

**MEET THE UNION BUSTERS' BRAIN TRUST**

by **VIRGINIA GARDNER**

**NEW MASSES**

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**THE NEW YORK TIMES**

**SINKIANG SLANDER**

by **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

**DOES AMERICA WANT ART?**

by **ELIZABETH McCAUSLAND**

**"DER FUEHRER" OF PORTUGAL**

by **P. MEDVEDOVSKY**

**ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Roots of America's Revolution, by Ralph Bowman; Your Stake in Labor, by Rev. William H. Melish; Franz Werfel's "Mein Kampf," by Albert Wiener; Gropper's Cartoon.**

# BETWEEN OURSELVES

IT'S NOT only the heat, and not only the humidity, it's also the short week. Because this is the week of the Fourth, **NEW MASSES** was obliged to go to press a day earlier so that you can have your copies on time.

We never saw it fail yet—whenever we run into that squally time of the short week everything seems to pop as we go to press.

This time there are at least two top priority events that fall in between our issues: (1) the undetermined fate of the FEPC (as we go to press the Neanderthal man Bilbo is reading telephone books, raving and ranting against Jews, Catholics and Negroes in his best Julius Streicher manner). And (2) the epochal congress of the French Communist Party.

To top all this off, Winston Churchill and Ernest Bevin are going to the polls, Thursday, the day we hit the stands. So there you are. We cannot comment on any of these prime events in this issue, so bear with us until next week.

And while we're still talking shop, we might mention that Isidor Schneider promises a bang-up cultural issue. He's tying up the odds and ends on it now, and next week we'll announce its nature and contents and when it will appear.

ELSEWHERE in this issue you'll find a comment on the real story behind the German bombardment of an American air field at Doltava in the USSR. The story itself comes from the horse's mouth, Hermann Goering. It got no more than passing reference in the newspapers—and small wonder, because these same newspapers were involved. But all of this made us think of another item of news which the American press, with a few honorable exceptions, used for all it was worth against the Soviet Union. The story concerns the discovery of mass graves in Katyn Forest about two years ago. The Russians, according to the Poles in London, were supposed to have murdered thousands of Poles and buried them in the woods. Newspaper after newspaper cried shame and almost were for declaring hostilities against the USSR. Those who refused to be blinded by this obvious attempt to split the Allies fought back. The justice of their battle was revealed last week in two or three inches of type in the large newspapers. A close collaborator of Himmler by the name of Schellenberg has revealed that 12,000 bodies were taken from German concentration camps, attired in old Polish uniforms to make them appear to be Polish officers, and buried in Katyn. The Germans also provided these bodies with forged passports, letters and even wallets treated with a special chemical fluid to make them look

worn. And the whole ghastly business was staged by Goebbels and Ribbentrop to create a clash between Russia and her Allies.

Any number of such stories will be coming through. We hope someone enterprising will gather them together in a book and write a proper moral on how with some odd exceptions American newspapers wittingly or unwittingly opened their pages to German propaganda without batting an editorial eye. And we hope the book will end with a chapter of praise for most Americans who despite the persistent anti-Soviet bombardment somehow have managed to survive it.

IN THIS issue we publish a paper delivered by Elizabeth McCausland at the recent conference of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Miss McCausland discusses the economic status of art in America today, and we believe her comments afford grounds for considerable

thought, and action, by artists and art-lovers. We would welcome any further ideas in this field from our readers and our artists. NM, since its inception, has sought to express the thinking, the creation, the problems of the artists, and we believe it is futile to discuss his goals, his aspirations, without considering his economics, and that of his world.

We have other valuable papers from the ICC conference that are thought-provoking. These will appear in subsequent issues, for they have a peculiar pertinence to the problems of many of our readers—the professionals, the white-collar workers, the scientific workers, the artists, writers, musicians. We hope they will evoke discussion from our readers.

In a forthcoming number we expect a piece fully evaluating the conference, its perspectives and findings. Our old friend Dr. Samuel Sillen is working on the article, which should be in our hands shortly.

In any event let us have your reactions to the discussions published. These are problems that can only be solved by fullest cooperation between professional and layman.

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## SULZBERGER'S SINKIANG "ISSUE"

By **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

**W**HILE I was in San Francisco I learned that scandalous misrule by the Kuomintang in the Chinese northwestern province of Sinkiang has resulted in a serious revolt against the government. Because Sinkiang borders on the USSR and because it is so remotely situated that very few people know anything about it this revolt is now being blamed by some upon the Soviet Union. This, of course, has been part of the systematic anti-Soviet campaign of the American press. Cyrus L. Sulzberger in a recent series of dispatches from London to the *New York Times* raised the Sinkiang "issue," and the *Times* considered these pieces to be sufficiently important to reprint them in its four-page San Francisco Security Conference edition.

There were a number of people at the San Francisco Conference, among foreign delegations as well as in our own government, who have the facts on the Sinkiang situation. These facts sharply refute the insinuations which were featured in the *Times*. I talked with these informed persons and the true story of Sinkiang as set against Mr. Sulzberger's allegations runs as follows:

There is more or less agreement on the sequence of events. After a period of civil war in the early thirties there were several years of relative tranquility and prosperity. The governor, Sheng Shih-tsai, sought and received help from the Soviet Union, with which Sinkiang has natural economic common interests. In 1942-43 Sheng Shih-tsai turned sharply against the Soviet Union and began to reestablish the reactionary authority of the Kuomintang dictatorship. Wishing to avoid friction, the Soviet Union withdrew lock, stock and barrel.

With the reintroduction of Kuomintang exploitation, civil war again broke out in the fall of 1943. The anti-Kuomintang forces seized several important centers and threatened capture of the capital, Tihua, better known as Urumchi. Kuomintang troops were rushed in. Their planes, in seeking out the insurrectionists, crossed the Outer Mon-

golian border. The Outer Mongolian government, which enjoys a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, promptly retaliated by sending bombers over Sinkiang.

The civil war continues, with the anti-Kuomintang forces today holding important towns in the northwest and north of Sinkiang province. Meanwhile Chiang Kai-shek in the fall of 1944 recalled Governor Sheng, made him Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in the Chungking regime, and sent Wu Chung-hsin, a devoted Kuomintang politician, to take his place. Appointing a new man to pursue the same unsuccessful and reactionary policies is one of Chiang Kai-shek's most frequent acts of statesmanship.

Given this rather simple chronological framework, let us compare Mr. Sulzberger's interpretations with those of responsible authorities. For reasons which can be readily understood I am pledged not to identify either the foreign or American officials at the San Francisco Conference who gave me information on this episode. There has, however, been published a "Report on Sinkiang" by Mrs. Eleanor Lattimore in the Institute of Pacific Relations' *Far Eastern Survey* (April 11, 1945) which tallies closely with what these authorities have told me. On questions of interpretation I have checked the accuracy of her account.

Sulzberger's explanation of the cause of the conflict is indicated by the headline over his article of May 18—"SINKIANG CONFLICT A MOSCOW RIDDLE—Spreading Civil War in Asia Involves the Rising Interest of Russia in the Far East." He also wrote that the conflict "began, apparently spontaneously, a few weeks after the final liquidation of the Germans at Stalingrad. . . ." At another point he suggests that the conflict results from "the barbaric plotting and counterplotting over the past decade." Sulzberger makes his most "profound" comment on this point when he says, "There is a feeling in some diplomatic quarters that there is more in it than meets the eye."

You will see, without my tiring you with further quotations from the pen of this astute political writer, that Mr. Sulzberger has really nothing to say about the causes of the Sinkiang civil war except to imply that the Moscow "Reds" are behind it.

**A**FTER acknowledging that "It is natural that some anti-Soviet Chinese should blame the Russians for their troubles rather than their own misgovernment," the Institute of Pacific Relations article by Mrs. Lattimore gives the following information: "Sinkiang is a Chinese India. Ninety-five percent of the population are Mohammedans, belonging to several racial groups, and only five percent are non-Mohammedan Chinese, the 'ruling race' which has governed autocratically for almost 200 years and has kept the masses of the people poor by exploiting and overtaxing them.

"The old grievances of harsh rule and heavy taxes have been aggravated by recent happenings," Mrs. Lattimore continues. The closing of Soviet trading agencies in 1943 "caused a good deal of economic chaos." Chinese government monopolies, hoarding and inflation—the well known Chungking pattern—dealt hard with these people. The *Far Eastern Survey* also points out that "A program which gave these groups [the ninety-five percent non-Chinese] adequate representation in the government and which encouraged them to preserve their own language, literature and customs could have secured their cooperation and prevented rebellion. . . . Instead of recognizing the success and practical value of such a policy, however, the Kuomintang adopted methods which inevitably appeared to subordinate local patriotism to a Chinese racial nationalism. . . ."

To this should be added the wider political scene which was outlined to me in San Francisco. It links the Sinkiang civil war with the larger problems of the United Nations. In the early months of 1944 negotiations were being carried on between the Soviet Union and Japan which resulted in the extension of their



Jonah Goldstein and the Whale.

fisheries agreement. The Chungking reactionaries hoped this would create a bitter anti-Soviet reaction in the United States and Britain. They sought to make matters worse by trying to persuade the world that the USSR was heavily involved in the Sinkiang trouble. While Chungking seems to have succeeded in convincing Sulzberger, its plans failed of their major objective. In the spring of 1944 neither American nor British opinion was in the mood to fall for such propaganda.

It should also be recalled that in the winter and spring of 1944 the danger of general civil war in China was at its height. Chungking was making active preparations to attack the Yen-an guerilla fortress. The Kuomintang apparently figured that raising the "Red" scare in Sinkiang, farther to the Northwest, would provide additional evidence as to the nobility of their cause in attacking the patriotic leaders of Chinese democracy.

THE link between the Sinkiang issue and the larger problems of the anti-Japanese coalition is supported by another piece of information which seems to be confirmed in all accounts of the

Sinkiang fighting. It appears that from the spring of 1944 until the end of last year there was a lull in the Sinkiang conflict. This lull coincided: (a) with the failure of America and Britain to react, as Chungking hoped, against the USSR when it renewed its fisheries agreement with Japan, and (b) a sudden stiffening of United States pressure upon Chungking to reconcile its differences with the Communists. It was during this period, highlighted by a partial breaking of the northern blockade, by the visit of foreign journalists to Yen-an and by the arrival of an American military mission in the Communist capital, that Gen. Joseph Stilwell and Ambassador Gauss were implementing President Roosevelt's policy of aiding all those Chinese groups willing and able to fight the Japanese. The resurgence of civil war at the end of 1944 coincided with the betrayal of the Roosevelt policies by the new ambassador Maj. Gen. Patrick Hurley, and the renewal of provocative tactics by the Kuomintang dictatorship.

A typical Sulzberger distortion involves the large-scale arrests by Gov. Sheng Shih-tsai. According to the New York Times writer, "Chinese sources estimated that during about a decade

in power at Sinkiang General Sheng arrested more than 100,000 men, women and children, of whom only 40,000 survived." The implication here is that these arrests took place during the period when the Soviet Union was cooperating with the Sinkiang administration. The truth, I have discovered, is that these wholesale arrests were made after 1943, after the governor's about-face, after the withdrawal of Soviet agencies, and after the appearance in Tihua of the Kuomintang dictatorship.

Mrs. Lattimore puts it this way: "With Sheng Shih-tsai's shift to the Kuomintang there were wholesale arrests, variously estimated at from 35,000 to 125,000, and the arrival of a new group of Chinese, whose purpose was to Sinicize the province quickly, antagonized large numbers of people who had benefited by Sheng's earlier policy of cultural autonomy."

Quite a different story from Sulzberger's, isn't it?

Mr. Sulzberger's extensive studies of the Sinkiang affair led him to raise horrendous questions in his June 2 dispatch to the Times. He paints the frightening picture of a Soviet *Drang nach Osten*, an eastward push. He volunteers the information that "many British and Americans whose investments and commercial stake in that area are large" worry over the belief that the Soviet Union has "basic foreign interests" in Asia.

The technique employed by Sulzberger in this matter is the well known one used by all professional smearers. First, there is the oft-repeated insinuation that the Soviet Union is behind the Sinkiang trouble. Not one shred of evidence is cited, but every phrase is carefully turned to lead the reader to such a conclusion. Secondly, this bias having been planted, a generalization is suddenly introduced implying that this alleged diabolical Moscow plot in Sinkiang typifies Soviet Asiatic policy as a whole. What the policy is, where or when it applies, how or where it is carried out we are not told. It's all done with mirrors.

SINKIANG is part of China. Its troubles reflect the larger issues which today prevent Chinese unity and obstruct the progress of the war against Japan. Those who, like Sulzberger, seek to distort that situation and exploit it for their own disruptive, anti-Soviet purposes assume a grave responsibility. They are toying with the most serious of all problems, the defeat of Japan and the future of world security.

# UNION BUSTERS' BRAIN TRUST

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

CHAIRMAN Harry A. Millis of the National Labor Relations Board was approached to join the committee which helped draft the anti-labor Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill, I am reliably informed. When Millis heard the personnel of the committee, he asked where the labor people were. He was told there were none because none were wanted. He refused to have any part of it.

Here are the members of the "strictly nonpartisan committee," as Sen. Harold R. Burton (R, Ohio), described it:

Donald R. Richberg, co-author of the Railway Labor Act. Richberg was counsel to Gen. Hugh Johnson, head of NRA, and later became chairman of the board of NRA. He was responsible for the theory of minority representation, i.e., that unions could represent only their own members, and consistently fought the use of Section 7-A of NRA for collective bargaining. He is a wealthy Washington and LaSalle Street (Chicago) corporation lawyer, an extremely clever and reactionary foe of labor. He and Sen. Joseph Ball (R, Minn.) are responsible for the main job of drafting the proposed federal Industrial Relations Act.

Arthur Whiteside, president of Dun and Bradstreet and of the Wool Institute.

Samuel Fels, paternalistic head of Fels and Co. (Fels-Naptha soap.)

George W. Alger, New York corporation counsel, representing Sheffield Farms, one of the dairy monopolies, and author of amendments to labor and child labor laws.

George Sjoselius, assistant attorney-general of Minnesota, who administers the Minnesota state labor relations act. This act, sponsored by former Gov. Harold Stassen, is a model of anti-labor strike-preventing state laws. Ball, who has backed Stassen for years, is said to be very proud of it.

Harold G. Evans, president, American Casualty Co., Reading, Pa.

Charles B. Rugg, Boston corporation lawyer, and Kirk Smith, corporation lawyer of Providence, R. I.

The bill itself makes the most demagogic of appeals—that it will protect employes against unfair labor practices and employers against the same—or against coercion from any source. The

Wagner Act, which recognizes the unequal relationship involved in the very fact of being an employe, is designed only to protect employes in their rights. The employers have adequate protection in their superior economic position and in other laws. The new bill tears the guts out of the Wagner Act.

It has various trick angles, moreover. It excludes from the jurisdiction of the Wagner Act all employes of a firm with a payroll of twenty or less. It narrows down the term "interstate commerce" to mean firms which produce directly for interstate commerce and "in substantial quantity." Thus hundreds of retail establishments, department stores and such, which have been held to be under the Wagner Act, would be excluded even if they obtain merchandise or materials from other states. Actually a substantial portion of the American industrial population would lose the protection they now have.

The bill would bar a closed shop contract unless at least seventy-five percent of the employes are members of the union and sixty percent ratify the agreement by secret ballot. This will make it most difficult to obtain a closed shop, and the childish theory underlying this—that workers actually don't want a closed shop—will be used demagogically to erect a facade of support from "unbiased" groups behind which anti-union employers can hide.

Another dangerous provision of the bill would allow the laws of states to prevail whether or not a particular dispute comes under the scope of the act. Although the anti-closed shop measure fostered by the Christian American Association and allied fascist-front groups—supported of course by Sen. W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel—was blocked in the Texas legislature recently, and enabling legislation for a similar Arkansas law was killed early in the year, many anti-labor state laws remain.

A SESSION of the Committee on Un-American Activities, with Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.) presiding, in the absence of the chairman, was held last week. A fabulous quality hung about the hearing, but at least it was public. You saw the old Dies technique in operation. You saw the thin stuff on which the old impresario of the committee, former Rep. Martin Dies

of Texas, would have based a public blast minus a public hearing, often minus anything save an "investigation."

There was Rankin, his thin, white face lined with hate and venom, making the pretense of being "judicial," saying he didn't want opinions from the witness. No, he wanted the facts on this subversive business. And, he said, as the witness and the lawyer for the committee floundered at one point: "I understand the Communist Party, which broke up like a joint snake last year, is going back together again." Did the witness understand that the Communist Party, "which originally dedicated itself to the overthrow of this government," was going back to its line? This was the first time I ever heard Rankin admit that the Communists at any time had not intended to overthrow the government. Well, if you are a reporter and a Communist, you can discover all kinds of things by going to a Rankin hearing—including the "fact" that you are now trying to overthrow the government.

But one member of the committee present, Representative J. W. Robinson (D., Utah), a small man with a brown, smiling face, whom the reporter sitting next to me described as "the only sane, normal man here on the committee"—and the only Democrat present at the time I was there—was cheerful, but stubborn, in wanting to find out what, if anything, the hearing was all about.

On the stand was a pale, wide-eyed young man with sleek black hair, one George McDavitt, a committee investigator. He was supposed to give the lowdown on a minor OPA employe in New York. (The hearing had got under way for two days the previous week, just before the OPA bill went to a vote. This is an old Dies committee trick. Before the price control act was passed Dies came out with a smear on Leon Henderson, who was to administer the act.) The minor OPA employe, a radio script writer by the name of Tex Weiner, allegedly had shown his dangerous, subversive traits by the scripts he wrote, broadcast with the sponsorship of Standard Brands, Inc., which innocent citizens to date had thought was a pretty solid American outfit, devoted to the profit system and devoid of any dangerous deviations to the left.

Robinson kept asking just what it

was about the scripts Weiner wrote that was subversive. Well, said McDavitt, Weiner wrote that OPA was set up to fight fascism. It was true that the astute OWI, which cleared the scripts along with OPA and station WOR, had ordered that this be changed to fighting inflation. But was it changed? Not until three months ago.

"Well, let's see the scripts," Robinson muttered. "I looked over the other scripts (provided last week) and I can't find anything wrong."

The witness began babbling how you had to start with the history of Communist propaganda. Robinson said he just wanted to see what was subversive in the scripts. But the witness, aided by the perspiring counsel, Ernie Adamson, was not to be put off. "I can show you the objectives of the Communist Party," he said eagerly, as a young man about town might offer to show his etchings.

Still, Robinson was not interested. Not so J. Parnell Thomas, the distinguished Republican gentleman from New Jersey, distinguished for his years of service to Dies on the old committee, years in which he often embarrassed Dies by his fervent but bumbling concern about all things subversive—all except fascism, of course. Thomas it was who had inspired the hearing. Thomas it was who had declared on a radio broadcast a couple of weeks before the hearing commenced that this OPA employe, Weiner, "has been smearing business, trying to bring about racial and class hatred and following the Communist line."

Thomas, a beefy man with heavy dark eyes and heavier pouches under them, drank in every word, even the feeblest, from the wispy Mr. McDavitt. Thomas' natural color is a magenta. It is more purple than red. And when the witness finally tore himself away from some school in Moscow where Communists were supposed to learn propaganda, and declared that "the subversive part of this script was an indictment of industry and landlords which would make the person on the street suspicious of them"—apparently not suspicious they were subversive—Thomas' purple hue appeared to deepen.

With Thomas prompting, the witness told of a \$5,000 bribe to lay off the investigation—all of which came over the phone, anonymously. Then there was the tidbit about how Weiner—who has not endeared himself to Rankin and Thomas by winning an award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews for his contribution to interracial tolerance—had "attacked the Bible."

This, it seems, was traced to a script in which a character says darkly, in the role of a bad landlord, discussing a notice required by OPA listing the price of a room, "Let's put it in the Bible—they won't look there."

At one point Robinson remarked in effect that they might not think much of the script, but it wasn't subversive.

The Bible bit later was killed by OPA and never presented over the air.

But the young man in the witness chair had his own troubles, too. Rep. J. Hardin Peterson (D., Fla.), wanted to know if in the course of his investigations he hadn't drunk cocktails with two OPA girls. One cocktail, said the witness. Mr. Thomas looked relieved.

# ROOTS OF AMERICA'S REVOLUTION

By RALPH BOWMAN

THE American Revolution took place in the early stages of that stormy period of world history when the thousand-year-old decaying feudal civilization was being shattered by a two-fold process. Within the feudal society the infant capitalist mode of production was gradually undermining the ancient feudal foundations and their equally ancient superstructure, thus creating the conditions for fundamental social and ideological changes. The accumulated grievances of oppressed peoples burst forth under new capitalist leadership in a series of great revolutions that truly transformed the western world. The American Revolution was an organic part of this momentous transition from medieval feudalism to the new capitalist mode of production, republicanism and democracy.

The wellsprings of the American Revolution and American democracy are to be found in the unique environment of the American continent. Our colonial civilization was imported from abroad and contained the precious substance of the most advanced social relations developed in Europe. European civilization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was neither stable nor homogeneous. While feudalism on the surface appeared formidable and was still dominant on the Continent, in Britain capitalism was far advanced even before the founding of the American colonies. Unlike the French colony of Quebec (founded about the same time), which was a miniature reproduction of French agrarian economy with its feudal monopoly of land, the English colonies to the south were started as capitalist enterprises, although

they were not without substantial feudal stigmata inherited from the mother country.

The seeds of the American Revolution were planted in the colonies when Britain broke its ancient laws and hallowed traditions to permit the colonial farmers to buy land, and set up freehold farms. After over two hundred years of unrestricted sale of land in our country the revolutionary significance of freehold farms may be overlooked as the primary factor in the unique development of American civilization. And yet the historically unprecedented fact that ordinary people were able to acquire land with relatively little effort and on easy terms spelled the fundamental difference between the stagnant colony of Quebec and the dynamic free enterprise system of the English colonies. The contrast with Quebec, which to this day remains one of the most backward and reactionary places on the North American continent, illustrates the vital role that widely held private property in land plays in the early development of a thriving capitalist economy.

In Britain, as throughout Europe of that time, land was a tight, inviolable monopoly of the Crown, the landed nobility and the Church. The central economic task of a democratic revolution against feudalism consists in the shattering of this land monopoly and in distributing the land to the propertyless peasantry, thus creating the foundation for a home market for the products of young capitalist industry. The great French Revolution was a classic example of this process. Since the English colonists on American soil were not confronted with this revolutionary

task, most historians fail to see the connection between our Revolution and the struggle against feudalism in Europe. Those historians who describe our Revolution as a civil war of the English (colonial) people against the monarchist government of the mother country touch the core of the problem, but fail to explore its full meaning.

**I**N THE sense that it was anti-monarchical, the American Revolution may be considered a continuation of the Cromwell Revolution which took place more than a hundred years earlier in England, even though in other respects the two revolutions differed greatly. It must not be forgotten that Britain, like all European nations, possessed an economy and social superstructure that was feudal for many centuries. The Cromwell Revolution resulted in the overthrow of the feudal monarchy, execution of the King, abolition of the House of Lords and the establishment of the Commonwealth which both in substance and form represented the first bourgeois republic. This revolution was the result of the first great clash between the capitalist mode of production and the feudal system. Beneath its Puritanical religious form the Cromwell Revolution represented an effort on the part of the English bourgeoisie to clear the historic path of feudal obstacles to the unhindered development of the new capitalist economy. After initial successes the revolution and its gains were abandoned by the young and politically immature capitalist classes, who established an uneasy political armistice with the landed nobility and its monarchy.

This potentially great social revolution failed primarily because its bourgeois leadership did not attack the heart of the problem, did not rally the downtrodden and dispossessed common people of England for a revolutionary attack on the feudal monopoly of land which formed the economic foundation of landlord power and the monarchy. In other words, no agrarian revolution took place. These failures of the Cromwell Revolution not only determined the future distorted and narrow monopolistic development of British capitalism, but made possible the retention of the ancient, repressive feudal laws against the propertyless people of Britain. As the wealth-producing capacity of British capitalism multiplied, the living standards of the people declined and malnutrition, physical degeneration and cruel oppression became



"The Congressman from Mississippi," by Charles White.

the curse of the English laboring classes.

The subsequent Compromise of 1688, which British historians affectionately call the Glorious Revolution, achieved a measure of political gain for the upper capitalist classes. It established the constitutional monarchy through which the economic interests of the capitalists and the landed nobility were fully protected and eventually merged. This compromise was not a makeshift armistice between irreconcilable economic systems. The British feudal nobility, unlike that of France, gradually adapted itself to the profit economy of capitalism instead of fighting it to the bitter end. The nobility transformed the great food-growing estates into sheep farms to raise wool for the rapidly expanding textile industry and thus shared the lucrative fruits of capitalism. In this transformation of old feudal agricultural economy into big-scale capitalist farming the nobility committed monstrous crimes against the English people, driving the tenant farmers off the land they had tilled for centuries.

British capitalism grew in this unwholesome climate of extreme poverty and fabulous wealth. The exploitation of men, women and children in the factories was the most brutal in all the history of capitalism. Many of the in-

stitutions, laws, traditions and ways of thinking developed in the twilight of feudalism were preserved to keep the common people in subjection. The monopoly of land and starvation wage standards virtually excluded the laboring masses as customers for the large volume of manufactured goods they produced. British capitalism based its development on the world and colonial markets. And one of the consequences of this course was the rapid growth of the economy in the American colonies. The expanding British factory production needed food and raw materials,

as well as markets for the products of its factories. The colonies supplied a considerable measure of both.

Although attempts were made to establish feudal land relations in the American colonies in the form of vast grants of land to individuals and companies, the lateness of the historic hour, the acute shortage of labor, the desire for quick profits and the overabundance of land eventually resulted in widespread sale and almost universal landownership. Both the substance and the spirit of capitalist property relations were introduced in all spheres of economic endeavor, but particularly in agriculture, which formed the cornerstone of the entire economic structure. Thus capitalist development in the colonies began in an environment which possessed the material equivalent of an agrarian revolution and it was in the freehold farms that the independent spirit of the American people had its roots.

The unencumbered ownership of land created individual economic security. However, these freehold farms were not self-contained, isolated, static little worlds concerned only with the satisfaction of primitive needs. This was a dynamic market economy producing surpluses which helped pay for the farms and finance the purchase of new



land, as well as exchange agricultural produce for manufactured goods. And it was relatively an economy of abundance, where none knew hunger or the hopeless poverty which was the lot of the European peoples. In the cities properous merchants were accumulating capital and entering the varied fields of trade and manufacturing. A virile class of native capitalists arose to challenge the British monopolies in government posts and overseas commerce and the restrictions on manufacturing. It was from these wealthy classes that there came the majority of the leadership of the Revolution.

Out of this economy there developed that national consciousness and democratic aspiration which refused to tolerate any longer the alien, semi-feudal, monarchist regime which was limiting economic development. Simultaneously the Revolution turned against certain feudal practices and institutions that had been planted in this country even though the economy was predominantly capitalist. The church was separated from the state, and ancient laws of primogeniture and entail, designed to perpetuate big landed estates, were overthrown. An ideological struggle also had to be waged against the British bourgeois-feudal philosophy which had been embraced by those sections of the upper classes who supported England in the war.

Thus, on the American continent, in contrast to England and the European continent, the capitalist mode of production developed in a form which can justly be described as free enterprise economy—free from feudal and monopoly restraints. This unique economic development became the motive force of the Revolution and determined its democratic content, as well as the character of the bourgeois government it established.

The American Revolution was the first great social upheaval to proclaim the new humanist philosophy of equality and of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The architects of this revolutionary philosophy were Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and Tom Paine. Its roots, however, lay deep in the freehold farms and small shops, in the equality of opportunity for all men (excluding slaves and Indians) to earn security and wealth in the fabulously rich and free environment of early America. Those forces that formed the Federalist party, on the other hand, developed a program for America designed to establish a replica

of the British government and social institutions. Their entire political philosophy was rooted in British institutions and not in the American mode of production and class relations. It required great struggles to dislodge them from the government and rout their monarchist party, struggles that expanded democracy and trained the common people in the use of their democratic rights under the leadership of Jefferson.

Our free enterprise system retained its character of equality of opportunity only within the sphere of small commodity production and only during the cycles of expansion and prosperity. Actually even in this early stage the average man could not establish his own

shipyard or iron smelter, or engage in overseas commerce without substantial capital. Moreover, there was no economic equality between small producers and the large landowners and slaveholders. While this early accumulation of land and capital in the hands of the wealthy limited the free enterprise quality of the economy, it also made possible the development of industry. This in turn led, after the Civil War, to the concentration and centralization of capital and production manifested in the formation of trusts and monopolies that negated the early free enterprise character of our economy. Today free enterprise is only a tradition and a name that has lost its historic content.

## MUST ARTISTS STARVE?

By ELIZABETH McCAUSLAND

WHAT financial support is available today for American artists? Fine artists as such are not listed by the Decennial Census. It has been estimated, however, that there are at least 50,000 professionally trained practicing artists in the country. In peacetime art schools annually send out some 18,000 persons who have completed art training. Can 50,000 artists, plus those added each year, support themselves by the practice of the fine arts? The answer is that for the vast majority sales do not constitute a guaranteed annual wage.

What are the institutional forms through which this inadequate support flows? First, the private market of dealer, museum and private collector. Patronage has functioned through private collections, the annual salon and the museum. It is logical to group these as private; for though many museums derive some funds from public sources, museum direction and policy essentially remain fixed at the level of private responsibility and thought.

There are some thirty-two art museums in the United States as against forty-five science and history museums, according to the *World Almanac*. This disproportion mirrors the historic national cultural development. This comes to about one museum to every five large cities, not an abundant distribution of art facilities.

Museum responsibility toward living American art, according to a prevailing concept, can be summed up in the statement that the museums are not to be regarded as buying agencies but "grading" or "labeling" agencies. Thus the failure of museums to provide support has been rationalized into the concept that they have no duty in this respect. Rather, the museum's responsibility is said to be to select the "best" and to set its stamp of approval on that "best" so that almost automatically meritorious work will make its way in the private market. This theoretical prestige device is an index of the inadequacy of our cultural institutions in American life and civilization. In fact the prestige device has canalized the bulk of monies spent at dealers and in auction rooms into the purchase of "old masters" and "modern" French. Auction sales reports and backstairs tips from the art bourse show that the war years have been boom years for art merchants. The market climbed to \$4,750,000 in 1940-41, "the best since 1929," and climbed still higher the next year, to \$5,100,000. Such prosperity for the art market meant, however, only negligible support for contemporary art.

Support of the fine arts by government, whether federal, state or municipal, is practically inoperative in American society. There are a few national,







state and city museums scattered through the United States. The support they give the artist is infinitesimal. The fine arts commissions are likely to be sinecures for art politicians, as long entrenched as the twenty-two-year-long incumbency of the Veterans Administration. This source may be put down in our balance sheet at zero.

Likewise, our educational system, whether supported by public funds or private endowment and whether at the level of higher education or primary and secondary, makes very little use of practicing artists. The subsidized experiment of "artists in residence" has been productive wherever tried. But generally, the fine arts are taught in our schools, lower or higher, by non-artists. This also adds up to zero.

Recent years have seen the emergence of private industry and of labor as new patrons of art. Pepsi-Cola, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Standard Oil, the American Tobacco Co., and others, have been publicized as twentieth century Medici, and their programs have brought real cash into the pockets of American painters.

As for labor as an art patron, it was our early artisans' and mechanics' associations which founded the American public school system and rationalized the curriculum to meet the needs of democracy. At present the support of the arts by organized labor is the next step in the democratization of American culture. So far, the unions which have sought to incorporate art programs in their over-all educational work are young and have been preoccupied with the struggle to survive. As the Labor Charter is fulfilled, we may expect that organized labor will use its greater security and economic margin to broaden its support of cultural functions. Commissions for pamphlets, art classes and art exhibitions and murals are already included among the activities of this new patronage. To date, however, the labor movement does not offer the solution of the artist's economic problem, any more than does private industry.

**F**ACING the fact that our cultural institutions have not provided adequate support for our artists, what are we to do?

Some tell us that the artist has always suffered and that he always will, that art is born of and thrives on adversity. But those who have struggled and who have not thriven denounce this point of view. We know from the past quarter of a century that drift and laissez-faire produce recurring economic crises and the tragic impasse of war.

This committee is founded in the conviction that full employment is an integral component of that enduring peace for which the peoples of the world have fought and died. In a world of guaranteed annual wages, adequate employment and health insurance, expanding education and (we hope) greater liberty and happiness, what shall be the condition of the artist?

Can a nation afford to take measures to provide a decent livelihood for its industrial and agricultural workers while ignoring its cultural workers? This conference is proof that workers in the arts, sciences and professions are no longer content to acquiesce in old quietist and defeatist attitudes. Planning here for the future growth of the arts, sciences and professions in America, how can we who work in the fine arts field plan for greater security and employment as well as social utilization of our talents and skills?

First we must institute educational and community programs to urge museum direction and public to press for greater material support of living American artists. Though we need more museums, we can immediately work for the setting up of funds for the purchase of living art equal to the funds already existing for the purchase of "dead" art. If it is true that the day of Maecenas is over, as some historians believe, then we must ask that government maintain and expand museum function through the appropriation of public monies.

As for the private collector, maintenance of national income at the wartime level of almost \$200,000,000,000 and distribution of this income to increase the number of consumers of commodities of all kinds will broaden the potential base of art patronage.

Further, we need to carry on a vigorous campaign to raise the prestige of American art. This involves, among other factors, better scholarship in American art history and the reintegration of American artists with tentative tradition. Channels for publicizing and publishing such studies need to be developed, as well as facilities for more exhibitions of American art.

We also need to work for the utilization by government departments and bureaus of art work. Unquestionably many recording functions today could be fulfilled by artists, such as the US Army Medical Library. The research files of government agencies are vast cultural lodes, literally unmined. Our government employs scientists. Why not artists?

The school system of the United States is a vast network with great po-

tential opportunities for the transmission and support of art. Imagine the ratio of practicing artists in a modern college based on progressive education methods, where out of an art department of five, three are professional artists. In relation to the whole student body, this is five percent of the faculty. Apply this proportion to the national educational system, and we immediately create jobs for 5,000 artists. If practicing artists could be employed, on a part-time, professional basis, in our school system, a broad economic base for art in America would be created, as well as a great, new channel for educating the American lay audience.

We need, indeed, a comprehensive study of the possible use of practicing artists in our educational institutions, including museums and libraries.

**O**UR public libraries are in effect the spearhead of American art in American life. This vast, democratic, existing cultural plant could be remade into community arts centers—for adult education, music, theater, art exhibitions and classes, as has already been done in New York City on an experimental scale.

As for private enterprise and labor, the hope for support for art from these sources lies in increasing the number of industries and the number of unions involved. It has been suggested that we work toward a conference of artists, advertising agencies and industrial entrepreneurs, to encourage the wider use of fine art in advertising, the founding of art collections by business, the decoration of executive offices with original works of art, the setting up of fellowships in memory of American industrial leaders, the cooperation of industry with museums in competitive exhibitions, and the like. This is a proposal worthy of consideration.

The wider use of art by the labor movement, as said before, is contingent on the shape of things to come in American life. Assuming that the primary frontier of full employment is achieved and that national income is maintained and broadly distributed, there is no limit to the horizon of labor's use of art. As the labor movement grows, this channel of support will grow.

In brief, the program of fine artists must center around the concept of broadening the social use of art. Not art for the few and by the few, but for the American people and by American artists is the keystone of our reconversion plan. Only the organic linking of American art with American society will make this possible.

# "DER FUEHRER" OF PORTUGAL

By P. MEDVEDOVSKY

Moscow (by wireless).

NOT very long ago Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Portugal's clerical fascist "fuehrer," when asked to describe the regime of which he is premier answered bluntly, "We are anti-parliamentarians, anti-democrats and anti-liberals," and added that his aim was to create a corporative state. A corporative state is the name the Italian fascists gave to their regime and Salazar's statement caused no surprise, for it was entirely in keeping with Portugal's state of affairs.

But times change. Who does not proclaim himself a democrat now that Hitler Germany has been defeated? Salazar is merely keeping in step with the rest.

The other day he delivered a speech in the course of which he said, "We are true democrats. We have no reason to make any important political changes. We never had so much liberty before." He deemed it necessary to add, however, that "Portugal will not abandon the corporative system"—in other words, fascism.

The verbal acrobatics of the provincial double of Hitler and Mussolini would not be worth dealing with were it not for the fact that they throw some light on the Portuguese scene. The world press pays little attention to this country, but Portugal must not be ignored if fascism is to be completely extirpated in Europe. For that country is undoubtedly one of those ill-ventilated corners of the continent where the forces of defeated but not yet finally crushed Hitlerism find a haven and refuge.

Salazar has been in power since 1926. His friends flatteringly call him a "model dictator" and through the Portuguese press assure the world that Portugal's fascist regime is "not like the rest," but something "specific." This is mere eyewash, of course. As a matter of fact the same system of violence and terror holds sway in that country as in every other fascist country. The democratic parties and trade unions are proscribed and all democratic liberties completely abrogated. The only political party in the country is the Fascist National Union (*Uniao Nacional*) headed by Salazar. There is a fascist youth league, a fascist militia and a fascist secret police which is an exact copy of Hitler's Gestapo and which incidentally

maintains close contact with Franco's Spanish police.

The specific feature of Salazar's regime is its clerical character. The Catholic Church has been firmly established in Portugal since the time of the Holy Inquisition. The Vatican took active part in all the military conspiracies that constitute an inseparable part of Portugal's history. At the present time the Pope renders every possible support to Salazar's anti-popular regime. The Catholic fascist ruling clique in Portugal flaunts the slogan: "Save Europe from the Bolshevik danger!" It is no accident that it is in Portugal that all sorts of intrigues, such as, for example, the plan to create a Catholic Austro-Hungarian-Bavarian monarchy to be headed by Otto von Hapsburg, are woven against the freedom of Europe.

The orientation of Portugal's foreign policy during World War II has been of a very definite character. When they deem it expedient, the Portuguese fascists point to the fact that their country has been Britain's ally for 600 years, but this has not prevented them all through the war from rendering services of the most diverse kind to Hitler Germany and its allies. As a mark of her "friendship" for Britain, Portugal maintained formal neutrality in the war. As a service to Hitler Germany, she helped Germans in every way possible.

IT MUST be observed that Portugal possesses a wealth of experience in maintaining neutrality of this ambiguous kind. During the period of German-Italian intervention in Spain, Salazar also officially proclaimed his "non-interference" and "neutrality," but actually he transformed Portugal into a center

of fascist intrigue and a base of fascist aggression against Republican Spain. Through Portuguese territory Franco's fascist rebels obtained arms and reinforcements. "Neutral" Salazar sent 18,000 "volunteers" to help Franco.

Portugal's formal neutrality during World War II did not prevent Salazar from expressing very candidly both his political sympathies and antipathies. Thus in speeches he delivered in June 1942, Salazar referred to the "unfavorable impression" that had been created in Portugal by the solidarity that was established between the Soviet Union and the other democratic countries and asserted that this showed that western democracy was "played out."

Salazar suited his actions to his words. After denouncing democracy he began to send large consignments of provisions from poverty-stricken and starving Portugal to the Hitlerites. He supplied Germany with tungsten. As is known, the Hitlerites obtained ninety percent of this metal, so important for German war industry, from Portugal and Spain. In 1940, 185 tons of tungsten were exported from Portugal to Germany, but in 1943, 3,000 tons were sent. As a result of these generous deliveries, the price of tungsten almost tripled. To help Germany to obtain this metal at a reasonable price, the Portuguese government monopolized the trade. In addition to tungsten, tin and other non-ferrous and rare metals were exported from Portugal to Germany.

During the conflict with Germany the Portuguese press dealt with the course of the war and with questions of international policy in conformity with the line laid down by the Goebbels lie factory. It considered its main function to be the spreading of the crudest anti-Soviet slander. Even when the collapse of the bloody adventure undertaken by German fascism was clear to the whole world, the rulers of Portugal continued faithfully to aid Hitler, and today Portugal still serves as a center of intrigue against democracy, peace and the freedom of nations.

MYSTERIOUS and suspicious conferences took place in Lisbon last year between the industrialists of Axis countries and representatives of a number of American firms. The French



press has drawn attention to the conference held in December 1944, which was attended by representatives of the I. G. Farben trust and of several British and American chemical concerns. German industrial and financial magnates, who have just lost the stakes they put on Hitler, are now looking for convenient hiding places where they can bide their time and lay foundations for their future. They find a very favorable milieu in Portugal as in Spain and Argentina. Several Hitler diehards have already settled on the Portuguese fascist reservations, among them Von Papen's adviser, Pabst.

Like Franco, Salazar grants asylum to fugitive Hitlerites and helps ship them on to Argentina. Portugal is also providing wide hospitality for German war criminals. For many months a constant

stream of Germans has been arriving in Lisbon with large sums of money and, according to reports, they have bought up all sorts of real estate in Portugal. At the end of last year the American State Department demanded of Portugal that she cease providing asylum to Hitler war criminals. As Secretary Stettinius stated at a press conference on Nov. 15, 1944, the reply that was received from Salazar was "not entirely satisfactory."

Such is the policy which Salazar is now trying to screen with demagogic assurances that he and his Portuguese Gestapo "are also democrats." The fantastic "corporative democrat" mask which the Portuguese dictator has donned will deceive no one; the leer of the fascist can be too clearly discerned beneath it. Quite recently Portuguese

fascists amused the world by two acts which at first sight seemed contradictory. After proclaiming a period of mourning for Hitler, Salazar announced the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany. If, however, the general course of Portuguese policy before and during the war is taken into account, the key to this apparent contradiction will not be difficult to find. The rupture of diplomatic relations with the already nonexistent Nazi Germany was merely the smokescreen behind which Salazar and his clique hoped to be able, in a radically changed international situation, to continue their nefarious dealings with the Hitlerites in Portugal.

*From issue Number One of "New Times," formerly "The War and the Working Class."*

## **EXTRA! BIALOFF TELLS ALL!**

By **HEYMAN ZIMEL**

A FRIEND of mine has sent me a collection of clippings from the book review sections of newspapers and magazines in Russia and I see that the current best-seller in the Soviet Union is a book by a Russian newspaper man, named Constantine L. Bialoff, called *Report on the Americans*. Bialoff is an outstanding Russian correspondent, son of the famous writer, Constantine A. Bialoff, who was known as "the sage of Astrakhan," and the younger Bialoff attained fame recently with his first book, which was called *They Were Extinguishable*.

Bialoff's current book is a penetrating analysis of conditions in the United States, based upon his experiences in America during a recent trip in which he spent three weeks there accompanying the party of Arno Yahhoff, president of the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce. Bialoff, a trained and impartial observer, traveled many thousands of miles and spoke to hundreds of people in all walks of life during his three weeks in the United States. He went where he wanted to go, spoke to whom he wanted to speak, and refused to confine himself to the routine tours permitted by the United States Secret Service. The result is a book that tells the "truth" about the United States and proves conclusively that a system of democratic government based upon principles of free enterprise must inevitably be a failure.

The reader of Bialoff's unbiased re-

port will learn that the United States is in a godawful mess. The war has practically brought the country to its economic knees. Bialoff paints graphic pictures of long queues of people waiting outside tobacconists to be apportioned their daily dole of a cigarette or two. He tells of the great scarcity of meat, butter, and other essential food products, and speaks of the "lean, drawn faces" of the American people. The deprivations have been terrific. Bialoff spoke to a prominent American who has been forced to lay up two of his three automobiles because of the gasoline shortage. Others to whom Bialoff spoke complain bitterly that they are compelled to use synthetic rubber tires on their cars.

THE scarcity of fuel for heating last winter resulted in an edict from the dictatorial War Mobilization Director which compelled the people to keep their homes at a temperature no higher than sixty-eight degrees. Bialoff's word-picture of a mother and her two children in such a home, huddling together in their mink coats, is a heart-rending one. Confiscatory taxation has resulted in the breakdown of American economy and complete regimentation. Ration coupons are required for almost everything and the daily life of the American citizen is restricted and proscribed in many ways. An arbitrary directive at that time made all amusement places close down promptly at midnight and

Bialoff's account of several incidents where "free" Americans were forced to go home after only two Scotches is very revealing. Money is so tight that even moving picture companies are compelled to limit their expenditures to a mere three or four million dollars per picture.

As a result, Bialoff shows, the entire American social structure is collapsing. Black markets are rampant. Race riots are continually threatened and many state legislatures have found it necessary to legislate against discrimination. Each day's newspapers are rife with accounts of divorces, juvenile delinquents and arrests for gambling. Morals are at a low ebb and the daily papers and magazines are replete with photographs of semi-nude women (Bialoff includes some photographs in his book and they are truly appalling). Naturally, the citizenry are continually grumbling and criticizing the government. Strikes are a daily occurrence; things are in such a state of distrust that it is necessary to hold elections every year and there are always at least two political parties contesting for every elective office.

Bialoff's factual report is a skillful piece of work. I can think of only one other writer in the world who could have handled the subject with such fairness and objectivity. That would be William L. White, whose recent book on Russia puts him right in Bialoff's class.



# WEST COAST QUESTION MARK: II

By CELESTE STRACK

*In the first part of her article, published last week, Miss Strack discussed the dilemma of West Coast industry, whose wartime expansion was greater than in any other part of the country, but is now faced with widespread curtailment of production and mass unemployment. What complicates the problem, she pointed out, is that aircraft and ship construction, which directly and indirectly have accounted for the bulk of industrial employment, are in the main not convertible to peacetime production. Thus the problem of the West is primarily one not of reconversion, but of new industrial development.*

AT THIS point the key question emerges. What is private enterprise in the West doing to insure the peacetime operation of the new plants? A recent survey conducted by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco and the Committee for Economic Development reveals an alarming situation. The *Monthly Review*, published by the bank, states in its February issue: "Results of the survey indicate that little can be expected in the way of conversion of war plants to peacetime production. So far as the survey shows, no major shipyard or aircraft plant is to be converted to large-scale manufacture of new products. For manufacturing as a whole, plants accounting for about forty-two percent of the total value of production at February 1944 rates are to be closed down; plants accounting for fifty-four percent are to be used in producing pre-war products; and plants accounting for four percent are to be used in manufacturing new peacetime products." The survey concludes that under the best circumstances Pacific Coast manufacturers plan to employ only 780,000 workers as compared to 1,588,900 during 1943—a net loss of 807,300 jobs in the three Coast states alone, without considering the matter of returning veterans. This would be forty percent more than were employed in 1939, but fifty percent less than in 1943.

Nor is this situation due to a lack of funds to finance conversion to new products. West Coast concerns during the war have accumulated reserves in the form of liquid assets and government securities amounting to perhaps \$7,000,000,000. In addition, govern-

ment lending operations through the RFC and the Smaller War Plants Corporation, and indirect expansion of credit through the Federal Reserve System, are due to continue. Despite this, "private initiative" seems to be falling down badly.

Against this background, it is clear that Henry Kaiser, who largely symbolizes the new industrial West in the eyes of the nation, represents rather the exception than the rule. Kaiser has announced a whole series of postwar projects which point up, by contrast, the "postwar intentions" of other concerns. His plans to date include: a \$5,000,000 Kaiser Community Homes Corporation for nationwide mass construction of prefabricated houses, with 10,000 immediately planned for the West Coast; utilization of certain of the Western light metals plants and the Kaiser-owned gypsum deposits for this construction program; continued operation of the Fontana steel mill, provided government adjustment of his RFC loan can be worked out and \$56,000,000 raised from private sources for the installation of needed new facilities; continuance of the Richmond No. 3 repair yard on a permanent repair basis; and possible production of light-weight transportation equipment, such as Pullman cars and automobiles.

These projected operations are all to the good, but it must be stressed that

many of them are still on paper. Nor can Henry Kaiser alone determine the industrial future of the West.

A MUCH more powerful factor, unless strong measures are taken, will be the influence exerted by the large monopoly groupings who wish to see most of the West's new productive capacity closed down as part of their general restrictive approach to production and employment. Their role provides the basic clue to the dilemma in which the West may find itself, with unused capital and idle plants confronting unemployed workers, the barrier separating them being the monopoly policies of limited production, high prices, and excess profits.

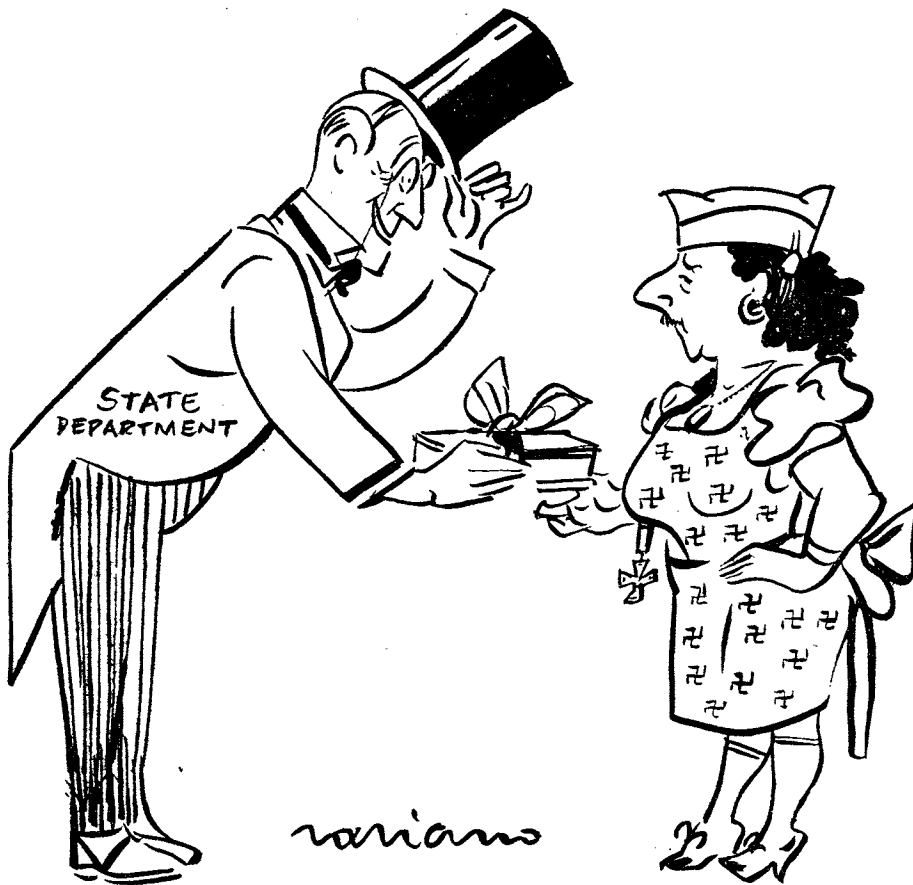
This danger was foreshadowed a year ago by the pessimistic statements of Benjamin Fairless, President of US Steel, with reference to the future of the Geneva steel mill. The unfavorable freight differentials imposed on the West by large financial and industrial interests have long been a part of the same picture. The recent Supreme Court decision requiring rate revision, followed by the Interstate Commerce Commission order establishing greater equality for the West and South, are first steps to eliminating this obstacle. But the over-all problem remains. There is a widespread realization that the big trusts may attempt to buy up government-owned Western plants in order to keep them permanently closed, if they can achieve their objective in no other way. Furthermore, they hope to take advantage of the West's responsibilities in the Pacific war, as well as the added time required to develop new fabricating facilities in this region, to get a head start in Western firms during reconversion and force them out of the postwar market.

The whole issue often presents itself as a struggle of East versus West, because the main centers of monopoly capital naturally developed in the older sections of the United States. Basically, however, it is part of the struggle between the vast democratic majority of our nation and the reactionary monopoly elements over the postwar future of America.

In this nationwide fight against the stifling effects of monopoly upon our



Helen West Heller  
Helen West Heller



News Item: State Department Sends 60,000 Tons of Sugar to Franco.

economy, the West can play a special role. In the history of our country, the pushing forward of our Western frontier was the key to extension of our productive forces beyond the narrower confines of the established industrial East. Always this surge to the West was accompanied by a fight against the entrenched monopolies which sought to limit the opportunities opening up for the people as the frontier moved ahead.

The newest phase of our Westward expansion requires a continued battle against this restrictive pressure. But it is not only a negative fight; it is a positive struggle to extend further our productive resources and to guarantee employment to our people. A program for the West based on the determination to break monopoly strangulation would make possible the broadest unity of the West, drawing together not only labor and Western farmers, but also small businessmen and even those larger industrialists whose future hangs in the balance. This broad unity could well be a particular contribution of the West to shaping postwar America.

It is clear that the energetic intervention of such forces is required if events are not to take a disastrous course. Private enterprise by itself is obviously unable to cope with the situation. Nor

are the policies of government agencies, especially those of the War Production Board, helping to solve the problem. The Western WPB office, in line with the statement of national policy by Chairman J. A. Krug, has adopted a hands-off attitude toward the whole crucial reconversion period. In the scramble that will inevitably ensue for materials for civilian production, the big combines will certainly have the edge, and Western industry will be one of the main victims. While other government agencies like the RFC and the Smaller War Plants Corp. have stated their desire to assist the West, there is in fact no actual plan for reconversion, let alone for the longer postwar period. The state governments in the West are either unable or, as is the case in California, unwilling to tackle the job. Purely local bodies cannot cope with it. Only the Bonneville Power Administration in the Northwest is doing any sort of real regional planning, and it is handicapped by the inadequate planning elsewhere.

It is to be hoped that the recently established board composed of Pacific Coast states representatives and members of federal government agencies will deal in a concrete way with some of the special Western problems.

The lack of official action so far does not reflect, however, any absence of concern by the people of the West. In Western labor circles, the conviction is growing that energetic steps must be taken to halt the drift to economic crisis. In nearly every city, sincere efforts have been made by citizens' postwar committees to find some solution to the difficulties ahead. Mushroom communities like Richmond in northern California, or San Diego in the south, are alarmed over the prospective collapse of their wartime industries. In San Francisco there is great interest in a projected Bay Area conference, sponsored by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, at which the postwar outlook will be discussed and before which labor and other groups will have an opportunity to advance their proposals.

**B**UT reaction by labor and other circles has been slow, while events march at a rapid pace. A positive program is needed, and at once. Such a program will inevitably revolve around certain general considerations.

First, the continued operation of wartime plants must be guaranteed, and this should be the major consideration in the disposal of government-owned concerns. For the West such an approach is absolutely vital, since a much higher percentage of industry in this area is federally-owned than in other parts of the United States. In steel, the figure is ninety percent compared to ten percent for the nation. In light metals eighty-five percent and in chemicals, coal, and petroleum products forty-three percent of Western facilities represent federal government investments. In order to dispose of these plants on condition of their remaining open, it may be necessary to cut down their capital valuation, and perhaps to lease them while adjustments are made. In the case of aircraft, the multiple-lease system, in which the use of large plants is divided among a number of smaller firms, should be attempted.

If these measures are not sufficient, then the people of the West will certainly demand the operation of their new plants by the government.

Second is the necessity for concrete planning of both reconversion and the longer postwar period by government agencies, with the participation of labor, industry and agriculture on both a national and regional scale. In such planning, particular attention must be given to the development of new fabricating

(Continued on page 21)



## **YOUR STAKE IN LABOR**

**T**HE Supreme Court decision ending the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges is a cause of profound satisfaction to all progressives. This case has been a milestone in the history of the American labor movement because involved in it was the whole concept of a progressive coalition. Business knew this and staked both its strength and its reputation on the outcome. The Bridges' case also provided a dramatic education in the difficulties faced by the labor movement. It certainly opened my eyes.

I had just come to New York from Cincinnati when Virginia Gardner asked me to go on the Bridges' Defense Committee. Something of the seriousness of the case was driven home when she hurriedly phoned to ask if I could come over as a neutral observer to witness the wire-tapping that had been uncovered in Bridges' hotel room. That I could not do but later I flew with her and Arthur Pollock of the Brooklyn *Eagle* to Washington to meet Harry. Still an inexperienced person in respect to trade unionism, I learned a great deal from the few hours in the capital, when I was cordially invited to attend the session of the executive committee of the CIO which was in progress.

Shortly before leaving Cincinnati I had faced a situation which opened my eyes to the realities of the industrial struggle. There is a section of that city which for tax reasons has maintained its independence. It is called Norwood and is the scene of automobile assembly, furniture and other manufacturing plants. Up to that time unions had never got a foothold there and there was reason to believe that all public meetings that might involve workers were being wrecked. A group decided to make a test of the situation and invited a Harlan County, Kentucky, editor (Harlan and Bell Counties were headline news just then) to address a public meeting on "Freedom of Speech." A hall was hired, the mayor and other Norwood officials were invited and acceptances were received, and a long list of sponsors, including many of the clergy, was prepared. On the eve of the meeting day things began to happen. The mayor and other officials discovered they had to go out of town, painters moved into the hall with scaffolding and canvas, the newspapers headlined the meeting as a "Red device," the city desks called all the sponsors, and every one withdrew except the pastor of the Norwood Christian Church and myself, a Cincinnati. The committee approached the Y and other organizations with halls for rent. In each case there were hurried consultations, phone calls to board members, and rejections. Finally the meeting was announced for a public bar with folding chairs set up. When we arrived, the place was picketed with American Legionnaires who were so abusive that the proprietor wilted and gave our money back. The audience moved amid catcalls and vile abuse to the Oddfellows' Hall where a committee had found a sympathetic individual, but again the telephone went to work and the money was handed back. The meeting was finally held in a private home just over the Norwood line.

The editor could not refrain from commenting: "It is true men have been killed in my home county for union activities but I have never been denied the right of free speech in Harlan or Bell Counties; I had to come to Norwood for that."

Such situations are tragically familiar to organizers but it takes the braving of one to educate the average liberal. Looking back, I see that it opened my eyes to the meaning of Judge Landis' report on the first Bridges' hearings, and gave me the personal stimulus to respond to the case. I confess deep satisfaction when the other day Carol King, Bridges' attorney, showed me the magnificent summation of Justice Murphy: "Neither injunction, fine, imprisonment, nor deportation can be utilized to restrict or prevent the exercise of intellectual freedom. Only by zealously guarding the rights of the most humble, the most unorthodox, and the most despised among us can freedom flourish and endure in our land." Those splendid, almost Jeffersonian words I shall keep along with Harry Bridges' note of gratitude.

You will appreciate my satisfaction, also, on reading Bishop Oxnham's *Labor and Tomorrow's World* which was reviewed in NM some weeks ago. How gratifying it is to see a Methodist Bishop and the president of the Federal Council of Churches firmly stating his conviction that in such a complex industrial society as is ours today any functioning democracy must include a strong labor movement, and that the status of such a labor movement is a basic index of democracy. This is a conviction I have come to share without reservation, and at Pittsburgh last fall at a gathering of the Religion and Labor Foundation I was delighted to find leading churchmen of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths willing to assert the same.

**M**IDDLE class people have not felt any strong personal stake in organized labor. This attitude is changing, and previously unattached individuals realize that democracy cannot rely on individual allegiances. To make democracy work there must be a strong labor movement, and parallel with it a movement for progressive political action.

Those of us who are outside the trade union movement must see this clearly and stand beside the unions when they are on the receiving end of crippling or restricting acts. Congress is already being flooded with bills designed to reduce the strength and freedom of the labor movement. Everyone with eyes to see realizes that the problem of post-war employment must be faced on an inclusive over-all basis, with consideration given equally to the discharged war worker and the war veteran. To play the one group against the other, in order to break the unions, is patently un-American; it is social dynamite. Somewhat less obvious is the flank attack on labor involved in the Ball-Hatch-Burton drive to amend the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Organized labor has been quick to denounce this bill, but its language extolling labor-management peace is likely to fool many outside the unions. Labor will be the target of a steady attack from industry trying to free itself from wartime regulation, and there may well be tensions involved in reconversion. Those of us who stand outside the labor movement must not be misled by attacks from without or conflicts from within. We have got to see clearly that we have a stake in the preservation and the strengthening of American labor.

# NM SPOTLIGHT

## The Beginnings of Security

Now that the United Nations have fabricated a strongly built and handsome edifice to house the family of nations the question shifts. Who will live in this mansion? Will it be adequately equipped and comfortably furnished? Will there be within it a spirit of harmony and friendship or will incessant quarreling make the house once more uninhabitable, as in the past?

There is strong evidence that the fifty original signers of the United Nations Charter will move in. The only real doubt has concerned the United States, but even here public sentiment in favor of the new organization seems to be so strong as to force even the most recalcitrant Senators to vote affirmatively. The nations of Europe, only a few of which were present at San Francisco, will soon place themselves in a position to join the United Nations. Before many months have passed we may, then, hope to see housed in the mansion planned at San Francisco a family of nations comprising nearly all the anti-fascist world.

The drafting of the charter is an historic accomplishment. It has been carried through against powerful opposition. To speak of the United States alone, a very articulate and determined attempt was made to change the Dumbarton Oaks blueprint from one outlining world security to one barricading the Soviet Union and all other world democratic forces. With Senator Vandenberg as their chief spokesman within the American delegation and with the very astute assistance of John Foster Dulles these reactionaries attempted a frontal attack upon the charter at San Francisco.

Realizing that a democratic world security depended upon the unity of those nations which had defeated Nazi Germany and primarily upon the friendship of the United States and the Soviet Union, they tried to destroy the possibility of that unity and friendship. At San Francisco their primary objective was to weaken the Security Council, to scrap the principle of Big Five unity, the cornerstone of the council, and to shift the authority for world peace to regional blocs, such as the Latin American, which might easily be manipulated against the

Soviet Union and on behalf of imperialism and fascism.

The frontal attack on the charter by Vandenberg and his group failed. But their failure is far from final. They have been forced to retreat on one front but are renewing their battle on others. They lost on all the big issues of the San Francisco charter—but they nevertheless managed so to poison the political atmosphere that real obstacles have already been placed in the way of world cooperation and particularly cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

They will continue the struggle indirectly. Most likely neither Vandenberg nor Taft, nor perhaps even Wheeler, will lead a fight against ratification in the Senate. That would tip their hand; it would lead to the loss of their own political power. We will find the strategy of American isolationist-imperialists not in lip-service to the United Nations organization, not in the vote they will cast on ratification. We



"El Hombre de los Dientes (the man with the teeth)," as Latins call Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., by the noted Mexican caricaturist Antonio Arias Bernal.

will find it increasingly in all measures whereby the framework of international cooperation is given content. Today the hand of reaction is revealed in the effort to amend out of existence the Bretton Woods financial and monetary agreements; tomorrow we will discover it in efforts to prevent the United Nations organization from functioning.

A great victory has been achieved in the San Francisco Conference. It will be lost if it leads to complacency. The enemy has not been routed; he has simply been driven to new tactics. We must watch him closely. We must block his every move.

## Now for the Others

It is not so much for Mr. Stettinius' sake as for the country's that we wish him well in his appointment to the United Nations Organization. His selection by the President was apparently dictated by a desire not to tread too hard on State Department toes, yet at the same time Mr. Truman was compelled to face the need of removing from State Department leadership a personality who in the past two months had become a source of serious embarrassment. For one thing, Mr. Stettinius has lost the confidence of those who earnestly believe in the Roosevelt policy of close international collaboration. The Argentine incident, the Polish fiasco were largely Stettinius' and his adviser's doing, although the White House cannot be excluded from responsibility. When at Dumbarton Oaks Stettinius had the direct guidance of Mr. Roosevelt he did a commendable job. At San Francisco he was out of his depth. He swayed back and forth, eager to please the flatterers congregated there with the purpose of selling tainted goods. Until nationwide pressure swung him the other way, he hung on to Anthony Eden's coat-tails just as a small boy hangs on to his mother's skirt. Much of what he did was unprincipled. He was often as rude and vain as he was polite and modest. He displayed no real grasp of major issues nor of the things that make the present-day world tick. In short, he was a handsome failure. In his new assignment he has the opportunity of repairing the damage. Yet we know that he will be no better or worse than the

government's foreign policy on which his directives will be based.

As we write, there is no announcement of Mr. Stettinius' successor. The presidential correspondents were appointing James F. Byrnes, but whoever it is he must proceed with great vigor in filling the cracks that have threatened the foundations of Allied unity. This work of reconstruction will be aided immeasurably by ridding the State Department of the cookie-pushers brigade. In outlook and in their understanding of the currents in world affairs they are impediments to the unfolding of a progressive foreign policy in Europe, in Latin America and in the Far East. Foremost on the list for retirement we propose Joseph Grew, Nelson Rockefeller, James Clement Dunn and Avra Warren. There are others who in addition to these never will be missed. But a good beginning can be made with this gilded quadrumvirate.

## Germany's Communists

ONE of the most encouraging developments in Soviet occupied Germany was the reemergence of the German Communist Party in Berlin. Wilhelm Pieck, the veteran co-worker of Rosa Luxemburg, together with the survivors of Hitler's domestic terror have reformed their party and set up a Central Committee. This is one of the manifestations of the Soviet policy to permit the reestablishment of all anti-fascists parties and the trade unions within their occupation zone. The Social Democratic Party has also been reorganized and is working closely with the Communists, while efforts are being made to reach an agreement with the Catholic Centrist party.

The Communist Party has already issued a significant manifesto calling for the formation of an anti-fascist democratic bloc aimed to form a parliamentary republic with all democratic liberties. The central task of the anti-fascist bloc, according to the manifesto, is the final and complete liquidation of all the remnants of the Hitler regime. This includes the punishment by German courts of all Hitler's accomplices not scheduled for trial by the United Nations; severe punishment for exhibition of race hatred; the confiscation of the landed estates of Junkers, Nazis and imperialists as well as the confiscation of all other property of the Nazis and their wealthy collaborators.

The basic economic policy outlined in the program calls for free trade and private enterprise on the basis of private

## The Real Story

NEW light has been shed on one incident in the war against Germany that resulted in considerable misunderstanding: the bombing by the Luftwaffe of the American bomber base at Poltava in the Ukraine. This was made much of by W. L. White who, in his collection of fictions and libels, *Report on the Russians*, charged that the Soviets had given insufficient protection to our airfield.

However, information given by the Luftwaffe's chief, Hermann Goering, to American military interrogators tells a different story. According to a dispatch by C. L. Sulzberger in the *New York Times* of June 22, "Goering contended that the Luftwaffe's attack on the American bomber base in Poltava was facilitated by intelligence culled from the American press and that Allied newspapers had announced our intention to employ Soviet bases long before the plan materialized, thus enabling the Germans to send out long-range Heinkel 177's to scout for the formation they finally discovered."

Besides clearing the Russians, this statement serves to confirm the wisdom of the rigorous Soviet military censorship about which American correspondents often complained. Here is one instance where loose talk in our press cost American lives.

ownership; the manifesto points out that a Soviet system does not correspond with the conditions of development of Germany at the given moment. In this respect the German Communists undertake to utilize the capitalist system as it will be modified and primarily shorn of its heavy industry by the victorious Allies. This is done primarily to solve the pressing problems of hunger, joblessness and homelessness. But it is essential to note that all the big capitalists, Nazis and landlords guilty of collaboration with their own Hitlerite party and its monstrous crimes will no longer be a part of the German economic and political life. And herein lies the fundamental difference between the proposed democratic republic and the Weimar republic of pre-Hitler days, which was founded on a bloc of industrialists, landlords, generals and Social Democrats.

In their manifesto the Communists point out that the German people in a large measure share the blame for the crimes of the Hitler regime and pledge that the German people will repay all the damage and harm done during the war. This recognition of guilt and acceptance of responsibility to repair the damage through hard and honest labor is the only path to the redemption of the German nation. The Communists themselves accept a portion of the guilt both as a part of the German people and in recognition of their own series of mistakes which contributed to the failure of their efforts, despite heavy sacrifices of their best fighters, to forge an anti-

fascist unity of the workers for the overthrow of Hitler.

## Indictment in Reverse

TO THE new Secretary of State we recommend a careful reading of the series of articles on State Department policy toward Japan by Andrew Roth in the *New York Post* last week. Mr. Roth was until June 6 on active duty as a lieutenant, senior grade, in the Office of Naval Intelligence. On that date he and five others were arrested under the Espionage Act in a move to silence criticism of our Far Eastern policy.

In his articles Mr. Roth, who is the author of three books on Far Eastern problems, warns that the present Japanese government of Admiral Suzuki may be preparing to surrender unconditionally but with "a tacit understanding that we will do nothing to disturb the social, economic and political structure of Japan—particularly the position of the throne and the control of the economy by the giant trusts. There is already considerable evidence that top State Department officials are agreeable to this." Mr. Roth predicts that if this State Department clique "is permitted to carry out its policy, the end result will almost certainly be a China wracked by civil war, a Japan in which the roots of aggression have been left intact and a sharp clash of American and Soviet interests in the Far East."

Mr. Roth names names, starting with

## Where Is Our German Policy?

THE testimony given the Senate Military Affairs Committee on the economic basis of German aggression bears the closest study. Senator Kilgore produced documents to show how German industrialists last August prepared plans for the reindustrialization and rearming of Germany after the expected defeat. These reports reveal that the German cartelists not only are outwardly making great efforts to dissociate themselves from their Nazi co-conspirators but have formulated ways and means to renew their contracts and alliances with foreign companies. Part of the German industrialists' plan is secretly to finance the Nazi underground and to place at its disposal existing financial reserves abroad.

Leo T. Crowley, the foreign economic administrator, produced sensational evidence that Germany reached her highest level of production in 1944 and that despite Allied bombardment the country has the better part of her economic and industrial strength with which to prepare for another war. With a little repair the majority of the most important plants can go into operation, and practically all of Germany's great iron and steel furnaces are ready for use. Crowley also indicated that German assets in countries other than the United States, Great Britain and Italy amount to a minimum of \$1,500,000,000; these holdings are distributed in Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and Argentina. Crowley observed that managers of German factories, after disclaiming all partnership with the Hitlerites, are trying to persuade American representatives that German industry running at capacity can contribute enormously to the war with Japan or at least relieve the needs of liberated Europe. This is one way by which German industrialists are trying to prevent the economic disarmament of the country and it is Crowley's conclusion that the control of German economy must take precedence over everything else.

Bernard Baruch, another witness, made the most perceptive recommendations for the smashing of the German war potential: that we remove her heavy industry to friendly countries or destroy it. He proposed division of the Junker estates, control of Germany's foreign trade, and the excision of German assets and business organizations everywhere. "What is done with Germany," he said, "holds the key to whether Russia, Britain and the United States can continue to get

along." And further: "In the absence of common policy as to the long range fate of Germany, the Soviets are bound to question Allied moves as dictated by a desire to rebuild Germany into a buffer against Russia."

ALL of Mr. Baruch's warnings are decidedly to the point. True, they come from a man whose motives might be interpreted as reflecting the desire of American business interests to eliminate once and for all the powerful commercial competitor that is Germany. But Mr. Baruch places his plan within the context of improved and expanding Allied political relations and if his economic approach constantly parallels the political then his suggestions are realistic and contain within them the possibilities of an intelligent settlement of the German problem. But the truth, the very tragic truth, is that there is as yet no coordinated and cooperative Allied policy on Germany. American policy, such as it is, is negative and fumbling with General Clay, Eisenhower's deputy on the Control Council, pleading for patience because of language barriers. To put it mildly, General Clay's reason is infantile. The Russians also have difficulties with the German tongue but the policy on which they have embarked—the rebuilding of the trade unions, the reestablishment of anti-fascist political parties, the swift punishment of Nazi criminals—is winning praise throughout Europe as a constructive effort to make her zone of occupation into a civilized area.

While Mr. Crowley in his testimony presented a body of invaluable data, he failed to indicate exactly what is our economic and political policy in Germany. If it exists, and there is reason to believe that it does and that it has been translated into specific terms, the country has no inkling of it and therefore cannot judge its value in shaping the peace. Certain it is that blunder after blunder is being made, with the most recent being the employment of German factories to make optical instruments while in the United States thousands of workers in the same industry are being laid off and the plants shut down. There is no sense to this. Perhaps at the forthcoming meeting of the Big Three proposals for the economic and political handling of Germany will go beyond the beginnings made at Crimea. Until then we are faced with what amounts to an unstable and unproductive occupation policy.

Under-Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, former ambassador to Japan. He charges that what is known as the "Japan crowd" in the State Department has always had a weakness for the so-called "moderates" who are dominant in the Suzuki cabinet. These "moderates" are actually fascist imperialists, representatives of the Japanese trusts and cartels, who recognize that the military extremists are leading them to disaster and want to make a deal with the

United States that will preserve their power. Mr. Roth points out that the State Department cabal ignores the real anti-militarists in Japan, who "are more frequently found in Japan's slums than in its salons; in the filthy and crowded political prisons rather than its sumptuous palaces"—those forces that can help destroy Japanese militarism and fascism and reconstruct their country on a democratic basis.

Clearly the machinations of the

"Japan crowd" are a knife in the back of the millions of Americans who are sacrificing to wipe out forever the menace of Japanese aggression. Mr. Roth's revelations show that a thorough housecleaning is in order.

### More on Argentina

THE evidence as to the fascist nature of the Argentine regime of Farrell and Peron has been well known to the

State Department for a long time. Their own documents, the strongest of which was published as late as January 1945, proved it. But because certain people in our government and especially in our State Department continue to be more alarmed by the growth of democracy than they are by the menace of fascism their own evidence was ignored at Chapultepec and again at San Francisco.

Now Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton comes forward with information furnished the Senate Military Affairs Committee that the Buenos Aires fascists are harboring no less than 104 Nazi firms which they had repeatedly pledged they would eliminate. There is nothing new in this, for it has long been known and widely publicized in the progressive press. Not only that but there is detailed information at hand which ties these firms in with Peron and his colleagues personally.

Mr. Clayton's statement is, nevertheless, important, coming as it does from such a highly placed official. It must serve to drive home to State Department minds the shameful error of

coddling the Argentine regime. In this sense Mr. Clayton's testimony plays the same role as have the Cortesi articles in the *New York Times*. The latter revealed nothing new except the fact that the *Times* and its correspondent had suddenly discovered something which the whole democratic world had known for a long time.

It is now incumbent upon the American government sharply to reverse its policy toward the Farrell-Peron regime and to lead its Latin American neighbors in a joint policy of isolating and defeating Argentine fascism by supporting that nation's democratic people.

### Here and There

KEEP watching the Churchill government, which accepted the recent agreement on Poland—at last carrying out the Yalta decisions—with obvious reluctance and is again sabotaging it, allowing the incriminated London Polish “government” radio and other facilities to continue its disruptive work.

• If you don't relish Uncle Sam being

sugar daddy to Franco send your protest to the War Food Administration, which has allotted to fascist Spain 60,000 tons of sugar desperately needed by the liberated democratic peoples of Europe.

• Articles from the Hearst and McCormick press and by Eugene Lyons in the *American Mercury* were found to be the chief munitions in the propaganda arsenal at Goebbels' headquarters in Berlin.

• Some home-grown Goebbels, as yet unidentified, sneaked Streicher-like anti-Semitic smut into an “English Composition” course issued by the United States Armed Forces Institute. At this writing a promise to remove the filth has not yet been kept. Write a memo to the War Department.

• Analyzing its annual expenditures the National Association of Manufacturers reported a busy propaganda year, with close to \$2,000,000 expended on “services to industry,” i.e., anti-union and other reactionary activities. The NAM modestly took credit for, among other things, having put over the social security tax freeze.



## FRONT LINES

by COLONEL T.

# "WATERLOO" IN THE WEST?

ON JUNE 22, the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a dispatch from SHAEF, staff headquarters in Paris, by correspondent John O'Reilly. The dispatch repeated the mouthings of three top generals of the Wehrmacht—Colonel General Jodl, Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel and Field Marshal Kesselring. Mr. O'Reilly got his information from “a high ranking SHAEF officer who interviewed them.” The “high ranking officer” rather naively (for an intelligence officer, which he probably is) explained that “his talks with the three Germans were held separately and without any possibility of their collaborating in their responses.” And we are led to believe that on the eve of the final catastrophe the top men in the German general staff had not agreed among themselves on a common line of talk when questioned, or as they say politely, “interviewed” by their captors. This in itself is quite hard to swallow,

of course. However, what the three Germans said during the “interview” is still harder to swallow.

The dispatch itself is headlined “NAZI WATERLOOS WERE REMAGEN AND AVRANCHES.” It starts out this way: “The defeat of the strong German attack last summer at Avranches in Normandy and the exploitation by American forces of that defeat, as well as the capture early last year of the Remagen bridge over the Rhine, were main factors in Germany's defeat” (my emphasis).

Let us look at these “main factors.” The three generals say that the German High Command was “amazed” when their attack by four Panzer divisions and one Panzer-Grenadier division failed to reach Avranches and cut the American forces in two. This German attack was exploited by Gen. Omar Bradley, who held it with the “forces on hand” and quickly sent four divisions racing around the German

flank. (This decision of General Bradley is considered one of the brilliant tactical decisions of the war in the West.)

So we have the following picture: the Germans attack with five divisions and the Allies hold the attack, probably, with another five and send around the German flank four divisions. The total number of divisions involved in that so-called “Waterloo” hardly exceeds fourteen. Thus we are led to believe that while at Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk alone the Germans had approximately 150 of their crack divisions shattered to bits, these battles were not “Waterloos,” but simply actions like those of Tarutino, Vittoria and Laon during the last Napoleonic period preceding Waterloo. The whole picture of “Waterloo at Avranches” is so out of proportion that one can only marvel at people who gravely listen to such piffle and then clutter up the cables with its transmission. As to the three

German generals, one can only say that they are dishing out infantile babble in a pathetic attempt to lick the boots of their custodians and interviewers to a still higher degree of polish.

As to the Remagen affair, one should understand this: General Eisenhower made a historic decision when he sent General Hodges' First Army off its route and across the captured bridge at Remagen. The operation is a wonderful example of quick thinking and courageous figuring. But this does not in the least alter the fact that the finding of the Remagen bridge intact by our advance patrols was a matter of chance. (If the whole thing was pre-arranged by Intelligence, with payment in gold to the German commandant, and all the other hush-hush trappings, then there was no sudden decision by Eisenhower, there was no sudden shift of Hodges' Army off route and the whole story becomes null and void). If the Remagen crossing is to be considered decisive and a German "Waterloo," then we must admit blithely that we won the war not because we were stronger and better than the Germans, but only because a German lieutenant got drunk at the wrong time and forgot to blow up the historic bridge. The implication is not only silly, but rather humiliating for us.

**S**PEAKING of the Ardennes breakthrough at Christmas of last year, the German generals say that at that time there were 400 Soviet divisions arrayed against them, while in the West the Allies had eighty-five divisions. They could not hit back at the Russians, so they hit back at the Western Allies (with only about twenty divisions, by the way). How can one say against this background that any real decisions could have been carried at Avranches or Remagen, or even Monchau, when four-fifths of the Allied strength was in the East and only one-fifth in the West?

To bolster the "theory" of decisions and "Waterloo's" in the West, Mr. Reilly points out that seven and one-half million German prisoners were taken on the Western Front, of which three and one-quarter million were taken *after* the capitulation. Of the four and one-quarter million German prisoners taken before the capitulation a good proportion were assorted labor battalions of international composition, Todt units, gangs of prisoners forced into uniform, etc. There were also masses of Germans who preferred to surrender in the West. Furthermore,



Joseph Konzal

**The Ball-Burton-Hatch bill "seeks to encourage a sense of tolerance and understanding of one another that will lead to mutual helpfulness." — Sen. Harold H. Burton.**

the fact that only 1,400,000 Germans were killed or wounded severely by the Western Allies, while the Red Army killed probably eight or nine million, shows that the bulk of the fighting was in the East and not in the West.

Thus there can be no talk of any "Waterloo's" west of the Elbe. If there was a single "Waterloo" at all (and this is not so certain) it took place between the Oder and the Elbe, where everything German collapsed in a hard fought battle of gigantic proportions—the Battle of Berlin. Let us add that the mouthings of the German generals would not be worth repeating and analyzing if they were not part of a plan to poison the inter-Allied atmosphere, a plan which is being helped by some correspondents—and other people.

**W**E YIELD to no one in our admiration for American military strategy, operations and tactics in the Pacific war. As far as can be judged from this distance (and with very incomplete knowledge of the physical aspects of the theater of war in which we, personally, never did any fighting), through the fog and haze of sometimes rambunctious, sometimes "hoopla" reports by war correspondents who almost invariably have an axe to grind with somebody or other, the American commanders in the Pacific are doing their job competently, audaciously and with a great deal of imagination—which "the book" never teaches you.

We are mopping up on Luzon after

a fast campaign up the Cagayan Valley, with airborne landings and all the modern trappings. Okinawa has been won at no greater expenditure of time and blood than Iwo and Saipan, if one considers their size and comparative importance. Australians have set foot on Borneo and have won a fighting space which the enemy now will not be able to wrest from them. Its importance, aside from the fact that the position threatens the Dutch East Indies, Malaya with Singapore and Indo-China, can be gauged by the presence of great oil fields which have been already captured from the Japanese.

With the typhoon season approaching (it will last until about Labor Day), we will probably this summer make short amphibious stabs, expanding from Okinawa toward Japan and Formosa, in the Marianas, the Volcanoes and probably in and around the by-passed enemy bases in the Carolines, Solomons, Marshalls, and so forth.

Meanwhile the Japanese have been forced to evacuate the strip of coast in China between Amoy and Hangchow Bay. It is said that they are clearing out of the "rice bowl" in the lake region of central China. However, they are stubbornly clinging to the Hankow-Changsha-Hengyang-Liuchow-Canton railroad corridor and the Chinese have made only small progress there in the last few weeks.

Thus, while Chiang Kai-shek's central armies are not doing so well, our armed forces have been performing magnificently—in fact, better and better during the almost three years it took them to push the Japanese from the international dateline to the course of the Kuro Shio, or Japan Stream which skirts Luzon, Formosa, Okinawa and the Japanese Home Islands. While our light naval units have for the first reported time of the war penetrated into the innermost Japanese sea—the Sea of Okhotsk—and will soon be attacking Japanese shipping in the straits of Tsushima, La Perouse and Formosa; our air power is descending with frightful force on Japan itself, which has been promised 2,500,000 tons of bombs during the next twelve months. (Germany and Europe got only 1,500,000 tons in the last three years.) The thinking Japanese cannot see anything but utter defeat before him.

What we must do is smash Japanese morale. In this respect we can but quote what the New York *Post* said in its editorial on June 23: "We must strike at the basis of the fanaticism that makes Jap soldiers dangerous enemies



long after other soldiers would give up. And that requires a change in our psychological warfare. That requires that we disabuse Jap soldiers of the myth of imperial divinity which bids them extend Jap rule to all the world, which tells them that the most glorious death is to be found in dying for the Emperor. . . . Certainly that is much better than appealing to the industrialists and imperial princes who have reaped the greatest rewards from Jap aggression. It is better than a speech recently beamed to Japan (according to *Amerasia*) in which the former Naval attache of our Tokyo Embassy, Captain Zacharias, spoke to some highly placed Jap personages whom he knew: 'Mr. Kurusu will know my regret in the loss of his son whom as a young boy I often patted on the head. . . . Your Premier Admiral Baron Suzuki may remember our meeting. . . . My impression of him was fully confirmed by his recent sympathetic statement regarding our loss in the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.'

"That is hardly the kind of psychological warfare calculated to undermine

Jap resistance, aimed at disillusioning her unhappy common people. But it is the kind we are putting out now. The strong personal inclinations of some, like Zacharias in the Navy and Joseph Grew in State, must not become this government's policy."

## West Coast Question

(Continued from page 14)

and processing facilities in the West. The suggestion has already been advanced in labor circles that the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion should set up a Western agency with authority to deal with special problems of this area.

Third, every effort must be made to smash monopoly-instigated efforts to block Western development. The freight rate fight is only one example of what can be done to defeat restrictive practices under the anti-trust laws. Another facet is the fight for cheap Western power rates, bitterly opposed by the private utilities corporations. Federal loan agencies could also be

helpful in financing smaller concerns or independent combinations wishing to extend or begin operations.

Finally, during the immediate reconversion period, which will be especially difficult for the West under even the best conditions, a number of steps must be taken to protect the people from hardship and unemployment. Extension of social security measures, especially coverage of federal workers, who include those employed in Navy shipyards, is vital to the West as it is to the nation. Public works programs, local, state, and national, must be enlarged and moved into action, so as to provide continued employment while new industries are developed. Completion of the river valley projects should receive special emphasis. Wages must be increased at once to bolster consuming power as overtime work ends and more workers shift to the lower paid peacetime occupations.

Only determined pressure for action along these lines will preserve the Westward march of industry as a peacetime frontier of jobs and opportunity.

# READERS' FORUM

## Negroes and Seniority

**T**O NEW MASSES: I am the president of a local union of approximately 500 members. About forty percent of our membership is Negro. I should like to comment on Mr. Weaver's article "Postwar Jobs for Negroes."

We can all agree with Mr. Weaver that the creation of a permanent FEPC will help to abolish discriminatory hiring. And that there must be full employment fully to solve the problem of jobs for Negroes, and for that matter jobs for all the workers.

However, I want to disagree with the main thought of Mr. Weaver's article. His main premise is that the seniority system must not be changed or modified in any way. While recognizing the discrimination against Negroes that has existed "over the last seventy or eighty years," he takes the position that labor is not responsible for this condition, there is nothing much that labor can do about it if there is going to be any unemployment, and in effect says that it is too bad that the Negro people will have to be the first to suffer, out of all proportion, because the seniority system cannot be modified without

sacrificing the basic interest of the labor movement.

Mr. Weaver says that seniority, properly enforced, enables the worker, black or white, to proclaim to the world "this is my job to have and to hold as long as I do it well and keep within the rules."

Let us see if this is so. Here is a shop of 500 workers. Fifty are Negroes. Cutbacks come and the fifty Negro workers are *all* laid off because they were the last to be hired. Why were they the last to be hired? Because they have been discriminated against "over the last seventy or eighty years." It is not their fault. They are blameless. But the discrimination of the last seventy or eighty years is to be continued. If there is full employment and you are a Negro you are entitled to a job.

If there is not full employment you are out because being a Negro you are last on the seniority list, and we are going to protect our seniority system even if it means continuing the discrimination of the last seventy or eighty years. Can these Negro workers say "this is my job to have and to hold as long

as I do it well and keep within the rules"?

Mr. Weaver further states that seniority guarantees that a worker, black or white, can say "you shall not make me suffer from discrimination or favoritism."

Can the fifty Negro workers laid off because they are last on the seniority list due to discrimination practiced for the last seventy or eighty years say this?

The real crux of the matter is that Mr. Weaver, and all others who insist the seniority system cannot be modified under any conditions, refuse to grapple with the real, the basic problem involved. That problem is, what are the basic interests of labor and the nation?

The Negro people comprise a minority of 13,000,000 people. They are a political force that can stand on the side of progress or on the side of reaction. Despite discrimination of a social, a political and an economic nature the Negro people have consistently stood on the side of progress right down through the history of our country. This has been demonstrated time and time again—most recently in the last presidential election. The horrible poverty and discrimination in the South, the economic and social discrimination in other parts of the country, Jim Crow Armies and Jim Crow Navies, have not killed their basic belief in democracy and in our country.

However, the Negro people are not taking these things lying down. They are insisting on the right to vote even in the South. They are insisting on equal rights laws and on Fair Employment Acts. And they are insisting on the right to jobs—*without the discrimination of the last seventy or eighty years*



playing any part in determining whether or not they shall have them.

The Negro people love the CIO. I can knock on the door of a Negro home, and when I say that I represent the CIO their home is mine. They know the CIO has fought discrimination. They know that the CIO fights for jobs for the Negro people. They know that our organization fights for the best interests of the working people of this country—black and white. How can we say to this great democratic minority that represents such a huge force for progress that no matter how much you have been discriminated against we cannot modify our seniority rule? How can we say to the Negro people, who look to the CIO for leadership in political and economic affairs, "We can't help it. If everyone doesn't have a job then you are out since you have been discriminated against for so long, that you are naturally lowest when it comes to seniority." Of course we don't say it in those words, but *that's what it means in practice*. The Negro workers will not accept this for an answer. All the pious phrases about Negroes having the right to work in this place or that place mean nothing unless some Negroes are actually working there.

The Negro people are among the greatest allies the labor movement has. Labor does not seek to gain selfish privileges for itself. We seek a better life, happiness and security for the whole nation. We must not be a party, regardless of the fact that we are not responsible in the first place, to extending and perpetuating a system of discrimination because of color. From the enlightened self-interests of labor and the nation, and from a moral standpoint, the present seniority system should and must be modified. CHARLES NUSSER.

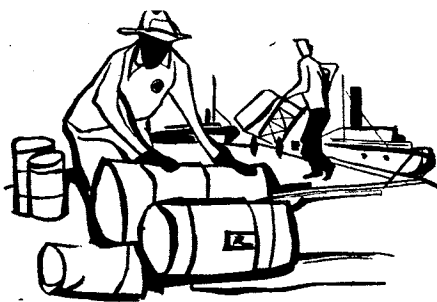
President, Local 27, International Fur and Leather Workers Union-CIO.

## NM's Course

TO NEW MASSES: I'm not so surprised at Mr. Pollack's letter (NM, June 12), as I am at the fact that he is the author of a book on science. I'd expect such a man to have a more subtle mind than the one he evidently has. Perhaps then I—a mere carpenter, and a struggler at writing fiction—am not so dumb after all.

I have long noticed a kind of *thin ice* in NEW MASSES' interpretations since Teheran, and have even at times come close to disagreeing; but I have always, after inner debate, seen good reason for the trend. To me it seems Earl Browder has been very smart, and deep, if not always entirely innocent of opportunism. But there is room for criticism in practically any policy—in such a confused world as ours—as there is in most any book, and I would not snarl at the latest trend the way Mr. Pollack chooses to do.

I'll freely confess to having read a few articles and saying to myself: This is a far cry from Lenin! Remember the good old *State and Revolution*—what a difference! But at the same time, in the United Nations coalition, it was pretty hard to know what



else to do; and if we carry this policy of cooperation with the best in capitalism through to its logical limits our opponents can never say we didn't try to do what was right. We shall have a powerful weapon in future struggles and we should gain much favor today. I consider Mr. Carl Von Der Lancken's letter (NM, June 12) the correct point of view.

My only criticism with the trend is that we should have carried through in our policy what a fictioneer calls *plants* through his book. That is: we should have provided for other eventualities, such as the too-predominant tendency to compromise in the San Francisco Conference, and the undeniable tendency to reaction in big business, the nearer the war is to its end. Perhaps we shouldn't have gone quite so *all-out* for cooperation.

But as for Mr. Pollack, one remark of his *cooks* him for me. In criticizing the Roosevelt issue—which I consider one of your best—he says: "What will you say when a great Communist leader dies . . . ?" I consider this a selfish, narrow, and unintelligent remark. As though words were rationed—or praise! For my part, I have faith in your eloquence as I have in your science. I believe you'll say all that can be said, as you said all you could for Roosevelt—of whom Stalin minced no praise.

As for his criticism of your literary criticism—what does he expect, genius? Everybody is so busy nowadays he meets himself turning around—that is, everybody who is anybody, constructively. And a question I should like to ask him is: where would he turn if he should give up NEW MASSES? It seems to me, at any rate, he might have criticized you much more constructively.

More power to you! AL AMERY.  
E. Pepperell, Mass.

TO NEW MASSES: I have been a reader of NEW MASSES for some years, and let me say at the outset that I believe the present outlook of NM, as voiced in recent editorials, seems to me to be a very sound viewpoint on the whole. With that in mind, now, I want to go on and state what I might call "an intelligent layman's" criticism.

First of all, it seems that you are wide open to a charge of being too sure of yourselves. Yes, I mean that—ever more, in fact, in view of the recent "self-criticism." The point is this—you have seemed to me in the past to have been all too anxious to have a perfect "line." True, you hammered out

your course by long discussion in advance, so that it is not open to idle challenge. But this course has had the fault of not being fluid enough to move smoothly with events. It has always been forced along a series of straight lines, which have often overshot their proper life span and been forced to a sharp change of direction.

Now we "intelligent laymen" are groping along as best we can. We appreciate the beauty of vigorous action for a cause. But we are not overwhelmed by our own ability to see straight. Hence we fail to rush along a new line at full tilt only to come up short at a new turning point. We support you, we think most often that you have the best viewpoint. But we keep our foot off the accelerator when the way is not clear. You don't. This leads you into such anomalies as Magil's articles practically defending cartels because you foot was on the floorboard.

In my case, my speed was reduced by your own best guide—reality—while Browder's position was being announced last year. It was simple with me, and that's why I was puzzled over you. I happened to work for a branch of General Motors. At the same time that Browder was lauding such farsighted men as GM's Wilson, GM was busy stabbing our union in the back with every trick in the book. Try as I would, I couldn't digest all of the NM line because of the contradiction before me. Yet you were soon in high gear and many of your rank-and-file readers scoffed at those who couldn't see as far as they could.

What I call for, in short, is not a diminution of your vigor, but rather a tremendous increase in your regular self-criticism and self-evaluation.

B. H. S.  
New York City.

## Incident in Italy

TO NEW MASSES: I believe your readers may be interested in an experience I recently had in Italy. We were a truck company of about a hundred men and officers. One night there entered into our newly-built day room and bar two Polish-speaking buddies of mine with a Polish soldier friend whom they had just met. In time we discovered that he had long been a member of the Polish army operating under the orders of the London "government"-in-exile. At the bar my two Polish-speaking buddies and the Pole had a long talk. Being eager to get my two cents in I asked one of the boys to ask him what he thought of the Russian people. His answer was the same as what the Nazi propagandists used to say when they had radios to talk over. Because I disagreed with him he called me an agent paid by the Russians. My buddies laughed out loud and the Pole became furious. His eyes almost popped out of his head. With disgust he turned to my friends and asked them why they allowed a Jew at the bar with them and told them to throw me out. At which point my buddies gave the guy a hot lecture on democracy.

PFC. HARRY SHAPIRO.  
Bronx, N. Y.



## FRANZ WERFEL'S "MEIN KAMPF"

By ALBERT WIENER

I AM worried about Werfel, for I do not want this celebrated writer, who has been paving the way for clerical fascism, to be compelled to lament, one day, like the sorcerer's apprentice in Goethe's ballad:

*Die ich rief, die Geister,  
Werd' ich nun nicht los!*

What else could Herr Werfel do in an America ruled, with the Vatican's blessing, by Father Coughlin and the Coughlinites, but exclaim in anguish: "I cannot get rid of the hosts of spirits I have called up!"

Contrary to the assertions of some literary critics in this country, Werfel's response to religion is not a relatively new phase in his life and letters, not a product of age and exile. In Vienna, as the son of a wealthy and cultured Jewish glove manufacturer of Prague, he attended the *Piaristen-Gymnasium*, where the instruction was given by Piarist monks. His earliest poems are imbued with their spirit and they abound in Christological expressions. When, in the third year of the first World War, the activist Kurt Hiller declared that social action was the poet's duty, Werfel answered him in an essay, *Die Christliche Sendung* (The Christian Mission), which appeared in one of Germany's leading magazines, *Neue Rundschau* (Berlin, January 1917). In it Werfel denied the possibility of creating human happiness by means of social action, and praised the Catholic concept of the state. That essay anticipated the Werfel of *Between Heaven and Earth*, published in New York more than a quarter of a century later. There we have already his "consider the lilies of the field" philosophy versus "materialistic" socialism, as well as the totalitarianism of political Catholicism. However, there exists a peculiar episode in Werfel's life which is so strange that few people will believe it to be true: in the beginning of the Austrian revolution, home from the front, Werfel made radical speeches in the street, on one occasion exhorting the crowd to storm a bank.

But in his novels Werfel never mentions the revolution except to rebuke

it, while he devotes kind words to the defunct monarchy. In the prologue to *Twilight of a World* he even defended "Old Austria" which embodied "the highest possible personal freedom within a highly responsible community." (Ask any Czech how much of this freedom he enjoyed under the Hapsburg rule!) The writer shed tears for what to him was the last European bulwark against nationalism, materialism and class warfare, the last representative of what he called the "transcendent idea," i.e., the authoritative, hereditary monarchy!

WERFEL professes a profound sympathy with the oppressed and poor, but whenever he shows them in action—for instance, in *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*—their action is doomed to end in failure. As early as December 1931, after Werfel's address on "*Realismus und Innerlichkeit*" (Realism and Inwardness, contained in *Between Heaven and Earth*) had appeared in print, a writer in the liberal weekly, *Die Weltbuehne*, predicted that Werfel, through his own guilt, would end up in the camp of reaction.

On Mar. 9, 1933 a writer in the same weekly rebuked Werfel for not having left the *Preussische Dichterkademie* (Prussian Poets' Academy) after Heinrich Mann had been ousted from the presidency. Not once in the twelve years of Hitlerism did Werfel care to challenge the Nazis directly with his pen.

Before the Anschluss he lived comfortably either in Vienna or in his villa at Breitenstein, Semmering, in the Lower Austrian Alps. He kept up good relations with the clerico-fascist regime, even enjoying the friendship of Chancellor Schuschnigg, the Jesuits' disciple, who bestowed an order upon Werfel and publicly praised his books.

Did the collapse of Schuschnigg's Austria, the ensuing war, his flight from France and his stay in America alter Werfel's passive *Weltanschauung*? Hardly. In his novel, *Embezzled Heaven* (1940), the story of a pious, primitive woman cook in Austria, there is no word in praise of the Socialist workers who defended the democratic system as long as they could, no word of rebuke for the clerico-fascist clique that killed the democratic system and permitted Austria to fall into Hitler's lap; the only Jew in the novel, a convert to Christianity, is a most despicable character.

In *Embezzled Heaven* the narrator confesses to the Roman Catholic priest, Johannes: "I recognized at a very early age that the revolt against metaphysics is the cause of all our misery." The following novel, *The Song of Bernadette*, one of the best-sellers of 1942, sponsored and recommended by a number of Catholic organizations, reveals Werfel's metaphysical thirst as well as his intransigence and intolerance in religious matters: "To those who believe in God," he makes one clergyman say, "no explanation is necessary; to those who do not believe in God, no explanation is possible."

Werfel's latest book, *Between Heaven and Earth*, throws new light on his retreat from reason. The volume consists of three lectures, the aforementioned "Realism and Inwardness," "Can We Live Without Faith in God?" and "Of Man's True Happiness," given in 1930, 1932 and 1937, respectively, and "Theologoumena": short essays and apothegms, written in America between 1942 and 1944. Altogether it constitutes a 252-page attack on what Werfel calls "the central heresy" of today: "naturalistic nihilism." What



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shall the sharecroppers in the South, or the displaced persons of liberated Europe do with such pretty phrases from it, as "Happiness is the wealth of a reality transfused into inwardness," or "The safest wealth is lack of needs"? The search for security is scornfully dismissed: "Increasingly the idea of the state is assuming the character of an insurance company. Social security, old age pensions, pension legislation, sickness compensation plans, etc.—all these institutions are secretly based on the conception that being born is a calamity for which state and society must be obliged to award compensation."

Werfel looks back nostalgically to the past Golden Age: "If we turn our gaze toward the childhood of man, toward ancient civilization, it becomes clear that though we have grown richer in analytic methodology, we have grown incomparably poorer in integrated conceptual power. Realizing this, the acceptance of an *aurea aetas*, of Plato's people close to the gods, of the existence of a glorious prenoachidic race before the time of Noah, no longer seems absurd." After this overture we are not surprised to find the author extolling the achievements of—ancient astrology.

IN HIS scorn of democracy Werfel even regrets that he is not living in the thirteenth century when a book was a rare thing and reading an uncommon art: "Today, the price of a well-printed book is not much more than that for a sandwich or a bottle of beer. Intellectual broadening and progress? Certainly! But is this progress not just as much a decline? Reading requires effort and concentration. And why should anyone exert himself and concentrate at such low cost?"

"Only the man favored by the muses," Werfel asserts, "can rebuild the inwardness that has been destroyed by the belief in things." He does not give his name—should it, perhaps, be his friend Herman Borchardt, author of the fantastic schizophrenic novel, *The Conspiracy of the Carpenters*, published in this country two years ago? In a foreword to the book Werfel enthusiastically praises the author, a Jewish refugee from Germany: "Whereas almost all modern literature does homage to determinism, portraying man as the puppet of social and economic 'natural law,' our author is an indomitable devotee of free will.

"The very epitome of false doctrine," Werfel goes on, "is the attempt to persuade man that he is the innocent victim of the existing social and economic order, and that he must therefore unite into one gray, monstrous mass so that by surrendering his own thoughts and feelings (in short, his own soul) he can cast down that order by sheer force of superior numbers, and deliver himself from earthly sorrows. At first, false doctrine—I still follow Borchardt—treads lightly on velvet liberal and humanitarian paws. But when its historic moment arrives, it bares its tiger claws, the whole murderously inhuman radicalism inherent in every true heresy. The historic moment invariably finds its own historic man, the somber flower of the stinking bog begotten by a materialistic civilization."

Thus in Werfel, as often in reactionaries, the anti-democratic leads to the anti-scientific and irrational, and ends in sheer hysterical, anti-radical frenzy. In this case Werfel ends in an equation with Coughlinites and Christian frontiers.

## In Common Cause

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, by W. E. B. DuBois.  
Harcourt, Brace. \$2.

DR. DuBois' thesis is that there will be no peace and security for the world unless the colonial peoples and "the majority of the inhabitants of the earth, who happen for the most part to be colored" are "regarded as having the right and the capacity to share in human progress and to become co-partners in that democracy which alone can ensure peace among men, by the abolition of poverty, the education of the masses, protection from disease, and the scientific treatment of crime."

Insofar as efforts to arrive at such peace and security, he continues, "leave practically untouched the present imperial ownership of disfranchised colonies, and in this and other ways proceed as if the majority of men can be regarded mainly as sources of profit for Europe and North America, in just so far we are planning not peace but war, not democracy but the continued oligarchical control of civilization by the white race."

That thesis, which is the main theme of the book, is on the whole correct. Dr. DuBois develops his ideas eloquently and passionately; his arguments are

projected upon the background of current developments leading up to Dumbarton Oaks. Incomparably, it is the best book on the colonial question to come out of the war. It is realistic, sound in its approach, and marked with intellectual fortitude.

DuBois supports the objectives of Dumbarton Oaks as "the latest of a long and desperate line of human endeavor seeking some modicum of unity in the government of mankind to displace the horror of . . . war." But the author's acceptance of Dumbarton Oaks is justifiably critical, insofar as the colonial and colored peoples of the world did not have a sufficient voice in the plan.

The subsequent chapters are tribunals for the disinherited colonial peoples, scathing indictments of all theories of racial and religious discrimination, militant exposures of the treatment of the American Negro and his African brother; and the over-all conclusions Dr. DuBois draws from his observations are proper and profoundly disturbing. He sees that fundamental economic factors determine the political and social course of the world and he warns of the ominous role of American and British imperialism in throwing their weight against the rise of democratic governments in Europe. Greece, Yugoslavia, Poland—not to mention Spain—are the living evidences.

Although Dr. DuBois paints a dark picture, it is not defeatist: ". . . The will to revolt on the part of the colored people is immeasurably greater today than yesterday, and the attempt of Britain . . . to dominate the world without fundamental change in methods and objectives is inconceivable. . . . There is not enough physical power and certainly not enough reason in the attitude of the United States combined with that of Britain to accomplish this. If, on the other hand, the United States, seeing the movement of the stars in their courses, realizes that American industry has got to be rationalized and controlled, that profit-making must be absolutely subordinate to the general will, then it can join with the new order in any economy carried on for the benefit of all the people."

While it is well known that only socialism can fully and ultimately solve the problems of the colonies and of the working peoples in the imperialist mother countries, it is also true that the imperialists can be challenged and curbed by labor and the peoples in common cause with the colonials.

The total effect of the chapter, "The

Riddle of Russia," is that Russia is no riddle at all—and certainly not to Dr. DuBois, who regards it as the inspiration and hope of the world. "Come what may, first of modern nations, it has dared to face front-forward the problem of poverty, and to place on the uncurbed power of concentrated wealth the blame of widespread and piteous penury. It has not lied about poverty. It has not distorted the facts. It has not, like most nations, without effort to solve it, declared the insolvency of the problem of the poor. And above all, it has not falsely placed on the poor the blame of their wretched condition." Nor is this main estimate of the Soviet Union obviated by a somewhat careless and abstract comparison of dictatorships in Germany and Russia elsewhere in the book. However, it would have contributed to a more well-rounded analysis if the decisive power and enormous importance of the Soviet Union in the world picture had been integrated more fully into the author's treatment of other aspects of the colonial problem.

SINCE the general theme of the book will be welcomed by realistic students of the colonial question, it seems unessential to take issue with every unacceptable formulation or contention not necessary to the book's central theme. Two main exceptions, it seems to me, are worth noting. In respect to the chapter on Dumbarton Oaks, one matter seems under-emphasized, and the other over-emphasized. It is not altogether clear that the author gives full weight to the main significance of Dumbarton Oaks, which is to set up an international organization for world peace among the governments as they are, including those of an imperialist nature.

Independence, equality of partnership and freedom for all colonial peoples should have been (and should be) the perspective of the organization as a principal deterrent of war. Likewise, it was essential also to guarantee the working of the organization through the basic unanimity of the Big Five—America, Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France. The American and British delegations shamefully deserted the principle of independence for the colonials. The failure to include independence for all colonials in the objectives of the United Nations Charter endangers the realistic perspective of peace. But this struggle for independence must and will go on. And it is clear that the Soviet Union will give all assistance to the colonials in this aspiration. Mean-



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while, we must still work for a long-term world peace through the United Nations Charter, and first guarantee its ratification in the Senate. The foundation of this perspective is collaboration between the Soviet Union and America.

The paramount reason, it seems to me, why China did not sit in on the discussions between America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain at Dumbarton Oaks was because the Soviet Union was still bound by its non-aggression treaty with Japan, and could not at that time participate in acts of diplomatic hostility to Japan. Dr. DuBois, it seems to me, gives undue weight to the fact that China came in only on the last phase of the discussion at Dumbarton Oaks. Moreover, British and American conferences with China were held at Cairo in 1943, without the Soviet Union, with China obviously in on the ground floor of the world peace organization. But the role of China as a spokesman of the colonial and darker peoples cannot be fully realized until the Chiang-Kuomintang dictatorship is replaced by a democratic China, including the Chinese Communists.

Secondly, although Dr. DuBois describes the book as a "call to action," there are only scattered references to action. His chief focus is upon governments, particularly of Britain and America, which should take their stand for the end of white supremacy, colonial oppression and inequality. This is correct, as far as it goes. But in our class society, it is obvious that our country will move in the direction of progress for mankind only to the extent that the initiative is taken within these countries by the working class, which must unite Negro and white into a powerful independent movement that alone can consistently press toward world freedom. This seems to me also the implied logic of Dr. DuBois' thesis. It is certainly the key to the realization of the whole outlook of colonial independence and bears double emphasis in America at this moment.

Dr. DuBois, in this book, has once more demonstrated his intellectual integrity, an example of which is his courageous personal comment upon religion and the use to which many missionaries have been put by the imperialist exploiters. He has recently been appointed research director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is to be hoped that the approach which he has set forth in this book will find its way into the practical aspects of the NAACP's work.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

## Life With Mother

THE BALLAD AND THE SOURCE, by Rosamund Lehmann. Reynal & Hitchcock. \$2.75.

THE place of the Victorian father as a Power of Evil has been taken in recent fiction by a sweet-voiced, comfortable matron, well-dressed, well-lacquered, superlatively well-permanent-waved; devoted to worthy causes and bridge; a good housekeeper, with on the average two servants; a specialist in charm, understanding and motherly love; and a devourer of little children's bodies and hearts. So commonplace is she in play, film and popular fiction that one must conclude she is rather widespread in life. At any rate, the theme of this generation's writers is usually I Remember Mama With Shudders.

Rosamund Lehmann's latest novel is, psychologically, one of the subtlest modern studies of the destructive female, and it is, as far as English goes, beautifully written; unfortunately, the mechanics of plot construction are handled with almost pathetic crudeness. Few literary devices are more cumbersome than the presentation of a character through the recollections of a child. The trick may do very well for a short story, but in a novel of the scope of *The Ballad and the Source* there are simply too many things a child couldn't have known. In consequence, the narrator Rebecca is expanded into a little monster of omniscience and sensitivity; several other children are brought in to add supplementary recollections; and that old standby, the aged nurse, turns up when all else fails to fill in the gaps. It would have been so much simpler to present the deadly Mrs. Jardine through an author's eye view! But custom requires that the well-bred modern writer must be "objective," he must not appear to care about his characters one way or the other. Hence this and many other tepid novels.

In spite of this paralyzing literary good breeding, Miss Lehmann is by nature a powerful novelist. She does really understand the destructive female, nor does she, like too many students of the type, present it in unrelieved black. Her Mrs. Jardine is clearly conceived, however that clarity may be marred by the book's confused technique. Sybil Jardine has much to recommend her as a person; she is beautiful, passionate, talented, sympathetic, independent. She really does try to live according to principles of honesty and beauty—as far as she knows. Result: two destroyed husbands, several tortured grandchildren, heart-broken friends, and a daughter

driven neatly mad. Quite a creditable bag, even for the modern middle-class mother.

Sybil Jardine's ailment is, of course, the narcissist neurosis, in our culture more familiar in women than in men. Her self-confidence has been destroyed in childhood, she must have continual doses of love and admiration to take its place. And she cannot give love herself, so she gets it by cheating; talent, beauty, wit, her real charm, her even more real suffering, are degraded into devices to capture adoration. Such a woman cannot afford to see anyone else receive love; she goes into paroxysms of jealousy over her children's friends, their pets (I knew one who was jealous of a goldfish) and above all their mates. And she is so common that most people, in our culture, think she is normal. One of our most sacred shibboleths is the notion that your mother-in-law will inevitably hate you.

Rosamond Lehmann, content with sterile "objectivity," suggests no way to cure Mrs. Jardine. In truth the narcissist is hard to treat, for he cannot bear to admit there is anything wrong with him.

To prevent Mrs. Jardine is fortunately quite possible. All you need is a society in which women receive from childhood equal respect with men, equal pay for equal work—and a fair chance to do it.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

## History of Our Medicine

AMERICAN MEDICAL PRACTICE IN THE PERSPECTIVES OF A CENTURY, by Bernhard J. Stern. *The Commonwealth Fund*. \$1.50.

PROF. BERNHARD J. STERN's study of American medical practices goes far beyond the shining test tubes, sterilizers, rubber gloves, and other paraphernalia that for many have come to symbolize modern science. To understand medical practice, he says, we must see it in its natural, work-a-day milieu, enmeshed in and growing out of social, economic, and technological processes. The science of medicine is not intelligible apart from the people who practice, use and need it. Unlike certain popularizers who delight in exalting the lonely scientific genius, Stern's mature sociological analysis portrays both patient and physician acting out socially defined roles.

The problems of modern science are presented in their historical context. The growth of specialization evoked by scientific and technological development has,

in turn, led to difficulties in the relation between specialists and general practitioners, as well as between patients and physicians. These are skillfully interpreted with warmth and appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of the several groups.

Analyzing the geographical distribution of physicians, Dr. Stern describes the manner in which wealthy urban centers have attracted more and more of the medical talent, while rural areas have been left with fewer and older doctors—a trend accentuated by the war. Evidence of this and other maldistribution of medical services is carefully ushered before us and we can only conclude, with Dr. Stern, that "the amounts spent for medical care are consistently smaller for the lower-income groups. Yet mortality and morbidity statistics indicate that the need for medical care among lower-income groups is not less but more than among the higher-income groups." Writing with an undertone of urgency that bespeaks his sincerity, Dr. Stern is truly a scholar in the service of humanity. With the publication of two forthcoming volumes, one on industrial medicine and another on public medical services, Stern will doubtless take his place as the ranking sociological interpreter of the American medical profession. RICHARD GRAY.

## Is It the Books?

A TOUCH OF GLORY, by Frank G. Slaughter. *Doubleday, Doran*. \$2.50.

THE MUSIC IS GONE, by Le Garde S. Doughty. *Duell, Sloan & Pearce*. \$2.50.

IT IS supposedly a truism in the book business that any book about Lincoln or about a doctor or about dogs will sell like mad. But since both *A Touch of Glory* and *The Music Is Gone* are about doctors and neither has appeared on best-seller lists, there must be something wrong somewhere. And it could be the books.

*A Touch of Glory* has to do with a young doctor discharged from the Army, who wants to improve medical conditions in his home town. But once he gets away from the operating table (and a mighty anatomical set of tables they are throughout), he hardly appears to know his elbow from a hole in the ground. He is, for instance, in favor of prepaid group medical practice and more federal housing, but he's dead against "socialized" or "statist" medicine. As another instance, he spends most of the book in enthusiastic association with a beautiful blonde colleague

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and then ups and marries the shipyard owner's stirring daughter. In spite of these confusions, he manages to get his group practice on its feet, win a lawsuit and stop a typhus epidemic. But I'm afraid that by then the reader doesn't much care.

IN "THE MUSIC IS GONE," it's not so much the characters as the writing that acts as the soporific, though at that we've met all those people before: the wise old country doctor, his grateful patients, the devoted Negro servants, his special proteges who grow up to be other doctors or concert pianists. But this time their adventures are wrapped up in pretty fancy impressionistic writing, so that a man can't reel up a bucket from a well without "turning the windlass with a rhythm that was a splendid muscular circle, though the spirited downward stroke became hesitant as it drew in toward his stomach, and eased to adagio on the rise."

I think, thank you, I'll stick to Paul de Kruif for my medical writing.

SALLY ALFORD.

## "It's the Man Himself"

SOLDIERS FROM JUDEA, by Maj. Lewis Rabinowitz. American Zionist Emergency Council. 25c.

JEWISH YOUTH AT WAR, letters from American soldiers, edited by Isaac E. Romtch. Marstin Press. \$3.

BOTH these volumes deal with the heroism of Jewish fighters against worldwide fascism.

*Soldiers from Judea*, written by the former Senior Jewish Chaplain of the British Middle East Forces and Eighth Army, is the account of the Palestinian Jewish units in the 1941-43 African campaigns. Although confined at first to service units, such as Water Tanks and Supply and Transport, the men later participated in combat, ultimately becoming a Jewish Brigade. Major Rabinowitz describes the growth of the units from mixed companies with British officers to all-Palestinian units with Jewish officers wearing *Mogen David* shoulder patches. The Palestinian flag was carried next to the British in actions that won them numerous awards and citations.

An effective refutation of those who say the Jews and Arabs cannot get along is Major Rabinowitz's account of a mixed Jewish-Arab unit which fought in Abyssinia. "The Jewish men were the first to acknowledge that the Arabs showed the same mettle as they did."

"JEWISH YOUTH AT WAR" is a moving collection of letters written to their friends and families by Jewish-American soldiers. Not intended for publication, they are not polished gems of literature, but their sentiments come from the heart and it is clear that the writers understand the war and the extra score they have to settle with the fascists because they are Jews. From every fighting front, from officers and enlisted men, comes this clarity. And all are intensely democratic and patriotic. One letter sums up how they feel about the fact that they are Jewish. It is from Leon Uris, US Naval Hospital, Oakland, Cal.: ". . . America, my country, is my love. I've fought beside Catholics, Protestants and Mormons, Indians, Irish, Italians, Poles. They liked me because I was a good man and a regular fellow. And I've seen 750 out of 900 of us who left the States die or be shot up at Guadalcanal and Tarawa. There was a Jewish boy in my platoon—who was well-hated. He was a coward, a general no-good. We made his life miserable, not because he was a Jew, but because he was a rat. And another Jew, Capt. Bill Scherewin—I worked for him. He has won three Navy Crosses. We loved him and would follow him to hell. It's not the religion we look at but the man himself."

GILBERT LAWRENCE.

## Novels of Childhood

POOR CHILD, by Anne Parrish. Harper. \$2.50.  
WINDS, BLOW GENTLY, by Ronald Kirkbride. Frederick Fell. \$2.50.

BOTH these novels have young boys for their principal characters and deal with conditioning influences in their growth. In *Poor Child*, twelve-year-old Martin Doyle, orphaned and homeless, is adopted by Mrs. de Rendon as a companion to her son John. Only negligently concerned with her own son, Mrs. de Rendon is wholly indifferent to Martin, who desires to love and to be loved.

To Martin, Mrs. de Rendon is as captivating as a princess in a fairy tale. He makes pitiful attempts to capture her affection, and in an unconscious desire to supplant John, causes his "accidental" death. In a desperate further quest for companionship, he becomes the pawn in a homosexual relationship with the chauffeur. Martin is rescued by Anna, the motherly housekeeper, and there is a struggle between her and the chauffeur for the boy's soul. The victory goes to the right side in a denouement that



seems more manipulated than inevitable.

Mrs. Parrish's approach is modern in its expressionist technique and its psychological interests, but it is limited and a little strained. There is sympathy and understanding but within a small range.

**D**AVID JORDAN, the adolescent in *Winds, Blow Gently*, starts out as a well-adjusted young boy. But he is shocked out of balance when the family moves to South Carolina, the land of "hooded knights." The period covered is between 1921 and 1931, and the setting is the plantation South where human dignity is withheld from Negroes, and King Cotton dominates and insures economic scarcity.

By deviating from the local mores,

by paying decent wages to the Negroes, by rotating their cotton crop with tobacco and black-eyed cow peas and by neighborly sympathy and other "enlightened" measures, the Jordans prove to their neighbors that happiness and prosperity can be made to abound in the South, and with this the thinly conceived novel ends. Despite a lynching in the last pages, an epilogue assures us that the South is going the Jordan way, leaving the reader to puzzle out just how the hooded knights have been converted, in a page and a half, from persecutors into loving neighbors. As a work of fiction, *Winds, Blow Gently* has good intentions but not the skill to give them artistic fulfillment.

BURNYCE SACHS.

## THE MASTER RACE

**D**URING the week of June 11-17 New York got its first public glimpse of Bertold Brecht's major work, the play called *The Private Life of the Master Race*. As put on by the Theater of All Nations, a semi-professional group, this play—one of the most argued about in contemporary drama—lacked many ingredients which a more fluent and understanding production could have given it, and was consequently dismissed by our critics. Nevertheless, the play itself is so fascinating and important as to require the consideration of all who look to the theater for more than it has lately been able to give.

The play is in nine scenes—in the original version there were seventeen—linked together by a chorus of German soldiers riding to war in a *Panzerwagon*, singing to the tune of the Horst Wessel song. In each scene a slice of German life under fascism is set forth, revealing the decay of human character that takes place in such a system.

Because of its success in selecting so many of the vital sections of German life in the throes of the Nazi disease, *The Master Race* grows in stature on the stage until the sheer piling up of fact upon fact becomes in itself dramatic. It must stand supreme, and almost alone, as a vivisection on the stage of a whole nation in the process of moral collapse.

Aside from its political and moral message the play has stirred up much argument regarding its so-called "epic" method. According to Brecht's adherents, this method is a revolt against the sentimental approach to drama in that

it seeks to present situations and characters "scientifically"—that is, characters shorn of those commonplace details through which audiences have learned to identify and sympathize with them. Brecht would reveal character by exposing only that part of the human being in direct contact with a dilemma. It is not our sympathy but our understanding that he would evoke.

Theoretical considerations such as the difference between epic and dramatic theater are interesting, but it is doubtful that any form as such can really function all pure and undefiled by its opposite. In *The Master Race* there are strong elements of conventional realism alongside a kind of stylized mode, and it is this disunity of style that accounts, to my mind, for the varied reception given this play since the script was made public.

On the one hand there is a scene like "The Chalk Cross," in which an S.A. man, whose character is given us in full detail, makes an adolescent display of his prowess as a Hitler watchdog by playing a gruesome game of "supposing-you-were-an-anti-fascist." In this scene, too, the S.A. man's betrayal of his woman's hopes for happiness is portrayed quite conventionally, and with fine dramatic effect.

But from full-blown characters such as this we are often led into a scene where the characterizations are "flat." We know what they are but not who they are. The result, for the average audience, is a play in which some scenes are gripping and "human," while others are cold and merely illustrative of a

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situation or a social fact. The continuous flow of the play is interrupted by these shorter, colder scenes. An episodic work of this kind ought not go out of its way to include unnecessary discontinuities.

Many criticisms have been justifiably leveled against *The Master Race*, but it is one of those things that survives its own contradictions. It seems to me that in future time it will be referred to as a document of historical accuracy. For it is forged in a spirit so honest as to command attention for the sake of its point of view alone, which is that of a man who has suffered from the German calamity and will not relent in his driving pursuit of the evil that destroyed his country and very nearly the whole world. There is not a trick in this play. It is as direct as a revolver and very nearly as compelling.

Interesting for us today is the criticism of some Germans—among them Thomas Mann, I understand—that the play is defeatist. Actually it does heavily emphasize the deterioration of people under fascism, and gives few examples of successful resistance. It may even be true that most people will come away with the feeling that all or most Germans were of very weak moral fiber, and therefore bear a terrible guilt for Nazism.

I confess that this was my feeling. And yet on further thought it becomes clear that the strongest propaganda, and the truest artistic expression of an anti-fascist view of Nazism, is one which is closest to the truth. History has shown that Brecht was right. The vast majority of the German masses were indeed corrupted, and to accompany this truth with undue emphasis upon those heroes who resisted to the death would be to understate the power of that diabolical system of human degradation.

Although the play is no longer on the boards, this review cannot close without thanks to Robert Penn for his biting delivery of the Horst Wessel song—with new words, of course, by Mr. Brecht. And to Hanns Eisler for a score whose poignant wistfulness exposed so well the decadence of German sentimentality, into which slough, with a whimper of the horn and whisper of the drum, Horst Wessel fell, and, thank God, finally sank and drowned.

MATT WAYNE.

### Recent Films

“THE LAST HILL,” at the Stanley, is in the tradition of the great Soviet film epics of revolution and civil

war. Here, fighting the heroic eight-months' defense of Sevastopol, are the sons of *Chapayev's* Partisans and of the sailors who saved the revolution at Petrograd in *We Are From Kronstadt*; here are the grandsons of the men of the *Potemkin*, defending the very hills under which some of the Potemkin sailors lie buried. Here too, despite shortcomings, is the same effortless acting, warm humor and immense vitality that distinguish the best Soviet battle films.

The story, adapted from Boris Voyetkhov's book *The Last Days of Sevastopol*, centers on the five young sailors who are the only survivors of the destroyer *Grozny*, sunk by German planes. Their battle transferred to land, the sailors are assigned the defense of a crucial heap of rubble guarding the approach to the city. With the aid of a pretty girl who has come to the besieged city looking for her fallen husband they turn back a tank attack. As they sit down again to their interrupted meal, another column of five tanks is sighted, and in order not to waste their remaining grenades they tie them to their belts and each throws himself under one of the tanks.

"Heroics"? "Whoopla"? According to some critics these sailors are "unreal"; they are cut on too grandiose a pattern. They are impossible.

But it was impossible to defend Sevastopol for eight months too, and to turn back the Germans at Stalingrad. Maybe these sailors are bigger than life size—but, on the other hand, maybe they had to be: they had a bigger than life size job to do.

Which isn't to say that the film is perfect. The material could have been more carefully integrated; and the slapdash, kaleidoscopic scenes which rush the story to a conclusion are on the minus side. But the total effect is one of overpowering vigor; the film is worthy of the undying affirmation that was Sevastopol.

**I**N *Those Endearing Young Charms* (RKO) there's this nice type girl and this nice type fellah and then comes Robert Young, he's a wolf, and at first he's not sincere but then he learns he loves her only it's too late because he's gotta fly to China but then the girl rushes down to the airport all shiny-eyed and she says she'll wait for him and he says he'll come back to her.

Take it away, MGM, Paramount, Universal. **BETTY MILLARD.**

(*NM's* movie critic, Joseph Foster, is in Hollywood.)

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