

CAN AMERICAN JEWS UNITE?

by DANIEL HAAS

NEW MASSES

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FOCUS ON THE CIO

A FIRST-HAND REPORT OF THE CONVENTION

by JOSEPH NORTH

THE POLITICS OF WORLD SECURITY

DUMBARTON OAKS AND THE FUTURE

by R. PALME DUTT

A WESTERN EUROPEAN BLOC?

by JOHN STUART

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: **Culture vs. Kultur in Texas, by Celia Shannon;**
Samuel Sillen's "Walt Whitman," reviewed by Edwin Berry Burgum;
Exit Senator Nye, by Janet Weaver.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

BILL GROPPER will be forty-seven years old this week. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee will take official cognizance of this fact by honoring him at a dinner on December 4. The committee is to be congratulated for having made so sound a selection as its guest of honor, since Gropper represents in his long service to the progressive forces of the world what this organization so ably works for. Nearly everybody who knows about Gropper is incredulous about his age, recalling that he was drawing for this magazine way back in the days of John Reed. I myself had always thought of him as a full-fledged contemporary of Boardman Robinson, Art Young, John Sloan, and others of the pre-first world war vintage. When I first met him I expected to meet a gaffer with a beard down to here. If you contemplate his history the error is understandable. He was, for instance cartoonist for the *Herald Tribune* in 1918, has been staff cartoonist for the *Freiheit* since 1922, NEW MASSES editor for twenty-five years, contributor to the *Daily Worker* since its inception, on-the-spot cartoonist for *Monde*, *Humanite*, *Rose Fahne*, *Pravda* and *Isvestia*. I once asked Bill, "How many thousands of pictures do you think you've drawn?" He replied, "I don't know—all I can say is that loafing, like yachting, is an experience I can only read about." Add his work in fine art—ten one-man shows in succession, murals in government buildings and post offices, representation in every important museum in the country, and contributions to *Vanity Fair*, *Vogue*, *New Yorker*, *Fortune*, *Spur*, etc., etc., and the outline of his prodigious labors begins to take shape. And yet, unless deadline demands are actually clutching him by the collar, he will always toss aside his pencil or spatter brush at the first hint of a little conversation. Knowing that, I dropped into his sixth floor office on East 13th St. the other day.

"How does it feel to be honored for a quarter century of achievement?" I asked him, formal like. His mild blue eyes crinkled up at the corners. "Don't use the word century. Makes me feel like an institution. Twenty-five years? That makes an awful lot of days. I can't realize all that time has passed. But I'm never conscious of time, only of the job. If I didn't have so much work ahead of me, it never would matter at all about time." And that is as neat a paraphrase of the Hippocratic *Ars longa, Vita brevis*, as ever I've heard.

I remembered how in 1935 a page of his drawings in *Vanity Fair* satirizing the Japanese warlords created an international incident. The little rulers with the large ideas objected. The drawings were reproduced in almost every country in the

world. Thinking of that and similar incidents of his career, I asked him why he never wrote a book of his experiences. "A couple of publishers want to know the same thing, but it's that time stuff again. I can't dwell in the past—only in what's ahead. I've met Stalin, Wells, Vailant-Couturier, Aragon, Barbusse and a lot of other world figures, but who can take time out to concentrate on memories? Once, by accident, I almost got close to writing an autobiography. I was doing one of those paragraph-picture combinations on 'How I became a Red.' It was chiefly for the amusement of myself and my friends. One of them swiped the portfolio and showed the stuff to a publisher. 'This guy can write,' said the publisher, 'But his drawing smells. I'll be glad to bring out a book by this Gropper, and I'll get a good illustrator to liven up the text.'

"That created a crisis in my life. I had enough money to buy either a typewriter or an easel. The issue was settled by Sophie [his wife] who bought me an easel for a

birthday present. So I am still drawing and painting, and the publisher is still waiting for the book."

A NUMBER of birthdays have passed since then, and now he is having one observed in a way that will give great pleasure to us on NEW MASSES who work with Bill, and to his thousands of friends. A few like Carl Sandburg, Norman Corwin, Captain Shevsov, and Edward Chodorov will be in the fortunate position to make their tribute orally, while those of his admirers who are able to find seats in the banquet room of the Commodore will mark their salutations with resounding applause.

INCIDENTALLY, you will meet Bill Gropper and many of his colleagues at the NM annual Artists and Writers Ball this Saturday at Webster Hall. Bill has been coming to this party for as many years as he has been drawing for the magazine. Art Hodes and his associates will play, show folk from theaters and clubs will entertain, and the staff of NEW MASSES will make you welcome. *Au Revoir* then, until this Sat. Eve.

J. F.

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FOCUS ON THE CIO

By JOSEPH NORTH

Chicago.

WHEN the jubilant representatives of six million American workingmen and women tore newspapers into strips and hurled them into the air, literally shaking the chandeliers in the Grand Ballroom of the Stevens Hotel, you could have thought those pieces of paper showering President Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman were November 7 ballots. At least I felt that. And I felt too that that ovation Thanksgiving Day eve, when the resolution on political action came up at the CIO convention, was unmatched in American labor's annals. This was no organized manifestation: it sprang from the heart. The people had learned their strength and they were making no bones about it.

But it was not mere exultation over a magnificent achievement. Implicit in this "victory convention," as Mr. Murray called it in his soft Scotch burr, was profound understanding. They knew *what* they had won ("Our Battle of Britain, our Stalingrad," Mr. Hillman called it), and they knew *why* it had been won. Why? Because they had come far toward mastering the supreme political wisdom of this time, the wisdom captured in that oft-recurring phrase at this convention—"to work in association with. . . ." That recognition dominated everything that happened here this week.

President Murray rapped his gavel, but the demonstration went on and on. Finally when the tumult tapered off he said: ". . . The CIO-PAC became a nationwide movement to which a great many outstanding citizens loaned their services and their support, from all walks of life, industry, the businesses, the professions, and the churches, together with substantial segments of the farm population. . . ." This recognition of broad national ties and responsibilities formed the core of the convention, and the totality of the proceedings was marked with the stamp of unity springing from that knowledge. To paraphrase President Murray: Everything good for the nation was good for labor; everything

good for labor was good for the nation. I talked with many delegates: they felt that, they understood that, and they acted in order that the rest of America shall understand it too.

That knowledge was responsible for such victories as that described to me by Charles E. Wright, twenty-seven-year-old factory worker of Evansville, Indiana, who won election to the state legislature. "Four of us were chosen from Vandenberg County," he said. "Myself, a UE [United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers - CIO] member; Walter Hayden, a UAW [United Automobile Workers - CIO] man; Leo Meagher, a railroadman; and Charles Lietz, an AFL man elected to the state senate." They had won, he said, because they had pooled their resources, planned their campaign in common, stumped the county for Roosevelt's policies. "We would not have won if we hadn't been able to work together," he said. "And we would not have won if only labor voted for us." They suc-

ceeded because they had learned "to work in association with. . . ."

That is the gist of the CIO Reemployment Plan presented here by Mr. Murray. Take my word for it, you will be hearing a lot about that plan as we head into the unprecedented problems of reconversion. It outlines a program for the whole of America. And more than that: the convention accepted as axiomatic that what was genuinely good for the nation was good for the world, for these were global-minded delegates. They knew that it was One World, and they operated from that as base. They knew you cannot be prosperous in Pittsburgh if there is misery in Chungking. And they said that labor has its especial responsibility in the achievement of global good: the workingman is central to success.

THE grandeur of this convention will be noted by historians, I am sure, who will refer back to it to mark one era from another. Yet there was nothing grandiose about the delegates—most were young men and women, plain folk, Common Men. They carried themselves with assurance, these six hundred odd, and they had an air of easy familiarity with the central issues of our time. Eugene Meyer, publisher of the *Washington Post*, who addressed the convention, remarked rather wonderingly that they "spoke better English" than their employers. These labor leaders must jar every preconceived notion on the part of those from other walks of life who meet them for the first time. And they're going to see a lot of each other from now on in.

One cannot do justice to the proceedings in a single article. All I can do is try to give you the flavor of the convention, attempt to assay its gist, and to discuss in somewhat more detail several of the most significant resolutions. Suffice it to say that the touchstone of the CIO deliberations was this: Mr. Murray said the members of the CIO dedicate themselves anew to winning this war and they are determined to win the

"It is now to be realized that the future security of the nation is a political question, to be decided by political means. The common people do not propose to leave this all-important issue in the hands of individuals who care less for their country than for partisan advantage, as happened after World War I. They do not propose to let World War II be followed by World War III, and they intend to take action, political action, to see that this does not happen. They demand that world peace and security, with prosperity for all, as outlined by Franklin D. Roosevelt and the leaders of the United Nations at Quebec, Moscow, and Teheran and other conferences, be preserved from a new period of isolationism and imperialism."

—Philip Murray.

peace. Wanting an end to war, they hold for international collaboration, and they insist that international labor unity is its guarantee. They are determined to have their place at the peace table. Wanting an end to poverty and domestic clash, they insist upon national unity for an expanding economy—a unity of labor, management, agriculture and government that will continue into the postwar period and will assure 60,000,000 jobs at decent pay. The workers of America have sacrificed more than any other civilian group and they demand solution of their grievances—not solely for themselves but for the national good. I refer to the question of their bread-and-butter, their grievous wage problem, which touches on the Little Steel formula. They know, furthermore, that our nation's unity cannot be maintained without extending the boundaries of democracy: hence the splendid resolutions on such issues as anti-Semitism and discrimination against Negroes. These, I believe, were the source-streams of their thinking.

PERHAPS the flavor can best be described by the tidbit Harvey O'Connor, author of *Mellon's Millions* and other books, overheard when a Hearst reporter called the city desk from the pressroom here: "Not much to write about, chief," he said, "No argument. No fights." There wasn't much argument, there was a minimum of debate, for very sufficient reason. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were going the same way.

The Hearst man sought the drama of bickering: he could not find it here. It required a more perceptive and less biased observer to sense the true significance of what happened. The Chicago *Herald Examiner*, Hearst's local outlet, would not be interested in items like these:

The quiet dignity of that man Murray and the deep affection demonstrated toward him by the delegates. His conduct of the convention was of a piece with his leadership of the CIO: it left no doubt that he was one of the great men of labor history.

And this: the vast meaning of the talks by the Negro delegates who said, "Fourteen million pairs of eyes—the entire Negro people—are focussed on this convention." And that they will see that "CIO is home." And the unanimous resolve finally to put an end to the poll tax iniquity.

And this: the quietly humorous, yet meaningful manner in which Murray pinned delegates' badges upon various

speakers: Mrs. Roosevelt, Vice President Wallace, Secretary Ickes, General Somervell, Mayor La Guardia—and even Republican Eugene Meyer, who paid tribute to the power of this gathering. And the familiar regard in which labor holds Vice President Wallace, signified by Murray's "Come over here, Henry," as he pinned the badge upon the Vice President's lapel.

Nor would the Hearstling catch the tremendous significance of Murray's speech on behalf of international trade union unity, and his recital of the history of the CIO's efforts to help build a world organization of labor to rivet down international collaboration. (I noticed this significant discussion and resolution received little play in the Chicago

papers; I don't know how the rest of the nation's press handled it. But I regard it as one of the most important questions before labor and the world today, and it merits a full discussion which the rigors of space in this article do not permit.)

Nor would the *Herald Examiner* man grasp the significance of the resolution in support of the Italian Confederation of Labor which cited the unity of all groups—"Socialist, Communist, and Christian Democrat" and "a constitution guaranteeing full democratic rights to all workers without regard to religion or political affiliation."

And certainly the Hearstling would fail to appreciate the meaningfulness of the resolution on anti-Semitism, which

Lagging Wages

IN ITS decision in the steelworkers' case the War Labor Board has shaken hands with reality, but has run away from any deeper and more permanent nexus in the form of an upward adjustment of the Little Steel formula. By refusing to act on the most important of the demands of the United Steelworkers-CIO—that for a seventeen cents an hour wage increase—the board reaffirmed its previously expressed intention to dump the problem of the Little Steel formula into the lap of President Roosevelt, thus evading its own responsibility to make recommendations in the matter.

The WLB did, however, grant other concessions: additional pay of four cents an hour for the first night shift and six cents an hour for the second night shift; elimination of wage inequities within a plant provided that increases do not average more than five cents an hour per man for the whole plant; dismissal pay, with the details to be worked out by collective bargaining; improved vacation and holiday schedules; retention of maintenance of union membership with the checkoff increased to \$1.50 a month. Among union demands refused were a guaranteed annual wage, but the board recommended a comprehensive study of this question by a commission appointed by the President.

The *New York Times* objects to these modest and inadequate increases on the ground that they "will raise the cost of producing steel" and "will raise the volume of excess purchasing power pushing up prices." On the first contention, the real question is: are the profits of the steel companies sufficient to enable them to absorb the full seventeen cents an hour increase requested by the union? A WLB fact-finding panel, which issued a report on September 14, came to the conclusion that they are: that even with this increase the net profits after taxes of the steel companies would be somewhat greater than the substantial average for the years 1936-39.

As for the allegedly inflationary effect of these small wage rises, this question too was examined by the WLB panel and answered in the negative. As the Federal Reserve Board and the Securities and Exchange Commission have pointed out, the assumption that an increase in the purchasing power of those who need it most automatically pushes up prices has not met the test of experience. It is time that the present imbalance in our economy were ended, not for the sake of labor alone, but of the entire country. As the CIO convention insisted, the problems of both the war and the peace require the upward revision of the Little Steel formula.—The Editors.

assesses Jew-baiting as something more than the question of justice to the Jew. "Anti-Semitism," the resolution reads, "threatens the unity and democracy of the entire American nation and the freedom of all peoples. We shall never forget that anti-Semitism was one of the key props of the international Nazi conspiracy to conquer freedom everywhere." And they pledged unanimous support for the enactment of a federal law which would make anti-Semitism a crime, punishable by imprisonment. (Drama? The drama of our entire lifetime was being enacted within these walls.)

I doubt that the Hearst man would understand the degree of awareness represented by Resolution No. 20, the "Tribute to the Farmers," which says they have "accomplished a miracle in the production of food just as the workers have with regard to munitions." And the significance of CIO support for "a continuance of price guarantee to farmers at levels which will encourage full production and assure them a fair return for their product."

There was drama enough for all. And perhaps its peak was the appearance on the platform of soldiers in uniform, returned veterans, who spoke as CIO unionists. The ties between our men on the front lines and those on the production lines are closer than the press would have us believe. After all, one and a half million CIO men are in the service. These ties were underscored by the sound resolution on veterans, establishing labor's desire to help protect the soldiers' interests, guaranteeing their seniority rights and setting up committees on a local and national basis to aid them get jobs and the various benefits to which they are entitled by legislation.

YES, the catalogue of resolutions unanimously adopted attested to the uniformly high degree of political awareness. Here was true labor statesmanship. The men and women of the CIO had proved their mettle in the electoral battles and this was a victory convention, but unlike similar occasions in American history, the participants were not intoxicated with achievement. They stood four-square with Vice President Wallace when he said: "All you have won thus far consists of a bridgehead upon future opportunity." Mr. Hillman amplified: "The electoral victory of November 7 does not guarantee the attainment of the great goals which we seek." He saw it as "new ground and a more favorable terrain from which to carry on the fight." And Secretary Ickes carried the idea further when he said: "The



"You and your invincible Luftwaffe!"

Soriano

enemy is unscrupulous, resourceful, experienced, and rich beyond the dreams of avarice. He is confident that he can come back as he has in the past and resume his governance. . . ."

And so the delegates unanimously passed the resolution to continue the CIO-PAC so that the victorious electoral coalition will be maintained and fortified. "The lesson," Mr. Murray said in his report, "of the need for united, nonpartisan, and organized political activity by all the people has driven home." And: "It is now realized that the future security of the nation is a political question, to be decided by political means."

Mr. Hillman voiced the sense of the overwhelming majority here when he warned against the "infantile" proposals for a third party.

Participation in such activity, he said, "would only serve to cut us off from large and important progressive groups, destroy our own influence, weaken the progressive coalition by creating disunity, and provide the entering wedge for reaction."

This has specific bearing on the perilous finagling of such men as David Dubinsky, architect of the Liberal Party in New York, and the hopes of those like the Trotskyites of Michigan, who, with their allies, have begun to stir confusion by beating the drum for a third party. What happened here would be no salve for the publishers of the *New York Post* and those *PM* liberals who entertain similar political fantasies.

THE political maturity of this CIO convention did not derive from reading books on political economy: the sagacity evidenced here sprang from grass-root experience, and from labor's dedication to victory, a durable peace and a prosperous America. This is why labor has overwhelmingly maintained its "no strike" pledge, and that pledge was unanimously reaffirmed here. It was underscored in the heartfelt speech by Philip Murray whose son, a veteran wounded in the Italian campaign, was present on the platform at one of the evening sessions.

And the pledge was heard by that handful of leaders who have paid lip service to this obligation, but who, in reality, are frying other fish. It so happened that the Reuther brothers of the UAW were in my line of vision in the convention hall and I, as well as others, could not fail to notice their acute discomfort. They had come here after engineering a divisive referendum on the "no strike" pledge in their industry. And they sat with showy nonchalance when President Murray said: "No responsible leader can serve the best interests of the membership if by any word of mouth or any act he attempts to set aside the pledge." Mr. Murray placed at the fore of all considerations "the sacred obligations to our country and to our allies." To those who claim the CIO had lost in authority because of the scrupulous observance of the no-strike pledge, he cited the 669,000 new dues-paying members this past year. The standing

ovation he received was testimony to the agreement of the overwhelming majority, though I noticed that Walter Reuther rose with the majority. This was no time to remain seated and evidently Mr. Reuther knows the better part of valor.

THE Little Steel formula, which is agitating millions of wage-earners, had a prominent place in the convention's deliberations. Here are the facts emphasized by the various speakers and delegates: labor has observed its pledge to turn the stuff out. It has done so in the interest of common victory and for the sake of national unity, an essential for success in the war. The key to national unity, Mr. Murray pointed out, "has been the need of preventing inflation." He referred to the national economic stabilization program "that was devised to meet this problem. Unfortunately," he said, "while wages as one factor have been completely stabilized, equally effective action has not been taken against prices or profits."

So, as Lee Pressman and others effectively maintained here, the cost of living has increased forty-five percent over the levels of January 1941, even though the Bureau of Labor Statistics index of selected prices (not a cost of living index at all) shows only a twenty-five percent increase. But the Little Steel formula has prevented any adjustment of wages to the rise in living costs—above the fifteen percent originally permitted. Hence labor has actually suffered a cut in wage rates as high as thirty percent at a time when industry is enjoying the highest profits in history, some 430 percent over the peacetime years of 1936-39. And industry has won a federal guarantee of its profits for two postwar years. The farmers likewise are guaranteed their income through subsidies, when necessary. And what about labor?

Most impressive in the discussion was this: the CIO argued for revision of the Little Steel formula not only in terms of its own bread-and-butter problems, but in terms of the all-over national imperatives. As Mr. Pressman pointed out: "During the entire week here we have had a number of speeches from persons high in public office of the imperative need of maintaining purchasing power if we want to get the 60,000,000 jobs." But obviously, that purchasing power has been seriously impaired in the past four years. Would it invite inflation if the adjustment were made? Mr. Pressman's arguments that it would not, were irrefutable on the basis of the evi-

dence presented by the United Steelworkers in their efforts to obtain a seventeen percent wage increase. [Mr. North's article was written before the War Labor Board announced its decision granting wage concessions to the steel workers. A discussion of this decision appears on page 4 of this issue.—The Editors.]

Space does not permit further elaboration of the arguments, but suffice it to say that I never saw a more attentive audience than the delegates listening to the impressive recital of the pertinent statistics by Mr. Pressman and Mr. Murray.

The 600 delegates cheered when Mr. Murray said: "The answer to America's future lies in the willingness of American business and American industry and our American government, inasmuch as it is a partner of both business and labor, to recognize the need of providing American workers a sufficient amount of money now to maintain the kind of purchasing power that will make possible full employment at the end of the war. There is no crazy economic thinking about that. That is simple, factual thinking, and it reflects the thinking of millions of workers all over the United States of America, both organized and unorganized."

Mr. Murray charged that WLB rulings extend beyond the question of wages and restrict the normal processes of collective bargaining and trade union negotiations. The employers, he said, have taken advantage of such restrictions, thus creating stresses which prelude strikes. He ridiculed the arguments of those in Washington who, while opposing immediate increases, suggest payment of forty-eight hours pay for forty hours work after V-E Day. The increases must come now, these labor spokesmen argued, for it will be far more difficult to boost wages at a time when the labor market is unsettled and men are seeking jobs.

It seems to me intelligent industrialists will ultimately be obliged to admit the justice of these arguments for any one of a number of reasons, even if the human plea leaves them cold. Their own future is involved, the future of the nation. For the ship of national unity could well be shattered upon the reefs of this palpable inequity, and the entire program of a prosperous America go down. And disaster here would rock the world.

THE CIO's recognition of all these factors was the business of this convention. It expressed determination to

(Continued on page 31)



Helen West Heller

CULTURE vs. KULTUR IN TEXAS

By CELIA SHANNON

Austin, Tex.

SIX THOUSAND young Texans were marching—marching down Congress Avenue to see Governor Coke Stevenson, marching as once the senators of the Texas Republic had marched down the same street in coonskin caps and buckskin pants to pay their respects to President Sam Houston. But this young generation of Texans had more important business on their minds than kowtowing to the chief executive of their state.

Back in the days of the Lone Star Republic, President Mirabeau B. Lamar had decreed that Texas should have "a university of the first class." Thousands of acres of public land still claimed by the vanishing Indian and the buffalo had been set aside for the support of just such an institution. But its bricks were not laid until the straggling homesteaders from the Deep South had pushed westward across the Caprock, until long after Lamar had died, still dreaming of Cicero and Socrates while his wife peddled butter for their living.

Up until that Thursday morning of November 2, these six thousand marchers had been attending a university of the first class, presided over by a first-class scholar and distinguished leader of the awakening new South, Dr. Homer Price Rainey. On the night before the demonstration, corporation lawyers and multi-millionaire oil men on the University Board of Regents had met behind closed doors in an executive session at Houston. Without trial or hearing they had fired Dr. Rainey from his post as president of the South's largest university as unceremoniously as they would fire a cowhand on their big ranches.

Now the students were marching. Singing the traditional state song, "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon You," the great-grandchildren of the homesteaders rounded the corner of Congress Avenue, walked up to the entrance of the stately Texas capitol, past the oil company lobbyists sunning themselves on the benches, past the Confederate monuments lining each side of the main walk, to roust harassed "Calculatin" Coke, as the *Saturday Evening Post* called him, out of his den.

All this trouble on Coke's doorstep and national elections just five days

ahead. Three regents had handed in their resignations and had run like the jackrabbits on Coke's Kimble County ranch after the decision to fire Dr. Rainey. The boys and girls were getting out of hand. The campus delegation, headed by Mac Wallace, student president, and Ben Ramey, executive secretary of the University Committee for Academic Freedom, had come in to demand reinstatement of the man who had taught them that learning was life and not formulas. A delegation of students had booed and heckled a speech of Senator "Pappy" W. Lee O'Daniel, urging Texans to vote for his rump anti-Roosevelt party, "the Texas Regulars." A week after that speech, seven out of ten Texas voters were to cast their ballots for Roosevelt and Truman. Thousands of them were to scratch the name of Coke Stevenson clear off the ticket—partly in resentment over his backstairs support of the Texas Regulars, partly as a protest against the ousting of Dr. Rainey.

THIS week, I have been a spectator of the drama of Texas which is a part of the whole unfolding drama of Dixie. I have been sitting with other reporters at the press table, covering the investigation of Dr. Rainey's ouster being made by a committee of the state Senate. That committee was convened hurriedly at the behest of fence-straddling Coke when Coke got his fingers burned with something hotter than the branding iron he uses on his steers. The governor convened it against the wishes of Pappy, after the student demonstrations and nationwide protests had swamped the governor's mail in the capitol postoffice. Coke judges everything in terms of votes, and those thousands who scratched

him were a bad omen for a man who has his eye on the United States senatorial seat now held by Tom Connally.

I have heard Homer Price Rainey, Christian gentleman and humanist, ordained Baptist minister and vice president of the interracial Southern Regional Council, testify that he had tried to maintain "a university of the first class" by making it serve all the people of Texas. I have seen all that is best in what we inadequately call "the tradition of Christian civilization" reflected on his face when he defended the principle of academic freedom against men ready to crucify anyone who questions the sanctity of cattle baronies. I listened to all the scholars from Roger Bacon to Copernicus and Erasmus when I heard Dr. Rainey say in the quiet conviction of that truth: "A university has always been a meeting ground for conflicting ideas. You can do it there without bloodshed. If a man's got an idea, there's the place to test it out. Somebody may say, you'll get a lot of crackpot ideas. Well, the surest way to get rid of a crackpot idea is to bring it out into the open. I agree with Thomas Jefferson that error of opinion may be tolerated as long as reason is free to combat it."

I heard him plead for academic tenure, defending three young economics instructors, fired by the board last year for going to a National Association of Manufacturers anti-labor meeting in Dallas and trying to present the facts about the forty-hour week. I have read his speech of October 12 to his able faculty, reciting his differences with the board of regents. And it is evident that he hit a hard nail on its tough head when he declared in that speech: ". . . that the university is controlled by a group of persons who represent almost entirely one attitude of mind and one group of interests in the state; and that they have tried in numerous ways to impose their point of view upon the university and to restrict the freedom of those who have other points of view; and because I have felt that not only their point of view but all points of view should be protected in the university, I have had to oppose many of their actions in the interest of maintaining the

A Farewell to Fish

Feet stomp, fists slam

with joy becuz

The Ham what am

is now the Ham what wuz

JOEL BRADFORD.

integrity of thought and expression in the university."

I have seen the new South, locked in irreconcilable conflict with the old South, when I have heard Dr. Rainey answer the Negro-baiting of one of his principal accusers—heavy-jowled, cigar-mauling D. Frank Strickland, legislative lobbyist and pay-off man for the Texas movie interests. Strickland's injection of the poisonous racial issue into the hearing (you guessed it—he implied that the Doctor was a "nigger-lover") proved a bigger dud than Republican Regent Orville Bullington's charge that the ousted president was not sufficiently vigilant in rooting a small group of homosexuals off the campus. Texas accepted the statement of Dr. Rainey on the Negro question as it accepted the decision of the United States Supreme Court, outlawing its white primary law and permitting Negroes to vote.

"I'm a friend of the Negro and glad to be called a friend of the Negro," declared Homer Price Rainey in his opening testimony before the committee. . . . "We must give the Negroes of the South better economic and educational opportunities than they have had in the past. We're under obligation to give them equal educational opportunity in their own schools," he continued, pointing out that Texas law forbids joint education of the two races.

IT MIGHT be mentioned that the Texas Negro press, particularly Carter Wesley's courageous *Houston Informer*, is giving support to Dr. Rainey in this fight to make the educational facilities of Texas serve all the people. One of the most impressive of many tributes to Dr. Rainey came in the form of a dozen white carnations sent him by the Negro Citizens Council of Austin. Along with the bouquet came a telegram of support and sympathy from the leaders of the organization.

The racial issue fell flat because Texas, once the top state in number of lynchings, is joining with its sister states of the South to work out new patterns of racial relationships. As the hoe gives way to the tractor, the South is producing new folkways based upon a common respect between man and man. The South will produce more new leaders like Dr. Rainey and these young students, the men and women who will frame new laws equitable and adequate for all our people of both colors.

The new South too will pay less at-



Eugene Karlin

attention to the old totem war-whoops of "Communism" and "atheism." That was clearly proved last week when Bullington, one of the four regents appointed by Pappy when the latter was governor, tried to smear Dr. Rainey and the students with the red herring. In a mimeographed statement of the reasons for his vote in firing Dr. Rainey, Bullington said: "Dr. Rainey is particularly critical of the board's action at its last meeting, in refusing to appropriate \$150 to finance a study of the effects of the Sacco-Vanzetti case upon American literature. Sacco and Vanzetti will be recalled as two immigrant Communists who were convicted of murder in Massachusetts several years ago and executed. The board could not see how the study of literature could be advanced, or society benefitted by the expenditure of the taxpayers' money on such a study." But they responded only to correct Mr. Bullington's imperfect knowledge of history.

With few exceptions, the Stone Age political oligarchy of Dixie maintains a firm grip on the educational institutions of this section of America. Their hold on the University of Texas is a particularly tight one because the University has been, to a great extent, financed by the revenues from the oil discovered on the lands set aside in the days of the Republic, by Mirabeau B. Lamar.

But the poll taxers and the landlords, the oil men and the utility magnates, are losing their hold on the political in-

stitutions of the South. If Congress can be persuaded to pass the anti-poll tax bill at its next session, it's goodbye to Coke Stevenson and Pappy O'Daniel in Texas as it's goodbye to George in Georgia and Bilbo in Mississippi. The firing of Dr. Rainey was the shot that was heard around Dixie. Today, the people of Dixie are answering squarely and honestly the question: who shall control the people's schools?

The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has appointed a committee of leading southern educators, headed by President Herman L. Donovan of the University of Kentucky, to investigate the circumstances leading to the dismissal of Dr. Rainey. Dr. Frank Porter Graham, member of the War Labor Board and distinguished president of the University of North Carolina, who has survived many attempted "purges," has declared that "the regents are doing to the University of Texas what Bilbo did to the University of Mississippi and Talmadge did to the University of Georgia." And, declared the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* in an editorial, published on November 13: "It looks suspiciously as though political-appointee regents have ended a feud with the president by a sacking which will not stand on its merits."

THE Southern Conference for Human Welfare, in Nashville, Tenn., has launched a nationwide campaign urging protest letters to Governor Stevenson demanding the reinstatement of Dr. Rainey. Texas labor unions have sent encouraging messages of support and financial assistance to Student President Mac Wallace. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish organizations, on and off the campus, are at one in their demands for the reappointment of a man who has convinced his fellow Texans that he lives up to his creed of "Christianity and democracy" every inch.

Regent Bullington and Calculatin' Coke can puff about "outside interference" from organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors, whose denunciations of the regents may lead to Texas University losing its academic standing with other institutions "of the first class."

Gene Talmadge blew and puffed in Georgia when his state university lost its affiliations, but what happened to old cuss-spittin' Gene is a record for Coke Stevenson to read clear.

THE POLITICS OF PEACE

By R. PALME DUTT

London (by mail).

IN ACCORDANCE with the principle of "open covenants openly arrived at," the Dumbarton Oaks plan has been published in draft form for consideration and discussion by world opinion before adoption. It is not yet a completed draft; the question on voting procedure on the Security Council has still to be settled. It represents ninety percent agreement, as President Roosevelt has stated, and not yet one hundred percent agreement. It has still to be adopted by the governments concerned. But the agreement already reached and embodied in this plan, approved by the official representatives of the governments which will have the principal responsibility for its operation, represents in fact an enormous success of far-reaching significance for the future. No plan and no machinery can guarantee world peace. The maintenance of world peace will depend on the cooperation of the democratic nations of the world against aggression, and especially of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. What the Dumbarton Oaks plan does is to provide the machinery through which such cooperation can effectively function to maintain peace.

Current comment has generally compared the Dumbarton Oaks plan to the League of Nations, and discussed the resemblances and differences. There are plenty of superficial resemblances in the outward forms: the Assembly of sovereign and equal nations; the Council of permanent powers together with non-permanent elected representatives of other states; the International Court of Justice; the weapon of economic and military sanctions against aggression. There is a more basic resemblance in the recognition of the principle of collective security as the only method of maintaining peace in a world of sovereign states (the supposed alternative of a federal world system or supra-national authority is out of the question, so long as the present deep divergences of social and political systems continue). Nevertheless, the differences are more important than the resemblances; for the heart of the new proposals lies in these differences.

While the Covenant of the League of Nations formally recognized the prin-

ciple of collective security, that recognition was rendered in practice ineffective by the accompanying limitations, weaknesses, and reactionary factors which characterized the League from the outset and paralyzed its work as a constructive force for peace. The experience of the crucial years before the present war, when it would have still been possible and even relatively easy to check the initial stages of fascist aggression by combined action, showed that what was at fault was not the principle of collective security, but the lack of will of the dominant great powers to operate it. Herein lies the crux of the problem, in the light of which the Dumbarton Oaks plan has been prepared. The reactionary governments of the sectional group of powers which dominated the League refused to operate the principle of collective security, preferred to give free path to fascism and its aggression, and thereby wrecked the League and opened the way to the present war. Must this experience be repeated in the future? How far does the Dumbarton Oaks plan succeed in tackling this problem? It is in the light of this fundamental issue that the mechanics of the plan need to be judged.

The basic answer to this question can, of course, only be political; it cannot be solved by machinery. It lies in the continuance of the policy of the powers which has found expression in the Teheran agreement. It lies in carrying forward the actual alliance of the United Nations, sprung into being in the common struggle against fascism, from the war into the peace, and similarly carrying forward that nucleus of decisive leadership already existing in the United Nations, and expressed in the role of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

In this connection it is significant that the Dumbarton Oaks plan does not propose the founding of some brand-new world organization; what it proposes is the adoption of a "Charter of the United Nations," that is, that the existing alliance of the United Nations, sprung out of the historical process of the struggle of the democratic nations against fascism, develop into a permanent organization for world security, to be known as "the United Nations." The solution finally lies in the character of the governments and the popular will behind the governments composing the



London Daily Worker

"Bloke in this paper asks what to do with the Germans!"

alliance. But while the final solution is thus necessarily political, the machinery of the alliance for security must correspond to this political basis and facilitate its operation. It is here that arises the significance of the essential differences of the Dumbarton Oaks plan from the League of Nations, which are calculated to correct the main weaknesses that characterized the League of Nations.

FIRST, a world organization for security, to be effective, must embrace the principal world powers. Otherwise the principle of collective security fails to correspond to the real relations of power; the collective power ceases to be obviously and overwhelmingly stronger than the forces of aggression; and under such circumstances the abstract formula of collective security, preached as a panacea, could become a dangerous and disarming myth. But the League of Nations was never in practice a world organization of the leading world powers. It excluded the Soviet Union from the outset, until its declining years, and never included the United States. Thus the two principal world powers were outside it. It was in practice mainly an Anglo-French and West European organization, and did not embody any effective union of world power for the maintenance of peace. The real relations of world power did not correspond to the formal machinery for collective security. On the other hand, the United Nations represent the first world organization, embracing all the world powers which will play a role after the destruction of fascism. The real relations of world power and the machinery for maintaining world security thus correspond. The partnership of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, as the principal powers leading the United Nations, is fully adequate to protect world peace, provided their cooperation is maintained. The role of China among the four founding powers, together with the fifth place reserved for France, further emphasizes the broad world character of the organization.

Second, the League was from the outset strongly anti-Soviet in character, and even primarily designed as a counter-revolutionary instrument against any revolution of the peoples in Europe. This reactionary role was especially marked in its early years; and the acceptance of membership of the Soviet Union in its declining years of weakness came too late to undo the harm already caused or

change the outcome. This original character was also reflected in its dying act, when the League, which had connived at every aggression of Hitler and Japan, delivered its last kick on behalf of Mannerheim against the Soviet Union, and thereby signed its own doom. Thus the principal antagonism of the inter-war years was not overcome, but even intensified in the organization of the League.

In contrast to this, the main basis and foundation of the United Nations is the cooperation of the Western democratic powers and the Soviet Union. This decisive key to world cooperation in the present epoch is directly expressed in the constitution and organization of the United Nations. The broad character of the composition and leadership of the United Nations corresponds to the present transitional stage of world democratic development. Of the four founder powers, two are capitalist powers fighting in the forefront of the alliance against the Axis, and characterized by advanced internal democratic development and powerful labor movements; one is a socialist power; and one the representative of the victorious national liberation struggle of the leading nation in Asia. The European governments participating will be the new democratic governments arising from the national resistance movements in their struggle against fascism and pro-fascist reaction. Thus the set-up of forces is very different from that of the League.

Third, and most important, is the difference in relation to the role and responsibility of the great powers for the maintenance of world security. In the League Covenant the formal principle of collective security, spread very thin over forty nations of extremely unequal strength, was never firmly translated into the explicit responsibility of the great powers to maintain peace; nor was there any military machinery of common action ready.

The essence of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, on the contrary, is the direct responsibility laid on the great powers. The Dumbarton Oaks plan sets up the new authoritative organ, the Security Council, through which the great powers are made directly responsible for maintaining peace. The permanent Military Staff Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the great powers, who are the permanent members of the Security Council, is set up as the military planning and executive organ of the

Security Council; while for emergency action provision is made for specially allocated national air force detachments to be made immediately available for "combined international enforcement action." Auxiliary economic and social functions, which in the League became the alibi for evading the main task of maintaining peace, are separated entirely from the functions of the Security Council, and entrusted to a separate Economic and Social Council, leaving the Security Council with the sole responsibility of maintaining peace.

ALL attacks and hostile criticisms against the Dumbarton Oaks plan have concentrated on this essential feature which is the pivot of the whole plan—the direct placing of responsibility on the great powers to use their combined strength to maintain peace. The merciless clearness of the presentation, without humbug or diplomatic pretense, of this issue as the key issue of world politics and world peace, for any system of collective security to be effective, which was so dangerously wrapped up in cotton-wool and confusion in the League Covenant, has of course shocked all the reactionaries and muddlehead pacifists. The scheme is declared to be nothing but a scheme for a "dictatorship of the great powers." The heart of presidential candidate Dewey, or of Herbert Hoover and similar idealists of the Republican camp, bled on behalf of the small nations, just as their hearts always bleed on behalf of the small businessman when they wish to oppose a piece of progressive legislation threatening the interests of the big trusts.

"Who will police the policemen?" demand indignant voices from those quarters on the left which, as usual, imagine they are expressing a profoundly radical critical viewpoint when they are in practice only echoing the policies of Munichite reaction. "This organization," complains Lord Winster in the House of Lords debate on October 11, "will be one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who themselves are exempt from the rules that they will administer."

This criticism is either suicidal folly or deliberate mischief-making. It attacks as a flaw and weakness what is precisely the strong point of the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Under modern world conditions decisive power rests overwhelmingly with the principal great powers, and will do so still more under postwar condi-



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WHEELER

Courtesy of the Chicago "Sun"

"Also Cleared with the American People": post-election comment by the Chicago "Sun," November 19.

tions: that is, specifically and above all with the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain, which can alone fully sustain modern war. No constitutional machinery can change these realities of power. The question is whether these decisive great powers shall use their strength in combination to maintain world peace or in mutual opposition to promote world war. The former is the interest of all nations, and especially of all small nations. The alternative is the path to war.

BUT what about disputes affecting one of the decisive great powers, demand the critics. Who will discipline them? This pathetic search for a super-policeman to police the policemen (who is to police the superpolicemen?) is as unavailing as the similar pathetic search for a First Cause

in metaphysics. No doubt these critics imagine that the united ultimatum of Guatemala, Switzerland, and Sweden should strike terror in the hearts of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Alternatively—and this is where the real danger of this type of criticism arises—they are calculating in terms of prospective division between Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Thus they seize on and make much of the still unsettled detail question of voting procedure on the Security Council: whether it shall be explicitly laid down that decisions for action must carry united support of the permanent great powers on the Council, and whether on issues affecting one of them the power in question shall vote or abstain. This question is to a certain extent a formal question; since the practical operation,

to be effective, must necessarily conform to this principle, as the London *Times* editorials have correctly recognized.

Where, however, does the criticism of this principle lead? This criticism is based on the assumption of a dispute in which Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union are divided, and proceeds hotly to demand that the machinery of collective security must then be operated by majority vote against one or another. In other words, it is equivalent to the demand that Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union shall be required to go to war with one another in the interests of "collective security"—a fantastic perversion of the very basis of the collective maintenance of peace.

It is only necessary to examine the practical implications of this proposal to see what pernicious disruption this criticism represents. It cannot be stated too often and too plainly. If Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union enter into conflict, no constitutional machinery can save peace. If this cooperation is maintained, collective security is practicable and peace can be maintained. If this cooperation is not maintained, peace cannot be maintained. The virtue of the Dumbarton Oaks plan is that it makes this issue of Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation as the decisive basis of world peace inescapably plain, and does not conceal it behind any abstract formula to deceive opinion.

Thus the key question remains the question of the long-term cooperation of the leading *democratic* powers, and especially of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States: the strength and unity of public opinion for maintaining such cooperation; and the strength and stability of governments based on effective popular support for operating such a policy of cooperation. If we wish to solve the problem of world peace, the question of the internal political situation is in practice even more important than the question of international machinery; for the former governs in practice the operation of the latter. For this reason world opinion was inevitably and justly concerned with the campaigning and outcome of the presidential elections in the United States, in its bearing on the future of world politics, and could but view with disquiet any signs of anti-Teheran groupings or propaganda in the course of the campaign.

EXIT SENATOR NYE

By JANET WEAVER

Minneapolis.

WHEN you ask people from North Dakota to list the factors they feel are most responsible for the defeat of pro-fascist Senator Gerald P. Nye, and the election of Democratic Governor John Moses to the Senate, they scratch their heads, think for a minute, spread out their fingers and begin to count them off: one, Moses unequivocally identified himself with the win-the-war, win-the-peace policies of President Roosevelt. Two, Moses carried on his campaign in a nonpartisan manner, making repeated and principled appeals to the independent thinking voters of North Dakota for support to Roosevelt and himself. Three, Nye was defeated because of his isolationist and pro-fascist activities which gave rise to the central slogan of the campaign, "A vote for Nye is a vote for World War III." And four, both Nye and Stambaugh, the independent Republican candidate for the Senate, hitched themselves tightly to the Dewey-Bricker candidacy, anticipating a sweeping vote for the Republican nominees in line with the cocky predictions of the Gallup Poll.

The results of the North Dakota elections certainly came as a surprise to those who had considered Moses no obstacle to Nye or Stambaugh. Undoubtedly they were a surprise also to the census takers for the Gallup Poll. In July the Gallup Poll estimate was Dewey sixty-two percent, Roosevelt thirty-eight. Later it was changed to sixty-four; on October 5 it was fifty-five—forty-five, and two days before elections it went back to the original estimate of sixty-two—thirty-eight. Actually Dewey's lead over Roosevelt will run to only about 10,000 votes when the final vote is tabulated. In the Senate race with almost complete figures in, Moses has 83,000 votes to Nye's 59,000 and Stambaugh's 39,000.

The Gallup Poll had its influence on the strategy of Nye and Stambaugh. To a certain extent it also confused the Democrats and other liberal forces. Until approximately two weeks before election day, the Democratic state candidates looked upon Roosevelt's candidacy as a liability to them. Official Democratic campaign literature carried the names of all candidates—except Roosevelt! In their radio broadcasts a number of the Democratic candidates for state office conspicuously avoided the mention of

Roosevelt's name. And it wasn't until Moses' return in the middle of October from Mayo Clinic after an illness of a few weeks (and where, according to rumors spread by the Nye forces, he was dying of cancer), that this fatal approach was drastically reversed. There were only three weeks left of the campaign. It was late, but fortunately not too late for Moses, the leading Democratic candidate, to line up his drive with that of President Roosevelt.

This was not an easy step to take, not only because of the prevalent sentiment in the state that Dewey would carry North Dakota by an almost two to one vote, but because of the peculiarities of North Dakota politics. The fact is that Governor Moses had been elected to office three times in succession—in 1938, '40 and '42—on the basis of a virtual coalition between the Democrats and the "regular" Republicans against the Nonpartisan League Republicans. The historic split in the Republican party in North Dakota between the IVA (Independent Voters' Association) and the NPL enabled Moses to become governor with the usually active support from the regular Republicans who opposed the gubernatorial candidate of the NPL forces in the Republican Party. As governor, John Moses had not been an out-and-out New Deal Democrat. He was known more as a middle of the road Democrat, but honest, efficient, and capable. But it must be said to Moses' credit that in this campaign he showed that he understood the changes that the war had brought to the nation and to the state and that he appreciated what was new in Roosevelt's campaign for a fourth term. He consulted with those farm and labor leaders who had not been taken in by the Gallup Poll "sweep" for Dewey. In the middle of October he began a series of intelligent, hard-hitting radio addresses calling on North Dakotans to rise above partisan politics and support the President. The result was that whereas Moses carried North Dakota by a large vote, other Democrats running for major state and congressional office went down in defeat. Moses ridiculed the attempt of Nye and Stambaugh forces to make it appear that a Democrat could not be elected to the US Senate from North Dakota simply because none had been elected before.

Governor Moses' intelligent cam-

paigned helped deepen the currents in the already fluid North Dakota political situation. And fortunately, in addition to the support of the Democratic party itself, Governor Moses had the support of a new organization whose influence in the campaign cannot be exaggerated. This was the APVO (All Party Voters' Organization.) President of the APVO was Edwin Cooper, an outstanding progressive farm leader in the NPL. Its secretary was J. M. Glaser, vice president of the North Dakota Federation of Labor; its treasurer, A. B. Larson, an outstanding Democrat, and its vice-president, Harry Kolpin, former NPL legislator, former member of the State Board of the AAA and for a number of years a district advisor of the AAA, at present chairman of the Griggs County Selective Service Board. All four officers as well as the scores of others who were active in the APVO were men and women from various organizations. They had standing and reputation. By its fervent patriotic and nonpartisan appeal, the APVO caught the imagination of North Dakota citizens. Large sums of money were contributed by people in all walks of life; there were state-wide radio broadcasts, large advertisements were placed in the daily press, and the *APVO News*, a four-page circular, was mailed to the 103,000 box holders in the state.

THE Republicans were so cocksure about a big victory in North Dakota that the APVO's support to FDR led them to ignore its activities until the end of October. Then they began a barrage of Red-baiting which often took a peculiar form. For example, in one of his radio speeches state legislator Bergeson, a leading Nye supporter from Grand Forks, admitted that he didn't know very much about the APVO. And then Mr. Bergeson went in for some very profound reasoning. There were many indications that the APVO was Communist-inspired, he said. Proof: its president, Edwin Cooper, came from Traill County, the very same county in which Jasper Haaland, state president of the Communist Political Association of North Dakota, lived!

Now it is true that Jasper Haaland, who has farmed in North Dakota most of his life, is a popular figure not only in Traill County but throughout the state.

It is also undoubtedly true that Haaland did his share to persuade his farmer neighbors to vote for Moses, just as Edwin Cooper did. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Traill County, which had gone for Nye in the spring primaries, gave Moses 2,238 votes as against Nye's 1,224 and Stambaugh's 541, and that this county, which Willkie carried by 3,000 votes in 1940, this time went over to Roosevelt.

Another factor in the defeat of Nye was the strong support of organized labor for Roosevelt and Moses, despite William Green's endorsement of Nye. The North Dakota Federation of Labor worked very closely with the pro-Roosevelt forces in the campaign, as did the few CIO unions in the state. Due to a constitutional clause prohibiting active participation in politics, the Farmers' Union did very little officially, but its 26,000 members and a number of leaders were active as individuals. The farmers of North Dakota looked to Governor Moses as the champion of their cause when he argued in favor of the Missouri Valley development, and for the congressional bill to use the waters of the Missouri River for irrigation of North Dakota farms and not only for navigation, as Nye had proposed.

The center of the attack on Nye was the exposure of his isolationist-defeatist activities, his pro-fascist sympathies and tie-ups. In North Dakota people of Norwegian extraction compose the biggest section of the population, and it was here that the anti-Nye forces were especially successful in rallying support against Nye's pro-fascist and anti-war activities. Nye's cynical contempt for the Norwegian people suffering under the iron heel of the Nazis and Quislings, and his campaign against help to the Norwegian people as being "unworthy of the sacrifice of one American mule," made Norwegian-Americans fighting mad. The slogan "North Dakotans want no Quislings in the US Senate" became current among the Scandinavian-Americans. They gave their best answer to Nye on election day. In Williams County alone, perhaps the most typical Norwegian county, Nye received only 574 votes against Moses' 1,401. Roosevelt received 1,379 votes to Dewey's 749. The Ward County vote was almost as startling. The Republicans had concentrated here and felt sure that it was "in the bag." Following Dewey's lead, they used Red-baiting as their trump card. They put up a big sign on the main street of Minot, the county seat, with a huge red circle and the words: "Americanism, not Communism. For Dewey and

Nye," in the center. The Ward County vote was: Roosevelt 4,326; Dewey 4,003; Moses 3,995; Nye 2,873; Stambaugh 1,383.

WITH large sums of money and with a powerful machine built over a period of twenty years, Nye worked desperately hard to win. He tried to cover up his support for the secessionists on trial in Washington as well as his own defeatist activities. In speeches and advertisements he hammered away on some of his positive achievements in farm and domestic problems over the past eighteen years, and played to the hilt his endorsement by William Green and by some of the railroad unions. He carried on a mud-slinging campaign against his opponents and constantly attacked the President. He even tried to pose as a friend of international collaboration and in one radio broadcast presented an elaborate plan in which he declared that the United States "must invite cooperation of other nations and give to other nations our cooperation to the end that jointly we can maintain the peace of the world." But none of this doubletalk influenced the majority of the people.

The Nye forces had counted heavily on the votes of the numerous German-American communities in North Dakota. In a selected group of those counties Nye had a plurality of 5,346, but the election results indicate that while Nye got a substantial vote among the German-Americans, considerable numbers of them voted against the Nazi sympathizer.

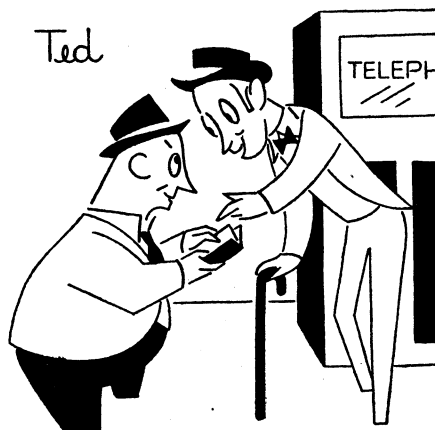
Nye and Stambaugh vied with one another in plumping for the Dewey-Bricker ticket. Nye, running on the regular Republican ticket, hoped to cash in on the Dewey-Bricker "landslide." Stambaugh played as one of his trump

cards his introduction of Bricker when the latter spoke from his train in Fargo. But Stambaugh's close tie-up with Bricker convinced many people that his "internationalism" was phony. It was international collaboration for the US not on the basis of the century of the common man, but of the Luce "American century."

I think it is necessary to call attention to the confusion that was created by certain liberal elements outside of North Dakota, who, despite their definite anti-Nye position, did not understand the relation of forces in North Dakota and the real sentiment of the people. The newspaper *PM* for example, with its support for Stambaugh, created unnecessary difficulties in the campaign to defeat Nye.

Unfortunately Rep. Usher Burdick, progressive Republican running for reelection on the independent Republican ticket, was defeated. Burdick was faced with the difficulty of being an independent outside the two major parties. But more than that, the Burdick forces allowed themselves to be taken in by the talk of Lemke as well as the Stambaugh backers who promised "support" to Burdick if he would not campaign for Roosevelt and Moses. The opinion of North Dakotans with whom I have spoken is that Burdick might have won had he supported the policy of the APVO and actively backed Roosevelt and Moses.

NORTH DAKOTANS are proud of the victories won on November 7. Mrs. Torkelsen, a seventy-five-year-old woman of Norwegian descent who has lived in North Dakota for some fifty years and who was one of the founders of the NPL told me, "With Nye beaten I can live my last years more peacefully." At the same time North Dakotans know that there is a big fight ahead. The corrupt Langer machine in the NPL, while seriously weakened in the elections, is still a powerful force. Lemke is back in Congress and the Nye crowd will continue its disruptive work in the state. The Democratic Party organization itself is still weak and needs a great deal of strengthening. But as secretary Glaser of the APVO said to me, "We are going forward and I hope the APVO will become a rallying ground for all progressive forces within the NPL, the Farmers Union, the Democratic and Republican parties, and other organizations in order to unite the citizens of North Dakota to help realize the sovereign people's mandate of November 7."



"Leave me call up that red-head and sell her a sub. I'm trying to win the New Masses contest."

CAN AMERICAN JEWS UNITE?

By DANIEL HAAS

THE notion of a tribalistic Jewish unity is as widespread as it is false. It is probably the chief fertilizing element for the seeds of prejudice and distrust sown by the hate-mongers, which take root in the minds of many otherwise fair-minded men. Of course, Jews are nominally of one faith, but there are in America three main sects—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. And there are many Jews who have no religious faith at all. There is no supreme authority, religious or secular. There is no central ruling or taxing body. Even the *kehillah*, the communal government of Old World cities, has never caught on here. General programs such as philanthropy, emergency aid abroad, or Zionism, are the products of moral suasion alone. Each is actively supported only by a minority, and in its specific form is opposed by rival programs.

The lack of unity in Israel has long been recognized as a grave danger. It weakens internal Jewish life and undermines the defense against anti-Semitic attack. Repeated attempts at union have been made over the last quarter of a century, on various scales, but all alike petered out, leaving behind the same disunity and fragmentation as before.

A year ago, lashed into action by the tragedy abroad and the threat at home, the various groups in American Jewry organized the American Jewish Conference. It represents the most ambitious and promising of all efforts for concerted action. With a year's experience behind it, it is now to meet its first testing when its delegates reconvene on December 3 at Pittsburgh. The conference is only a tentative step toward solidarity. There was not even the suggestion of a closer fusion at its organizing session last year. The attempt at centralization was limited to the creation of a clearing house—and at that, for limited purposes: the rescue of European Jews, postwar problems abroad, and the rebuilding of Palestine. To an outsider it must be nothing less than unbelievable that home affairs—the American scene—should have been excluded from the purview of the conference. The explanation of this anomaly well illustrates the disunity and conflict in Jewish life. The national agencies, those having to

do with the defense of general Jewish interests, had to be held in line. If their “sovereignty” were threatened by the creation of a super-body, so the *sub-rosa* explanation ran, they wouldn't play. So it came about that an over-all organization was formed whose home territory was outside its jurisdiction!

For a similar reason the name “conference” was adopted, instead of “assembly,” as it was originally called; and no suggestion as to the permanence of the new organization was permitted at the organizing session. The “interests” had had to be guaranteed in advance that only an emergency body, of limited scope, without legislative authority, was to be brought into being.

In the ensuing year the conference showed the hampering effects of these limitations, in insufficient authority, clarity of functioning, and vitality. Plainly what had been created was not the supreme central instrumentality that many had visualized (and others deliberately obstructed). However, the infant organization served well in certain specific situations, and all in all gave an earnest of what might yet be wrought. It was able to act as the representative Jewish body in dealing with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and at the Dumbarton Oaks conference the resolutions of the American Jewish Conference were accepted for discussion. Thus, despite shortcomings, the conference represents an important step toward effective Jewish unity. Now it comes up for a review of the record and the determination of its future.

TO GRASP its situation and prospects one should understand the makeup of the organization in its broad outlines. The conference at its initial session was comprised of some 500 delegates. Of these, 175 were appointed by forty-seven national organizations. The rest were elected by 22,500 electors representing over 8,000 local (and branch) organizations situated in seventy-eight cities and fifty-eight “regions.” These delegates, except for a few changes, are being re-summoned to the second session. Last year they formed themselves into nine general blocs. The largest of these, numbering 116, was the Gen-

eral Zionists, comprised of the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, and the Order Sons of Zion. The second largest group, with 111 delegates, consisted of the American Jewish Congress and a number of fraternal orders which are affiliated with it. The other groupings were: B'nai B'rith, sixty-three delegates; Orthodox Religious, sixty-one; Labor Zionist, forty-nine; “nonpartisan,” forty-two; Reform Religious, twenty-one; Conservative Religious, nineteen; Jewish Labor Committee, sixteen, and undesignated, three.

The line-up of delegates on the basis of blocs will undergo changes at the coming session, in several ways. One will derive from a switch in affiliation, this being at the will of the delegate. A second change will come about through the formation of new blocs. One of these, already organized, is called the Independent Bloc; its objectives are “to make the conference more democratic,” to include certain domestic issues in the agenda of the second session, and to establish the conference as a permanent institution. Another group, announcing itself as the Assembly Bloc, is in the making, though it seems to have overrun the time limit for the formation of blocs.

There will be changes in personnel due to the entrance into the conference of new bodies and the secession of at least one. One of the additions to be proposed is the delegation of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (International Workers Order), barred last year on technical grounds. The inclusion of this great, vigorous Jewish people's body, numbering many workers among its membership, should add new strength to the conference. Its entry, however, has been made the subject of an ultimatum by the Jewish Labor Committee, which has decided to withdraw if the “leftist” IWO is admitted.

Noticeable by its absence will be the American Jewish Committee, whose president, Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, was one of the honored “at-large” members of the presidium at the initial session last year. This financially powerful group, whose key men control the purse-strings of many communities, was the one to which gestures of appeasement had been mainly directed. They



JAPAN

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had cut no figure in the elections and had hidden (?) their negativity in the "nonpartisan" bloc, through which they had tried to attract support for their assimilationist, anti-Zionist views against the overwhelming pro-nationalist sentiment of the delegates. When the Palestine Commonwealth resolution passed, they registered their dissent, and shortly after the conference adjourned the American Jewish Committee seceded from it. The defection of the American Jewish Committee was designed to give the death blow to the conference. Yet with infinite patience the conference officials have continued to hold the door open for the return of the deserters. At this writing these isolationists of Jewish life are still nursing their huff.

THE Jewish Labor Committee is led by men of the *Jewish Daily Forward*-David Dubinsky stripe, Social Democrats who make a career of Russia-baiting and obstructionism. In past years this group played jackal to the American Jewish Committee's lion. The strange association was based on a common anti-Soviet, anti-Zionist attitude. And like the conservative American Jewish Committee, the "radical" Jewish Labor Committee is now setting itself against Jewish unity by threatening to withdraw if the Jewish People's Fraternal Order is allowed to affiliate to the conference.

The largest bloc, the General Zionists, is headed by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America and one of the three co-chairmen of the Interim Committee, the conference governing body between sessions. The "center" of the predominant nationalist forces, Rabbi Goldstein's organization is flanked in the Zionist movement by the Orthodox groups at the right and the Labor Zionists at the left.

The second largest grouping, the American Jewish Congress, is headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, its president and a co-chairman of the Interim Committee, and Louis Lipsky, head of the national elections committee and of the interim administrative committee. The congress represents an attempt extending over a generation to weld the masses of American Jewry into a democratic unity for meeting Jewish problems here and abroad. It has a completely pro-Zionist orientation, both Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky having headed the Zionist Organization of America and served it in numerous other capacities. In a his-

toric sense the progenitor and forerunner of the conference, the congress played an outstanding role in giving content and direction to the conference proceedings.

The B'nai B'rith, through its president Henry Monsky, was responsible for calling the preliminary meeting which made the conference possible. He and his group exerted a centripetal influence in bringing and holding together the diverse elements of the conference—though their influence was thrown into the scale in favor of the present limited basis of operations. Mr. Monsky is one of the co-chairmen of the Interim Committee.

The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Labor Committee are the so-called civic protective or defense agencies. Each has its program and machinery for fighting anti-Semitism and fostering intergroup understanding. In the past they have acted together in specific situations, often with the aid of other groups. They have formed a number of joint bodies which held promise of eventual unification but sooner or later broke down. Behind the immediate cause of the split lay (and lie) deep ideological cleavages. These have to do with concepts of both Jewish and American life. In the past it has proved too great a task to reconcile aristocrat and democrat, conservative and progressive, assimilationist and culturalist, philanthropist and Zionist, "hush-husher" and stalwart Jew. The large measure of success which the American Jewish Conference has achieved in effecting unity, even if still not all-inclusive, is one of the most hopeful developments in contemporary Jewish life.

It is these bodies—the "Big Four" of Jewish defense—which are openly or covertly charged with delimiting the powers and diluting the program of the conference, to shield their "vested interests." At the coming session this view seems likely to be challenged by the advocates of an optimum program.

Besides this major organizational question, the conference has a full agenda indeed. It will select a Peace Commission, receive reports of its committees, and shape its course for the coming year. The reports to be reviewed are embodied in a 128-page volume, which a recent conference bulletin summarizes, in part, as follows:

"The Palestine Commission brings . . . a report which records its manifold activities on behalf of Palestine. . . .

There can no longer be any doubt that the endorsement of a Jewish Commonwealth by the conference has exercised a most favorable influence on American public opinion and on legislative bodies. . . . The activities of the Palestine Commission covered not only political pronouncements but also practical work, such as intervening with the British government to modify its policy with regard to Jewish immigration.

"The Rescue Commission, acting in concert with nearly all Jewish organizations, renders a report reflecting the incessant struggle for the rescue of surviving Jews and the transfer of Nazi victims to safe havens. . . . True, the results in actual rescue have been far from gratifying. Yet many lives have been saved, broken spirits strengthened, and the conscience of the world awakened to the enormity of the Jewish catastrophe.

"The Commission on Postwar Reconstruction . . . has mapped out a constructive and positive program. . . . Without waiting for the Peace Conference it has submitted in the course of this year, to our own government and to the United Nations, a number of statements on the introduction of an International Bill of Rights, the securing for Jewish communities of an opportunity to reestablish themselves anew, and on other aspects of the Jewish problems in Europe demanding immediate action."

ONE of the problems with which this year's conference will have to concern itself is anti-Semitism. Incredible as it may seem, this problem was not acted on at last year's meeting because of the mistaken notion that it was the province of other groups. The Jewish People's Committee, representing many thousands of trade unionists and other progressives, has addressed a letter to the delegates urging that the conference speak up in its own name on anti-Semitism and set up a special commission to act for it in combatting this menace.

The American Jewish Conference represents a start in normalizing Jewish life, in freeing it from the control of a few. It bears in the right direction—toward democratic majority rule, mass self-direction, and the union in which lies strength. It will have to build a stronger structure and develop a more effective *modus operandi*. But given a fair chance it will find itself. And American as well as Jewish life will be the gainer.

A WESTERN EUROPEAN BLOC?

By JOHN STUART

WHEN Mr. Churchill visited Paris, the newspapers had it that one of the major goals of his mission was to weld a western bloc of powers to include France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and possibly the Scandinavian states. Whether this is so or not, only Mr. Churchill or his close colleagues can say. The idea (not to be confused with what the Prime Minister may or may not have had in mind) is, of course, not an especially fresh one. It was refurbished late last year by Marshal Smuts, who called on Britain to protect herself in view of her relative weakness before the gigantic strength of the United States and the Soviet Union. And just a few days ago the *Times* of London, undoubtedly reflecting the opinion of influential Whitehall diplomats, urged a regional agreement in the west of Europe as one of the immediate tasks of the Foreign Office.

Naturally this has evoked fears in many quarters that once again an effort was being made to organize exclusive aggregates of power—a resumption of imperialist power politics which would wreck Dumbarton Oaks and lead inevitably to struggle in Europe. If that is the intent of certain British circles they will have to reckon with the anger of a British labor movement now paying the price for the Chamberlain power politics of the inter-war years; and they will, furthermore, collide with the democratic forces of the Continent and of the United States sick to death of "security systems" that secured nothing except the ambitions of an aggressor. In this connection one interesting reaction, for example, was French public opinion as mirrored in statements made by General De Gaulle and Foreign Minister Bidault. Both were quick to repudiate any desire for a western entente.

Yet the Dumbarton Oaks plan provides for regional agreements and the question is asked why oppose an alliance of states along the European shores of the Atlantic? On the surface this seems a contradiction, but it really is not. No one can tolerate groupings of powers if they are *exclusive* or designed to *supplant* the Dumbarton Oaks proposals resting on the foundation of unity and collective action among Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR. If a regional agreement falls within the compass of the United Nations plan and is

acceptable to the Security Council, then no objections can be raised. Under these conditions regional concordats are means of implementing the over-all security organization. The Soviet-Czechoslovak pact, an example of a regional agreement, had the consent of London and Washington before it was ratified. Poland was specifically invited to become a party to the instrument. And no doubt other such arrangements will be made in the future, particularly in the southeast of the Continent.

But if a regional agreement is nothing but camouflage for a power bloc in which the strength of one bloc is used against others, then real trouble is in the offing. It is said that the USSR is consenting to the organization of a western bloc under British direction in return for London's agreement to permit Moscow to rule eastern Europe. All this is a product of horsetrading mentalities. In eastern Europe the Soviet Union has special problems of security not unlike those of the United States in the western hemisphere. And as a good neighbor, the USSR desires an independent, democratic, strong Poland just as the United States desires an independent, strong, democratic Mexico. But this is a million light years away from the idea of a power bloc in which the Soviet Union becomes a kind of super-government controlling the states from the Baltic to the Black Sea, dictating Warsaw's internal affairs, with Poland unable to come to any understanding with other states farther west. The recent interview between the mayor of Warsaw, Maryan Spichalski, and Marshal Stalin provides proof that any regional agreement that may be undertaken between the USSR and Poland does not prevent the latter from taking similar steps with other countries. Mr. Spichalski quotes Marshal Stalin as saying that "Poland and the Soviet Union must work together to educate their peoples in a spirit of mutual respect" and that the "new Poland should seek allies not only in the east, but also in the west in the person of England, France, and the United States."

What we have to fear from the idea of a western federation as it has emanated from reactionary British figures is not only that it violates the spirit of the Teheran concord, but it would include governments which either aided

Hitler with their "neutrality," such as Franco Spain, or governments that cannot now be considered representative of their people, such as the Pierlot group in Belgium.

THE question is, why do British reactionaries persist in such dangerous projects? There are several reasons, but certainly the pivotal one is British fear of the United States. Some hidebound British circles have their obstructive reservations about the Soviet Union, but by and large Anglo-Soviet relations are well regulated by the twenty-year treaty. From an economic point of view British businessmen are least worried when they come to think of the USSR. They know that Moscow does not intend competing with London in the markets of Europe or of the world. But what they tremble at is American industrial and financial power, and their reflex action is to organize themselves politically and economically to counterbalance the colossus across the big pond. One need only read the reports of two conferences, the civil aviation at Chicago and the business at Rye, New York, for some measure of this British fright.

The sad but indisputable fact is that political relations between Washington and London are unsettled, that between them there is no understanding comparable to that of the Anglo-Soviet treaty, and that while efforts have been made to stabilize relations, nothing substantial has yet come of these negotiations. In the absence of a settled state of affairs, the British trader will try to force his government to engage in devices that are harmful to the coalition as a whole. Argentina is an example where London City men are aligning themselves, and getting the Foreign Office to do likewise, with fascists against the United States. And in the absence of agreements, the American trader is pushing his British rival around, creating friction in every part of the globe. Small wonder then that British Tories are attempting to pattern affairs in such a manner as will give them economic domination in Western Europe at all cost.

It is time now that Anglo-American relations were placed on a firmer footing; it is time also that the British were assured in definite agreements that we will cooperate with them and other large

(Continued on page 21)

NM SPOTLIGHT

Poland and Italy

THE crisis among the Polish exiles in London is of course, nothing new. It is a chronic state made suddenly more dramatic by Mikolajczyk's resignation from the premiership. Now the lines of demarcation between the anti-Sovieters (represented by Socialist Vice Premier Kwapinski, President Raczkiwicz, and General Sosnkowski) and the middle-of-the-road figures (represented by Mikolajczyk) are drawn tighter than ever before. The world will once again know who it is that refuses to compromise and put Polish affairs in order. Quite obviously Kwapinski and Raczkiwicz insisted on delaying a settlement in the hope that a rift would develop between the western Allies and Moscow. If Herr Goebbels could not create that division, even with all the assistance he received from the Polish reactionaries, it is unlikely that the London group will be more successful. But they will continue trying. The issue is not over Polish frontiers as such, but whether Poland will be democratic for the first time in its history, whether it will be a people's Poland with the liberation movement defending the country's interests. The Raczkiwicz-Kwapinski camarilla is dead set against such a Polish renaissance as it is dead set against the land distribution program of the Polish Committee of National Liberation at Lublin. And that program, now well on its way, is a token of democratic intentions.

As we write there is no news of what Mikolajczyk will do next. He has, however, three choices: he can do nothing, he can attempt to form another group, or he can join the Liberation Committee in Lublin. The first two alternatives are utterly absurd because in effect they settle no problems. The third choice, if he accepts it, means that once and for all he has rid himself of illusions about his former cabinet colleagues, that he is prepared to contribute his prestige to Poland's reconstruction and aid the Polish soldiers fighting on several fronts.

At any rate, the new crisis proves the hopelessness of attempting to bring the London group to its senses. In a recent speech in parliament, Mr. Churchill showed impatience with the maneuvers

of the Polish cabinet. It is clear now that nothing constructive can be expected from it and that it must be given its walking papers to oblivion. It never will be missed.

IN ITALY the resignation of Premier Bonomi marks the culmination of a series of events deliberately designed to destroy the coalition of parties. The monarchists, along with some unreconstructed members of the Allied Commission, have been working night and day to undermine the cabinet and replace it with one more representative of every backward, reactionary group on the peninsula. But it is most unlikely that they will get very far. They have no roots in the people and whatever they can manage from on top is bound to topple. It is they along with other reactionaries who oppose purging the government ministries of their fascists. And that does not sit well with Italians. They are opposed also to providing the guerrillas in the north a place in the cabinet and they have fought giving the Liberation Committee in the occupied zone any power at all. That does not sit well with Italians either.

But despite their lack of popularity, these monarchist-reactionary circles can do immense damage. How strong they actually are will be more apparent from the composition of the new cabinet, whose personnel as we write has not been announced. Any cabinet reorganization, if it is to remain stable, must include more responsible posts for the Socialists and Communists whose parties are the strongest. It is they who are the dynamos of Italian democracy; it is they who have been working hardest to hasten the cleansing of quislings and to end the food and transport crisis.

Good Riddance in China

IN OUR view the most important thing about the recent cabinet changes in Chungking is that the Chinese political scene is once more in motion. It is true, nevertheless, that some government job-holders have been merely reshuffled, that none of the reactionary leaders has actually been thrown out. Those who

minimize these changes interpret Chiang Kai-shek's actions as being designed to give the appearance of progress without doing anything substantial. We are inclined to a more hopeful view. Ho Ying-chin, the former Minister of War, was a sinister figure, symbolizing all that stood behind the deterioration of China's war effort. Similarly H. H. Kung was the symbol, inside the country and abroad, of the disastrous economic breakdown which a capitulation to an archaic landlordism brought with it. Chen Lifu, one of the notorious pro-fascist Chen brothers, was ousted from the ministry of education. That is good riddance in any man's language. He as well as the two others retain influential posts from which we trust they will be eased as soon as the forces which have now been partially released gain momentum.

It is important to appreciate the context in which these cabinet changes have taken place. They follow, and are a partial answer to, the terrific pressure of public opinion which has been exerted upon Chungking by all sections of the Chinese people and, particularly during recent months, by China's allies, especially the United States. They constitute, nevertheless, only a small step on the long road that China must travel before the damage done by the Chungking bureaucracy is repaired; it will now be far easier for public pressure and for wise leadership to keep the political setup in motion in a progressive direction.

It is also worth observing that at the moment when things are beginning to melt in China the lord of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, Henry Luce, has sharply reversed the hitherto relatively honest method of treating Far Eastern news in his publications. Mr. Luce's magazines are now in favor of backwardness in China and are opposed to unity of all anti-Japanese forces. They are vehement against the Communists, even when the conservative *New York Times* questions the wisdom of Chungking's anti-Communist policies. Representative Luce, pursuing her husband's new line—or perhaps it is the other way around—last week in effect attacked American policy in the Far East. Never mind, of course, that any other policy means a greater loss of life among American boys in the Pacific. Some day soon we hope to tell you more of how William

S. Schlamm, a member of *Fortune's* board of editors, a renegade Communist and now a Dubinsky Social Democrat, is helping Mr. Luce's anti-Communist campaign, just as Dubinsky helped Dewey in his.

Looking Backward

THE delegates from fifty-one capitalist countries to the International Business Conference at Rye, N. Y., met and finally agreed to disagree on the major issues affecting the role of private enterprise in the postwar world. The divergence of views over the Bretton Woods proposals and on the need of international trade agreements is far more important than the unanimity expressed in favor of the preservation of the private enterprise system in all parts of the world.

On the whole these representatives of capitalist business approached their role in the postwar period in the pre-war spirit. The perspectives raised by the Teheran and Dumbarton Oaks conferences were not reflected in their deliberations or conclusions. This can be attributed, in part, to the absence from this conference of such forward-looking spokesmen of private enterprise as Henry Kaiser, C. E. Wilson, Thomas W. Lamont, and their counterparts in England.

The British delegates, supported by many European groups, sounded the principal positive note in urging the endorsement of the Bretton Woods Conference proposals for monetary stabilization and the creation of an international bank to finance postwar reconstruction and economic development. Endorsement was rejected at the insistence of the American spokesmen on the lame plea for more time to consider the merits of the Bretton Woods proposals. Similarly the Americans shied away from the British desire for international trade agreements to avoid unregulated free-for-all competition for world markets. The American delegates rejected this view on the ground that it would mean a revival of the old cartel system. Certainly the evils of the pre-war cartel system were real and cannot be tolerated in the postwar period. At the same time the attitude of the American delegates expressed the thinking of an important section of American business which seeks to use its vastly superior competitive position to dominate world trade. Neither the American nor the British delegates proposed the resolution of trade antagonisms in the spirit of responsible international collaboration be-

tween the representatives of private business and the United Nations governments along the lines of the Bretton Woods decisions.

The failure of the Rye conference to adopt a socially responsible and constructive approach to postwar problems emphasizes the need for the best representatives of American and British business to assume greater initiative in this sphere. This failure also makes clear that without active government participation, the necessary compromises essential for the promotion of trade and the building of stable economic foundations for the postwar world will not be made.

Roads to Prosperity

THERE is a bright contrast to the unreconstructed postwar views of the old guard monopolists displayed at the recent International Business Conference. It is the forthright statement of C. E. Wilson, president of General Electric and former executive vice-chairman of the War Production Board, to the effect that his company intends to maintain present prices on its manufactured products after the war and will protect the earning power of its employes so that the take-home pay for a forty-hour week will not be less than the present pay with overtime. Mr. Wilson thus shatters the groundless and unjustified demands of some large manufacturers for a thirty percent increase over the present OPA levels and at the same time displays genuine confidence in a full employment policy by announcing concrete measures that will help fulfill President Roosevelt's perspective of 60,000,000 postwar jobs.

The President took special notice of this significant statement of policy at a recent press conference and warmly endorsed it as a constructive move. This general idea, FDR indicated, is gaining ground in other industries. Let us hope that many other farseeing industrialists will follow the General Electric example and will add substance to the prevailing hope for full capacity production, jobs, and a measure of security for all in the critical reconstruction days ahead.

Light for the Future

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has revived as a postwar project the proposal he first made in 1937 for seven additional TVA's west of the Mississippi River. In the context of the new conditions and problems that will face us with the conclusion of the war, this is no longer another "New Deal reform," but a prac-

tical measure to help advance us toward the goal of 60,000,000 jobs, high production, and stable profits which FDR outlined during the election campaign. As such this proposal ought to make a strong appeal not only to workers and farmers, but to business, including (especially) the private utility companies.

In September the President sent a message to Congress urging legislation to develop the Missouri River Basin and the Arkansas River and Columbia River watersheds, with particular emphasis on the first. In an article in *NEW MASSES* of September 5 William Sentner, vice president of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers-CIO, which has been actively supporting the plan for a Missouri Valley Authority, described some of the benefits that would result. Mr. Sentner quoted from a pamphlet which his union issued on the subject: "To build this plan would provide the jobs for at least 100,000 men for five years. In addition, materials to be produced for this construction will employ tens of thousands of persons in the service trades, business, and heavy electrical equipment. Under an MVA more than 600,000 farms will be receiving electrical service for the first time. . . . Thousands of additional workers would be needed in mining, processing, and the other industrial work connected with the extracting and handling of raw materials for this equipment."

Multiply this sevenfold and the vistas are staggering. Apart from the jobs which the construction and operation of the seven new projects would create, the new TVA's would bring a rise in living standards and a permanent expansion of the productive capacity of the country. When we say that these plans should make an especial appeal to the private utilities, we have in mind the experience of the TVA. The utilities fought the TVA furiously because it provided cheap electric power, thereby forcing them to lower their rates in the Tennessee Valley. But the utilities discovered that the TVA, by widening the market for electric power, made it possible for them to make greater profits at the new rates than they had at the old.

Senator James Murray of Montana has introduced a bill authorizing the establishment of a unified MVA. There is danger, however, that the reactionary opponents of this measure in the lame-duck Congress, led by Senator Overton of Louisiana, may cripple the MVA plan by forcing through a substitute bill which would tackle the problem piecemeal and primarily as an irrigation and

navigation project. The new Congress, which has a much clearer mandate than the present one, ought not to be cheated of the opportunity of launching this program that will help assure jobs and prosperity for postwar America.

Retreat

IT is still hard to convince many persons that the *Readers' Digest* is playing a dangerous, anti-democratic role today. Its "respectability" has been so thoroughly established that even with the many exposes of its unquestionably pro-fascist connections (NEW MASSES was among the first to publicize those connections) and its public traffic with the avowed intellectual leader of American fascism, Lawrence Dennis, it still plays a phenomenal role in the American classroom. The ugly record of the *Digest* produced a storm this week, however, at Columbus, Ohio, where the

National Council of Teachers of English were convening. Over a year ago this body, recognizing the widespread charges that the magazine was anti-labor, anti-United Nations, anti-Semitic, and in general reactionary, delegated its committee on newspapers and magazines to investigate whether it should be recommended by the organization for use in the schools. The committee produced a serious study and brought up overwhelming evidence of pro-fascist bias on the part of the *Digest*, which should have led to specific condemnation of the magazine on the part of the NCTE.

However, the New York *Times* of November 24 reported that the executive committee in a heated session refused to permit the report, already emasculated of its graver charges, to be presented to the meeting, though copies of it with supplementary documents to prove that the *Digest* had campaigned

among the executive committee to prevent its being presented were distributed among the 2,000 delegates. (*In Fact*, Sept. 25, 1944, ran a full account of both the report and the *Digest's* elaborate and thorough campaign to sabotage its presentation.) The executive committee seems to have buckled under the *Digest's* blandishments (they even gave a fancy dinner to prove what nice fellows the *Digest* people really were). The report on the *Digest* has now been referred to a new committee with what was virtually a directive to evade the central issues. The whole episode points up a serious task which faces such organizations at this time: the problem of recognizing and fighting the enemy, whatever his guise or manners, in whatever familiar form he may appear. The NCTE, in backtracking and evading such a crucial issue, is failing to meet the elementary imperatives of the times.



FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

SQUEEZE PLAYS

LAST week I wrote that the German's Field-Marshal von Runstedt could not adopt a well-rounded strategic plan and that he would have to fight with strategic opportunism, here and there, as local circumstances of the moment permitted. This is just about what is happening now.

Runstedt has allowed his left flank in France, west of the Rhine, to go "by default," that is, he did not reinforce it. He left a couple of divisions in the Vosges in a tight spot, hemmed in a pocket between General Patch's American Seventh Army driving fast through the Saverne (Zabern) Gap to the outskirts of Strasburg, and the French First Army under General de Tassigny driving down the east bank of the Rhine from the vicinity of Mulhouse to Colmar. As I write the pocket has not yet been snapped shut and it is possible that a lot of these Germans will succeed in crossing the Rhine into Germany, but there is little doubt that they will be travelling very "light" and the booty captured by the Allies in the Vosges mountains will be rich. Thus, having lost practically all French territory, Runstedt is now actually defending the fron-

tiers of Germany, with Tassigny and Patch on the Rhine, Patton on the Saar, Hodges and Simpson inside Germany (if only with one or two toes) and Dempsey on the Maas.

Speaking in military terms, Runstedt is defending the great Rhine bridgehead which is based on the Lauterburg-Emmerich stretch of the Rhine and whose western forefield is, to all intents and purposes, the zone of the German border with France, Luxemburg, Belgium, and Holland. The British are pressing toward the German frontier from Holland and are very near Venlo, threatening Dusseldorf, some thirty miles to the west. Simpson's men are fighting for Julich, on the Roer River, while Hodges's divisions are reported out of the Huertgen Forest—a battle which will share in the glories of American military history along with Belleau Wood and the Argonne Forest. These two armies are bearing the brunt of the fighting and are throwing a pair of pincers on Dueren, western bastion of Cologne. They are facing the barrier of the Roer. Beyond Dueren they will face the barrier of the Erft and the Schwist. Beyond that—the Rhine at Cologne

spanned by the great Hohenzollern Bridge.

South of the Huertgen Forest the front remains static for a stretch of almost ninety miles, i.e., as far south as General Patton's left flank opposite Merzig. Patton has bitten into Germany, too, and is approaching the Saar River where the western zone of the Siegfried Line is located and where the "Sitzkrieg" developed in late 1939 and early 1940. Thus only the Saarbrucken-Lauterburg triangle of French territory remains unliberated.

Von Runstedt is counterattacking with exceptional ferocity on the Cologne plain. However, last reports have it that he has thrown in only seven divisions into this most crucial sector. So far there is no indication of the German commander having decided on a decisive battle inside the Rhine bridgehead. Seven divisions is only ten percent of Runstedt's available forces in the west; a decisive battle would be in fact a battle for Germany. If this were *it*, Runstedt would certainly risk more. It is entirely possible that he will bring in more forces as the battle of the Cologne plain develops, but so far there is no rea-

son to believe that he is fighting for a decision in the bridgehead. All this is being said not for the sake of academic analysis, but with the point in mind that a decision will await Allied armies east of the Rhine, not in the bridgehead to the west. To put it simply: the capture of Cologne, Crefeld, Bonn, and Coblenz will hardly end the war in the west.

WHILE some minor successes can be reported from the Italian Front, there are also quite puzzling developments. We have in mind the strange order issued by General Alexander to the Italian guerrillas in the mountains to the effect that they should stop fighting for the winter and go home. The question now arises: to what homes can they go when these homes are occupied by the enemy? Alexander's order is tantamount to letting the guerrillas down under conditions of extreme hardship. And then does this order mean that no operations will be conducted in Italy until spring or summer?

THE Red Armies of the Leningrad Front have cleared the southern tip of the Island of Oesel and have thus opened a passage for Soviet ships into the Gulf of Riga, which will greatly alleviate the supply situation for the Baltic Armies in Latvia. These armies should soon start to liquidate the two-score or more German divisions penned up between Tukkums, Liepaja, and Ventspils—an operation which is surely a prerequisite to the renewal of the offensive on the northern and central fronts. South of the Carpathians the Red Army continues to tear apart the enemy line stretching from Budapest to the Lupkov Pass in Slovakia, and has severed the main enemy line of communications between Hungary and Silesia. Thus in the north a preliminary flank operation has been prepared, while in the south another flank operation is in full swing. The crucial central front still awaits the first solid frost.

In Yugoslavia the Germans have been virtually cleared out of the area of Serbia between Bulgaria and Albania. While Marshal Tito's troops are taking one Adriatic port after another, there is still no news of those British troops which had been reported to have landed on the Albanian and Montenegrin coast.

WHILE so far the results of the attack on Tokyo have been described in glowing terms, there is naturally no precise data on the actual effects. Fires

THESE December days are dark days for anti-fascists still to languish in jail. The last giant moves to open the locked doors of Europe's jails gain momentum. But at Ossining, N. Y., an American anti-fascist still remains behind bars for his beliefs. Have you done everything you can to insist that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, at Albany, N. Y., pardon Morris U. Schappes immediately?

are said to have raged twenty-four hours after the raid. Industrial plants around Tokyo were hit. But *irrespective of the actual results of the raid, the action is of tremendous importance* because it marks the beginning of the Battle of Japan. It also brings home to the Japanese the realization of the grim fact that scarcely had their army in China rubbed out our heavy bombardment bases in southeastern China, when our air power ups and appears on the other side of the theater of war and about 500 miles closer to Tokyo than the Kweilin base was, for instance. Furthermore, the miraculously quick organization of the air base on Saipan, where runways had to be carved out of white coral, and the awesome speed, bomb load, and fire power of the Superfortresses, must make the Japanese realize again that they are up against a power infinitely greater than their own. And from now on Tokyo will be a regular run, even if hardly a daily one.

The battle for Leyte is developing slowly, but surely. More important than the small gains hacked out by our troops around Limon, north of Ormoc, is the fact that of late we have been able to destroy most of the convoys with reinforcements which the enemy has been pushing toward Leyte from Cebu and other points. The importance of Leyte emerges all the more when one considers the fact that Tokyo-Saipan-Leyte is an equilateral triangle with each side measuring 1,500 miles, or a comfortable distance for our Superfortresses.

Of the battle of Leyte New York *Times* correspondent Frank Kluckhohn writes from the spot: "It is this correspondent's firm belief that we will continue to march. But we are now getting into areas of land masses where we are

going to run into larger elements of the Japanese army working on shorter lines of communications and equipment held for home defense. . . ." This is quite true, even if it is Kluckhohn. It is unfortunate, I repeat, that during the first phase of the invasion of Leyte unofficial trumpets should have been blown so loud.

As to the Chinese fronts, things continue to develop very poorly. The Chinese army appears almost to have folded up, at least in the sector of Kweiyang, which is under great threat. And this means that the Burma Road to Chungking may be cut soon near the capital itself, which will make our local successes in Burma and the miraculous pipeline from Calcutta to the Ledo Road almost useless because they will be able to supply not China, but only the very small bodies of troops we have battling in the secondary theater of Burma.

Thus, while we are battling on Leyte to get to Hong Kong, or Canton, or Swatow, the Japanese are battling to get to Kweiyang and thus isolate almost completely the theater in which the decision has to be reached. This is a strategic tragedy. We can only repeat our often used *simile*: we are hammering the enemy on an anvil made of putty. The solution? There is only one: to force the Chungking government to come to its senses and this not simply by reshuffling a few cabinet jobs.

A West Europe Bloc?

Continued from page 17)

export states in so ordering the world market that Britain will have a share in trade commensurate with her status as a great trading nation. If that is done, we will find that British business community willing to forego exclusive power blocs or exclusive arrangements with other countries which are also fearful of American economic might. When that happens the economic basis of reactionary power politics will be undermined and the base of collaboration as envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks strengthened and made more durable.

CORRECTION: Bob Thompson has asked us to inform our readers that he is no longer co-chairman of the American Youth for Democracy, as we reported in introducing his piece, "The Liberals and the Legion" (New Masses, October 24). Also, he fought at Buna (New Guinea), not Burma, as our printer had it.

READERS' FORUM

Change of Life

TO NEW MASSES: William Rudd's article on hormones in a recent issue of NM prompts me to make a comment. I feel that Mr. Rudd is guilty of a grave error when he says: "The most important ill attributable to a lack of sex hormones is that *tragic condition* [my emphasis] known as the menopause or 'change of life.' Its symptoms—nervousness, hot flashes, and even insanity—are removed almost magically by the administration of estrogenic substances."

Here is the popular misconception of the menopause. It is also a false indication of the "magical" properties in estrogenic substances for the removal of the menopause syndrome. (That is, the host of disturbances which occur with the "change of life," at approximately forty-five to fifty-five.)

The advancement in psychiatry and a fuller understanding of physiology today indicate quite definitely that the menopausal syndrome is due mostly to emotional rather than physiological ills. The organic changes are minor compared to the stresses and strains which normal women undergo in their lifetime: almost insignificant when one thinks of the changes which take place in pregnancy.

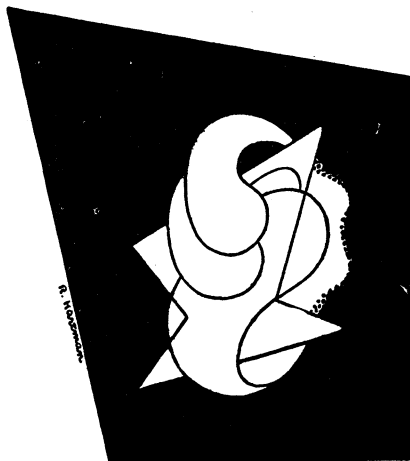
Why then is the menopause called a "tragic condition"? The answer lies in the traditional attitude toward, and of, women which still exists within our society. Women consider their menopause as the end of their child-bearing and sexual lives, i.e., the end of their "usefulness." It is a symbol of the beginning of the end, that they will no longer function as women. Our society, not yet having achieved full equality of women in creative and socially useful endeavors outside the home has planted this idea so well that even "advanced" women are victimized by it and influenced by it emotionally.

Actually, the menopause is just another phase in a woman's life. It is not generally called to mind that men also have a "menopause." They too reach a certain age and begin to exhibit "nervousness" and other disturbances rooted in the emotions, sometimes resulting in severe cases of depression which may lead to suicide. In both sexes, the reason can usually be found in an unbalanced and poorly integrated background, the patient either fully realizing or only dimly sensing a lack of satisfactory accomplishment in his or her lifetime. Women who are integrated in the sexual, emotional, and working phases of their lives never have trouble at their menopause. It is of crucial importance to understand that menopausal disturbances bear

a direct relationship to woman's unequal position in society and the ignorance and frustration bred by this position. A woman who has known a rich and full life does not find the menopause becoming a "tragic period" in her life but simply another milestone—one leading to greater maturity, wisdom, and experience with which to continue her many interests. Another advantage she gains is the freedom from anxiety over unwanted pregnancy, a freedom which can, does, and *should* enhance her sexual life and vitality for a great many years to come.

Although, in some selected cases, the administration of estrogenic substances helps remove the overt symptoms of menopause (that is, maintains menstrual flow for a period of time) this is of greater psychological value than definite organic value. Within this period of time, a mental adjustment will be made to a condition which has come as a shock. Gradually, resignation to the menopause develops—and estrogenic administration has served mostly as a psychotherapeutic agent. There are many other factors associated with the menopausal condition. They all indicate that "change of life" need not be a period of disturbance except as it is a symbol of "the end of things." The tragedy of the menopause is that it is erroneously *considered* tragic.

In my opinion, Mr. Rudd's statement simply adds to the confusions and demoralization of women who are today struggling more than ever to free themselves from ignorance and reaction. The answer to the problem is not through hormones but through a wider knowledge of emotional and mental mechan-



isms; through a greater involvement of women in the fight (in itself a form of therapy) for their economic and social betterment; in the rooting out of conscious and/or unconscious male chauvinism.

New York.

M.D.

Some Kansas Republicans

TO NEW MASSES: I've been reading Virginia Gardner's articles on the Indiana GOP and the Klan and would like to suggest that a similar investigation of the Kansas Republican machine would be to the national interest. The Kansas GOP during 1944 had a well organized underground propaganda machine using straight Nazi stuff to defeat Roosevelt—the line was anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-war, and anti-democracy.

A few things that need some study are: (1) Cliff Stratton—the Topeka *Daily Capital's* nationalist propagandist. (2) The Coughlin-Woodring-Stauffer axis which was intended to split the Democratic Party. (3) Gerald Winrod—his past and present contacts with the Republican machine (also other fundamentalist secessionists.) (4) Alf Landon bundling with Frank Buchman and Buchmanite pro-fascists in Methodist churches controlled by the Republican machine. (5) the old KKK in Kansas politics.

This Kansas crowd are all old heads at conspiracy and hard to track down; probably need some inside plants to get any facts. Clugston, the author of *Rascals in Democracy*, is the man to see in Topeka.

Nearly forgot the Kansas Institute of International Relations offices at Friends University, Wichita—a Landon-Henry J. Allen negotiated peace outfit—don't know if they're active at present.

Seattle.

CHARLES E. PERRY.

That Word

TO NEW MASSES: Here is more ammunition for the Great Debate versus the *New Yorker* and the Messrs. Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst. In an advertisement appearing in the June 17 issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Reynal and Hitchcock, publishers of Henry Wallace's *Democracy Reborn*, use the forbidden word ["profile"].

Also would like to suggest that the *New Yorker's* investigators hunt down the radio scripts of sports broadcaster Bill Stern, who uses said word freely.

New York.

N. R.

On France's Betrayal

TO NEW MASSES: One of the best articles you have published in recent years is "How France Was Sold" by Rene Labastide, appearing May 20, 1941.

So much has happened since then that people are apt to forget the facts contained in that article—I, for one, think it should be republished.

You are doing a grand job—keep it up.

AUBREY C. MAXTED,

Rector, St. Mark's Episcopal Church.

Bay City, Texas.



REVIEW and COMMENT

WHITMAN IS FOR TODAY

Edwin Berry Burgum reviews Samuel Sillen's recent book

IN PROGRESSIVE circles, ever since our entry into the war, there has been an energetic and increasing demand that writers utilize their craftsmanship, as most other craftsmen are doing, to promote victory. The response of our writers has been so magnificent that it is by now evident to everybody. But these are our living contemporary writers. And when you come to think of it, it is extraordinary that so little attention has been paid to mobilizing writers who are no longer physically among the living.

Busy journalists, absorbed in the present scene, may perhaps be forgiven for this neglect. It is harder to explain the indifference of critics and scholars whose special province is our cultural heritage. Especially when their social attitude has been liberal, they might have been expected to perform a similar service to the war by emphasizing the timeliness of those authors from our past whose works, they are continually telling us, form an undying tradition of great value.

Instead of acting as though the war had at long last afforded them a chance of proving how immortal the tradition they cherish really is, these academic minds reacted with consternation, as though the war were positively destructive of the great tradition. They foresaw empty classrooms and unpublished manuscripts, the torch of learning sputtering in their aging hands, with no one near to pass it to. Then, when their professional survival seemed likely through some form of government support, they relaxed into a comfortable security, assuming the scholarly variant of the business-as-usual attitude.

But it is unfair to accuse them of personal selfishness, of fear of loss of jobs, when the spiritual accusation is more important and more tenable. For, at a time when every practical interest was forced by events to reorganize in aid of the war effort, these individuals, who had boasted of the imperative value of the spiritual ideals which they protected, like vestal virgins, with their scholarly honor, made no endeavor at all to turn these ideals to the support of the war.

On the contrary, they seemed to believe the very nature of war prohibited such a conversion. They acted as though it were of no moment whether one were on the right or the wrong side in a war, as though war itself were an assault upon spiritual values, which could only be preserved, like so many refugees, by retreat from the area of combat. The great literary works of the past were like the women and children of a besieged town, as helpless as they were admirable. Only when they had been



E. Miller

provided with some sort of retreat could their ideal values once more become the object of a proper contemplation.

I think that the fact that our contemporary writers have taken so different an attitude is a most damaging criticism of this academic retreat, and the handful of critics, like Samuel Putnam, and of magazines, like the *NEW MASSES*, deserve great credit for breaking with this stultifying conception of the values of a cultural tradition. When some months ago Samuel Putnam insisted upon the desirability of our giving a special emphasis to the writings of Whitman in the present critical state of the world, he was affording the academic mind an example of the right use of the literature of our national past. He was attempting to mobilize those aspects of our cultural tradition most beneficial to the present emergency.

TO USE a tradition in this way, it must be granted, one must have, as a starting point, the right definition of the emergency. I can well understand why

reactionaries hold fast to the old theory that spiritual values must be locked up in an ivory tower at such a time. If they dared to invoke tradition, they would be forced either to rely on a group of writers of slight talent and now shocking import or choose so diverse a selection that its recollection would become a distraction and a waste of time.

It is interesting to note with what entire naturalness and inevitability the many authors who supported Roosevelt did weave our cultural tradition into their new creative work. During the campaign we not only had historical films about Wilson and Mark Twain, but also a considerable number of radio programs in which the folk tradition (as expressed in ballads, for instance) that owes so much to Whitman, and immediately to Carl Sandburg, brought the past to aid the present moment, and proved the continuity of the cultural tradition.

This spontaneous creative use of literary tradition was furthered by the organization of writers, both for radio and screen, and particularly in Hollywood. But in the academic world there has been no similar organization, and Samuel Sillen's anthology of the writings of Whitman is almost alone among published books in having a similarly timely intention.* He has set out to show that Whitman does not need to be modified or amended to be brought up to date, but, as he stands, is an intense corroboration of our stated objectives in the global war. And in Sillen's view, it is not merely a part of Whitman's work which is thus pertinent, but the whole body of it.

The whole development of Whitman's point of view anticipates the change from stress upon abstract principle to its concrete application, the growth of a greater awareness of the increasing hazards to democracy, which our own generation is now going through. Consequently Sillen has not

* WALT WHITMAN: POET OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, edited with an introduction by Samuel Sillen. International. \$1.50.

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isolated certain aspects of Whitman's work but given for our benefit a bird's-eye view of its entire scope.

The shrewd and fortunate result is that Sillen has been able to turn out a book which will satisfy a double demand. In addition to the one I have been stressing, he has also been able to utilize the approach so congenial to scholars, that of treating the poet's career as a totality within a definite historical framework. Sillen's introduction is therefore primarily an historical estimate in the terms of the changing events of Whitman's own period. It is applicable to ours because the same general problems remain. From this point of view the introduction is not merely of immediate use, but comes near being a definitive estimate of Whitman's position in the American tradition. I do not myself know of a book or an essay which gives a more careful and plausible an estimate.

SILLEN's introduction evidences a judiciousness in marked contrast to the extraordinary verdicts of some of our most eminent scholars. It rejects as palpably absurd Bliss Perry's statement that this poet who sat at the bedside of wounded soldiers showed "an evident detachment from the pressing concerns of American life." It refutes the equally fallacious appraisal of V. F. Calverton that the poet "was a great progressive force in terms of his own day but not in terms of today." It is interesting that a minor critic (but one closer to the common people) should have been free from these delusions of the respectable. John Burroughs, writing in 1896, was able to see that "the more democratic we become, the more we are prepared for Whitman." This is the thesis Sillen has taken over at a time, it is to be expected, when its validity will be more widely apparent.

The particular merit in Sillen's appropriating Burroughs's remark is his convincingness in proving it. Though his own insight is responsible, he has received aid from C. F. Furness' *Whitman's Workshop*, which has been generally neglected since its publication in 1928. Utilizing the fugitive prose of Whitman, Sillen can the more effectively stress the poet's international outlook in the face of the tendency to regard him as almost provincially American. His being clearly American in emotion and diction should not obscure the fact that he was as cosmopolitan in his sympathies as Jefferson, and probably more so than Lincoln. As Jefferson before

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him, Whitman held continually in mind and with growing conviction, that American democracy was part and parcel of an international movement, although he did not then have at hand the word "global" to describe it.

THE conditions of Whitman's period, of course, focussed his attention upon internal affairs, and Sillen sets out to show that his interest in politics never wavered. Of particular importance is the pamphlet he addressed to the American worker in 1856 opposing the candidacy of Buchanan. His advice to vote for Fremont shows how early Whitman became an opponent of slavery and recognized it as inimical to the welfare of the working class. But this pamphlet remained in galley proof until 1928, whereas his criticisms of the Abolitionists (which were published) have been used to justify the assertion that Whitman awoke late to the significance of the abolition movement. Mr. Sillen has only alluded to this important document. But its significance cannot be evaluated until we know why it was not published at the time. Did Whitman or his publisher hold it up? If the latter, did the poet make any effort at publication elsewhere? As it stands, the document is proof of Whitman's opinion, but without the answer to these questions critics can raise doubts as to the urgency of his conviction. This tract logically follows the political writings for the Democratic press at an earlier period, and we have sufficient evidence of his interest in politics during and after the Civil War, when he was much troubled about the relationship between social democracy and the expansion of capitalism. With this document it becomes apparent that at no period in his life was he indifferent to political issues. If the questions concerning its remaining unpublished are ever answered, the continuity of his interest will be impressively established.

Even though Sillen's entire introduction is a sufficient refutation of Perry's charge, it can be buttressed by an order of proof. What gives the charge any limited plausibility is considering the body of Whitman's poetry, in isolation from the body of prose which actually accompanied its production. When one looks at the poetry alone, its general statement may be misconstrued as want of practical interest. Whitman's poetry, it is true, is not direct political exhortation. Through specific images and human situations, it clothes with flesh and blood

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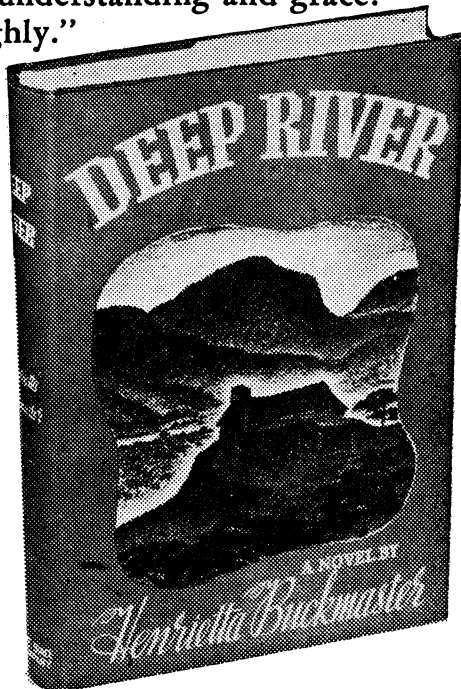
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certain/abstract principles of individual initiative, of human freedom and equality. When these basic principles are applied in another way they become the political principles of prose, with its quite different order of specific argument and illustration. Perry has ignored the esthetic distinction between poetry and prose. Actually it is ingratiating proof of the soundness of Whitman's genius that he spontaneously distinguishes between a poetic and a prose statement, recognizes that the two are supplementary. The prose applies to politics the human principles laid down and illustrated in the poetry. The disproof of Perry's statement is the very fact that Whitman felt the need to write the prose that parallels the poetry.

Indeed, one of the proofs of Whitman's genius as a poet is to be found in the changing relationship in his career between these two forms of expression. Before the Civil War, when general statement was easy, his characteristic poetic style emerged; and so adequate an expression was it of what he believed that the surprise is, rather, that he felt any urge to accompany it with a prose statement. During the Civil War, the poetic statement could reach its finest quality, but the crisis was at the same time the testing of principle and therefore called forth the *Democratic Vistas*. After the war, the vistas were less clear, the poetic statement therefore becomes more difficult, and the prose actually improves in esthetic satisfaction because it is the fit medium for the analysis of his belief in democracy and equality, when its application to life could no longer as easily be taken for granted. Later poems, like "A Song for Occupations" or "The Song of the Broad Ax," which Sillen quotes, tend to degenerate into a prosaic listing of tools and callings, not welded together by the gusto of earlier lists, even when they are no more than the picturesque names of American geography. The quality of the prose, on the other hand, gains, and I think Sillen's collection will remind us that we have paid so much attention to the poetry as to neglect the beauty of the prose rhythms in *Democratic Vistas* and later fragments. This prose should be studied for its revelation of Whitman's sensitiveness as a writer; for these new prose cadences are not the same as those in the best of his poetry, even though we are always talking about Whitman's "free verse" as though it were a kind of prose. The shift of emphasis to the prose form, which the ap-

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pearance of theoretical problems about American democracy necessitated, was also a shift of expressive power to the more suitable medium, and thus increases our respect for Whitman's craftsmanship. In fact, I felt occasionally as though Sillen were too defensive in the face of old criticisms of Whitman's laxity as an artist. He does emphasize his extreme care in writing, the result of a continual and independent study of words and techniques, which dictated revision as well as experiment. Whitman's "laxity" was well planned. For he, alone among our authors, recognized the inevitability of an idiosyncratic American diction and sentence cadence, and sought by his own writing to predict and facilitate its appearance. His oddities of expression, therefore, carry an opposite import to those of our own period in E. E. Cummings and James Joyce; they denote the emergence of a culture, rather than its dissolution, and as such, they are piquant and optimistic in their fraternal intention, in contrast to the dour retreating individualism of these later writers. Nor should one neglect the success of some of them as devices to utilize his feeling of international comradeship, and, in general, to convey with a power almost beyond analysis that healthy combination of the individualistic and the communal elements in the democratic personality.

We do not, in other words, feel in Whitman that separation between the ideal and the actual which is baffling and unpleasant in Emerson, and make us almost take him for two different persons as we pass from the skepticism of "The New England Reformers" to the noble vacuities of the "Oversoul." The two aspects of Whitman are not contradictory, but fuse in a healthy and natural way. The separation between his prose and his poetry is not the reflection of an inner dilemma, but on the contrary a recognition that life needs to be approached through both prose and poetry if it is to be comprehended in all its fullness. Whitman wisely put his speculations about his principles into prose. For he saw that these general statements in his poetry would continue to carry power under changed specific circumstances. As long as democracy continued to develop and fulfill its promise, his poetry would continue to hold value. Its statement was generous enough so that future generations could bring their own specific interpretations to it. And this is perhaps the best definition of what it means to be a poet.

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SHADOW OVER TOKYO

By JOSEPH FOSTER

THE first bombing of Tokyo was more than a mere raid. At the height of the Japanese victories, when the Japanese probably thought they were pretty hot stuff, Colonel Doolittle and his men smacked them right in the dead center of their complacency. As sheer adventure, this exploit has intrigued the imagination of all classes of chroniclers. It is not surprising therefore that Hollywood has turned to this theme several times. The latest cinematic attempt, this time by MGM, has resulted in *Thirty Second Over Tokyo*, possibly as fine a war picture as the West Coast has produced. Together with *Destination Tokyo*, and *Purple Heart*, it forms a close-knit trilogy that in toto provides a first-rate film saga.

While *Thirty Seconds* lacks surface realism, a prevailing weakness in all Hollywood productions that place the grimmest of incidents within the all-too-pretty frame, it more than makes up for it in historic realism. With a beautiful fidelity to detail, it creates a genuine documentary feel throughout all the training and flying sequences. In general, the story follows the strict military account that started with the call for volunteers almost three years ago, and ends with the successful plastering of Japan's capital. Specifically, it follows the adventures of one of the crews commanded by Captain Ted Lawson, and clothes with flesh and emotion the dry statement of the mission. It thus infuses the historical facts with a highly satisfactory personalization, and integrates both to very effective degree. While *Purple Heart* dealt with one of the crews that fell into the hands of the Japanese, this film is concerned with the hardships another crew encounters in escaping capture. To avoid the enemy the Americans must place themselves completely in the hands of the Chinese people. The section of the picture dealing with these scenes in China provides a high mark in the understanding of a people. From the moment of the crash-landing, when the flyers are rescued from certain death by a group of Chi-

nese peasant leaders, to the time when they embark for America, the Chinese people are shown to be courageous and dignified. They cannot speak English, but there is never a doubt about their sentiments or about the kind of people they are. The rock-bottom meaning of the war, as one of the commanders points out, is not a struggle between white and yellow, as some of the boys might have suspected from reading too much Hearst, but the destruction of the Far Eastern bastion of the Axis. The film, in working out the relations between the Americans and Chinese down to the most casual encounter and chance handshake, makes it tough indeed for anybody to dispute this contention.

For all the moving and poignant incidents that are present throughout the film, there are one or two defects that are disturbing beyond their importance or proportionate space. I do not refer to the lack of understanding that the boys reveal concerning the nature of the war or the enemy. It is a regrettable fact that in 1942, our men were far better equipped with technical intelligence than they were with political understanding, and to present them otherwise might have chipped the outlines of plausibility. What I refer to might in contrast to the flying scenes be called the home front scenes—the flyers with their girls, their wives, discussing babies and the like. In these relaxed interludes, the producers of the film seem to feel less obligated to their material, allowing the incidents to slop over into routine treatment. This is truest when three of the wives are shown on the beach talking about the babies they will soon have. They act as though the words have no personal meaning for them. The impulse for speech arises not from a felt emotion but from the stimulus of the cue. Consciousness of what they are saying is born in the esophagus and ends on the lips. Mind and senses are not in it. I think bad casting is as much responsible for such weakness as anything else. Instead of actresses they put glamorous girls in the roles, under the mistaken notion that flyers have to have beautiful

wives whether they can speak lines or not.

I bring up what is a comparatively small matter because it mars a splendid film and produces some moments of inexcusable movie-making. Otherwise Dalton Trumbo, who adapted the original material to the screen, Director Mervin LeRoy, Van Johnson as Captain Lawson, Spencer Tracy as Colonel Doolittle, Robert Walker and others have combined their talents to make *Thirty Seconds* a serious candidate for top honors in 1944.

“NONE BUT THE LONELY HEART” is full of memorable characters. It has moods of brooding despair and fine lyricism, but it lacks solidity and unity as a dramatic work. This might be partly because Clifford Odets, who adapted and directed the picture, spends more time on atmosphere and effect than he does on the continuity of social experience, as his actors define it. But the major fault lies, I suspect, in the attempt to graft the Odets philosophy to the Llewelyn characters of the original novel. Thus we get a tough London slummy, who is also a philosophic symbol of humanity, struggling to escape the meanness and drabness of London's lower depths. There is nothing in God's world to prevent a man from seeking dignity and beauty and decency, whatever his environment, but he must do so in terms of his own experiences, which in all cases are bound to be more limited than those of a symbol whose success depends upon an all-embracing universality. Consequently Ernie Mott, the simple striving Cockney, exercises a selection of words and ideas that often do not square with the character he is meant to be.

As a matter of fact, the film is most effective when he is bent upon following his uncomplicated impulses, when he is moved to help and protect his mother, when he decides to throw in his lot with a racketeer to raise some money, when he is impelled to fight for his sweetheart. In the pursuit of these objectives, the picture takes on some of the intensity that the gangster pictures of the *Little Caesar*

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era used to manufacture so successfully. But no sooner does the picture get moving than it changes direction and pauses to examine and discuss the emotion that underlies the action.

If the film were less diffuse Odets might have had a great film to his credit. Certainly, his characters are vastly superior to the average film personalities. The Jewish jeweler friend of his mother (Konstantin Shayne) provides one of the finest portraits ever to come upon the screen and his simple nobility is responsible for much of the fine mood that stamps the picture. Ethel Barrymore as the mother is equally effective, as is Cary Grant as Ernie Mott, George Coulouris as the racketeer, and Barry Fitzgerald as his unbelievable but philosophic pal.

The ending of the picture is extremely weak. As the light in the sky comes up like thunder, Mott concludes that the only way to climb out of the depths is to join all the people of the world who are bent upon a similar goal. It is of course, a laudable and sound conclusion, but has nothing to do with the film, since nowhere throughout its run is there a hint to justify such a realization. It is Odets talking and not Mott.

Odets has made an interesting attempt to explore some aspects of human behavior. Too bad it didn't come off.

I USED to think kindly of the title "*The Very Thought of You*," since I used to associate it with a fine Billie Holliday record. I think less of it now as the current movie at the Strand. The latest "problem" film on the question of whether the GI should marry his girl before going off to war, it is somewhat better than its predecessors, but the amount of good in it can still be squeezed through an eye-dropper. It is distinguished from the others on two counts: first, it has as its heroine Eleanor Parker, a newcomer who, although slightly uneven in her performance, has fewer tricks and more freshness in her work; and second, it is marked by some stretches of mature dialogue and adult argument.

Alvah Bessie is one of the writers on this film. As many readers of *NEW MASSES* know by his novels and his writing in this magazine, Mr. Bessie is a sensitive and knowing craftsman. It is a criminal waste of talent to use him on such nonsense as *The Very Thought of You*. I do not know if the Warners will ever read this, but if they do, I hope they realize that this flagrant misuse of

manpower is not only bad taste, but bad box-office, with which it is often held to be synonymous.

At the Theater

HAVING eased *Anna Lucasta* to Broadway, The American Negro Theater has gone right back to work with increased seriousness and vitality. This time it is director Abram Hill's dramatization of *Walk Hard—Talk Loud*, Len Zinberg's bitter-fine novel of a Negro prize-fighter, that fills the small stage at the 135th Street Library Theater.

Considering that its last two productions were of plays originally written about white people, the ANT is to be commended on its choice of a play which deals with life among Negroes. Certainly it is establishing itself as an important workshop-expression of its own people when it presents a play with creative flare. I said a long time ago that I should like to see its company in *The Taming of the Shrew*. But its real significance as a Negro theater will emerge fully only in plays that reflect the problems and experience of Negroes. Harlem is a huge and untapped potential as a theater audience. It should be axiomatic that the community's interest in the American Negro Theater will increase in direct ratio to the Theater's effective concern with its tremendously various and exciting life.

Though *Walk Hard* is a play about a Negro family, one could wish it had been more effective. The ugly, menacing shadow of Jim Crow which looms over its action would haunt any serious work about Negroes. In *Walk Hard*, however, it is an insufficient ghost; and what appears to be the true story revolves around the managerial cruelties of the fight racket. For Andy's exploitation as a fighter is fully matched by the exploitation of two white boys in the same stable. When he rebels against the murderous manager, he knocks him down, to everyone's immense satisfaction.

There is some effort to symbolize the manager as a fascist; but actually, he is merely a small-time gangster—and rather cliché at that. The occasional references to this war seem out of place and superimposed on a play which has the feel of belonging to the pre-war era. Zinberg's novel was right for its time. In its present translation, it seems slightly anachronistic and has none of the force of psychological detail which in the book wove motivation and reaction together. Andy's anger at being called a

"dinge" is at its most violent at the rise of the first curtain, but it is merely repeated to the play's climax. That is why the first act is incomparably the best and why the other two acts, failing to develop anything genuinely new, slither and slip away at the last curtain. Hill's direction, though often lively and inventive, is not piercing enough.

As we have now come to expect, there are many solid performances: among them Roy Allen's as young Andy who walks hard and talks loud, Jacky Andre's as his grandmother, Ruby Dee's as his sweetheart, Leonard Yorr's as the well-meaning manager, Joseph Kam's as the racketeer, Howard Augusta's as the beaten trainer, and Roy Harlowe's as the depraved second-string fighter. John Proctor's sets gave the action proper definition and space in spite of the handkerchief-size stage.

We must look forward hopefully to the next production of The American Negro Theater. This will be *Garden of Time*, by Owen Dodson. Meantime, although *Walk Hard* is not representative of the best work of this group, go and see it. It deserves your support.

LAURENCE STALLINGS, who long ago co-authored *What Price Glory?* is back on Broadway with a play which uses the present war for background. And precisely because he has absolutely nothing to say about why the war is being fought and yet is essentially a serious man, Stallings has forced an otherwise simple and insignificant story into a pretentious and incongruous frame. The mystical vapors with which *The Streets Are Guarded* begins and ends and which occasionally interrupt its middle action are nothing more than the author's bad conscience seeking to rationalize a work unworthy of his talent, one which evades the meaning of its time.

Exclude the prologue and the epilogue and I am willing to accept the Pharmacist Mate's obstreperous mouthings as the vagaries of a fever-stricken man having little or no relation to the play; I am willing then to take the story on its central merits: that of a straight action tale having no larger meaning. Stripped thus of its sad mumbo-jumbo, we have three fliers, three sailors, and a Dutch nurse alone and unarmed on an island in the Pacific completely surrounded by Japanese-held atolls. A Marine, escaping in a dinghy from Bataan, finds them helplessly awaiting either death or rescue. Giving them sensible leadership, he succeeds in capturing a walkie-talkie from the Japanese, reaching the American

Navy with a message, and saving the lives of his companions.

That is all there is; and though it is told fairly well and with an enviable ear for dialogue, it is not enough to fill an evening—without that larger significance which even Stallings felt it should have. Considering also that all the action takes place off-stage, the characterizations of the principals lack sufficient depth.

However, a good actor can give almost any part definition, and Stallings is fortunate in having George Mathews as the rough-but-hearty Bosun's Mate who is short on ideas but long on fighting, Phil Brown as the improvising Marine, Robertson White as the flying sergeant who resists every suggestion for action and is the first one in it, Len Doyle as the admiral who has to make the decision that will send the Marine to his death, and Jeanne Cagney who, as the sex interest, does very well in a play that might have died without this extra fillip. John Haggott's direction keeps the play moving, except in those long talky sections where not even the talk can be understood without straining. Lee Simonson built the photographically faithful sets of this John C. Wilson presentation. Rather a disappointing evening.

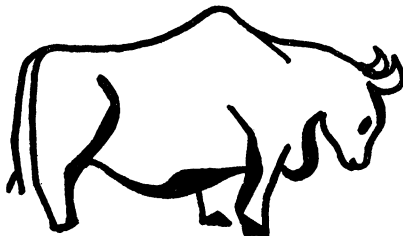
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Focus on the CIO

(Continued from page 6)

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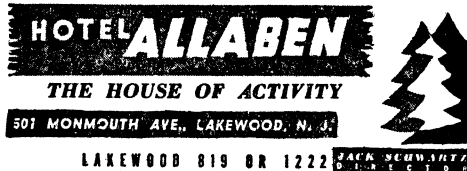
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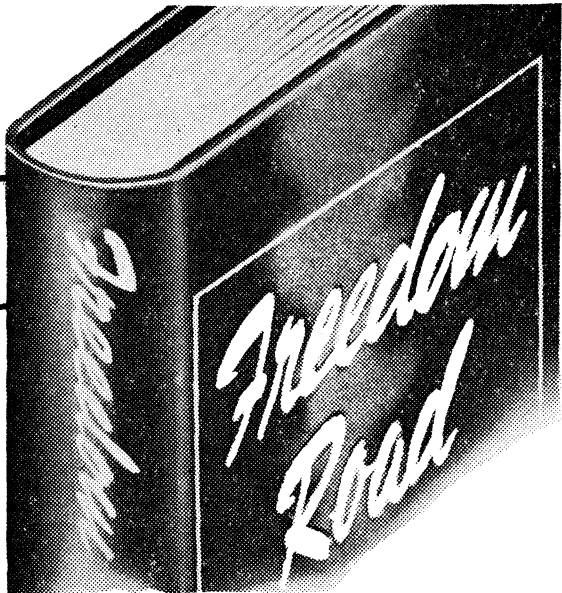
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