last year ended in a mistrial.

THE ABC OF BRETTON WOODS

By RALPH BOWMAN

FOR all that has been said to the contrary, the Bretton Woods proposals contain no radical departure from sound and profitable banking and credit practices. Two hundred recognized authorities and experts on monetary problems, among them ministers of finance, Treasury heads and leading bankers from forty-three capitalist countries, do not reach unanimous decisions if the proposals threaten the long established systems of currency or principles on which they rest. The technical intricacies of modern day financial operations that seem so mystifying to the average person were neither challenged nor changed and are not the subject of controversy today. Neither are these proposals designed to limit or reduce the role of private banks or private capital in international trade or investment fields. As a matter of fact adoption of the proposals will expand and for the first time adequately protect large-scale investments of private capital abroad.

The American Bankers Association (ABA) has, however, rejected the main Bretton Woods recommendation and is conducting an energetic campaign against the Monetary Fund with the support of powerful newspapers. The fallacy of their objections and the motives behind them become clear upon examination of the purposes of the Monetary Conference and the relatively simple new elements and guiding principles introduced at Bretton Woods.

Modern day currency systems are delicately balanced and very sensitive to all disturbances and fluctuations in the economic organism which they serve. An expanding economy, in its period of prosperity, tends to stabilize the monetary structure by the momentum of its forward movement. Economic depressions, on the other hand, undermine this stability and cause dangerous fluctuations, manifested in various degrees of deflation or inflation and bank failures. We all remember the wave of bank failures during the Hoover depression in the thirties. It was a part of a worldwide economic crisis that pretty much unbalanced the currencies of all countries, even the most economically powerful ones. We remember how the gold standard was abandoned, how the British pound slipped from its long-established relation to the American dollar of one to five, down to one to four,

where it remains today. The weaker currency of France suffered even more, as did all world currencies, while international trade was severely reduced.

Our dollar with all its mighty potential strength also abandoned the gold standard and our wizards of currency, even those at the head of the ABA, did not then pose as omniscient fiscal authorities because their entire banking structure was on the verge of collapsing around their heads. President Roosevelt's timely banking holiday in 1933, during which Treasury experts devised various forms of emergency aid such as short-term loans, saved the situation from total disaster. After the main crisis was over various more enduring measures were introduced, such as bank deposit insurance, whereby the resources of all banks and of the federal government were combined to give each bank the potential backing of the entire monetary system. Interestingly enough, ABA leaders opposed the deposit insurance plan.

THE thirties are recalled here not so much to deflate the "fiscal genius" and wizardry of the reactionary leaders of the ABA as to illustrate how the two most stable currencies and powerful economic systems, the British and American, were subjected to the severe tremors of the general economic crisis that afflicted all the world with the exception of the Soviet Union. The world economic crisis of the thirties was, however, a mild disturbance compared to the fascist-created economic holocaust of this war. The present fantastic inflation of China's currency and the potential inflation in the liberated and Nazi-ruined

nations, now manifested mainly in their black markets, contain a terrifying threat to the entire world economic system. There are groups in our country who mistakenly think that we can take advantage of and prosper on the calamities and misfortunes of other nations just as the more powerful corporations and banking groups in pre-war days reaped benefits from the bankruptcies and failures of weaker firms and banks during ordinary depressions.

The Bretton Woods Conference was called in response to a war-aroused conscience and war-acquired wisdom of the peace-loving countries to devise adequate mutual defense measures against the potential economic disasters lurking in the ruin of the war, as well as to create a sound basis of international economic relations for the postwar world. Future generations will remember Bretton Woods as the first departure towards mutual economic world cooperation based on the recognition that the enduring prosperity and security of each country depend on the economic health and vigor of the entire family of nations. Bretton Woods recognized that the stability of the currency system of a given nation depends primarily on a sound and prosperous wealth-producing system. For example, the currency system of a technically backward agrarian nation can be upset even by accidental natural phenomena like floods or droughts or plant diseases which would not seriously affect industrial nations. The conference therefore recognized that the lasting measures necessary to create stable currencies lay in the reconstruction of war-ravaged economies and in the long-range industrialization of the entire world through the medium of mutually profitable world trade.

Bretton Woods proceeded to solve the potential currency chaos by a series of emergency measures which form the initial steps in the direction of rehabilitation and industrialization. The Monetary Fund is designed to stabilize the currencies of the United Nations as the first elementary step towards their economic recovery and the resumption of mutually profitable trade. In a limited sense, it can be compared to President Roosevelt's currency and banking measures to arrest the rising wave of bank failures in 1932-33. The banking and currency system then had to be saved



Eugene Karlin

and stabilized before any permanent NRA recovery measures could be put into effect. The basic stabilization objective of the Monetary Fund in respect to world currencies is similar in purpose though not in structure to the national stabilizing functions of our Federal Reserve Bank and Bank Deposit Insurance.

The Monetary Fund is a jointly subscribed sum of somewhat under \$9,000,000,000 to which each of the forty-four United Nations contributes a sum corresponding more or less to its prospective share of the contemplated postwar world trade. The fund will not grant subsidies, gifts or outright donations. Its purpose is not economic reconstruction. It will operate, rather, like a cooperative exchange bank granting short-term loans to its members for two purposes only: to stabilize the currency of the subscribing nation and to enable it to buy (with its own currency) the currencies of specific member nations whose products it wishes to buy but with whom its trade is not yet large enough to cover its exchange needs. No nation can adjust the value of its currency without first consulting the fund. No nation may adjust its currency either upward or downward more than ten percent without the approval of the fund. No nation may buy more foreign currency than its original investment in the fund and under normal operations not more than twenty-five percent during any twelve-month period. All the accepted and tested banking and loan regulations and requirements safeguard the fund from any possible abuse which may hinder its purpose or endanger its resources. The fund is so devised and regulated that it is revolving in character. Its capital, like that of any sound bank, can never be exhausted, and its sum of currency of any major nation, like the US and Britain, cannot be depleted. The technical details as to how this is to be achieved we may leave to the experts familiar with the intricacies of international trade balances.

IN ADDITION the fund contains another unprecedented principle: the legal and moral recognition of the equal right of existence of the socialist and capitalist economic systems. Further, and equally important, it recognizes the right of any nation to make social and economic alterations in its affairs. The fund's regulations state that it "shall not reject a requested change necessary to restore the equilibrium (of currency) because of domestic, social or political policies of the country applying. . . ." This means that should a country decide to institute advanced social security legislation or to

build public hospitals or other non-profit institutions or erect government-owned industries, no private banker can refuse it a loan on the alleged grounds that it is diverting its national resources to unprofitable projects. Nor can he "advise" it to economize on the people's needs and living standards as the price for the stabilization loans necessary to keep its currency from declining in value. Such practices were common in the pre-war days and the fund in part is designed to prevent them in the future.

The Monetary Fund is devised, then, to serve all its associate members within the agreed-upon regulations but without prejudice to their politics, their economic status or their basic plans of reconstruction or industrialization. This is something new in this world and some of our bankers just don't like it. The fund, of course, is not a fundamental solution for any major economic problem. A nation's currency cannot permanently maintain its stability no matter how many loans it acquires without a robust and expanding economy. The fund in relation to the currencies of war-ravaged nations is like an emergency blood bank prepared to provide plasma that will enable the subscribing patient to survive until the basic medical treatment can be administered.

THE second big contribution of the Bretton Woods Conference is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Like the fund, this bank will operate on a jointly subscribed capital and will be the common property of the United Nations. Its total capital consists of a little under \$10,000,000,000, subscribed by member nations in proportion to their respective economic strength. It will operate on the basis of extending direct long-term loans for reconstruction purposes but also—and mainly—by guaranteeing and securing private bank loans extended to its members. It becomes immediately obvious that repairing the unparalleled economic destruction in Europe will alone require many scores of billions of dollars, not to speak of new industrialization projects. The total capital of the bank appears pitifully inadequate. It is not, however, intended to replace the immense resources of private banks and private capital. It is intended primarily to take care of the less "credit-worthy" and border (the most war-devastated) countries which private capital would hesitate to enter except, as in the past, on usurious terms or on the basis of political control. The bank will either give direct loans or guarantee private loans without

prejudice to the social or political complexion of its member nations. In this way it will also function as an international yardstick that will pretty much determine equitable loan conditions. No more need be said about the bank, since it appears that even the ABA leaders accept it.

HARRY D. WHITE, adviser to Secretary Morgenthau, has made a detailed analysis of all the legitimate arguments raised against the Monetary Fund and has pointed out that every objection was widely discussed and unanimously rejected at the conference. Winthrop W. Aldrich, one of the chief critics of Bretton Woods, knows this well. Nevertheless he is seeking to re-open the entire question with the obvious purpose of indefinitely postponing action on it. The spokesmen of the ABA insist they are in favor of international collaboration and approve the Bretton Woods decisions in principle but propose that the Monetary Fund be rejected. They say they favor the International Bank with some "minor" modifications and believe that the bank itself should handle the short-term currency stabilization loans. It may appear that this amendment is purely formal or technical since it merely unites the two organizations and retains their vital functions. Aside from the fact that forty-four nations rejected this fusion, such a change would require calling a new international conference to accept or reject this amendment and postpone action for many months *after* the San Francisco security conference. The West Coast meeting would also be confronted with the prospect of having its security decisions upset or at least indefinitely postponed by willful and reactionary minorities bent on "amendments" of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals such as have been proposed by Senator Vandenberg and Herbert Hoover.

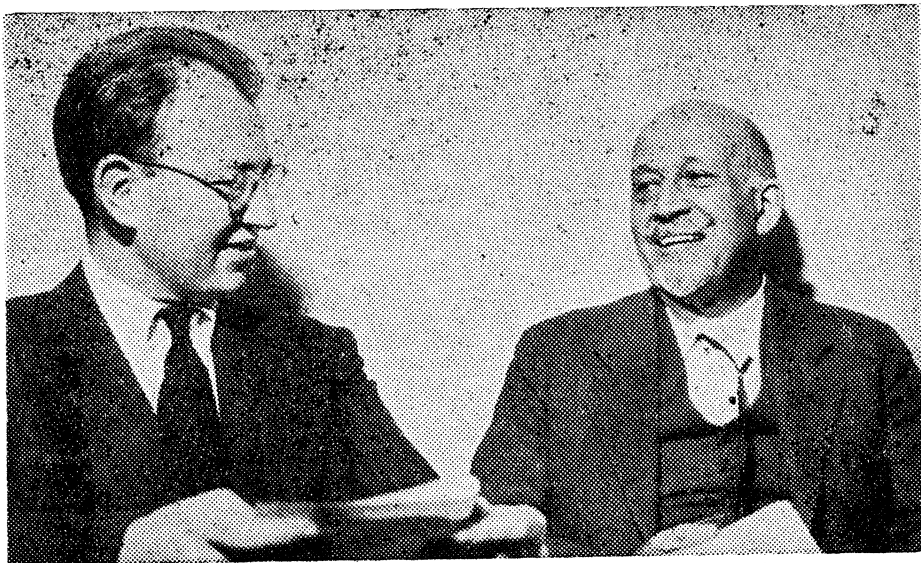
The ABA leaders in their first statement expressed their objections to the Monetary Fund on the grounds that it would extend short-term currency loans to its members as a matter of right rather than on the basis of "credit worthiness"; and further that the fund has no control over the domestic policies of the borrower. The *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* supported the ABA's view, adding that the bankers, after all, know the banking business best. In the meantime Mark Sullivan, the *Tribune* columnist, warns his readers to examine all the new world security organizations for "collectivist trends." While the ABA and their supporters

now seek to mystify the public with the complexities inherent in fiscal and credit problems, implying that only they can understand them, their statements clearly reveal that their opposition to Bretton Woods is political. Despite their protestations, they are hostile to the new principles of world economic cooperation. They long for the good old days when private bankers did pretty much as they pleased, to the detriment of weaker nations.

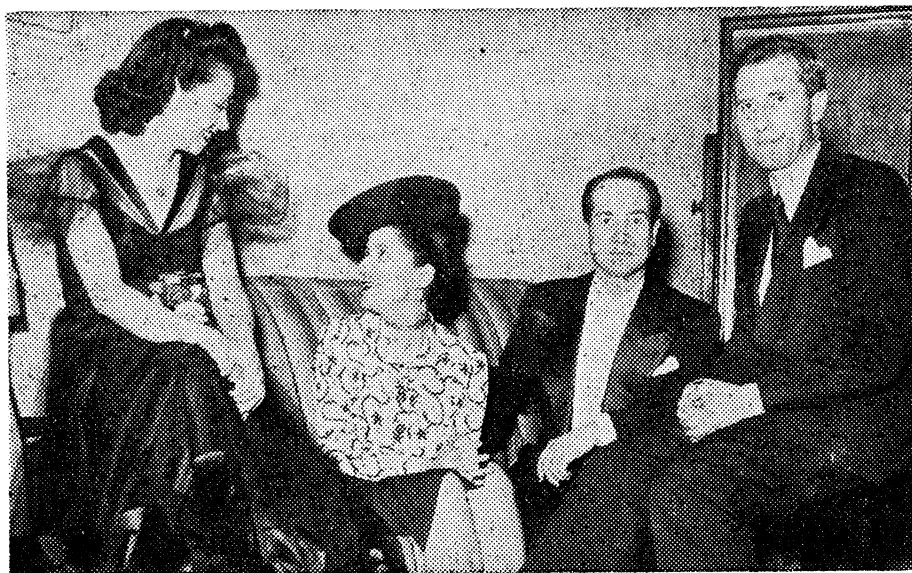
IT SHOULD be noted that American bankers are by no means unanimously opposed to Bretton Woods. The Independent Bankers' Association, consisting of some 2,000 small and middle-sized banks, supports both the fund and the bank. So do the presidents of eleven banks in Pennsylvania as well as the heads of several big corporations. It is also becoming evident that within the ABA there is no unanimity. The great majority of economists specializing in the field of currency and international banking support the Bretton Woods proposals. The Committee for Economic Development, representing over 2,000 big business firms and including men like Eric Johnston of the US Chamber of Commerce, R. Gordon Wasson, vice president of J. P. Morgan & Co., Beardsley Ruml, president of the N. Y. Federal Reserve Bank, and leaders of other prominent banking and industrial interests, have endorsed both the fund and the bank with suggestions for some constructive changes that would strengthen the entire structure. We are then confronted with a situation in which a small but powerful section of American bankers seek to frustrate the will of the nation and the considered judgment of all the United Nations monetary authorities.

Those who have been following the hearings on the Bretton Woods bill conducted by the House Banking and Currency Committee say that one of the reasons why the hearings are proceeding so slowly is that the country is not making itself heard. There are several members of the committee who are sitting on the fence and a little push from their constituents will put them solidly behind the Bretton Woods plan. This is one urgent and decisive issue on which every forward-looking organization should act with utmost speed. Let your Congressman, and especially the House Committee on Banking and Currency know, by letter and telegram that you will not tolerate any pussyfooting and that you insist on a prompt and favorable report.

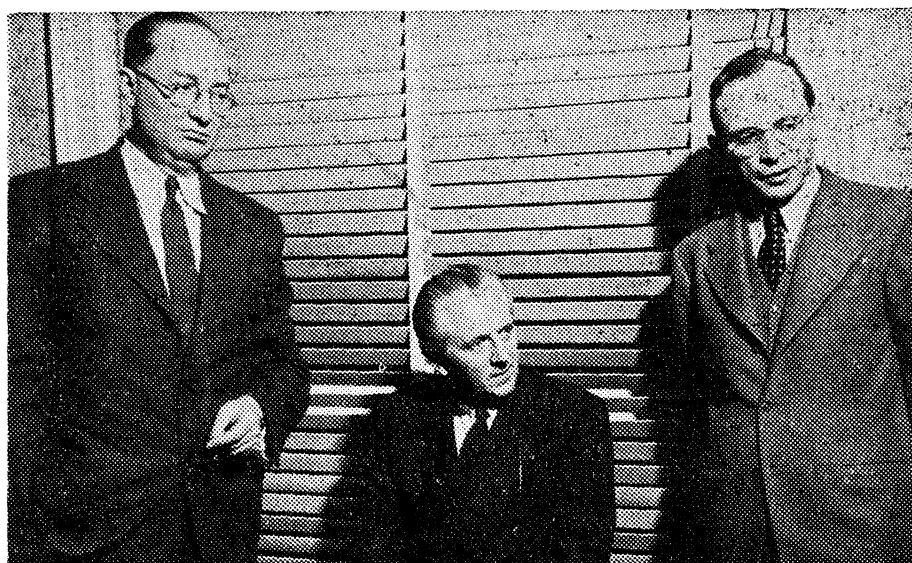
AT THE ROMAIN ROLLAND MEMORIAL MEETING Held by New Masses at Carnegie Hall March 30.



Howard Fast and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.



Marisa Regules, Argentine pianist; Mme. Etiennette Gallois, of the delegation of French journalists touring this country; Martial Singher, French baritone of the Metropolitan; and Pierre Garrigue, veteran officer of the French army.



Richard Watts, Jr., Erwin Piscator, and A. B. Magil, NM editor.

GADGETS AND YOU

By HENRY SCHUBART

THE war has proved America's inventiveness, and to Americans go the honors for many of the world's most constructive inventions. Edison, Ford, Bell, and Bessemer are only part of the immense background of our productive genius. But paralleling this great tradition, created by pioneer scientists and promoters, there has appeared a national infatuation with the New, the Colossal, the Screwed Gadget. Born in the spirit of the Model T and nourished in the era of Electrolux vacuum cleaners, the gadget is returning rejuvenated—and on a mass scale.

On the wings of hope for early peace have come press releases extolling a wide range of postwar products, from "jet propelled toothbrushes" to the "all-in-one home laundry." We are facing a new species of social unrest which might be classified as helicopter hysteria, neoprene neurosis, high-frequency hypnosis, and electronic classicism. This is not a new trend in America. We have already weathered previous storms of counter-irritants, anti-scorbutics, and vitamins, in that approximate chronological order. The present campaign, however, has much greater significance. This is the moment in which the race for the postwar consumer market is about to get under way. The gadget will play its part in our future economy.

On one side of the national counter we, the people, stand with our pocket-books open, our mouths open, our hands outstretched. Starved for things we have done without, from bobby pins to alarm clocks, curious about things we have been foretold would come true, we are being promised a tremendous leap forward into a roseate mechanical age.

On the other side of the counter stands the technologist, the inventor, and the manufacturer. The veil of wartime secrecy has added to the spice of mystery that surrounds his postwar products. For quite some time his publicists have tickled our curiosity with reams of advertising copy. We have been promised that life will dash forward on smooth, silent wings of speed. In short, everything has been, and is being done to play on the eager interest of a gadget-hungry, gadget-conscious, gadget-buying people.

The pursuit of the gadget, whether on a personal or national basis, can become a boomerang. Much depends on the perspicacity of individual Americans,

and the thickness of hide we have managed to develop when it comes to national advertising campaigns.

We have only one sensible scale by which to measure technical and productive directions in the immediate future. Will the flood of postwar consumers' goods truly raise our standard of living and become a vital part of an economy of abundance? Or will it add to the financing burdens of the average family and clutter the house with uneconomical "brainwaves"?

Every gadget should be subjected to careful scrutiny. The only gadgets worth developing are those which will increase our national wealth and will carry their weight in a program of 60,000,000 jobs. Without the jobs the gadgets will only gather dust on the shelves. Even a radar-controlled meat grinder needs meat. This is not to disparage any invention or process which has been developed. Many are significant. But they must be seen in perspective. During the depression decade vacuum cleaner salesmen did a land-office business, and many a gullible housewife was sold on the miracles of the multi-purpose orange squeezer. By 1940, sixty percent of all American homes had radios—but only forty percent of them had private bathrooms; and today there remain an estimated 12,000,000 privvies performing their original function. While the spirit of "keeping up with the Jones's" pyramided sales records, our national school, child care, and housing programs remained at low levels. We cannot afford to let the gadget continue to steal the thunder from these major items on the postwar agenda, for they are the keys to a high living standard and full employment.

The refrigerators, automobiles, radios, airplanes and the lesser household appliances will gradually assume their proper place in the development of our over-all economy. With full production and soundly measured technical advances we can safely contemplate a golden age: a flashy chromium one won't wear well.

As it is, we Americans have long boasted the highest standard of living in the world. It is certain that we have had more electric toasters, coffee percolators, and vacuum cleaners than any other nation. It would be a toss-up as to which was worse, grinding coffee in an old-

fashioned grinder, or grilling toast on an open hearth; both are wasteful and socially unnecessary. We have become accustomed to contrivances that shorten the drudgery of feeding, clothing, and housing ourselves. They are valuable to the extent that they have increased the all-too-scarce time available for reading, relaxation, and the general enjoyment and enrichment of our personal lives. The gadget of the future will also have to earn its way by providing greater amenities and more leisure.

The mere fact of mechanization alone doesn't guarantee speed. The home itself can become so encumbered with robots that the services of a trained staff of electricians and mechanics would be constantly required. In recent studies it was proved that the washing machine rarely cut down the over-all time spent on washing, however much it eased the labor. An extreme case of gadget-life appeared in the recently published description of the house of a Californian who could control any and all household operations from a centrally located remote control panel, but spent all his spare time replacing fuses or repairing the tentacles of his wiring octopus. A home is not a battleship. It has a different function. There is no need to systematize home life completely, with buttons, buzzers, and relays. Any step tending to create complete, separate, family-sized factories would be a step backward. The idea is enough to whet the appetite of any salesman, but it would only serve to further break down community life; and community life is the key to proper use of the postwar gadget.

THE tendency in the past has been to develop facilities for the individual home. The washing machine industry increased eighty-six percent from 1927 to 1939. Family-size refrigerator production rose 800 percent from 1927 to 1941. But compare with these figures a decline in sewing machine production of forty-five percent in a corresponding period: a result of the increase of good factory-produced clothing. Eventually the frozen food industry, which has increased from 200,000,000 pounds in 1939 to 1,000,000,000 pounds in 1943, will have a similar effect on refrigerator sales, as will the growing dehydrated food industry. The production of dehy-

(Continued on page 22)

A WRITER NAMED JEFFERSON

By SAMUEL SILLEN

WHEN Thomas Jefferson first took his seat in the Continental Congress on June 21, 1775, he brought with him, as John Adams noted, "a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition." Adams recalled that in the Congress "writings of his were handed about, remarkable for their peculiar felicity of expression."

Thus, at thirty-two, Jefferson had already won respect not only as a bold political thinker, but as a literary craftsman. His pithy sentences were not soon forgotten. "Let those flatter who fear: it is not an American art"—the young man who had written that was a conscious master of his instrument. Jefferson understood, as he once put it, that "the most valuable of all talents is that of never using two words where one will do."

He knew how to reach the marrow, and he could be graceful too, in the most precisely balanced style of eighteenth-century prose. He had written, in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774): "To give praise which is not due might be well from the venal, but would ill become those who are asserting the rights of human nature. They know, and will therefore say, that kings are the servants, not the proprietors of the people." Such lines could at once fire the enthusiasm of a Virginia burgess and strike fear in the heart of a London lord.

Here, clearly, was the man to frame a national manifesto on behalf of those who, out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, wished to set forth the reasons for their revolution. When Congress elected a committee in June 1776, to draw up a Declaration of Independence, Jefferson received the highest vote. His was the "most elegant pen" in America.

Nobody familiar with his other writings or the writings of his contemporaries could doubt that Jefferson composed the Declaration. As the literary historian of the American Revolution, Moses Coit Tyler, observed fifty years ago:

"Jefferson gathered up the thoughts and emotions and even the characteristic phrases of the people for whom he wrote, and these he perfectly incorporated with what was already in his own mind, and then to the music of his own keen, rich, passionate, and enkindling

style, he mustered them into that stately and triumphant procession wherein, as some of us still think, they will go marching on to the world's end."

Indeed, Jefferson was great in so many respects that his stature as a man of letters has been unduly obscured. We seldom think of him as a writer deeply concerned with problems of form and style. We tend to overlook his amazing achievement as linguist and literary scholar.

But Jefferson's "happy talent of composition" did not spring from nowhere. To be sure, his style reflected, in the first instance, his remarkable integration of thought and action. His writings, like Paine's, are nerved with great purpose. His nobility, candor, and energy organically express the heroic age in which he so richly participated. Yet he was anything but an automatic writer. His work expresses the discipline of reading and study; he was, as he wrote, "indebted for style to reading and memory."

THE most widely read American of his time, Jefferson, as early as 1771, suggested a list of books which included under the heading of Criticism: Lord Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, Burke's *On the Sublime*, and Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. Under Fine Arts he included his early favorites: Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Swift, Goldsmith and Fielding among the English authors; Rousseau's *Heloise* and *Emile*; Smollett's edition of *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas*; *Runic Poems* translated from the Icelandic; *Hankon-Chanan*, a Chinese tale in a translation from the Portuguese; and the spuriously Gaelic "Osian." Under Politics, Religion, and Natural Philosophy, the twenty-eight-year-old lawyer cited Voltaire, Hume, Montesquieu, Locke, Blackstone, Cicero and others.

All this reading was part of his background as a writer of the Revolution. And in his *Commonplace Book* he tran-

scribed, in the original, passages from Herodotus, Epicurus, Epictetus, Plato, Anacreon, Homer, and Euripides. Of the Latin writers we know that he read Virgil, Ovid, Tacitus, Livy, Sallust, and Horace, among others. Among the dramatists he admired not only Shakespeare, but Dryden, Congreve, Otway, Moliere, Racine, the Corneilles.

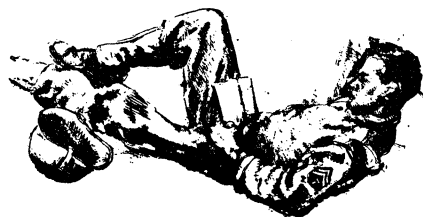
Jefferson read Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and he began the study of German. His Italian doctor friend, Philip Mazzei, who came here in 1773, wrote: "Jefferson knew the Italian language very well but he had never heard it spoken. Nevertheless, speaking with my men (Tuscan vigneron) he understood them and they understood him." As Claude Bowers has recently noted, Jefferson's "devotion to his books, running often to fifteen hours a day, recalls the heroic zeal of Puritan scholars."

But what interests us is not so much the mere range of Jefferson's reading, impressive as that is, as the uses to which he applied it. He was a creative scholar, and to his literary pursuits he brought the same boldness and enthusiasm that he brought to politics.

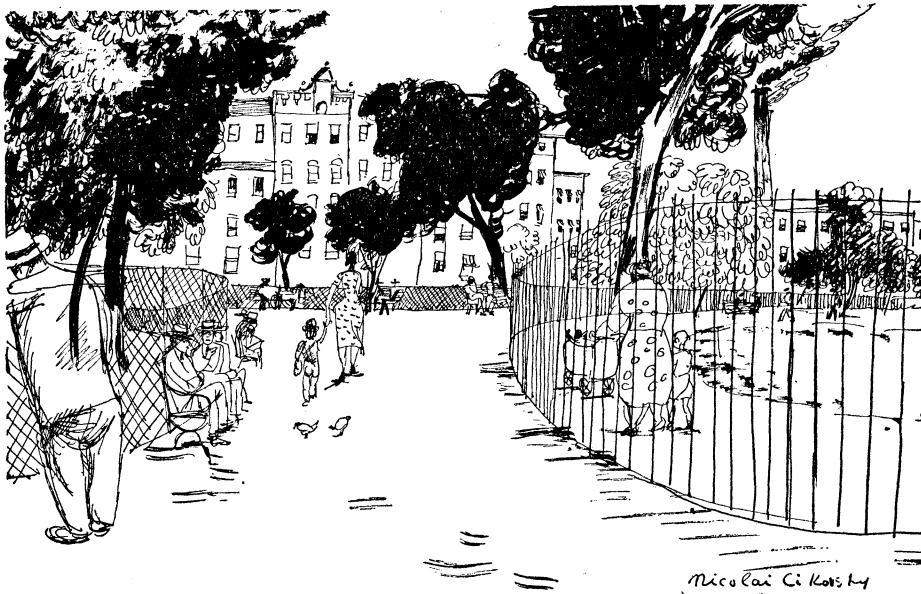
He was, for example, very much interested in the problem of American speech as a new branch of English and his approach to language is far in advance of most university teachers of English today. To the author of a new English grammar he wrote that "Grammar . . . has never been a favorite with me." And he added:

"I have been pleased to see that in all cases you appeal to usage, as the arbiter of language; and justly consider that as giving law to grammar, and not grammar to usage. I concur entirely with you in opposition to Purists who would destroy all strength and beauty of style by subjecting it to a rigorous compliance with their rule."

JEFFERSON said he was no friend to purism but "a zealous one to the Neology," the introduction of new words and forms adding to the nerve and beauty of language. He scorned those who tried to safeguard the language "by holding fast to Johnson's *Dictionary* . . . by raising a hue and cry against every word he has not licensed." And he took issue with the critical pundits of the *Edinburgh Review* who feared American



Joe Lasker.



Pen and ink sketch by Nicolai Cikovsky.

writers would adulterate the language. He wrote: "Certainly so great and growing a population, spread over such an extent of country, with such a variety of climates, of production, of arts, must enlarge their language, to make it answer its purpose of expressing all ideas, the new as well as the old. The new circumstances under which we are placed call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects." "Necessity," he wrote, "obliges us to neologize."

In his discussion of this question, in 1813, Jefferson was breaking new ground. He was preparing the theoretical support for the greatest of Jeffersonian poets, Walt Whitman.

When Jefferson analyzed English he knew whereof he spoke. He wrote an extensive essay in 1798 on Anglo-Saxon which was a remarkable pioneer work for its time. He once confessed that the study of Anglo-Saxon "is a hobby which too often runs away with me." But it was more than a hobby, for Jefferson recognized that any scientific study of the language must be grounded in a knowledge of its historical roots: "The importance of the Anglo-Saxon dialect toward a perfect understanding of the English language seems not to have been duly estimated by those charged with the education of youth; and yet it is unquestionably the basis of our present tongue."

Accordingly, he worked out a systematic orthography, pronunciation and grammar for Old English with specimen translations. (And it may not be inappropriate to confess that my own graduate-school days would have been more pleasant had it occurred to anyone

to tell me about Jefferson's little treatise, first published in 1851.)

An equally remarkable literary study is Jefferson's *Thoughts on English Prosody*, which remained unpublished until 1904. Here Jefferson demonstrates, with examples from a diversity of English and ancient poets, that English versification is based not on quantity (or length) as in Latin and Greek, but on accent (or stress). And here again Jefferson was breaking ground in an age ruled by grammarians who tried to squeeze English poetry into classical molds. He examines such technical problems of versification as elision and synecphonesis. In the discussion he explains his own preference for blank verse, "the most precious part of our poetry," as against rhyme: "The poet, unfettered by rhyme, is at liberty to prune his diction of those tautologies, those feeble nothings necessary to intrude the rhyming word. With no other trammel than that of measure he is able to condense his thoughts and images and to leave nothing but what is truly poetical. . . ."

"What proves the excellence of blank verse is that the taste lasts longer than that for rhyme. The fondness for the jingle leaves us with that for the rattles and baubles of childhood, and if we continue to read rhymed verse at a later period of life it is such only where the poet has had force enough to bring great beauties of thought and diction into this form. When young any composition pleases which unites a little sense, some imagination, and some rhythm, in doses however small. But as we advance in life these things fall off one by one, and I suspect we are left at last with only

Homer and Virgil, perhaps with Homer alone."

Extreme this no doubt is, but Jefferson was entitled to his tastes, and in any case one marvels at the decision and resourcefulness with which he breaks away from the tyranny of the eighteenth-century couplet. In his approach to rhyme, he again anticipates Whitman.

In his letters Jefferson comments on a diversity of literary subjects. He was, of course, especially interested in historiography. And here, as always, his standard was truth, not style. He did not doubt David Hume's bewitching manner, which enabled his readers to swallow anything. But Hume had falsified the record: "Hume makes an English Tory, from whence it is an easy step to American Toryism."

In his extended writings on education, including his curriculum for the University of Virginia, Jefferson stressed the role of Belles Lettres. ("Within the term of Belles Lettres I include poetry and composition generally, and criticism.") Under the heading of "Ideology," a course of studies at Virginia, he included General Grammar, Ethics, Rhetoric, Belles Lettres and the Fine Arts—a significant association, for Jefferson never divorced literary studies from philosophical and ethical considerations.

This man of letters devoted himself to the problem of raising the cultural level of the nation. He did not hoard his learning. "Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people." And again: "Educate and inform the whole people." For the people, as he never tired of insisting, are the "only safe depositaries" of government.

He prepared the following inscription, "& not a word more" for his tombstone:

Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
author of *The Declaration of Independence*
of *The Statute of Virginia for religious freedom*
& Father of the University of Virginia.

When the fifty-volume edition of his work now in preparation at Princeton is finally issued, one may anticipate that his role as author-educator, as a man disciplined in the art of using beautiful words truthfully, will at last be recognized as an integral part of his other magnificent accomplishments.

READERS' FORUM

Rockwell Kent and Picasso

TO NEW MASSES: In the issue of March 13 NEW MASSES scored a great scoop with Pfc. Jerome Seckler's account of his interview with Picasso. Since Picasso is one of the half dozen most productive and influential creative artists of our century, this brilliantly conducted conversation is a permanent contribution to our understanding of the relation of artists to their work and their audience.

Picasso has proved by many acts that he is a Communist. His canvases have opened up new fields of esthetic exploration for a whole generation of painters. His position as one of the greatest painters in the long history of that art is hardly open to question whether one uses as a yardstick quantity of production, or financial success, or originality, or technical facility, or range and variety of expression, or emotional intensity, or direct influence on other artists. Picasso argues that since he is a painter and since he is a Communist, he is a Communist painter. There is no evidence that Picasso is suffering from a split personality. I think his argument is quite forthright and cogent. I think we should revise our preconceived prejudice as to what kind of pictures a Communist painter will paint. Maybe Picasso has been painting them.

How then can we explain Rockwell Kent's ill-tempered letter in your issue of April 3, in which he argues: (1) "If we ever get to have a people's art, it will be an art that people can understand," and (2), "I don't understand Picasso." From these two statements Rockwell Kent concludes that Picasso's work is "silly" and "without a redeeming feature," and that it is incompatible with his being a Communist, and that his statements about his painting are without significance or profundity.

The first statement above is a redundancy. It simply says that if we ever have a people's art we will have a people's art. The truth is, of course, that to some extent we have a people's art right now and will have more art by and for more people in the future, as more people have the leisure time and education to enjoy art and produce art. . . .

As to his second statement, it should be clear that Kent is not just "people" when it comes to passing judgment on Picasso. He is an artist with a certain esthetic outlook of his own. A man's daily activity has the profoundest effect on his character and thoughts and prejudices. . . . Just plain people—with no vested interest—understand Picasso very well, as anyone can attest who watched the thousands who viewed the great Picasso show at the Museum of Modern Art some years

ago. If a little patience and good-will are required to understand Picasso's painting, is that too much to ask for the work of a man who has broken new ground in man's attempt to communicate with other men? He speaks to all of us, for all of us.

New York. EDMUND WEIL.

TO NEW MASSES: Rockwell Kent (of all people!) unwittingly presents hostages to the enemy by imputing to Communist doctrine and, particularly, the Soviet Union (in his letter attacking Picasso, NEW MASSES, April 3) a political absolutism which forever rules out and puts "an end to such silly, ivory-tower self-expressionism as Picasso boasts."

Mr. Kent does this in defense of people's rights fully to comprehend an artist's work, pleading for consistency in a man's activities. . . . "Reconcile this, if you can!" exclaims Kent referring to Picasso's statement (NEW MASSES, March 13): "I am a Communist, and my painting is Communist painting."

Kent ought to know that artists of Picasso's stature do not deliberately practice, as he puts it, "the irresponsible luxury of being misunderstood"; it is not impossible or inconsistent to engage in political actions on one hand and on the other to freely practice the art of expressing human emotions and esthetic inclinations according to certain formal, if not popularly comprehended, rules and conventions. A painting of an apple need not be so clearly "seen" as to invite eating it—a type of "comprehension" usually demanded, especially when viewing Picasso's works. None of the United Nations has yet called upon its artists to forsake their cultural pursuits, as the Nazis have. Picasso, it turns out—perhaps because he is a master artist—is a man of sound understanding, possessing a highly developed sense of proportion, so that instead of joining some archaic cult of esthetes to discharge his political functions, he joins the French Communist Party. . . .

Understanding is a give-and-take proposition. Kent's own books show there's no royal road to comprehension in anything, least of all, perhaps, in the field of human emotions of which—to poorly paraphrase Stalin—Picasso is a supreme architect—learned, warm, perpetually provocative. Instead of demanding that a creator explain himself, all available social forces suited to the task should undertake to draw us closer to an understanding of the master's works, just as—in another difficult field—Earl Browder makes us better understand Marx, Lenin, Stalin. . . .

If, as obviously painted pictures are allegedly meant to do, art should propel us into an immediate corresponding action to earn the right of being dubbed "socially responsible" then all culture which is notoriously slow and leisurely in building is really the infernal goods which the Nazis have pictured it, something to be gotten after with a gun.

The Soviet Union for example has presented throughout the patriotic war such "unpolitical" performances as ballet dancing and musical composition. . . . A citizen viewing a performance which has nothing directly to do with the immediate national crisis may nevertheless feel so gratified as to go to his country's defense with greater zeal.

For all we know, it may be that in some degree we owe the recent stepped-up advances of our armed forces abroad to Katherine Cornell's performances of a Victorian play about a pretty incomprehensible poet, Robert Browning, before a GI audience. All the boys needed to know was that it was a play, with all its mysterious ways and tricks, and that it was for them.

It is in the latter respect, I believe, that Communist doctrine makes demands upon artist, writer, professional—of all citizens. That whatever we do and with whatever means *shall be for the people*, not for a privileged minority. Fascism takes the opposite position.

Picasso is right in not wishing to go, as he put it, to "a lower level," any more than the Soviet Union wishes to go back to a lower level of achievement just to please people who can't comprehend it. Picasso is a miracle maker; and now, thanks to the Communist Party of France and to the columns of NEW MASSES, Picasso's miracles will be brought closer to the people.

New York. SAMUEL TUMIN.

"Foolish Notion"

TO NEW MASSES: It seems to me that Matt Wayne's review of *Foolish Notion* [NEW MASSES, March 27] could very easily have been datelined April 1. If ever there was an April's Fool Joke his piece was IT. I found the play on opening night to be neither finished nor poetic. I agree that there are good performances and there is slickness but since when does that add up to a finished play?

And Mr. Wayne missed one very important thought that Mr. Barry pointed out and pointed strongly, one that a certain segment of the audience always loves because it panders to their irresponsibility, namely—"One cannot be decisive and judge people and things. How can one be sure?" If that passed over the reviewer's head I can assure him it did not skip over others'.

I sincerely hope you'll print this because reading the NM review I am sure your readers will rush out to the Martin Beck. I have a definite notion they will be disappointed. At any rate I want to save their energy so perhaps they'll walk instead of run.

Pity the American Theater (and sometimes I do) if, to quote Mr. Wayne, Mr. Barry's hand is the surest.

New York. RUTH MARTIN.

NM SPOTLIGHT

Trade and Prosperity

SECRETARY STETTINIUS' speech on foreign trade before the Council on Foreign Relations in Chicago marked a further unfolding of the realistic program for anchoring world peace. The core of his major proposal is the basic administration policy that "We cannot have prosperity in the United States if the rest of the world is sunk in depression and poverty." Mr. Stettinius revealed that plans are under consideration to convene a conference of the principal trading nations to deal with the problems of world commerce. At this conference proposals will be made to set up a permanent international trade organization to regulate economic and trade problems on a continuous basis. This will be a necessary complementary organization to the Bretton Woods monetary and banking structure.

The striking feature of this new proposal is its recognition that no security organization can be successful if economic rivalries are permitted to undermine international relations. International trade which in the pre-war years was marked by acute conflicts that sapped the peace, can now serve as a means of buttressing prosperity and living standards in all countries under conditions of genuine cooperation. Mr. Stettinius pointed out that our own greatly expanded productive capacity requires new markets at home and abroad for our investments, goods and services if we are to realize our objective of 60,000,000 jobs. The key to continuous American prosperity lies in the substantial expansion of our exports which in pre-war years fluctuated at around \$3,000,000,000. The Secretary of State suggested that this figure must rise to \$10,000,000,000. This goal can no doubt be attained and surpassed provided there is established mutual cooperation through the proposed world trade organization.

White Collar Center

A NEW kind of clinic is being opened this week in New York, this time a salary clinic. The White Collar Center, as it is to be called, is to be staffed with personnel who are thoroughly conversant with the legal aspects of raising the sadly lagging salaries of

white collar workers, and is to have as its function the working out of individual salary problems at the request of either employer or employe. There are to be no fees. No employe is to be asked to join a union, no employer to sign a union contract. The United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO, who are joining with a number of non-union white collar groups in this undertaking, make it clear that they are interested in this unique venture primarily because the highly prejudiced status of the great majority of non-union salaried employes, trapped by living costs that have risen over forty-five percent, also seriously affects the union. And as it affects the union, so it also affects the nation. The Center, designed to promote maximum use of governmental provisions for salary increases and taking advantage of provisions in the National Labor Relations Act for "single purpose committees," can serve to mobilize quickly many new forces in the form of committees formed for the "single purpose" of raising the salaries of a given staff, in order to amend the dangerous situation in which America's white collar employes are at present caught.

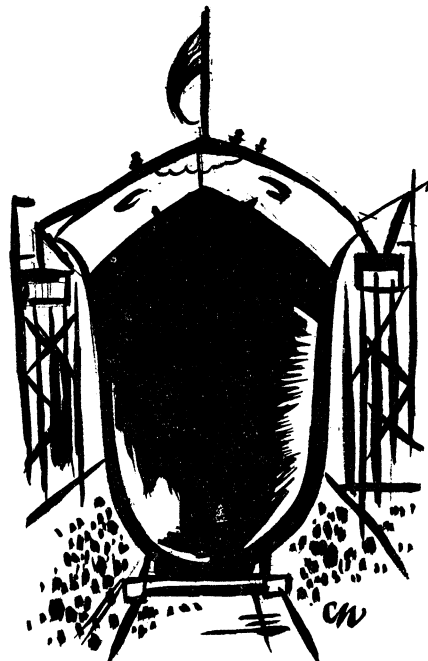
Maj. Gen. Rose

MAJ. GEN. MAURICE ROSE, commander of the American Third Armored Division, who was shot by a

German tankman in a woods near Padernborn, was the sort of leader who cared more for the lives of the men in his command than his own. Those who were with him pay him high tribute as a general and a man. He was brilliant, he was loved, and he was customarily in the thick of battle, moving his headquarters as close as possible to the actual fighting, driving about in the heat of the fighting in an open jeep with a radio so that he could make decisions quickly and save lives. No more fitting comment on the meaning of the sacrifice made by such men as General Rose could be written than that made by his eighty-nine-year-old father, Rabbi Samuel Rose of Denver, Col.: "The Jewish people have demonstrated their love of liberty and freedom for all peoples since the days of Abraham, Isaac and Joseph, and I am proud to say they are still demonstrating it in the wars of the world, at the Pass-over time, in the deeds and the death of my son."

Here and There

TO SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS: Follow the example of James C. Bay of Easton, Pa., who moved to bar the reactionary *Reader's Digest* from his city's high schools and junior high schools. . . . To Jim Crow: No place for you in the US Army; the four WACS who protested against discrimination in a Boston hospital have been reinstated after reversal of their court martial sentences. . . . To psychiatrists: What's the psychosis behind the proposal by Prof. Frederick C. Thorne in *The Journal of Clinical Psychology* to institute a race quota in your profession? Why does Professor Thorne worry about a supposedly "over-represented" racial group when there is a much more conspicuously under-represented group to worry about—the Negroes? . . . To Attorney General Biddle: Don't you hear the bellowing of Liz Dilling and the other seditionists still to be brought to re-trial, sounding off at their old anti-democratic stands? . . . To those who were skeptical of Soviet reports: The comment of American and British eyewitnesses of recently captured Nazi war prisoner camps is exactly like the comment of the Soviet eyewitnesses; Nazi inhumanity looks the same in the West as in the East.



Charles Nakata.



SPLITTING GERMANY

THERE have been no basic changes in the military situation since our last week's analysis. The same tendencies have continued to develop. The only difference is that these tendencies have reached a more advanced stage of development.

The two waists of the double hour-glass of Germany have been narrowed down and the three bulges have been reduced. In the north the Canadians of General Crerar are advancing toward the Zuider Zee and are forging a trap for the Germans who are still in Holland. To their right the British under General Dempsey are advancing in two prongs toward the naval base of Emden, at the mouth of the Ems and toward the great port of Bremen on the lower Weser.

Thus Field Marshal Montgomery is splitting the German northern wing into three sections, centering roughly around Utrecht, Groningen and Oldenburg, and marked by the Waal, the Yssel, the Ems and the Weser. This operation is very similar in concept to the operation carried out by the army groups of Chernyakhovsky (now Vassilevsky's Group) and Rokossovsky between the Oder and the Nieman. Holland and Hanover in the West play the part played by East Prussia and Pomerania in the East.

General Bradley's central Army Group, consisting of the Ninth (which has been returned to his command after three months under Montgomery), the First and the Third, continues to narrow down the northern waist of Germany and is advancing toward the Elbe after first outflanking the Weser-Fulda-Werra line from the South (Patton) and then crossing the Weser in the direction of Hanover (Simpson). The Ninth points at Hanover, the First at Hildesheim, the Third at Halle, Erfurt and Plauen. Together they form the central wedge which is destined to crack the Elbe line and to meet Marshals Zhukov and Konev in the corridor between the Elbe and the Oder-Neisse. Strategically speaking, the march from the Rhine to the Elbe is the equivalent of the march from the Vistula to the Oder. They will both be synthesized by an advance by Bradley across the Elbe simultaneous with one by Zhukov-

Konev across the Oder-Neisse. Roughly speaking, the line where "West and East" will meet runs from Rostock to Berlin, Dresden, Berchtesgaden and Trieste.

General Bradley's Army Group—the Ninth and First to be exact—are also engaged in the splitting up and reduction of the Ruhr trap in which an undetermined number of German troops is caught—between 75,000 and 100,000 seems to be a good guess. The Germans are resisting fiercely, in contrast to the general behavior of their troops on the Western Front where "telephone surrenders" have become quite a fad with German commandants.

On the southern wing General Devers' Army Group is making rather slow progress in the corridor between the Upper Main and the Upper Danube. The Seventh Army is still some thirty-five miles from Nurnberg and from Ulm. The French First is slowly battling its way in the direction of Stuttgart. Thus we see that in the West the toughest German resistance is still found on the approaches to the Alpine "Goetterdaemmerung Fortress."

IN ITALY, the American Fifth and the British Eighth are making small and laborious advances on both flanks of the line toward the naval base of La Spezia and the mouths of the Po, but their actions are anything but decisive and they will not be able to prevent a sudden enemy withdrawal into the Alps when the moment for such a German move comes.

Marshal Tito's armies have won an important victory by capturing Sarajevo, which is the kingpin of the German position in Bosnia. With Sarajevo gone it is most probable that the Germans will have to withdraw to the line of the Sava, manning the Osijek-Brod-Senj front. However, even that line is now far from safe because Marshal Tolbukhin's left, working with the Bulgarian Army, has already outflanked Zagreb from the North and is threatening Maribor on the Vienna-Fiume line. Here the second waist of the German double hour-glass has been considerably narrowed and Tolbukhin on the Mur River is now only 250 miles from Switzerland

and barely 100 miles from the Italian border at Postumia.

As far as the Alpine fastness is concerned, the distances between the nearest Allied forces and its approximate perimeter are as follows: northwest of the fastness, General Devers is about 120 miles away, to the south Field-Marshal Alexander is 150 miles away, to the southwest Marshal Tito is about 150 miles away, to the east, Marshal Tolbukhin is about twenty-five miles away.

On the Eastern Front Tolbukhin and Malinovsky have started the clean-up of Vienna and have thus cracked the eastern gateway to the Alpine region. General Yeremenko is cleaning up Slovakia. Here Bohemia and Moravia protected by a great horseshoe of mountains from north, west and south and by the Morava River from the east is being directly threatened.

Thus the picture is clear: Germany is being split up into several sections which will probably form enclaves in which the last of the "Niebelungen" will fight to the death. It may be guessed that such enclaves will be formed in five areas. The first will be in the Amsterdam-Rotterdam-Utrecht area of western Holland, between the sea and the Canadian thrust to the Zuider Zee. The second might well be formed by Norway, Denmark and the area of the great ports (Hamburg, Luebeck, Rostock). The third enclave will be the Berlin fortified area. This might well remain organically linked to the second one, at least for a while. The fourth will be in the "kettle" of Bohemia-Moravia, cut off from the north by the Patton-Konev scissors and cut off from the south by the Tolbukhin-Malinovsky dagger which might become a pair of scissors if the Devers Group should accelerate its movement toward Nuremburg, Regensburg and Passau. Finally, the fifth and last (in more ways than one) enclave will be the much spoken of Alpine fastness.

It is impossible to predict the order in which these enclaves will become isolated. But one thing is sure: the process of splitting the German "atom" is well advanced and pretty soon no German trains will travel between Amsterdam and Berlin, between Kiel and Magde-

burg, between Berlin and Prague and between Prague and Berchtesgaden.

The splitting up of Germany, however, is taking place not only in a military-geographical sense. Germany is splitting up internally. Hitler's decree of last week-end, divorcing Nazi party functionaries from the functions of state has two objectives: Hitler wants to save the top Nazis from responsibility for the "differentiated capitulation" which will take place from now on and he wants them to be free to move individually to the last redoubt where *Goetterdaemmerung* will be consummated. Under the relentless bombardment of Allied "neutrons" the Nazi "atom" is splitting up geographically, militarily and politically. However, just as the split atom releases new energy, so the Nazi split-up may well engender a new kind of warfare in which Allied unity will be more important than guns.

A bombshell was dropped into the

Far East war when the USSR denounced her treaty of neutrality with Japan. Obviously, such a situation is very tempting to speculators. Despite the request of the Office of Censorship to desist, most speculators speculate. We shall be one of the few exceptions. There is one fact, however, which remains a "fixed asset" of the United Nations: the Japanese Army from now on will remain concentrated in great strength on the border of Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia. Whatever shifts may have been contemplated by the Japanese High Command in that area they have surely been cancelled. The Soviet bombshell toppled the Japanese Cabinet in a matter of hours. A new situation presented itself to the rulers of Japan: the absolute impossibility not only of victory, but of survival.

The bombshell burst at the moment when the American armed forces were reaching from Palawan, Luzon, Okinawa and Iwo Jima for Borneo, Indo-

China, the southeastern coast of China, Formosa and the home islands of Japan—that is, when the Pacific phase of the war is drawing to a close and the Asiatic phase is about to begin. The Japanese Imperial Navy is being ripped to shreds by the United States Navy as witnessed by the sinking of the powerful battleship, *Yamato*. The Japanese sea lanes to the south have been virtually made unusable. The British and the Chinese are throttling the Japanese in Burma and powerful British naval forces are being mustered in the Indian Ocean for an eventual attack on Sumatra and Singapore. With its outposts tottering and its navy paralyzed, Japan must place its only reliance on the Army in China. And this is where the Soviet bombshell ups and ties down the best Japanese divisions (the Kwangtung Army) fifteen hundred miles from the place where an eventual American invasion of the Asiatic Continent will have to be met.

THE NEW CZECH GOVERNMENT

By JAN PIKA

IN A FASHION quite different from what happened in Belgium and Greece, the returning members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile were greeted with flowers by a united people. Their homecoming from exile was a happy one because they came as members of an entirely reconstructed government succeeding the government-in-exile before crossing the border into liberated territory and comprising the representatives of all the forces of the Czechoslovak National Front.

A few weeks ago, when Dr. Benes and the members of the government-in-exile were leaving London to meet the representatives of the underground and of the committees of national liberation before resigning and forming a new government, the first convention of a big popular party was held in Kosice, provisional capital of Czechoslovakia. It was the conference of the Slovak Communists. (In Slovakia the Communists and Social Democrats united into one party in the fall of 1944.) More than 200 delegates from all parts of the country gathered to prepare for the tasks ahead. On the third day of the conference, Dr. Gustav Husak, one of the underground leaders, addressed the conference and told the delegates: "Our new Czechoslovakia will be a people's republic, a democratic state of two equal nations,

the Czechs and the Slovaks, where there will be no place for traitors, collaborationists, fascists and semi-fascists. The National Front must be strengthened. The Communists will continue to work together in friendship and good faith with the representatives of the Democratic party, but the true democrats must see to it that no camouflaged Agrarians and Hlinka people enter their party and use it against the people. The Communists do not want to bar other parties from the Slovak National Council. They want the National Council to become the broad representative of all the peasants and workers and intellectuals and middle class people."

A similar stand has been taken by the leader of the Slovak Democratic Party. The representatives of the underground organizations in the still occupied Czech regions have voiced practically the same wishes. Thus the new government found a united opinion around the basic policies to be followed. (1) Mobilization of all forces for the war. (2) Closest collaboration with the Soviet Union whose victorious armies have liberated a great part of the country and will drive out the Nazi invaders. (3) Friendship with the United States and Great Britain and all the other United Nations and loyal support of the Yalta and San Francisco resolutions. (4) A

people's democracy based on the collaboration of all democratic forces united in the National Front; extirpation of Nazism and collaborators with fascism.

The new government is composed of representatives of all groups of the National Front with special emphasis on the most active part of the National Front, the "bloc" of the three workers' parties—Social Democrats, Communists, and Czech Socialists. (The Czech Socialists are a non-Marxist party representing workers and middle class people. Dr. Benes belongs to this party.)

Premier Zdenek Fierlinger is an old Social Democrat who worked and fought in his party for a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union even when that course was not very popular. Mr. Fierlinger has a good record as a diplomat. He represented Czechoslovakia in Moscow during the crucial pre-Munich and the Munich period. He never wavered in his belief that the Soviet Union was the strongest barrier to fascism and would finally deal the death blow to Hitler. In the days of the German-Russian pact, Fierlinger wrote a now famous article (republished in *NEW MASSES*, June 6, 1940) telling his Czech and Slovak countrymen not to let themselves be fooled by anti-Soviet campaigns but to understand that the Soviet Union's basic intention was to prevent the growth

of fascism and to help the small nations.

Vice Premier Josef David is a Czech Socialist with a good anti-fascist record. He was the president of the Czechoslovak Society for friendship with the Soviet Union, founded in London in 1941. As a member of the State Council (parliament-in-exile) he consistently worked for closest international ties with the great Allies.

Vice Premier Klement Gottwald is one of the first Communists to enter a Czechoslovak government. He is a worker from Slovakia, general secretary of the Communist Party, a leading member of the Czechoslovak parliament, and one of the country's foremost labor and civic leaders. Vilen Siroky, another Vice Premier, is likewise a Communist, a member of the parliament from Slovakia, and the organizational secretary of the Communist Party, a man of exceptional administrative abilities. Msgr. Jan Sramek, another Vice Premier, is the outstanding leader of the Catholics of Bohemia, whose organization was kept free from fascism and collaborationism. Monsignor Sramek, who was the head of the government-in-exile, declared time and again that he and his friends considered the National Front vital and collaboration with all other democratic and anti-fascist forces indispensable. Jan Ursiny, the last of the Vice Premiers, is a representative of the Slovak National (Democratic) Party, a well known lawyer and political leader of the Slovak middle class.

The new Foreign Minister, Jan Masaryk, held the same post in the government-in-exile. Minister of National Defense is General Ludvik Svoboda, commander of the heroic Czechoslovak Army fighting on the Eastern Front under the command of Soviet Marshal Petrov. General Svoboda organized the first Czechoslovak troops in Russia. Unlike Polish General Anders who wanted his troops evacuated when the Nazis stormed the approaches to the Volga, General Svoboda requested that he be sent to the front. In his new post, General Svoboda will reconstruct the new army and especially the new officers corps along the lines indicated by the National Front. He may be expected to weed out that tiny but influential group of reactionaries who occupied key posts in the ministry of national defense in London.

Minister of the Interior is Vaclav Nosek, an old trade unionist with vast experience as an administrator. He was a Communist member of parliament and a vice president of the State Council in London.



"Which way did the Wehrmacht go?"

Hubert Ripka, Minister of Foreign Trade, is a Czech Socialist, a close friend and collaborator of President Benes. He was a journalist and author before the war and a Minister of State attached to the Foreign Affairs department of the government-in-exile.

Minister of Finance Vavro Srobar is a Slovak Democrat, one of the oldest fighters for Slovak independence. He took an active part in the underground fight against the Hlinka quislings and the Nazis.

THE department of Education and Popular Enlightenment is in the hands of Zdenek Nejedly, a historian, an honorary member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, a prolific writer, a fascinating speaker, a truly great man of letters and anti-fascist fighter. Among his works are a *Life of Smetana*, a *Biography of Thomas Masaryk*, a *Life of Lenin* and a *History of the Czech Nation*. They deserve to be known far beyond the borders of his country. Professor Nejedly was never enrolled in any party but he always associated himself with the most progressive elements of the country. Minister of Justice Jaroslav Stransky is a Czech Socialist, a close friend of Dr. Benes, a lawyer of great

reputation. He was a member of the government-in-exile. Minister of Information Vaclav Kopecky is a Communist member of parliament. In his youth, he was one of the leaders of the Czech student movement. He is also the author of many essays, articles and pamphlets. Minister of Agriculture Julius Duris is a new man, a representative of the Slovak underground movement in which he took a very active part. Minister of Industry Bohumil Lauschman is a Social Democrat with a good record as an anti-fascist fighter and an advocate of close friendship with the Soviet Union and Great Britain and the United States. General Nizborsky, Minister of Communications, is an able officer who helped to organize Czechoslovak armed forces in France and in England. The Minister of Posts, the Reverend Father Frantisek Hala, is a close friend and collaborator of Vice Premier Sramek, a leader of the Catholic party of Bohemia-Moravia. Minister of Supply Vaclav Majer is a member of the Social Democratic Party, a trade union leader of long standing, and a member of the State Council and the government-in-exile. Minister of Internal Trade Ivan Pietor is one of the leaders of the Slovak underground and partisan movement. Josef Soltesz, Min-



Hoover to Vandenberg: "How can we get it back in again? People are beginning to notice."

ister of Social Welfare, is a Slovak and member of the Slovak underground movement.

There are also a number of vice ministers belonging to all parties of the National Front. Of the twenty-five members of the new government, nine are Slovaks and sixteen are Czechs; the "bloc" of labor parties has fourteen representatives and holds eleven posts. The new government is a team of proved anti-fascist leaders and of hard working specialists in their respective fields. It is genuinely representative of the National Front reaching from the Catholics to the Communists and including every shade of democratic opinion. It will work together with the Committees of National Liberation, until the general elections when a permanent government will be installed.

Gadgets and You

(Continued from page 14)

drated soup increased from 300,000 pounds to 43,000,000 pounds in the same four-year period.

It would be criminal waste of manpower and productivity to foist millions of super-refrigerators on the American household if the new food industries and community freezers will make them obsolete in a short time. This is an adequate example of how a valuable mechanical asset can be transformed into a useless gadget. Take the washing machine industry for example; it would be foolish for the housewife to have a highly developed laundry including a washer, hot water heater, mangle and dryer when community laundries on a large scale can handle the family wash by mass produc-

tion methods and with corresponding economies. With such consolidations of household tasks the great advances in technology would find their rightful place. The expensive applications of high-frequency heating, thyatron controls, electrostatic filtering, and similar wartime developments should be applied to community living on a community basis. Any other application would be a backward and costly one. Ask any housewife whether she would bake her own bread even if she did have a high-frequency oven! The bakery and the diaper service have become "community-ized" (not socialized); other marginal services such as cleaning, cooking, and washing are bound to follow suit. It saves time. It meets the test of increasing our standard of living. It will leave many a household gadget in the air—where it belongs.

This does not mean that the manufacturers would have to close shop. On the contrary. Mass-produced service machinery for large scale establishments would be in tremendous demand. And there would be no limit to requirements in the foreseeable future.

Radios, automobiles, and airplanes will undoubtedly show tremendous improvement over any pre-war models. The quantities produced can be enormous. The radio industry has projected a program for 100,000,000 sets to be delivered within six years after the war's end. But it's not the miracles that are going to mark the progress. Helicopters, for example, lose their main value if provisions for small, numerous and easily accessible landing spots are not provided. Each advance will bring concurrent problems, not the least of which will be the establishment of proper controls to assure the consumer a square deal.

Postwar gadgets are going to be more complex and further removed from the layman's technical realm than they have been in the past. Industry has highly trained technical personnel to test and weigh the value of the new tools that it will buy, but the housewife will be relatively unprotected unless adequate quality control is assured. Grade-labeling in the technical field is essential, as well as impartial consumer education, and labor-management product advisory committees.

Properly treated, the great American gadget can shorten the hours of labor, reduce distribution costs, and still be profitable. But fancy advertising copy will not necessarily be a good foundation for the postwar home. The gadget of the future must be dedicated to "the greatest good for the greatest number": it must serve the people.



WHAT IS "GOOD TASTE"?

By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

WEBSTER'S unabridged dictionary defines "taste" as "the power of discerning and appreciating beauty, order, congruity, proportion, symmetry or whatever constitutes excellence, especially in the fine arts and *belles lettres*; critical judgment, discernment; as 'a man of taste'."

Such a definition abets the misconception which the book here reviewed seeks, partially, to correct.* Cultural "taste" in the definition, is presumed to be an innate "power" of the individual, something akin to the physiological sense of taste. One is presumed to taste "excellence" somewhat as he tastes "sweetness." "A man of good taste" is generally presumed either to be born with or develop a special faculty which enables him to make subtle distinctions somewhat in the manner of professional tea-tasters. It does not take much thought, however, to realize that taste is as much a product of social conditioning as any element in our lives.

Almost at once we perceive that personal taste operates within very restricted limits, which are determined in ways the individual is unaware of or accepts so unquestioningly that he becomes conscious of them only with an effort. For example, nothing would seem to be so personally chosen as one's clothing. However, we don't see any man choosing Scottish kilts, a Roman toga, a Russian *rubashka* or eighteenth century knee-breeches instead of the sack suit he actually puts on. The main decision has been made for him and his "taste" is exercised personally within a very narrow range of choices in colors, patterns and fabric textures.

Social pressures in esthetic matters are less direct and are today confused by the different levels of education, professional interests, economic opportunities, etc. There is no homogeneous public, as in past periods, but different and overlapping publics responding to different and sometimes simultaneous pressures. In earlier times, when the distinction was mainly between the educated minority and the illiterate mass, the behavior pat-

terns of the culture public were comparatively simple.

A librarian has told me anecdotes which illustrate how early social pressures begin. She noticed boys stuffing books they had borrowed into their blouses, before leaving the library. The books thus hidden were fairy tales or "girls books," for which the boys would be razzed if they were seen. Another friend who spent a year in a Southern town had to do without cigarettes and books—though she was allowed magazines. For "ladies," with the exception of the unmarried schoolmarm, books as well as cigarettes were improper.

The history of literature is a continuous record of the interaction of social change and changing taste. How class-determined taste can be is most distinctly seen at points of conflict. The taste of the individual Cavalier or Roundhead in England of the Great Rebellion was obviously decided by his class interests. The "court style" in literature was inexorably doomed by the revolutions that replaced the court-centered aristocracies with bourgeois democracies.

WHILE there has been some material on the class influences in culture, there has been, as yet, no comprehensive study of the effects of technological advances. The democratizing of culture that printing made possible has, of course, been commented upon, but other developments have largely been ignored. Today, literally before our eyes, cheap and accurate reproductions of paintings are vastly extending the art public. The dis-

play advertisement completely changed the nature of American magazines at the turn of the century, but is still un-commented upon in our literary histories. Through the influence of lending libraries in England the three-volume novel was in two years' time entirely displaced by the one-volume novel. The corner movie and the automobile, among other innovations, ended the practice of family reading which, up to the second decade of this century, was an important determinant of taste. It was the fear of bringing blushes to the cheek of the growing daughter and of offending grandmother or the maiden aunt in the family reading circle that played a large part in the prudery of American taste. Today a significant change to watch is the transformation of American book publication into a mass industry through the twenty-five-cent paper-bound book.

These examples are taken at random. One should include the two new literary arts, the cinema and radio. Other important developments will occur to my readers—perhaps the effects of new techniques of communication and of the shifts in culture brought by the increasing weight of science, and the transformation of certain branches of culture into sciences.

One must also bear in mind the changing bases of cultural authority. The universities, in recent times, have fallen far behind while the authority of critics has increased. The extreme example of the authority of the critic as expert is seen in the exposure of art museum forgeries. Up to the hour that a "masterpiece" is declared a fraud, to respond with rapture to it is a mark of good taste; an hour later, it has become a mark of bad taste.

Literature is cluttered with similarly embarrassing reversals. One of the most interesting is the Celtic bard Ossian who, in the alleged "translation" by the poet Macpherson, burst upon Europe in the mid-eighteenth century as a newly discovered epic poet, greater than Homer. It was subsequently discovered that Macpherson had built Ossian from a few genuine scraps and large additions of his own. The enraged experts had their



Shoshannah
Shoshannah.

* THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERARY TASTE, by Levin L. Schucking. Oxford. \$2.

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APRIL, 1945

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revenge. They virtually destroyed a book which, if it had not borne the stigma of fraud, might still be in circulation.

Today the role of the critics is, paradoxically, greater and less than formerly. As adjuncts of the publishing industry, as literary "shopping guides," they are more immediately influential than ever before. Book promotion has become almost directly interrelated with reviewing; and in the person of the book club judges the identification has become complete. But the critics are no longer the initiators of new trends toward which, today, they take the defensive stands common to an institutionalized group. This was particularly marked by the largely negative role of the critics in the "proletarian" thirties.

The psychological determinants in taste offer as rich and as largely unexplored a field as the others I have noted. We are only beginning to take into account the taste changes that come with growth—the appeal of the romantic and the violent to adolescents; and of the historical to the aging. We have still to trace the effects upon the psychology—and the taste—of that important part of the public, the petty bourgeois woman, as she turns from suburban leisure to a career.

All this does not mean that there are no basic esthetic values. These remain just as the human being continues human through the conditioning processes he is subjected to. But it means that the old simple esthetic assumptions require extensive restudying and reintegration into the body of our culture.

Most of the material in this article has little relation to Mr. Schucking's book except the use of it as a starting point. Mr. Schucking's study does not include recent developments and his examples are taken mainly from German culture and deal with personalities and situations largely unfamiliar to American readers. Its treatment, moreover, tends to the superficial. But it is as far as I have been able to discover the only book, and therefore, by default, the best book in its field. As such it is recommended to all who have an interest in the sociology of culture.

Kuomintang Handout

THE VIGIL OF A NATION, by Lin Yutang. John Day. \$2.75.

BY THIS time, most readers of NEW MASSES will have formed an opinion of Lin Yutang's *The Vigil of a Nation*, either from reading the book itself or from the comments of a large number of competent reviewers with

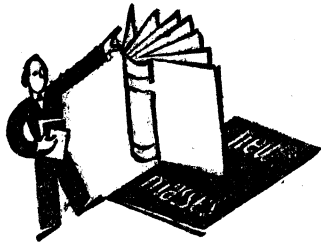
first-hand experience in wartime China. Almost without exception, these reviewers classified the book as a piece of unsubstantiated propaganda in favor of the Kuomintang regime in China, and criticized Lin severely for writing a sweeping denunciation of the Chinese Communists and of conditions in the Communist-controlled areas without even taking the trouble to visit those areas or to verify his charges.

By his own admission, Lin took to China "two big 150-page notebooks and came out again without writing a single line in them. . . . My whole diary runs under a thousand words." Yet on the basis of blank notebooks and a brief diary, he wrote a book of some 120,000 words, filled with stories in which he cites names, dates, places, facts and figures in great detail. It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that most reviewers have assumed that he based his book on official handouts from the Kuomintang authorities, and took his philosophical tone from such champions of Confucianism as feudal-minded Chen Li-fu. His book bears too close a resemblance to the Kuomintang party line to merit consideration as an independent and balanced judgment.

To those who remember Lin Yutang's former critical attitude toward the evils and abuses of the traditional Chinese political structure—his devastating analysis of the Confucian theory of government by a privileged elite; his demand for democracy and civil liberties; and his keen appreciation of the origin and character of the Communist movement in China—Lin's present role as an open apologist for the reactionary Kuomintang regime is not easy to assess. What has happened to the author of *My Country and My People* that he now denounces as "anti-national" all those who point out the autocratic feudal characteristics of Confucianism?

The answer can lie only in Lin Yutang's self-imposed exile from the country of his birth. He has suffered the fate of all intellectuals that run away to the imagined peace of a foreign land. It was not accidental that it was in 1936 that Lin apparently decided to make the United States his permanent home. For that year was one of the most crucial in recent Chinese history, ending in the sensational Sian Incident of December 1936—the climax of a bitter struggle for unity and resistance to Japan. And unlike the United States, China had no hiding places for the intellectual, no middle-class haven; one had to take sides openly and sharply.

But Lin Yutang *could* take sides in



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the pages of a book (*My Country and My People*) published in another country. For his pains, he was heartily criticized by all sections of Chinese opinion. Conservative intellectuals ridiculed him for winning fame and fortune by writing of the "little things" of Chinese life and for exhibiting Chinese foibles to the public gaze. Intellectuals of a more democratic and progressive character criticized him for his unwillingness to take an active part in China's struggle for national freedom and democratic progress. In the United States, however, Lin found countless readers who were ready to accept his ironic comments on contemporary civilization as sufficient proof of his liberal outlook.

But in wartime China, words and witticisms were not enough, particularly when they were written 7,000 miles away. Lin became increasingly sensitive to the criticism that he had chosen to leave his country in time of crisis. Thus in 1940 he made a trip to China, announcing that he intended "to see the war through," but soon returned to America because the bombing of Chungking interfered with his writing. It became more and more difficult for Lin to abandon his comfortable existence as a best-selling author in the United States and return to the rigors of Chinese life. It was easier to cast in his lot with the existing regime, and to accept a diplomatic visa for his "personal convenience." For this, he was willing to denounce all criticism of the Chungking government and its policies as "Communist-inspired."

Lin's 1940 trip produced *Between Tears and Laughter*, the first evidence that he had forsaken his liberal beliefs to echo the extremely reactionary views expressed in Chiang Kai-shek's *China's Destiny*. *The Vigil of a Nation*—product of his second wartime visit to China in 1943-44—is another installment of the price he paid to the Kuomintang for a life of ease and comfort in a foreign country. In terms of the respect of his Chinese and American readers, however, the price he paid for his unwillingness to remain true to his original beliefs was a heavy one.

PHILIP JAFFE.

Personal Record

ONLY THE YEARS, *Selected Poems 1938-1944*, by Ruth Lechlitner. James A. Decker. \$2.

A QUIET, steady voice that neither grew shrill with panic nor took refuge in silence or evasion in the recent threatening past is heard in Ruth Lech-

litner's latest book. This summary of her verse is a sensitive record of the time during which the decent world overcame hesitations and gradually drew itself into effective moral alignment against the fascist enemy.

In the volume are poems which if done by a less skilled hand might have trailed off into impersonal dogma or generalization. Instead, the pieces are immediate, vivid, personal. Together they comprise an active response to a tumultuous, sometimes terrible world. Despair is never the emotional conclusion drawn from the world's anguish, and the poet's indignation rises not against life but in opposition to the life-limiting forces we have seen so much of in the recent past. In many of Miss Lechlitner's poems, the idiom is one she is particularly sure of and loves—the language of nature poetry.

From the first poem, "Forever This Spring," to the last one, "Only the Years," from which the book takes its title, there is a minimum of overt references to the social sources of the varied emotions she condenses, through nature images, into sixty-four pages. At the same time, neither crude allegory on the one hand nor conventional nature verse on the other cheapen the effect. Rather we have a social response to our dynamic world, appearing freshly and without distracting eccentricity in the images dear to a country dweller.

Miss Lechlitner's earnest images point usually toward simple, central emotions—sympathy, alarm, love, hope; but recurrently in the poems she directs the reader's attention toward the intricate process of change. Indeed, consideration of flux and development is in the background of the whole book. In the foreground appears an ingratiating quality of warmth, and somewhere between foreground and background in this modest volume stands something perhaps best described as dignity—a virtue rare enough in poetry these days to deserve special mention.

PHILIP STANDER.

Report on America

AMERICA'S DECISIVE BATTLE, by Earl Browder, *New Century*. 5c.

LIKE all of Mr. Browder's writing, this pamphlet, which contains the text of a report made to a recent meeting of the national committee of the Communist Political Association, is distinguished by its historical perspective and the directness with which it drives to the core of contemporary issues. All

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Americans today, Mr. Browder maintains, must take their stand either for or against the decisions of the Crimea Conference. To be against Crimea means, willy-nilly, to join the camp of Hitler and Hirohito. "If there is anyone who wishes to challenge this stark outline of the main question before the world," he writes, "such a person must undertake to show an existing or potential *third camp* which can hope to defeat Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, as well as Hitler and Hirohito! The search for such a third camp will prove as illusory as the search for perpetual motion."

In the light of this thesis Mr. Browder considers such personalities as Senator Vandenberg and Thomas E. Dewey, both of whom, despite their reactionary tendencies, he regards as not yet definitely committed and therefore places on the doubtful list. He points out that the anti-Crimea and pro-Hitler camp has extended its influence into organized labor and "liberalism" through such men as John L. Lewis, "the David Dubinsky group of the Social-Democratic Federation dominating the Liberal Party in New York, the Norman Thomas Socialists, the Trotskyites and the friends of all these groups who are infiltrated into some positions of power in several CIO unions." Mr. Browder discusses the efforts of this crowd to precipitate widespread strikes, scuttle labor's no-strike pledge and undermine President Roosevelt's leadership. He makes it clear that all of labor's problems and grievances must be resolved in a way that furthers the war effort. Mr. Browder's observations on the world trade union conference at London and the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City, and his proposals for strengthening our national unity reflect a mind at tune with the forces of history. All in all, these thirty-one small pages contain larger wisdom than most full-length books.

WALTER BEHR.

Brief Reviews

THE TROUBLED MIDNIGHT, by John Gunther.
 Harper. \$2.50.

FOR its main effects *The Troubled Midnight* leans upon the intrigues of neutral Turkey. Its principals are beautiful Leslie Corcoran, an American lend-lease worker, Gerald Heath, an idealistic Britisher, and a laboriously humanized Nazi agent who falls for Leslie and gets bumped off by a fellow-Nazi just as he is about to see a light of some kind or other.

This talky novel draws much upon

Gunther's wide reportorial experience, but does not fetch up enough to give it much significance.

CARRIER WAR, by Lt. Oliver Jensen, USNR.
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Worth Noting

DUMBARTON OAKS WEEK (April 16-22) will serve as a preparation in America for the San Francisco Conference. The National Education Association has sent letters to 30,000 superintendents and principals urging special study of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals during that week and special assemblies in the schools on April 25. The YWCA and the General Federation of Women's Clubs have sent directives to their local branches on observances during that week. The Federal Council of Churches and the Church Peace Union are calling upon the churches of the entire nation to hold special services on April 25.

For radio listeners the occasion will be marked by an interesting program to be presented over the Mutual Network. At 10 PM on April 16, the Writers' War Board will present a radio drama on the San Francisco Conference, *They Shall Be Heard*, written by the well known poet and radio dramatist, Norman Rosten.

ELEVEN German anti-Nazi writers in this country have banded together to form a German language publishing house, *Aurora Verlag*, that offers exciting perspectives. The first publication will be an anthology intended for German war prisoners, of prose and verse from German classic and contemporary writers. Forthcoming publications will include books by Anna Seghers, Ernst Bloch, Ferdinand Bruckner, Alfred Doebelin, Hermann Broch, George Grosz, Bertolt Brecht, Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield, Oscar Maria Graf, Ernst Walding, Berthold Viertel, F. C. Weiskopf, Friedrich Alexan, Lion Feuchtwanger, Hans Marchwitza, Bodo Uhse, Otto Zoff and Arnold Zweig.

The publication address of *Aurora Verlag* is 10 W. 23 St., New York 10.



RECENT FILMS

By JOSEPH FOSTER

I HAVE always disliked criticism that damned with faint praise by saying that *Beedledoodle*, which could have been a great film, is only a good one. And yet, in discussing *Corn Is Green* such a characterization is inescapable.

Miss Moffat, a middle-aged spinster with a social conscience, comes into some property in a Welsh mining town. Observing the poverty, filth and illiteracy of the community, the good woman decides that what is needed is more sanitation, less work for minors, and a village school. She encounters opposition from the squire, who regards such ideas as dangerous, and from a good many of the townfolk who hold it as divine decree that as soon as a male reaches the ripe age of twelve he must go into the mines.

You anticipate a fair facsimile of the battle for education that raged in rural England in the late nineteenth century. At first you are not disappointed. The film breaks from the barrier with a snort and a rush; but before long, it slows down to an easy-going canter. The struggle between new and old social forces disappears and is replaced by a struggle centered on the star pupil, who is torn between his new-found desire for learning and his old habits of life. When that skirmish is won, the next objective becomes an Oxford scholarship for the boy. The help of the squire is enlisted; he now sees the village candidate wearing his colors much like one of his horses. The teacher ridicules the squire's vulgarity, but in its mechanical treatment of the boy's competitive preparations the film does bring to mind the grooming of an entry for the steeplechase.

Bette Davis's performance as Miss Moffat, Nigel Bruce's as the squire, John Dall's as the student, are first rate. The whole supporting cast measures up to the principals, and the solid over-all production is firmly controlled by Herman Shumlin. It is further enlivened by fine Welsh choral singing. If the *Corn Is Green* had developed along the lines indicated in its opening sequences, it might have, like *The Little Foxes*, turned out to be one of the best pictures of the decade. As it develops, it is, regrettably, only a good one.

CHENNAULT and his Flying Tigers, bypassed up to now by Hollywood producers, get their chance to shine in *God Is My Co-Pilot* (Strand). But the more obvious purpose of the film is to prove that atheism should be banished from the battleplane's cockpit, as it has allegedly been from the foxholes. Object lessons are provided by irreligious pilots who get the whammy, and by believing pilots who get the rewards. To establish its case, the film depends upon signs and portents, and occasionally skirts the supernatural; but the Warners, being realists, are careful not to overdo it.

The foregoing is not intended as criticism of religious beliefs or of the support they provide in battle, to which convincing testimony was provided by the battlefield observances of soldiers of all faiths during Passover and Easter. What I object to is *Co-pilot's* dependence on the credo-simple technique generally used on five-year-olds. For instance, when one of the characters confesses to Big Mike (the missionary) that he is afraid all the killing is going to make a callous, brutal man of him, the preacher turns his eyes upward and tells him to have faith. That is hardly an adequate answer either for an atheist or for any soldier who still wants to know what he is doing in China, or any other battle area.

The succession of aerial dogfights is exciting and great fun to watch, even though worked out in patterns now familiar. One of its story-telling patterns is, however, becoming hard to take. The men are always on a v-e-r-y special mission. They are carefully picked from all corners of the country. Then they are carefully trained and sent off in an unnamed direction during the small hours

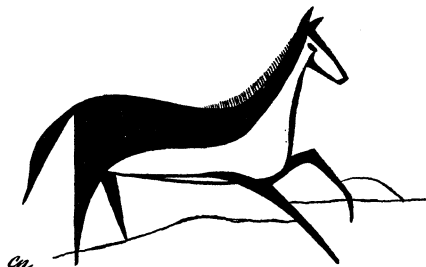
of the night. They make coy guesses at their destination, but really don't care because they know it's the most important mission in the whole world. It is surprising that the ordinary fliers, the men who are told where they are going, the pilots and bombardiers and gunners sent up on tactical and strategic missions, haven't developed inferiority complexes.

TWO young Englishmen, Emeric Pressburger and Michael Powell, writer and director respectively, do much to raise the level of current screen showings with two new Archer (we aim high) productions, *Silver Fleet* and *Colonel Blimp*. Both are carefully constructed plays that are always even-paced even when approaching a climax, a British characteristic in film-making that appears to sacrifice pace and tension. Yet, because of the scrupulous care in avoiding loose ends or badly motivated action, the central characters in each film appear to have more dimension and substance than are usually given the characters of our faster moving films.

Silver Fleet deals with the underground movement of a Dutch town whose chief industry is shipbuilding. When the town is invaded by the Nazis, two submarines are on the verge of completion. The object of the underground is to prevent these boats from falling into the hands of the Nazis. The ship owner, invoking the name and deeds of a legendary Dutch hero, is the leader of the resistance. In a series of well-developed moves, one submarine is captured and brought to England and the other is sunk (by and with the ship-owner) with all the ranking Nazis aboard.

In commenting on his successes, the shipbuilder reflects that the Nazis are weak because they do not understand how a carefully planned death can be used as an instrument for victory. It is a point made time and again by Soviet films.

Brilliant camera work helps fill out character portraits. Long shots are interspersed with the dialogue to give feeling and quality to the background against



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which the actors move. So well established is this milieu that the behavior of the people within it becomes easily credible. Ralph Richardson as the ship owner and Gogie Withers as his wife do a brilliant job with their parts. *Silver Fleet* is a little-advertised film playing in one of the smallest theaters in the city (the World) but it shouldn't be missed.

MY CHIEF quarrel with *Colonel Blimp* is in the naming of the film and in the foreword that gives credit to cartoonist Low of the London *Evening Standard* for providing it with the idea for its main character. For the Colonel Blimp of Low's cartoons has nothing in common with the beef-eater of the film. Low's Blimp is held up to all good citizens as a horrible example of what not to do. He lights matches during a blackout, never draws his curtains during a bombardment, always fails to take shelter during air raid warnings, etc. British Ministry of Information films have used this character as the black sheep of home defense.

The *Colonel Blimp* at the Globe, a nice old gent, a "rogue with a roving eye" as the ads have it, will therefore confuse you if you have the first character in mind. You had therefore best forget him to enjoy the film. Here he is the compendium of all British virtues: he is manly, sturdy, courageous, correct, earnest, and full of cricket-field ethics. Since the military colonizer was the face of England abroad, what more natural than that the old army dog be the bearer of these virtues? Whether it was the Boer War, when the British did some heavy tramping in spiked boots (but with all protocol observed), or the present anti-fascist fight, war was always the same game with the same rules. The school-tie boys carried this code far and wide.

For having learned the lesson too well, Blimp gets the sack. His bewilderment is cleared up when it is explained that the Nazis have broken all the rules of warfare, and that to fight them he must change his previous conceptions. He comes to, in time, and all ends well.

Colonel Blimp's career spans three stages of England's history: from 1890 to the first World War, the interval between wars, and the present struggle. Following the Colonel through these periods the film, with affection and some humor, does a fair job of analyzing the character of the upper class Englishman. It deflates some of his stuffed shirt virtues, his addiction to form and army ritual, his routine of club life. I would

like to see a similar job done on one of our American virtue-spouting tycoons.

OF THE three new kissfool and glamor girl films, *Without Love* (Radio City Music Hall) is thoroughly enjoyable, *The Affairs of Susan* (Rivoli), inane, and *Practically Yours* (Paramount), downright nasty.

Without Love, based on the Philip Barry play, is chockfull of love from the opening gong to the last blow. Its characters are strictly movie-made and its plot as transparent as air, yet it is one of the most ingratiating films to come out of Hollywood. This quality is largely due to the fresh and witty dialogue of screenwriter Donald Ogden Stewart, one of the best in the business, and to the smooth and knowing work of Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn—and in a smaller degree (but not much smaller) to that of Keenan Wynn and Lucille Ball. The opening scenes between Spencer Tracy and Keenan Wynn are among the most genuinely funny scenes ever written for the screen.

Paramount has dredged up a couple of numbers that should have been allowed to remain quiescent in their river beds. *Affairs of Susan* has Joan Fontaine competing with her previous role in *Frenchman's Creek*. For triviality and pointlessness the result is a dead heat, which is really a shameful waste in view of the sound work of which this actress is capable.

As for *Practically Yours*, to which colleague McManus of *PM* has given two checks, to our everlasting mystification, it displays the worst taste of any film on the war we have yet seen. It pokes fun at the sentiments of war widows and at the practice of paying tribute to war heroes. Writer Norman Krasna has drawn heavily on his *Dear Ruth* plot to eke out the necessary footage for this one. At best this is a trivial film full of vulgar humor; at worst it is a nasty picture deliberately ridiculing the emotions of people with relatives on the casualty lists.

On Broadway

EVERY once in a while a show comes to Broadway that reminds people of an old and often forgotten fact: theater ought to be an emotional experience. We have become accustomed to crediting a play if it works out its plot smoothly, if its scenes do not bore, if it holds our interest. Tennessee Williams' play, *The Glass Menagerie*, does all that and in addition creates that elusive magic, that overtone of emotion,

for which no amount of careful plotting or playmaking can substitute.

Laurette Taylor plays the mother of a young girl, Julie Haydon, who is handicapped by a limp. This defect has made her shy and has prevented her from taking her place in society. She has absorbed herself in a collection of little glass ornaments and has given up all hope of marrying. Her brother, played by Eddie Dowling, is prevailed upon by the mother to bring home one of his co-workers from the warehouse in which he slaves, and this "gentleman caller" has a scene with the sister, goes so far as to kiss her, and then goes away. He will not be back, for he is engaged to another girl.

That is the story. The scenes themselves are written not realistically but in a completely naturalistic mode. The production, however, and some short narrations by Mr. Dowling, along with soft strains of sentimental music, lift the play out of the area of the photograph and infuse it with the spirit of a fairy tale. The setting by Jo Mielziner creates a little St. Louis apartment flanked by two alleys and a dance hall. The subdued lighting helps the illusion along.

Aside from Miss Taylor's astonishing performance, the play's absorbing effect grows out of its faithfulness to the life and the reality from which it springs. Mr. Williams has let nothing divert him from the mother's preoccupation with her daughter's chances for marriage. By not trying to impose any weighty or generalized significance to his scene, by simply telling it through, he convinces and compels attention.

Mr. Dowling's music-backed narrations, spoken through semi-darkness, sometimes seem extraneous. One does not remember very much of what he says. He is mysterious and smoky here—as he loves to be—and often corny, but the net effect of this framing of the scenes is to veil them in a mood of wonder and expectation. I think it possible, indeed, that were these narrations eliminated, the play would seem dated and rather drab. It takes place during the depression and the locale itself is tawdry and impoverished. But the narrations, the music, the lighting and the scrim behind which some scenes are played, lay a gauze of feeling about the place and the people, and the whole becomes enchanting.

All of which adds up to so rare an evening that criticism may seem like carping. Nevertheless, the play does verge on the maudlin now and then. Stripped of the production devices, it would show up much thinner. Its chief

emotional pull is sentimental, a fact which would be difficult to step around when one is dealing with a crippled young girl being forced to face the world. Its sentiment, moreover, is probably to blame for the absence of a true climax to the play, for within a sentimental frame the core of human character cannot be revealed nor its conflicts resolved.

This failing is most perceptible in the character of Laura, the girl. Julie Haydon plays her with such wraith-like other-worldliness that she becomes a wisp indeed, and between a wisp and a mother as real as the one in this play a truly climactic development of emotions cannot take place. When the "gentleman caller" goes away, taking with him her hope for happiness, she fades away behind the scrim and we are left with no word, no act, no gesture that might have fixed her fate in our minds. The play ends like a chapter, not like a book.

One may well prefer this kind of evaporative ending, but in the interests of purgation—to which the play is dedicated—one must condemn it. For it leads us on toward a scene which is not there. "Use your imagination," says Eddie Dowling at the end. I take this to mean "life goes on." Art, however, requires an emotional requirement whose absence cannot be filled by such a substitute.

Anthony Ross plays the "gentleman caller" with a sharp sense of documentation. But like Mr. Dowling, he lacks the ability to forget the audience and thus distracts from the intense, inward-looking quality so excellently managed by Miss Taylor. The play was produced by Mr. Dowling and Louis J. Singer and staged simply by Mr. Dowling and Margo Jones.

“A PLACE OF OUR OWN,” the new play by Elliot Nugent, may not deserve to succeed, but neither are its virtues to be as thoroughly ignored as they have been. The play sets out to dramatize a reflection of the conflict between Woodrow Wilson's policies and those of his opponents. A captain in the last war returns to Calais, Ohio, filled with determination to work for an international peace organization. He is given a local newspaper as a wedding present by his reactionary father-in-law, and proceeds to propagate his ideas. He gets as far as to round up a representative committee of local people—the banker, a farmer, a businessman, a politician—who have all but agreed to pressure Warren Harding, then Senator from Ohio. The father-in-law, for



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rather flimsy personal reasons, but some compelling political and economic ones, frightens the group away from the young man, and in the end defeats him. The young man resolves, however, to continue his fight to the end.

Twining through this argument is a personal story, the failure of which is the failure of the play. Why it failed is not too difficult to discover if one divorces it from the League-isolationist conflict superimposed upon it. This personal story is merely one of a husband whose wife, through misunderstanding, places her father first in her affections. The husband leaves, comes back to be forgiven, leaves again, and finally comes back for good.

Despite this weakness, the importance of its political theme gives the play some interest. The lines themselves are honest and direct, but the overly-contrived plot forces many unrewarding scenes upon the playwright. It is something that many serious playwrights might do well to examine. Elliot Nugent is not exactly new to the theater, and yet he has written a play of ideas without merging ideas and people into theatrically compelling situations. The ideas come into situational conflict, but the people do not.

Jeanne Cagney, as the young wife, still seems to have difficulty with her hands, and her voice is a bit shrill, but she does understand what she is saying. John Archer as her husband is direct and vigorous, but I suspect he needed to be more carefree and "wild," as the part describes him. The one illumination of the evening was J. C. Nugent as the grandfather of the family. He can snore out a line through the hairs in his nose so that it doesn't matter what he says—you laugh. Mercedes McCambridge, playing what I suppose is a second ingenue, is a strikingly competent young actress who ought to go places.

MATT WAYNE.

Notes on Music

WHENEVER certain musical circles are at a loss for pungent sensationalism to liven their uneventful existence they trot out the time-worn canard about the baneful influence of the Soviet government on musical creativeness. Recently the magazine *Listen* devoted a fourth of an issue to it. The writer, Kurt List, asserted that the genius of Shostakovich, yielding to the "unconditional surrender terms stated by *Pravda*," has been completely sterilized, to the point of producing the "most un-inspired music of this century." Poor Shostakovich tried, says List, to make

his art "useful"; when everyone knows that art has no relation to "politics, propaganda, parading or pinochle."

Such expiring falsifications, which time eventually sweeps away, deserve no attention. But some decent folk, not having access to the facts, may be taken in by it. Similar propaganda in other fields may predispose them to believe that through some ukase of the Soviet government, individualism of expression and personality in musical creation have been finally abolished.

Before me I have a bulletin published by *Voks* (Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) describing the range and variety of musical activities in the Soviet Union in 1944. What is impressive about this recital is the very special effort that was made to bring music to the most removed parts of the Soviet Union as well as the encouragement of original compositions. Thus Daniel Zhitomirsky recounts his adventures in the Far North where, with a group of musicians, he entertained and instructed at naval stations, on decks of warships, in hangars, at torpedo bases. Everywhere there was eager interest and discussion. "Couldn't you play and explain Shostakovich's *Seventh Symphony*?" "Sing something about the country and about the sea."

In 1943 the Soviet government established a country place at Ivanovo for composers. Here both the older and younger composers have been assiduously at work. Here in 1944, Shostakovich, Prokofieff, Miaskovskiy, Khachaturian, Gliere, Kabalevsky, Shaporin, Muradeli and a score of others produced noteworthy works, some already familiar to Americans. Prokofieff's *Eighth Sonata* for piano was written there and his *Fifth Symphony*; Shostakovich's two important pieces of chamber music; Kabalevsky's thirty-four piano pieces; and Shaporin's cycle of war songs on old and new texts.

Among the events planned for Moscow's 1945 musical season are commemorations of the fiftieth anniversary of Rubinstein's death and the eightieth anniversary of Gretchaninoff. Much modern English and American music will be performed, and new symphonies by Vladimir Kriukov, Igor Morozov, Leonid Polovinkin, Moisei Veinberg, as well as piano concertos by Zara Levine, Yuri Levitin, Antonio Spadavecchia and Samuel Feinberg.

To get back to Shostakovich. Last month NBC broadcast three of his chamber compositions, among them the *Trio in E Minor*, dedicated to the memory of Ivan Sollertinsky, and the *Second*

String Quartet in A Major, both composed in 1944. Quite by chance I tuned in on the *Trio*, without being aware of its authorship. Shostakovich's hand in this composition was unmistakable. But if modern Russian music is as thoroughly "coordinated" as the Lists claim, you shouldn't be able to tell one composer from another: Prokofieff should sound like Shostakovich; and Shostakovich like everyone else. If the latter's idiom has become less personal or individual, this fact certainly wasn't in evidence in either of these works. True, some of the so-called "humor" of his earlier day, which even keen-sighted critics like Virgil Thomson over-emphasize as his essential characteristic, has given way to a greater seriousness. Profounder personal experience no less than the overwhelming suffering and heroism of his people have deepened the melodic line, simplified it, perhaps, and refined away some of the earlier flamboyant virtuosity. But the individual expression remains indisputably and unmistakably Shostakovich—one of the most exciting, individual and experimental composers writing today.

WHAT to hear in New York: April 19, Aubrey Pankey, Town Hall. . . . April 23, Vladimir Horowitz (Prokofieff's Eighth Sonata), Carnegie Hall. . . . April 24, Wanda Landowska, Town Hall. . . . April 29, Marian Anderson, Metropolitan Opera House.
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Associated American Artists, 711 5th Ave. Group show including works of Adolf Dehn, Doris Lee, Gropper, Fiene, and others. Through April 14.

Brooklyn Museum, Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Thirteenth biennial water-color exhibit. Through April 29.

Buchholz Gallery, 32 E. 57. Paintings by contemporary British done during the past year. Through April 14.

Downtown Gallery, 43 E. 51. New paintings and drawings of Yasuo Kuniyoshi. Through April 28.

Midtown Gallery, 605 Madison. Drawings by Paul Cadmus. Through April 7.

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