

NOVEMBER 30

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NEW MASSES

15¢
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THE SENATE'S CAVE DWELLERS

by Bruce Minton

THE A. P. VERSUS A FREE PRESS

by Morris U. Schappes

DIMITROV SHOWED THE WAY

by Hans Berger

AGNES SMEDLEY ON CHINA

by Frederick V. Field

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

by Paul Rosas

“SAHARA”; A STIRRING WAR FILM

Reviewed by Daniel Prentiss

BETWEEN OURSELVES

TO ALL our readers who receive this issue before Thanksgiving—we wish you a happy holiday. No doubt it isn't like most Thanksgivings. The turkey will be scarce this year, and for many people it will not even be a holiday. And for many, too, there will be the empty place, waiting for the boy to come back home after victory. Nevertheless, it seems to us a Thanksgiving with a great deal of meaning when you consider the march of history during the past year: the inexorable, growing march against those inhuman inhabitants of the globe to whom any holiday means not a warm, people's celebration but an enforced glorification of monstrosity. We may even give "thanks in advance" for what can be—surely *will* be if we insist upon it—a speedy and final end to the reign of the faceless men everywhere.

IT USED to be the custom that a few days after Thanksgiving was left behind, Christmas loomed ahead. This year, however, the Christmas season actually came in advance. First of all, there was the Xmas shopping for the men in the armed forces abroad. And even now, with the deadline for that past, the stores are already being thronged with anxious gift-seekers. For once, it seems the public is taking to heart the annual warnings to buy early, mail early. And no wonder, what with transport difficulties, shortages, understaffed postoffices, etc. While we do not pretend to run a Christmas shopping column, as many of the magazines are doing, we should like to offer a few suggestions. One is that the various war relief agencies—Russian, British, and so on—can supply some mighty nice gifts as well as greetings cards so that you will be killing two birds with one dollar. And the other suggestion is that you use the Christmas card which we enclosed in last week's NM along with Ruth McKenney's fine letter to you. We refer, of course, to the card which is not only a card but a gift subscription to your favorite magazine, for your favorite friend or relative. Here is at least one Christmas present you can take care of without fighting your way through department store aisles or worrying about the correctness of the size and color of the gift. More important—much more—you will be introducing someone to a periodical he or she should meet and learn to know well; and you will be helping along the 5,000-new-subscribers drive which ends this January.

WE STILL hear about Samuel Sillen's article, "Ira Aldridge to Paul Robeson," as well as Mr. Sillen's review of the current production of *Othello* on Broadway. One letter comes from NM's own dramatic critic, Harry Taylor, who says:

"Please convey my huzzahs to Samuel Sillen for his eloquent and deeply stirring description of the nature of the event at the Shubert Theater. I read a number of the commercial

reviews and they were, on the whole, no matter how flattering, puerile, treating the play not as something new but as something like a revival. They treated Paul Robeson as a great actor, but as *any* great actor, and nowhere indicated the slightest awareness of the national and even worldwide significance of the occasion. A magnificent job, Samuel Sillen, fully up to the magnificence of the subject."

THE staff of NEW MASSES extends its profound sympathy to Gertrude Chase, head of our advertising department, whose son-in-law, Lieut. Harry H. Dunham, has been killed in the New Guinea fighting. First Lieutenant Dunham was a pilot of the American Fifth Air Force and had received his commission in May 1941. He was sent to the southwest Pacific last April. Previous to his military service he was a newsreel editor with Pathe News. Before becoming an editor he was a newsreel cameraman, and in 1937 was

the first American cameraman to visit the Communist-controlled area of China's northern Shensi Province. He was known as an exceptionally courageous person, the stuff of which anti-fascist soldiers are made. Ten days before his death his wife, Mrs. Marion Chase Dunham, received word from the War Department that Lieutenant Dunham was missing in action; confirmation of his death came the other day from a fellow officer.

EVEN if we do have a whole back cover on the subject, we'd still like to call your attention to the forthcoming series of Joseph North on America after two years of war. The series will open with our next issue, which marks the second anniversary of Pearl Harbor. Please turn to the back cover for more information on the series, which we consider one of the most valuable pieces of reportage ever to appear in the magazine.

Alexander Kaun, whose article on Soviet poets at war was published in our special issue commemorating the twenty-sixth anniversary of the October Revolution, asks us to say that that translation of Constantine Simonov's poem "Wait for Me" (quoted in the article) was made by Dorothea Prall Radin.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Out of the Forum



IF THIS year's New York *Herald Tribune* Forum achieved real distinction it was because most of those who addressed it urged unity in the construction of peace. The Moscow Conference loomed large as the pivot of future planning and as the generator of international progress. The President's message paralleled those of Mr. Churchill and Foreign Secretary Eden; they might have been written by the same author so identical was their belief that the Moscow decisions represented a great advance in stabilizing foreign relations.

The Forum unfortunately lacked a spokesman for labor and that deficiency made for an unbalanced presentation of the problems awaiting a postwar America. Labor is beginning to do considerable thinking in the area of postwar jobs and production—thinking decidedly more realistic and intelligent than the blueprints offered the Forum, for example, by Lewis H. Brown, the president of the Johns Manville Corp. His advice might have been popular when Victoria was queen or Johnson president. In 1943 they are as archaic as they are tory.

What is especially interesting about Mr. Brown's speech is its direction towards a neo-imperialism with treacherous consequences for the nation as well as the world in which the nation lives. He proposes a policy by which other countries will surrender "strategic bases and territory" in repayment of war debts and lend-lease. He is not, naturally, explicit as to what parts of China or what slice of the British empire he covets, but his views, if they prevail in any part of the business community, will certainly jeopardize any real solution of postwar difficulties and strangle collaboration with other powers.

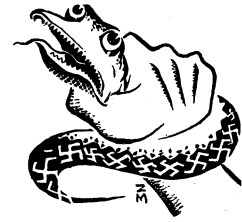
Perhaps that is exactly what Mr. Brown has in mind, for it meshes completely with his plea for non-intervention by government in the regulation of economic affairs. In other words he would steer us to the jungle where the wolf packs run without restraint. Indirectly Vice-President Wallace in his address to the Forum spoke forthrightly in condemnation of that brand of industrialist. Mr. Wallace insisted that if government cooperation was essential for wartime production, it is undoubtedly necessary in the decade following the war.

Mr. Wallace's message served also as a reply to Governor Dewey's neolithic economics. The governor, in addressing the forum, disavowed any "single formula" in solving postwar problems and thereafter promptly supplied a single formula whose principal elements were the sloughing off of government "bureaucracy" and the "concentration of power" in its hands. This has become Mr. Dewey's fixed speech and we will hear him make it a dozen times over in the next months while he waits for that draft movement to help him rescind his promises. Absent of course from any of his remarks were the achievements of the Moscow meeting. His were the usual vacuities uttered with the familiar Hoover ring. Judging from his talk one might gather that Mr. Roosevelt and his administration were the central foe rather than Hitler and Tojo. All this was quite in keeping with the new form of strategy of the GOP hierarchy of pushing foreign policy into the background.

IN CONTRAST, another Republican, Wendell Wilkie, spoke with genuine praise for the Moscow agreements "which will enable us to fight the war more efficiently and arrive at a more lasting peace." His plea for the welfare of colonial peoples showed that he was keenly sensitive to one of the great lags in Allied diplomacy. His criticism of the appeasement of "the reactionary oligarchs of Spain" as his criticism of other ambiguous phases of State Department policy were again proof that the author of *One World* can be helpful and constructive when partisan prejudices do not block his vision.

In essence those who appeared at the Forum, notwithstanding those who took a peephole view of history and had rusty axes to grind, glimpsed what problems will dominate the scene once victory is finally ours. Paul Robeson was careful to remind his listeners, however, that the realization of a democratic America was dependent on the total extermination of fascism. The Negro people particularly, he stressed, recognized that as a cardinal truth. His was an eloquent address indicting segregation, discrimination, and the poll tax, all of which kept Negroes from fully participating in the war effort. His insistence on an end to these evils made it amply clear that here was one question which need not and cannot wait for a future day.

Hull versus Nye



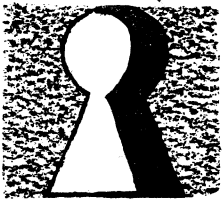
IT IS undoubtedly blasphemous to mention the names of Secretary Hull and Senator Nye in the same sentence. But in the differences between what they said last week lies the difference between the world we are trying to build and the chaos we are now fighting to overcome. The senator from North Dakota, for years one of the darlings of the political demimonde, saw no reason why Germany should be denied the right to return to fascism after the war if it wanted to. In fact, said Nye, "fascism essentially is not militaristic or aggressive." And to complete this piece of isolationist pornography, he also asserted that the "threat of Communism to America would be absent if the Roosevelt administration were eliminated."

Senatorial immunity will save Nye from prosecution, but his remarks are exactly those for which our policing agencies have interned and sent to prison any number of Bundists and Nazi disciples. For what the senator is saying is an absolute betrayal of the war and totally in line with the Goebels propaganda that Communism is the menace to our safety while fascism is not what the murder of millions attests it to be. The Nye outburst is of course, calculated to undo everything created at the Moscow Conference. And one can detect in Nye's anger the depth of the political defeat Hitler suffered as a result of the joint four-power declaration. Up until the Moscow meeting the Nazis had large ground on which to maneuver for a compromise peace. Now that area has been immensely limited. The proponents of compromise know it and their frenzy is a sign of their difficulty in retailing tainted goods.

Secretary Hull's speech before a joint meeting of Congress is an excellent antidote to isolationist poison. His survey of what was gained from his recent trip added nothing especially new to what he has already said at press conferences and what is apparent from the Moscow agreements themselves. But his reiteration of the principles evolved and his glowing appreciation of Mr. Molotov and Marshal Stalin are again proof that we have come a long way from the days when suspicion and distrust divided us from a great ally and brought tragedies in their wake. His address was also a refutation of exclusive alliances, of power poli-

tics, of dangerous international devices. The ovation he received in the House chamber was but a smaller echo of what the country as a whole feels.

Keyhole Outlook



IT is always dangerous to view the whole of any problem through the keyhole of one of its parts. It becomes particularly dangerous when one's vision is astigmatic. No group of Americans were more heartened by the results of the recent Moscow Conference of foreign ministers than were the Jews. Comments in the Jewish press indicated that the vast majority of American Jewry recognized that the Moscow decisions would hasten victory and with it the liberation of the three to four million Jews still alive in the inferno of Nazi-occupied Europe.

A few dissident voices have, however, been raised. There is, for example, the advertisement which the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe inserted in a number of newspapers and magazines. The ad led off with a grim fantasy by Ben Hecht. It seems that Hecht's Uncle Abraham, who is a ghost, attended the Moscow Conference as the representative of the murdered European Jews. He reports back that the Conference promised to "punish the Germans for murdering all the different peoples of Europe. . . . Only we were not mentioned." Moreover, "Jews do not exist, even when they are dead. In the Kremlin in Moscow, in the White House in Washington, in the Downing Street buildings where I have sat on the windowsills, I have never heard our name. The people who live in those buildings—Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill—are afraid to speak of us."

It is understandable that one who has so recently discovered the Jewish problem as Ben Hecht should be ignorant of the fact that 1,800,000 Jewish refugees from Hitler have been rescued by the Soviet Union—more than the rest of the world combined. But certainly the leaders of the Emergency Committee know the facts of life.

And even a writer of fantasy might be expected to have heard that President Roosevelt, who is "afraid to speak" of the Jews, recently denounced the suppression of Jewish newspapers by the Argentine government and thereby compelled revocation of the ban.

What about the charge that the Moscow statement on atrocities issued by President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill mentioned all the peoples of Europe except the Jews? This is a gratuitous distortion. The document in ques-

tion mentions the *countries* in which Nazi atrocities have been committed rather than the peoples who have been victimized. It declares that the criminals shall be tried and punished in those countries. Is it not stupid—interpreting it most charitably—to imply that, according to the Moscow statement, the Nazis who murder Polish Gentiles will be punished but those who murder Polish Jews will get away with it?

The fact is that only a few of the European *peoples* are mentioned in the statement on atrocities. And among those not mentioned are all the peoples of the Soviet Union!

One wonders whether the fact that among the original sponsors of the Emergency Committee were such people as William Randolph Hearst, and Herbert Hoover had anything to do with the shockingly irresponsible character of this advertisement. Certainly, it brings grist to the defeatists' mill and does a distinct disservice to the Jewish people and the United Nations war effort.

Faymonville's Recall

THE US Army's leading authority on the Soviet Union, the officer who has been uniquely correct in his estimate of the Red Army, the American soldier who has the longest and closest experience with our Soviet ally and who knows their language best—has been recalled from Moscow, reduced in rank, and stuck into Ordnance, the graveyard of many able officers.

Col. Philip R. Faymonville, until a few days ago Brigadier General, became interested in Russia as a potential ally as far back as 1915. He accompanied General Graves as a major in the Siberian expedition in 1918 where he became impressed with that country's possibilities. In 1933, when we finally recognized the Soviet Union, Faymonville was military aide to President Roosevelt. The following year he joined our Moscow Embassy as military attache.

During the next few years he became well known for maintaining, to the frequent ridicule of the brass hats, that the Red Army was a powerful fighting force. His opponents were strong enough to secure his recall in 1939, but two years later he was back in Moscow as head of a special supply mission. Finally, from January 1942 until a few weeks ago, he was chief of the US supply mission to the Soviet Union in charge of all lend-lease operations. Admired by the Russians, Brigadier General Faymonville had the deepest respect and admiration for them. During his recent stay at the Soviet capital he donated his blood to the central blood bank no less than fifteen times.

Faymonville's demotion, and his assign-

ment to inconspicuous duty far removed from US-Soviet affairs is a victory for reactionaries. It is a victory for those who fear and hate the Soviet Union. For years the pressure to cashier this able soldier has been intense. That he was able to serve his country and our alliance with the Soviet Union in the face of such opposition was an encouraging indication that intelligent counsels prevailed. That he has now been sacrificed is equally discouraging. The defeat, however, is a partial one only; Colonel Faymonville has been replaced in Moscow by an able man in the person of Maj. Gen. John R. Deane. The recall, moreover, was obviously a compromise effected in order to make possible the removal of others in our Moscow Embassy notorious for their lack of sympathy with the Soviet Union.

While India Starves



CATASTROPHE has struck the people of India in the form of devastating famine, the blame for which must be placed squarely upon the shoulders of the British government. All the signs of impending famine were 'apparent' in the spring of 1942. It was obvious then that the usual rice imports from Burma, some million and a half tons, would not be available. The rising spiral of prices was under way at that early date as a result of widespread hoarding and profiteering in anticipation of the shortage. Yet as late as October 15 of this year Leopold S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, had the temerity to announce to a British audience that the government of Bengal, where the famine is worst, had worked out a rationing scheme which was expected to be put into operation at the end of November. No plans were made for making up the shortage through imports.

What is already catastrophe for the Indian people threatens to become a first-rate calamity for the United Nations as a whole. The heart of the famine is to be found in India's easternmost provinces, Bengal, Assam, and Bihar. This is the region from which the invasion of Burma must be launched; it is the location of India's heavy industry, including the great Tata Steel and Iron Works; it is at present the base of the United Nations armed forces waiting for the opening of the Far Eastern offensive. As many as 50,000 persons are dying each week from starvation. Some place the total as high as 100,000 a week. A few reach the hospitals before they pass away, most die on the streets and on the country roadways. Our troops in the operational bases, and the workers straining to keep the wheels of production going, live in an atmosphere of epidemic disease.

Long ago the British government proved its irresponsibility in handling this greatest of all colonial questions: We cannot escape the problem; it affects us, as a member of the United Nations, directly and immediately. We have no choice but to accept our share of responsibility for a solution along with the vast majority of Britons and people of our other allies. We can and must act along three lines. First, we must exert pressure upon our government to move quickly through UNRRA and other official agencies to send food and other relief supplies to the stricken regions. Second, we must organize a people's relief fund to be sent to committees of the Indian people for the purchase of medical supplies and other specialties desperately required at this stage of the emergency. The CIO has led the way with a contribution of \$100,000. Third, our government must be persuaded to press for the release of the Indian leaders now in jail so that negotiations for the formation of a provisional government which will win the confidence of the Indian people may be reopened.

Your Bread and Butter



IT is all simple arithmetic, but the Higher Mathematics of Obfuscation is working overtime to distort and deceive in order to wreck a war measure of paramount importance, the administration's subsidy program. What the scuttling of subsidies would mean has been put in dollars-and-cents language by the OPA. Butter will rise five cents a pound immediately and will double in price by December 1944, rib roast will jump four cents a pound and will be double its present price within a year, milk will go up from fifteen cents a quart to seventeen cents and will cost thirty cents next December, and so on.

The subsidy program that the OPA and the administration request will cost \$1,500,000,000 a year. The inflationary program which an alliance of Republicans and poll-tax Democrats insist on will, even if it results in no more than a ten percent increase in food prices to the consumer, cost the nation \$15,000,000,000 a year. As President Roosevelt pointed out in his recent message to Congress on the food program: "The expenditure of very small sums makes it possible to avoid pyramiding price increases all down the line—from the producer through the processors, wholesalers, jobbers, and retailers—the cost of which runs to extremely large amounts."

The drive against subsidies is triple-pronged: the major push on the House floor, a peripheral operation before the

Senate Agricultural Committee, and a second front in the form of a Smith committee blast against the OPA, timed to coincide with the House debate. The Smith report is part of that committee's so-called investigation of federal executive agencies. Among the signers is that figleaf for reaction, Rep. Jerry Voorhees, who wrote an earlier Smith report attacking rent control. After toiling faithfully on the Dies committee for several years, Voorhees now justifies the reputation for liberalism that inexplicably clings to him by teaming up with another ultra-tory.

TO CONFUSE this whole situation still further the OPA, which is fighting for subsidies to keep prices down, has issued a new maximum price list slightly raising ceiling prices on a large number of food items. Is it any wonder that such conflicting policies induce the kind of public apathy which is the hope of the would-be subsidy-killers? President Roosevelt can be counted on to veto the subsidy ban as he did a similar move in July. But he cannot by his own efforts make sure that his veto will again be sustained or, even if it is, that the funds required for subsidies will be voted by Congress. A conspiracy is under way against the nation's war effort and against the bread and butter of every man, woman, and child in the country. Write your representative and senators today and insist that they act to scotch this conspiracy.

Restoring Life

ON THE second day of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship held in New York the weekend of November 6, a film produced by the Soviet Institute of Experimental Biology was shown to a large audience of doctors and medical scientists. "Revival of Organisms" is the austere title for a series of experiments that are possibly of the most momentous consequence to human welfare. Veteran men of science in this country shook their heads in wonderment as the film was unreeled. They were too astonished to express an opinion as to the immediate results to be expected from these experiments.

True, the maintenance of isolated organs, removed from the body, in a functioning living state has been achieved before. But the Soviet scientists went further and showed that large segments of the body and even the whole animal could be restored to life by development of the principles used in tissue and organ cultures. The revival is achieved by an apparatus known as the "autojector." This apparatus, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane explains in the spoken commentary of the film, carries out a function of the heart and lungs.

In one experiment the film shows the body of a dog amputated at the neck just above the shoulders. The head, of course, is without life and lies on the table. One part of the autojector is then connected to the carotid arteries of the head, the other arm of the autojector is connected to the carotid veins—thus the entire circulation of the dog's head is in "avostamosis" with the two parts of the autojector. The latter serves as the heart and lungs for the amputated head. While the autojector pumps oxygenated blood through the head of the dog, the head responds to stimuli as though it were still connected with a live animal. Bright light causes the eyes to blink. The tap of a hammer causes the ears to prick. Application of acid to the lips and nostrils causes reflex movement of the tongue. Thus simple, unconditioned reflexes are demonstrated to be active again.

The final and most important demonstration is the revival of a dog whose blood vessels and heart have been drained of blood, resulting in death. After the animal has been dead ten to fifteen minutes, the autojector is connected to one of the main arteries and veins of the dog and oxygenated blood is pumped back into the vascular system. Again excitement arises as the lifeless heart begins to beat and the motorless lungs begin to expand and contract until the rhythm of the heartbeat and respiration are completely restored. After three days the animal shows no trace of the death which it had suffered.

These are the crude pictures of experiments requiring careful study and ingenuity. They give one a small idea of the Soviet scientists' profound understanding of some of the most intricate mechanisms of the living organisms. The experiments are so new and startling that one can only speculate about practical consequences. Can the "autojector" be used to revive dead persons whose organs are essentially in good condition? Will the apparatus permit surgeons to operate on the brain, heart, and other vital organs without fearing shock or severe hemorrhage? If most of the body's blood can be temporarily removed from a human being, will it be possible to perform operations that cannot be carried out now?

One practical and immediate consequence of this demonstration will be to increase the respect and interest which American medical scientists feel for Soviet medicine. American doctors must learn what their Soviet colleagues are doing in order to develop their own science. To speed the process of understanding, good will, and knowledge, the American-Soviet Medical Society has launched a bi-monthly journal, the *American-Soviet Medical Review*. It will contain translations from Russian medical literature; survey articles of Soviet medicine by American experts; profiles of

leading Soviet physicians; a section devoted to war medicine and a complete review of the advances and developments in Soviet medicine. The doctors of both nations have much to contribute to each other and to humanity.

The White Collars



LEAVE it to the New York Times to diagnose a patient's ailments and then promptly prescribe a lethal dose. The patient in the case happens to be the white-collar worker and the Times investigators have discovered that about fifteen million of them have not had wage increases in keeping with the upward spiral of living costs. Here is an obvious truth of which the unions among white-collar workers are completely aware. But the Times would relieve the fifteen million by sending them into battle against organized labor because it has through united action received higher incomes and therefore supposedly increased the cost of living. The approach is characteristic of a newspaper hostile to trade unions and whose peculiar brand of economic policy will not countenance food subsidies, for example, to lower living expenses, and instead supports a federal sales tax which represents an outright pay cut for the very white collars about whom the Times is so inordinately solicitous.

If there is any friendly and rewarding advice to white-collar workers it is that their wage scales can be lifted if they learn the primary lesson by which steel or auto workers through their unions have managed their gains. As a matter of fact white-collar workers have benefitted from the labor movement's support of a realistic stabilization program. But those benefits have been indirect and accidental. Those organized office workers who know the value of a strong and united movement have the job now of organizing the others. That, coupled with a national drive for larger white-collar pay envelopes should bring quick results. In forthcoming issues of NEW MASSES more will be said about the problem as experts in the field see it.

Another Scottsboro?



TWO privates in the American Army serving in New Caledonia have been sentenced to life imprisonment after being convicted of "rape." Privates Frank Fisher, Jr. and Edward R. Lowry are both Negroes. Congressman Vito Marcantonio, who has examined the records in the case, is convinced that the conviction was a frame-up in which evidence was suppressed and third-degree methods were used. Through Marcantonio's intervention as president of the International Labor Defense the office of the

London Daily Worker

Adjutant General in Washington will undertake a special inquiry into the conviction.

According to information released by the I.L.D., records of the case show that the "rape" was in fact a transaction with a prostitute who received money from the two men as well as from a third unidentified soldier. The officer in charge of the original investigation recommended that the charges be dropped. But through the interference of apparently prejudiced white officers a general court martial was ordered, followed by the life imprisonment sentence. Further developments in the case deserve close watching by all those interested in elementary justice and Negro rights.

On Soviet Borders

WE CAN best comment on the teapot tempest about Soviet borders, which certain dubious groups and newspapers are eager to stir up, by calling on David Lloyd George, former British prime minister, to act as our guest editorialist. On Sept. 28, 1939 Lloyd George wrote to the Polish ambassador in London (we take this quotation from *The USSR and Poland* by W. P. Coates, London, October 1939):

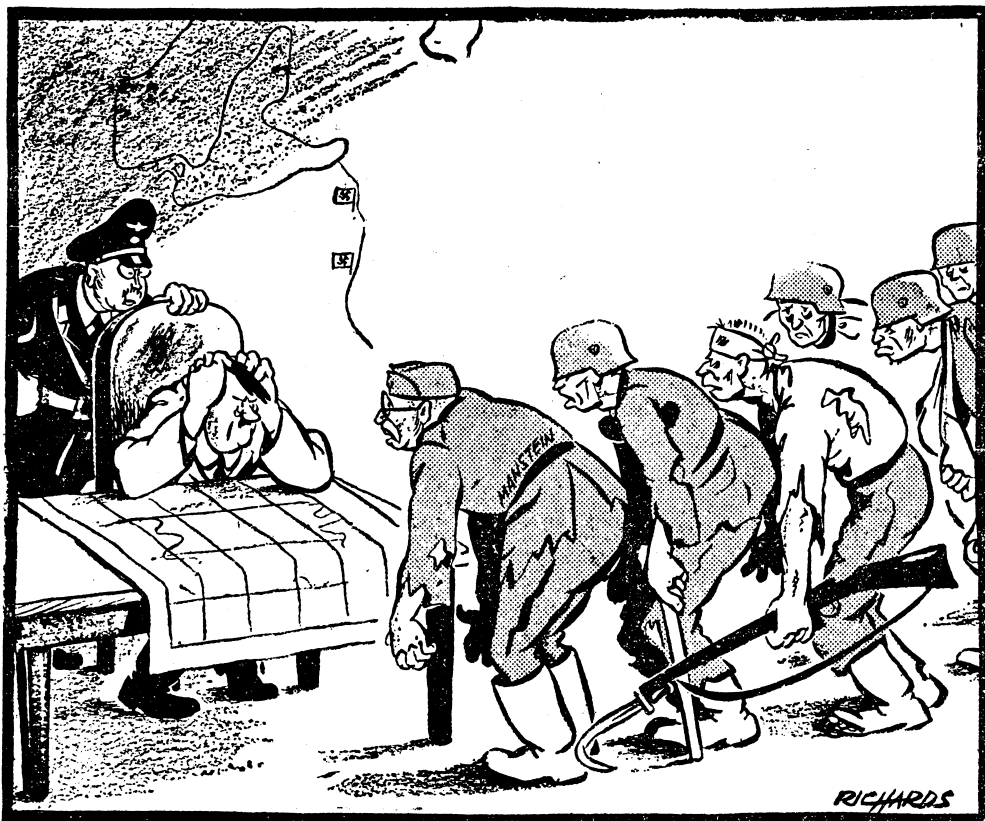
"The German invasion was designed to annex to the Reich provinces where a decided majority of the population was Polish by race, language, and tradition. On the other hand, Russian armies marched into territories which were not Polish and which were forcibly annexed by Poland after the Great War, despite the fierce protests and armed resistance by the inhabitants. Inhabitants of the Polish Ukraine are of the same race and speak the same language as their neighbors in the Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union.

"It would be an act of criminal folly to place the Russian advance in the same category as that of the Germans, although it would suit Herr Hitler's designs to do so. I am delighted that our Government has shown no indication of committing this country to such an attitude or enterprise.

"It is a notorious fact that the Polish peasantry are living in great poverty owing to the operation of the worst feudal system in Europe. That aristocracy has been practically in power for years. All the promises of concessions made from time to time to the peasants have been thwarted by its influence on recent Polish governments. That is why the advancing Russian troops are being hailed by the peasants as deliverers."

Strange Behavior

THE Post Office Department has taken an indefensible, obstructive position on the Lynch-Dickstein bills designed to ban race-hate literature from the mails. Against testimony overwhelmingly favorable to passage of such a measure from organized



THE DNEIPER BEND

labor, numerous civic groups and prominent individuals, Post Office representatives have expressed the strange notion that there is no need for such action and that, anyway, it would be too much trouble to administer the ban. In the face of the race troubles that have been deliberately provoked by seditious and fifth-column organizations and individuals, and disregarding the detailed evidence of the way the mails are

being used to incite unrest and riot, the postal officials refuse to take the matter seriously. It is hard to believe that they are not permitting themselves to be influenced by groups in this country interested in compromising our democracy and the war effort.

Congressman Samuel Weiss, chairman of the sub-committee which has conducted hearings on the bills, has announced that

15,000 communications urging affirmative action have reached him. A further barrage of letters and telegrams expressing the desire of the great majority of Americans in favor of placing a ban on race-hate literature in the mails is now in order so that the Congress as a whole may know that in this instance Post Office officials have taken a course inconsistent with the needs of national unity.

GUEST EDITORIAL

by *Julius H. Klyman*

DONKEY AND ELEPHANT

WENDELL WILLKIE's obvious ideological conflict with the Republican leadership in Missouri, and by and large in the nation as well, brings into sharp focus the contradictions in the general pattern of American political parties. It is not necessary at this time to evaluate Mr. Willkie's degree of progressivism to note the difference between him and the nabobs of the GOP. Suffice it to say that the Republican bigwigs and their 1940 standard bearer are badly out of step.

But on the other side of the political fence, within the ranks of the party of Jefferson, ideological contrasts are quite as evident. The Democratic party and the New Deal have essentially nothing in common. Instead, the New Deal is a social and economic trend maneuvering within the confines of a complicated political machine, at times forcing the machine to do its bidding, in other instances becoming that machine's captive.

The Democratic situation if anything is more complicated than its elephantine counterpart. First, the southern Democrats have become a nearly united reactionary bloc doing their best to impede or actually smash everything the New Deal has held close to its heart. Second, the New Deal must always beware of the vagaries of the powerful local political machines that give the Democratic party substance in the North and West. Certainly these machines are none too savory. That they support the New Deal is more evidence of their political acumen than of any throbbing desire to advance the cause of the people.

We have, therefore, in this nation two dominant political groups, possessing neither a political philosophy, political unanimity of purpose, nor a robust public conscience.

WHAT is the cause of this political quagmire? It is apparently the lateness with which this nation has arrived at sharp social and economic differences in compari-

son with the nations of Europe. It is simply that we were a people whose broad frontiers gave us a certain economic elasticity that only within the past two decades has found itself brought up sharply against the iron-bound limits of a rapidly changing industrial world.

True, there have been evidences of dissatisfaction with the fact that in the past, and even today, there has been no real difference in purpose between the two major parties.

The Progressives have had their say in Wisconsin and the Farmer-Laborites in Minnesota. More recently the American Labor party has spoken out strongly in New York. And it still speaks, and importantly, but only as a balance of power organization. It is as yet that and nothing else; it certainly has not reached the proportions of a primary political force even in the State wherein it functions.

This confusion within the major political ranks, confusion that did not exist in the decades of the century before 1932, cannot inevitably persist. History says this is impossible. The historical forces that always are at work will see to that. But it is safe to predict that these forces will not act swiftly enough, cannot act swiftly enough to bring about a new alignment of forces before next year's campaign. The coming political struggle will be fought under the banners of the elephant and the donkey regardless of how severely the innards of these two animals churn during the maneuvers.

THE important point to think upon, at least at this stage of the game, is that if Mr. Willkie is as liberal as he says he is and as his adherents would have us believe, if he should become his party's candidate, if he should be elected—well, what then would be Mr. Willkie's ability to put his policies into action?

Mr. Willkie's nomination, and even his

election, would not mean he would be beloved by his party, by the state and city organizations that had helped carry him to the White House. His would not be another Roosevelt honeymoon. From the beginning, his tribulations would be greater than are Franklin Roosevelt's today. For the Republican party, as a party, has almost invariably looked upon victory as a mandate from the people to carry on for the benefit of privilege, and it has proceeded through its days of power in the apparent belief that its victories were evident proof that the people were properly anesthetized.

To say that the Democratic machines, state and local, are no better than their Republican counterparts is not enough. Because as wanting as they frequently have been, and as wanton as they are on occasion, the fact remains that they more clearly have realized their dependence on the people, have been more sensitive to the people's demands and this is especially true since they have ridden to glory on President Roosevelt's coat tails.

Perhaps Mr. Willkie can be the nominee of his party in 1944 and perhaps he can't. The same imponderables exist as to his election. There remains one other possibility, and it is fraught with profound consequence if with little probability. Mr. Willkie might become an historic American figure by leading out of his party those forces that see eye-to-eye with him and aligning them, not as a third party, but as a progressive group lending its weight and consequences to that candidate who most nearly would believe in the liberal future of this land, and who was most likely to succeed in putting those beliefs into practice. That is something interesting to contemplate.

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SENATE CAVE DWELLERS

Washington.

THE Senate's first full-dress debate on foreign policy since Pearl Harbor was a curious mixture of good intentions, hot air, posturing, and dissembling. When the Senate decides to stage a show in a big way, it packs the galleries, if not the chamber itself. The press attended in droves—even the trained seals turned out to get the “feel” of the debate, though they usually shun the hard benches of the Senate press gallery. At one time, while a handful of senators lounged at their desks, drowsing resignedly as a colleague indulged in a few “remarks” which had already consumed three hours and were still going strong, the visitors filled every seat in the public gallery and were lined against the walls, while others waited outside for their chance. Only rarely was there anything approaching drama on the floor, usually when Tom Connally, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, broke in with an insulting comment. Unlike the House, the Senate prides itself on its high seriousness. The speeches were extended, to put it mildly; most senators felt called upon at one point or another to meander down the by-paths of history or constitutional precedent or philosophy. They were highly conscious of participating in a discussion that would probably get a paragraph in posterity's text books. They were also not unaware that the 1944 elections were just around the corner.

Despite the windiness, and despite the vagueness of the Connally postwar resolution as it finally passed (the wording revised to include an extract from the Moscow Declaration), the debate cannot be dismissed as inconsequential. The Senate battle had sufficient impact to prod William Green to editorialize in the *American Federationist* in favor of the Pepper amendment, and to move the CIO executive board unanimously to resolve—and to notify the Senate—that it supported the so-called “Willful Fourteen” gathered around the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill group endorsing Pepper's modifications. This action on a foreign policy issue was something of a departure for labor. And there is no doubt that the eighty-five to five vote in favor of the amended Connally resolution, though it commits the Senate to nothing specific, is morally a statement of intent to cooperate with other countries and reflects the overwhelming desire of the people for positive international commitments. (The

latest poll of the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver shows that eighty-one percent of the people favor a postwar union of nations and only eight percent oppose it.)

THE vote approving the revised Connally resolution was instructive. Some of the worst opponents of genuine international collaboration were sufficiently sensitive to the signs of the time to give it lip-service by voting for the resolution. And of the five who cast negative votes, four hold office until January 1947, and the fifth, the notorious Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, has since announced he will not run for reelection—Reynolds' political and private record is so scandalous that his renunciation appears quite farsighted. The vote of the other four Senators—Wheeler, Langer, Shipstead, and Hiram Johnson (too old and feeble to hope for another term)—will be ancient history when they again face the electorate.

Of the absentees, Senators Bridges, Bailey, Bone, Glass, and McCarran informed their colleagues that had they been present they would have voted in the affirmative. Senator LaFollette was the exception, and again his term does not expire until 1947. Thus, one generalization can be made from the vote: no senator seeking reelection in 1944 dared go on record against the resolution, and that includes such out-and-out defeatists as Nye, Danaher, and Taft.

But the oppositionists who went along did so reluctantly. Throughout the debate they made the Senate chamber reverberate with every variety of defeatist sentiment, indicating that they did not consider the resolution binding on them in any way. Curly Brooks of Illinois announced: “I support this resolution, reserving any definite future commitments.” Like so many others, Brooks voted “for the record,” without modifying his defeatist position one iota. More expansive, Walsh of Massachusetts declared: “I intend to vote for the resolution. . . . But let there be no misunderstanding of the nature of the resolution and of my position in supporting it. The resolution is an offer—not a commitment. It is expressive of a desire for a just and honorable peace, and of a willingness to cooperate in its maintenance. But as to what is a just an honorable peace and as to ways and means for its maintenance,

those are questions which cannot possibly be decided until the terms and conditions are resolved.”

In view of the approaching elections and the overwhelming public approbation of the Moscow Declaration, the bitter-enders decided on a strategic retreat. Most of them trusted that only their final vote would be remembered by constituents back home while their remarks during the debate would go unnoticed. They felt free to admit in the privacy of the Senate chamber that they endorsed the resolution with tongue in cheek and only because they relinquished no previously held position.

THE formal voting record of legislators clearly is no guide to real intentions. Recently, political observers have begun tabulating “key” votes; if a legislator is shown to have responded with a proper “yes” or a proper “no” on the final vote, he is thought to have passed the test. But voting records often conceal the truth. In the case of the Connally resolution, the final vote by itself in no way assures Senate support in the future for a coalition foreign policy, nor for that matter does it indicate that many who voted for the resolution did their utmost to rob it of all content. One lesson for 1944 is the need to understand the limitations of voting records as such. It is necessary to view the full scope of a legislator's activities, and this includes the speeches he makes, both in Congress and outside, his work on committees, etc. And another lesson for 1944 is that the people must provide the impetus to give substance and depth to such general declarations as the Connally resolution.

In the light of the above let us see how some of those who voted for the Connally resolution really felt about it, bearing in mind that they constitute a minority of the Senate, though a potent and dangerous minority. Danaher of Connecticut, for example, went along on the final ballot, but he used the debate to magnify every divisive sentiment, to berate the Soviet Union and Great Britain, to whip up chauvinistic hysteria in his own state in the expectation of cashing in on his demagogy in 1944. In fact, he quite openly admitted that his display of heartburn over the fate of Poland was directed toward winning the support of the professional Polish groups in his state which are controlled by supporters of the fascist government-in-exile. “In a state like

Connecticut," Danaher proclaimed, "there are literally thousands upon thousands of boys of Polish extraction who have gone into the armed services of the United States and who are fighting all over the world in the belief that they are going to help restore the pre-war borders of the homeland of their parents and to restore Poland." This is a new definition of why American boys serve in the armed forces. To certain dubious Polish politicians, and to the committee members playing the anti-Soviet game of the Polish government-in-exile, Danaher's concern for the pogromists and titled landlords may seem mighty persuasive.

Reynolds pursued much the same line, only more blatantly. He flooded the *Congressional Record* with letters from Polish reactionaries. He announced: "I have already had printed and shall submit in a few days an amendment to the Connally resolution which calls for the independence and the guaranty of political territorial integrity of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and all the subjugated nations of the world." Reynolds' trick was to win Senate approval of a *cordon sanitaire*; he proposed that the Senate parcel out USSR territory to the fascist barons who formerly could not agree with the Nazis over the division of the spoils. Though the Reynolds amendment failed, Danaher went for it, and so did the other isolationists.

Edwin Johnson of Colorado, posing as a proponent of collaboration, contributed his own postwar blueprint. He suggested that the Senate approve British and Russian rule of postwar Germany; Chinese and American rule of Japan; dominion status for India; and so forth. Johnson's demagoguery had no bearing on the resolution—but what fine campaign oratory it will provide for carefully selected audiences!

NOT to be outdone, Gerald Nye of North Dakota made clear what he had in mind when he voted affirmatively on the Connally resolution: "We are bearing the brunt of this war. We are underwriting it, lock, stock, and barrel, and I think it is not against any interest or unkind to anyone to mention the fact that by no stretch of the imagination is it as much our war as it is the war of our allies. We came in by the back door."

The arch defeatist, Burton K. Wheeler, embroidered Nye's contribution by calling for war on the USSR, to the huzzahs of isolationists like Hiram Johnson of California. "Great Britain honored her pledge when Poland named Germany the aggressor," said Wheeler. "It remains to be seen if she will do so if Poland invokes the guaranty as against Russia, assuming that Russia acts in accordance with her statement that she will demand a larger part of Poland."

Far shrewder, Robert Taft of Ohio—with Vandenberg of Michigan backing him up—used the debate to electioneer. It was his purpose to prove that the Roosevelt administration's foreign policy did not differ from the Republicans'. Taft started off a little unfortunately with the thought: "This is not a war of democracies against dictatorships," and spent some time slandering the Soviet Union and China. Then he got down to business: "Mr. President," he said, "I think it is particularly desirable that there be just as little dissension as possible on foreign policy between the executive and Congress, between the executive and the Senate, between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. It seems to me it is all the more necessary now because it seems to be indicated that the control of

foreign policy may pass from one party to the other next year, and I would hope that it would be a continuous and continuing foreign policy with which we have to deal." Taft later added: "It seems to me that on the whole the Moscow declaration is far more like the Mackinac resolution endorsed by the Republican Party than it is like either this [the Connally] resolution or the proposed amendment to it now pending before the Senate."

In other words, Taft's slick strategy was to take foreign policy out of the elections by proving that the Republican defeatists and doubletalkers hold the same position as those who follow the President's coalition policy. Further, he tried to kill two birds with one speech by proving that no difference over foreign policy exists between the

Underground

ONLY now detailed reports about the anti-Nazi actions in-formerly peaceful Denmark are leaking out and reaching the world. The man whom Hitler sent to Denmark to "supervise and direct" the Danish government of Minister Scavenius was Dr. Werner Best, one of the kid-glove men of the Gestapo. He first tried to handle the Danes with care, hoping to win them over to peaceful collaboration. But the plan failed.

Denmark was supposed to feed the Wehrmacht with increased deliveries of bacon, beef, and dairy products. But Dr. Best soon discovered that Danish food production instead of increasing, diminished systematically. The Gestapo found that an underground sabotage organization, working very carefully among the Danish peasants, was instructing them how to wreck butter and milk machinery. Danish cattle, the pride of the peasants, were wilfully underfed and made sick in order to deprive the Nazis of foodstuffs. Finally Dr. Best had to resort to coercion. The Gestapo and army took over. The Danish peasants were threatened with concentration camps and death penalties if sabotage continued. But continue it did. Dr. Best decided to give the Danish peasants a lesson. The whole district of Aarhus was surrounded by Elite Guard troops and police, and the farms were stripped of all foodstuffs. The farmers were ordered to give up all their cows.

Slaughter of cows or failure to deliver them was to be penalized by sentences of fifteen years at hard labor or, in more serious cases, by death.

To the astonishment of the Nazi authorities the cattle were delivered with what seemed to be great willingness. The peasants brought their cows to the established gathering place near the town of Aarhus where a Nazi commission composed of several high representatives of the Reich's Food Ministry and the Gestapo waited. Only very few peasants failed to turn up. The Nazis had reckoned that the whole affair would take two days but the job was done in a single day. In the evening, the Nazi commission staged a celebration which came to a very unexpected end. A bomb exploded in the midst of the festivities wrecking the whole building where the Nazis were holding their party and burying the members of the commission.

But this was not all that happened. When the confiscated cattle were loaded into freight cars and the train moved out of the station, a second terrific explosion occurred. The train was totally destroyed. So were all the cattle in the freight cars and many of the Nazi guards. It turned out that several of the cows had carried time bombs, skillfully attached to their bodies and camouflaged.

The Gestapo arrested many peasants and staged a special trial, but it was unable to find the organizers and perpetrators of the two bomb attacks.

Taft-Hoover isolationist wing of the Republican Party and the Willkie group, thereby seeking to neutralize Willkie's bid for the 1944 nomination. Trust Taft: he is both shrewd and far-sighted, and his every move is calculated to pay off in votes and in power for reaction. But Wheeler was pessimistic as to the success of Taft's maneuver: "Those of my friends on the Republican side who think that adoption of the resolution will take foreign affairs out of the 1944 elections are, it seems to me, laboring under a misapprehension."

So much for the 1944 election campaign as it was conducted in the Senate debate on the Connally resolution. It is quite clear that whether they voted for the resolution or against it, the opponents of international collaboration had no intention of bowing to the will of the people. They have indicated that they intend to do business throughout the war, and they can be

counted on to intensify their obstructionism when peace comes. The stressing in the Connally resolution that all treaties must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate—a restriction that gives veto power to a stubborn minority—is a warning of what can be expected. In fact, Senator Revercomb of West Virginia, tried to incorporate still another amendment in the Connally resolution to provide "that participation by the United States of America in such an organization (of international cooperation) shall be by treaty only."

This repetitious provision attracted twenty-eight votes, and aside from its author, won the support of *Aiken, Brooks, Buck, Mushfield, Butler, Byrd, Clark of Idaho, Danaher, Hawkes, Johnson of Colorado, Lodge, Millikin, Nye, Reed, Robertson, Taft, Tobey, Walsh, Wherry, Wiley, Wilson*, and the five who finally voted against the Connally resolution. The purpose of

the Revercomb amendment was once more to reiterate that the Senate was committing itself to no principle, was pledging no future policy. To a question, Revercomb declared: "I desire to have no doubt left that when the pending resolution is agreed to, if it is agreed to, we advise that if this country is taken into any world organization, it must be by treaty, which will require the bringing back to the Senate of the terms of the treaty for action thereon by the Senate." Vandenberg underlined this sentiment: "I want to assert again that in my opinion, when the Senate advises under the resolution . . . it has consented in advance to nothing by way of implementing the advice."

It is clear that the Senate defeatists remain unregenerate. They menace the progress and good health of the nation. If unrestrained, they threaten to impede victory in the war and to wreck the peace.



FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

NOVEMBER TO NOVEMBER

NOVEMBER 24 marks the anniversary of the snapping together of the great pincers around Field Marshal von Paulus' Sixth Army Group before Stalingrad. Generals Rokossovski and Yerenko, starting in the dead of night on November 19, 1942, pushed the arms of the great pincers around von Paulus and met at Kalach on the Don.

The encirclement of 330,000 picked enemy troops was the greatest "Cannae" victory in history. It was performed without the help of natural obstacles, such as a great river, a sea, or a chain of mountains, and the ring was forged of living men, guns, and tanks.

Stalingrad ushered in a year during which the Red Army has continuously held the initiative except, perhaps, for two weeks in late February (when the Germans retook the Soviet salient between the Donetz and the Bend of the Dnieper), and one week in July when the Germans attempted a great summer offensive and floundered miserably against the defenses of the Kursk salient. A year ago the Eastern Front looked like a fat paunch bulging out from near Nevel and resting on the Caucasus Range. By March 31, 1943, after the Soviet winter offensive, it had acquired a "straight front," with a cavity in the region of Kursk.

Today after the Soviet summer and fall campaigns, and at the beginning of

the winter campaign, the paunch is no more. The front meanders around the Leningrad-Odessa line, with two German salients pointing eastward on the flanks and five Soviet salients pointing westward. The Crimea has become an isolated entity, cut off as it is from the mainland by General Tolbukhin. The Soviet offensive salients are at Nevel (Gen. Yerenko), Rehitza (Gen. Rokossovski), Zhitomir (Gen. Vatutin), Krivoi Rog (Gen. Konev) and the Nogai Steppe (Gen. Tolbukhin). Down south General Petrov, hero of Sevastopol, has a foothold on the Kerch Peninsula. (Col. T. wrote before Soviet troops were ordered to leave Zhitomir for more favorable defense positions.—*The Editors*.)

Aside from the "amputation" of the huge German paunch, three separate offensive "appendices" have been amputated. These were the salients at Schluesselburg, Demyansk, and Rzhev-Vyazma.

ALL in all, during the past year the Red Army has liberated 320,000 square areas of the states of Texas and Oklahoma. miles of territory, or the equivalent of the This liberated area contains about 75,000 villages, towns, and cities. It is twice the size of Germany proper. With it were liberated sixteen major trunk lines with a total mileage of close to 5,000 (this includes trunk lines only) and half a dozen large ports on

the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

In its march westward throughout the year (nine months of mobile warfare, to be more precise, for there was a spring lull between March 31 and July 5) the Red Army covered: 200 miles along the Rzhev-Nevel direction; 250 along the Orel-Gomel direction; 400 along the Voronezh-Pripet Marshes; 500 along the Middle Don-Zhitomir; 525 along the Stalingrad-Krivoi Rog; 725 along the Grozni-Kherson. The rate of average advance over the nine-month period was 1.6 miles per day on a front of some 700 miles.

Striding forward at an amazingly steady and sustained pace, never losing its "wind" and always able to conduct a "rolling attack" with a constant shift of the strategic center of gravity from sector to sector, the Red Army crossed five major river barriers—the Don, the Donetz, the Desna, the Sozh and, finally the biggest of them all, the Dnieper. (Here it is worth reminding the reader that Russian rivers have a low eastern bank and a high western bank, which makes it hard for the Soviets, both in retreat and in advance.)

In addition to rivers, some of the toughest fortified lines were overcome. Some of these, like the one around Orel where the front had been almost stationary for a long time, had been built and improved by the Germans during almost two years. The

same can be said of the defense zone blockading Leningrad, around Schlussemburg, the "Forest Fortress" of Demyansk, and the lines on the rivers Molochnaya and Miuss, in the south.

This tremendous and, we repeat, *steady, sustained* advance was conducted against a concentration of 257 German and satellite divisions, instead of the 240 (of which 179 were German) which stood on the Eastern Front a year ago.

LET us now see what these German divisions lost during the past year. The enemy lost 1,800,000 officers and men killed (on the battlefield of Stalingrad alone, 147,210 enemy officers and men were buried by the Red Army which also buried 46,700 of its own men there). It is estimated that at least 1,700,000 men were wounded, of which—according to the German statistics—only forty percent will eventually return to the ranks. The Nazis also lost 440,000 men captured.

The Red Army destroyed or captured close to 15,000 aircraft, more than 25,000 tanks and no less than 40,000 guns of all calibers, as well as close to 50,000 mortars and 90,000 machine-guns, and captured 1,000,000 rifles with 228,000,000 rounds of ammunition.

The pincer maneuvers of the Red Army which invariably cut the railroads "from under" the enemy are clearly demonstrated by the figures on captured railroad equipment (during the July 5-Nov. 7 period alone): 415 locomotives and more than 13,000 railway cars. During this same summer period the Germans lost 76,000 trucks of which 15,000 were captured.

In the beginning of the German-Soviet war there was a superstition, nurtured by an unbroken chain of preceding military events, that the Wehrmacht was invincible. Then, after the Battle of Moscow, and especially after Stalingrad, that superstition gave way to the notion that the Germans were not *altogether* invincible, but that the Red Army could not win in the summer. The operations of the past year have disposed of that last Baldwinesque illusion.

The Soviet state has proved that it could recreate energy under the hammerblows of war. While the Germany of Hitler was losing strength, the Soviet Union was gaining strength. This shows which of the two diametrically opposite systems has real vitality.

The restoration in the Red Army of certain traditional organizational and other military forms, such as the introduction of military orders named after the great leaders of the past, the reintroduction of epaulettes (of gold and silver for commissioned officers), the wearing by Stalin of a Marshal's uniform—all this has misled people

who are quick to seize upon a historical precedent or parallel to prove that the "Soviets are returning to the old order."

This notion is completely refuted by the facts. It is clear that the greatest role in making these victories possible was played by the very socialist structure of industry and agriculture, by the collective effort of all the people, as well as by the self-sacrificing leadership of the Communist Party. It may be truly said that there is a "miracle" in the military effort of the Soviet Union—the *miracle of deeds performed in unison*. This miracle is due to the new social structure built upon the old heroic foundation of the peoples of the Soviet Union who have in the past vanquished every old world conqueror, including Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII of Sweden, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. Isn't it natural that the Red Army, feeling that it is the rightful heir of these victorious armies of Russia, should wish to make use of their

traditional symbols. It is not a circle that has been completed, but a convolution of a spiral—with the epaulettes, to take one example, returning not as a symbol of valor *and* of a measure of oppression of the common man, but as a symbol of valor *and* liberation of that common man.

AT THIS writing the Red Army, having captured the key railroad junction of Korosten and the important railroad town of Rechitza, has virtually split the German armies of the south and center. And they can be operationally reunited only by a deep retreat to a line west of the Pripet Marshes—275 miles to the Polish border, at Brest-Litovsk. No major stand can be possibly made inside the marshes, i.e. along the Baranovichi-Sarny line.

Thus the Red Army in November 1943 did to the Germans what the latter failed to do to the Red Army in November 1942. This year has turned many a table.



Eastern Front

LEWIS H. MORGAN, GREAT AMERICAN

The author of "Ancient Society," born 125 years ago, was a pioneer historical materialist. His relation to Marx. An analysis of his significance as a social evolutionist.

FASCIST oppression takes many different forms and must be fought with many different weapons. One tragically familiar form is the subjugation of "inferior slave races" by a "master Nordic race." In its attempt to disrupt the essential unity of the human race, fascism has concocted a pseudo-scientific form of anthropology to rationalize this subjugation. It refuses to see the various differences of human cultures throughout the world as the modifiable product of social evolution. On the contrary, it tries to fixate these differences as expressions of unchangeable biological "racial" differences. Thus it sees no progressive evolution of mankind in the past or in the future but only a progressive exploitation of the "inferior races" by the "superior races."

False "racist" theories are not exclusive Nazi fabrications; various aspects of these theories thrive throughout the world wherever there are forms of exploitation. Daily they make their ugly appearance in our country.

But our country has also produced the father of the real science of anthropology, Lewis Henry Morgan. Not only did he actively defend the rights of Indians, Negroes, women, and the common man of his time, but his Jeffersonian belief in liberty, equality, and fraternity and the unlimited possibilities of mankind's future development led him to demonstrate the essential evolutionary unity of the whole human family "whose necessities in similar conditions have been substantially the same." His methods and results often approached those of Karl Marx; indeed, in a certain way he paralleled them.

THIS year marks the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of both Lewis Henry Morgan, author of *Ancient Society*, and of Karl Marx, author of *Capital*. Though Marx and Morgan grew up on different continents and never met, and their main works deal with different epochs of human social evolution, they are linked together by many strong ties. It is Marx's great merit that he discovered the laws of economic and social development of the historic period; while, as Frederick Engels said, "It is Morgan's great merit that he discovered and reconstructed in its main lines" the "prehistoric basis of our written history" for "he was the first man who with expert knowledge has attempted to introduce a definite order into the history of primitive man."

In *Capital*, Marx developed from an analysis of the simple commodity, the

whole vast complexity of modern capitalist economy. Without a conscious historical materialist method, Morgan in *Ancient Society* developed out of the earliest social groups, the whole vast complexity of the various stages in the evolution of primitive society and even its transformation into civilized society.

Marx, though mainly concerned with the present and future, did extend his studies into the remote past, where he came to the same general conclusions as those Morgan had worked out quite independently and in much greater detail. Morgan in turn, though mainly concerned with the remote past, did at moments look through the present into the distant future. He then not only criticized "civilization, the society of commodity production, the basic form of present day society in a manner reminiscent of Fourier," but also spoke "of a future transformation of this society in words that Karl Marx might have used" (Engels).

MARX, developing in the more advanced political atmosphere of Europe, passed beyond the limits of the bourgeois forms of the democratic movement to become the theoretical and practical founder of the movement for a higher form of democracy, namely socialism. Morgan, growing up in a young expanding frontier country as an ardent exponent of its most progressive forces, lived his life and thoughts fundamentally within the limits of bourgeois democracy. However, his attempt to carry to a logical conclusion his sincere faith in democracy led him at times to transcend the limits of these forms and reach a point where he could foresee that:

A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.

What brought Marx, deeply rooted in European revolutionary tradition, and Morgan, firm defender of the achievements of the American Revolution, to certain similar

conclusions was that both of them were fundamentally concerned with the emancipation of mankind from ignorance and oppression. In their efforts toward this end both approached the problem from the historical materialistic viewpoint, though Marx did this clearly in a more developed and systematic way. Said Engels:

No less a man than Karl Marx had made it one of his future tasks to present the results of Morgan's researches in the light of the conclusions of his own—within certain limits, I may say our—materialistic examination of history, and thus make clear their full significance. For Morgan in his own way had discovered afresh in America the materialistic conception of history discovered by Marx forty years ago, and in his comparison of barbarism and civilization it had led him, in the main points, to the same conclusions as Marx.

Thus the historical materialist method is rooted in the soil of both America and Europe.

MORGAN began his studies with the Iroquois Indians, whom he had known since early childhood. While still a young man he discovered that their society was characterized by a democratic type of social organization and by the absence of private property. He further discovered that, unlike civilized society with its private property and the state organized on a territorial basis, primitive society is organized around kinship groups of close relatives.

But this was just the starting point in Morgan's work. Under the influence of current nineteenth century evolutionary ideas as expressed by Darwin and Spencer, Morgan assumed that the various forms of existing primitive societies were survivals of earlier stages in the evolution of human society. As the theory of biological evolution was built up by a study of the surviving present day species and the fossil remains of extinct species, so Morgan developed an evolutionary order in the field of man's pre-history by systematically studying the existing primitive tribes as well as the historical records of the ancients and the archeological remains of early man. However, he recognized the essential difference between evolution on the biological and social levels. He realized that, unlike animal species, less advanced human tribes can learn from the more advanced, provided they have already progressed sufficiently to utilize such knowledge.

In trying to arrange his material in an evolutionary sequence, Morgan felt that the Stone Age—Bronze Age—Iron Age categories then in use and still current in the



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field of pre-history were inadequate since they were based merely on a succession of artifacts. It became clear to him "that the great epochs of human progress have been identified more or less directly with the enlargement of the sources of subsistence." This is a key to the great significance of Morgan's work, for this is its materialistic foundation and it is here that his method approaches the historical materialistic method of Marx and Engels.

However, because of the lack of material at his disposal, Morgan, as he himself stated, could not fully develop a sequence based on the "successive arts of subsistence." He had to rely on "selecting such other inventions or discoveries as will afford sufficient tests of progress. . . ." He thereby also pointed the way to a further development of his own theory.

IN HIS tentative sequence Morgan divides primitive society into an earlier stage, "savagery," corresponding roughly to the hunting and fishing period, and a later stage, "barbarism," corresponding roughly to the period of domestication of plants and animals. Each of these two stages is again subdivided into lower, middle, and upper periods. Finally he traces in detail the transition from the last period of barbarism to the beginnings of civilization in ancient Greece, Rome and other early class societies.

Morgan further found that "the development of the family takes a parallel course, but here the periods have not such striking marks of differentiation" (Engels). In studying both the evolution of the "successive arts of subsistence" and the family, Morgan confirmed Engels' definition of the materialist conception of history which states that "the social organization under which the people of a particular historical epoch and a particular country live, is determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labor on the one hand and of the family on the other." Moreover, Engels pointed out ". . . the lower the development of labor and the more limited the amount of its products, and consequently, the more limited also the wealth of the society, the more the social order is found to be dominated by kinship groups."

In the study of these kinship groups, Morgan was the first to bring order into this field. First of all he made clear the nature of the gens, which is a kinship group of close relatives who cannot intermarry, and showed that it is the basic unit of tribal organization throughout the greater part of the world. He also indicated the evolutionary development of this gens from the earlier forms of the group family. But, as Engels pointed out:

Morgan did not rest here. Through the gens of the American Indians, he was enabled to make his second great advance in his field of research. In this gens, organized according to

mother-right, he discovered the primitive form out of which had developed the later gens organized according to father-right, the gens as we find it among the ancient civilized peoples. The Greek and Roman gens, the old riddle of all historians, now found its explanation in the Indian gens, and a new foundation was thus laid for the whole of primitive history.

Continuing, Engels goes still further:

This rediscovery of the primitive matriarchal gens as the earlier stage of the patriarchal gens of civilized peoples has the same importance for anthropology as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy. It enabled Morgan to outline for the first time, a history of the family in which for the present, so far as the material now available permits, at least the classic stages of development in their main outlines are now determined.

Engels finally concludes in regard to *Ancient Society*: "His book is not the work of a day. For nearly forty years he wrestled with his material, until he was completely master of it. But that also makes his book one of the few epoch-making works of our time."

MORGAN died in Rochester, N. Y., in 1881, at the age of sixty-three. Marx passed away two years later in London. The two had never met though Morgan had visited many notables in London in 1870 and 1871 while Marx lived there. In fact he may never have heard of Marx. And it was only late in his life that Marx himself became acquainted with Morgan's *Ancient Society*. But it is significant that since Marx was not able to present for publication his own notes on this volume, Engels considered it his first major duty after Marx's death in 1883 to write and publish in the following year, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the*

State with the subtitle *In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan*.

In this study Engels not only critically presents Morgan's findings embodied in *Ancient Society* but gives them a broader economic base. Moreover, as the result of Marx's and his own investigations, he considerably enlarged and developed the section dealing with the transformation of primitive society into early class society. Thus Morgan's principal findings on American Indian tribal society and the evolution of primitive society bear a unique relation to Marxism because they became, though in a more developed form, an integral part of it.

By this act Engels brought Morgan's ideas to the most progressive elements of the workers of the world and made them part of their struggle for emancipation. Both *Ancient Society* and *The Origin of the Family* have since become the two most widely read anthropological books in the world, being translated into many European languages and even some Asiatic ones. But the clearer the social implications of Morgan's scientific approach became, the more his original popularity in many official scientific circles began to wane. Opposition to his theories on the part of the professional reactionary and even liberal anthropologists began to spread, until in these circles today he is virtually buried beneath the barrage of their attacks. But like Marx, whose *Capital* has been attacked and "disproved" an endless number of times, he turned out to be a very live corpse; the more the two were buried, the more they arose again.

Although now unjustly defamed, Morgan was widely accepted during his lifetime as one of the leading anthropologists of his day. In scientific circles here and abroad evolutionary ideas were being presented by Darwin, Spencer, and Huxley, and Morgan's *Ancient Society* was considered an application of the evolutionary



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approach to a systematic study of man's early history. Within the United States, he influenced the federal government's Smithsonian Institution in its anthropological activities, worked actively in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, starting its section for anthropology and becoming president of the association in 1879, and spread popular interest in man's social history through his articles in the *Nation* and the *North American Review*. In fact, he has been called "the most powerful figure in anthropology in his day."

Although he became a man of learning and eminence, Morgan always kept the Yankee farmer's directness and shrewdness along with the dignity and intensity of the Puritan. His friends refer to the simplicity, generosity, and integrity of this slender man with reddish hair and beard and intelligent blue eyes set in a high forehead. In the scope of his ideas, the freshness and vigor of his approach to big fundamental problems, he expressed the young, growing America of the North.

THE "Yankee Morgan," as Marx and Engels called him, was born on Nov. 21, 1818, in western New York of a long line of New England ancestors dating back to 1636. Having grown up on a farm near Aurora, he learned at an early age to respect the dignity and value of human labor. He was an excellent scholar at Union College in Schenectady and at Cayuga Academy in Aurora, where he learned to master Greek and Latin which he used extensively in his later researches. He then "read the law" for three years until he passed the bar examination in 1844 at the age of twenty-six.

During this time he was an active member in an Aurora discussion club, called "The Gordian Knot." This later became a typical American secret society molded along freemason lines but with Indian rituals, eventually acquiring the name of "The New Confederacy of the Iroquois." To get ideas for authentic rituals, Morgan, one of the "sachems" of the organization, began to make frequent trips to nearby Indian camps where he observed their customs and noted them down with his characteristic ardor for scientific accuracy and detail.

After making his permanent home in Rochester in 1844, he continued his investigations and in 1851 published his first important work, *The League of Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, the first scientific account of an Indian tribe ever given to the world. Despite some additional material that has been unearthed since then, it still remains today, almost a century later, the classical description of Iroquois life.

The same year in which this book was published, he married Mary Steel, a distant relative. Through his wife and their close friend, the Rev. J. H. McIlvaine to whom he dedicated his main work, *Ancient So-*

ciety, Morgan was subjected to strong religious influences. But despite their persistent entreaties, Morgan refused, even on his deathbed, to join the Presbyterian Church. The furthest he would go was to say, "My heart is with the Christian religion." Morgan's writings themselves give the impression that he was a sort of Puritan Deist. In his *European Travel Journal*, part of which has now been edited by Prof. Leslie White, he frequently attacked, in good Jeffersonian phraseology, all forms of religious hierarchy, because "they are antagonistic to the rights of man" and are "assumptions involving usurpations." He considered the decentralized congregationalist form of church where each congregation elects its own minister as the most democratic.

TO MORGAN, as to Jefferson, centralization meant tyranny and decentralization meant liberty—whether in religion, government or in economic life. He believed that America's strength and freedom lay in keeping wealth decentralized for he warned: "Centralize property in the hands of the few and the millions are under the bondage of property." In a talk given before the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Association in 1852 called "Diffusion Against Centralization," he advocated "the distribution of property so that inequalities of wealth would be unimportant." His viewpoint was in many ways that of the most advanced elements in the American Revolution.

He showed an awareness of the conflict between capital and labor:

Capital and labor are two independent powers bound together by natural ties but usually standing in opposite ranks. Capital is very apt to encroach on labor and to seize every opportunity to dictate to labor its terms. Capital has sharp perceptions and thrifty cunning, while labor is unsuspecting and frequently in necessity. In every government, legislation should watch over the unprotected interests of labor; curbing at the same time the avaricious and hungry appetite of capital.

To him the main conflict in the world was, however, between bourgeois democracy and the old monarchist-clerical-feudal regime, and as a Jeffersonian he firmly believed that whatever conflicts appeared between capital and labor could be resolved on the basis of the American economic and political institutions of his day. "Our institutions are unrivalled," he wrote, "and our people the most advanced in intelligence and in diffused property upon the surface of the earth."

He did not understand—and perhaps did not even try to understand—the contradictions of industrial capitalism, though they were developing before his eyes. Consequently he did not understand the problem of socialism. While it is strange that a man

with his interest in public affairs left no written indication of his views on current socialist theories, it is also significant that he never attacked them. However, he recognized the political significance of the common man in our history for in 1852 he wrote almost prophetically: "When the crisis of our fate as a free Republic shall arise, it will be found that the freeholders of the country, who consist principally of farmers, mechanics, and day-laborers, will be the preservers of our institutions, and the defenders of our liberties."

This was not a temporary attitude. Twenty years later when in England, he sadly recognized the close tie-up of British business with the aristocracy. After talking with a worker in Hyde Park he remarked that the British workingmen will "someday rise upon the merchants and traders as well as the aristocrats and push them out of the way in one body."

Morgan arrived in Paris in June 1871, a month after the suppression of the Commune. Although he nowhere indicates that he understood the socialist nature of the Commune, he nevertheless sympathizes with the workers who fought on the barricades for their rights because they "were honest men with patriotic aims." He violently denounced the barbaric mass executions of the Communards by the reactionary elements whom he hated with all the bitterness in his heart.

On leaving Paris Morgan remarked:

One thing is becoming plainer with each and every day, namely, that the commercial classes are soon to take all governments into their hands. As governments have now become mere instrumentalities for the creation and protection of property, the interest which is chief must in time assume absolute control. Divine Right must give way to Commercial Right. Along with this tendency we notice another, namely that commercial men, as soon as they get money, become aristocrats, and give their influence, such as is, on the side of privileged classes. When their day is over, the turn of the people will come.

That on critical occasions Morgan could rise above the limitations of bourgeois forms of property is not accidental. It is undoubtedly the result of his close study of primitive society and his realization that the democracy of primitive tribes was closely tied up with the absence of private property in the means of production. The author of a work like *Ancient Society* could never have been a Tory.

IN THE 1850's he began to invest his money in an iron mine and smelter called eventually the Morgan Iron Co., and a railroad in Michigan which yielded him such high returns that by 1862 he was able to retire from active law practice and devote the rest of his life to scientific research. At his death he left a fortune of \$100,000, most of which he bequeathed

to the establishment of a woman's college at the University of Rochester.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, he was elected to the New York State Assembly on the Republican ticket. His activities as an assemblyman have not yet been brought to light but we know that he numbered among his personal friends, many ardent Abolitionists such as Samuel D. Porter, an active worker in the "Underground Railroad"; Calvin B. Husin, anti-slavery editor, both of Rochester; and Wendell Phillips, who later became a socialist. He expressed violent abhorrence of slavery, demanded that the Civil War be carried to the bitter end and that Jefferson Davis and the southern leaders be deprived of their property and expelled from the country. He finally was elected state senator in 1868 on a platform which denounced President Johnson's compromise plan favoring the defeated slave owners of the South.

During the period of the fifties and early sixties, he made many field trips to various parts of the United States and was surprised to find that the form of kinship organization of most Indians was similar to that of the Iroquois. Through worldwide questionnaires sent out by him with the cooperation of the Smithsonian Institution he discovered from the study of over 139 tribes many startling similarities in kinship organization everywhere. On the basis of this, he was able to present for the first time a theory of the evolution of the family. This he did in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, which was completed in 1864 and was printed in 1871 by the Smithsonian Institution at government expense.

His most important work, *Ancient Society*, which undoubtedly shows influences of his European trip, appeared in 1877. This was followed in 1881, the year of his death, by *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*. The latter work is unique in that it discusses the structure and grouping of houses in terms of social organization of the tribes. This method of approach anthropologists have since ignored, confining themselves mainly to mere descriptions of primitive houses.

SINCE Morgan's death, a tremendous amount of new material concerning details of the life of numerous tribes has been collected. This naturally necessitates the correction of some of his data and the modification and even reversal of certain of Morgan's secondary theses developed in *Ancient Society*. Engels already pointed this out many years ago. In fact all science progresses in this way. But such a positive reevaluation of Morgan's work is yet to be done, though it already has begun in the Soviet Union. There Morgan's work is being used as the basis for a truly scientific anthropology.

In all other countries, including our own, the so-called critiques of Morgan by pro-

fessional anthropologists have been essentially negative. In this respect the attacks parallel those of the professional economists against Marx. In both cases, they admit the scope and caliber of the works they criticize. They may even admit many of the details uncovered have lasting value, but then they turn their academic slingshots on the fundamental principles which these two men have permanently established.

This is not the place to evaluate critically the specific theories of Morgan nor to answer the various attacks levied against him. All that can be done is to give a survey of the nature of these attacks.

TO BEGIN with, Morgan, like Marx, has suffered widely from a type of criticism which disproves things he never said (as Bernhard J. Stern shows so well in his article entitled "Franz Boas as Scientist and Citizen" in the fall, 1943, issue of *Science and Society*). However, the most widespread method of attacking Morgan is to "disprove" his main theses by amassing individual cases which do not seem to fit into his history of the family or the general social evolutionary order he suggested—and suggested tentatively. This approach is fundamentally anti-dialectical since it mechanically tries to force a given tribe or institution into a water-tight compartment—and naturally fails. It does not recognize the infinite number of complexities and the infinite number of evolving, transitional, and declining forms that characterize social structures. But Morgan, like Marx, cannot be disproved by this sterile method.

Closely related to that line of attack is another which refuses to recognize the productive system as the *foundation* of a social structure. This anti-materialist approach takes various forms. In some cases it results in a purely idealistic viewpoint, giving primacy to "psychological" or "spiritual" factors. In others it results in the agnostic attitude that no one phase of culture can be considered more important than any other and that therefore the productive system is only one of many equally important factors. In other words, the design of a basket may become as important as the food that goes into it.

Because such anthropologists do not understand that the productive system is the basis of all culture, they have no criterion by which to measure progress and so they conclude that there is no progress. Consequently the whole problem of social evolution becomes so complicated to them that it appears to defy solution. For such anthropologists the rich and fertile concept of *growth* has degenerated into the sterile concept of mere "change," which causes them to skid around and get lost in the mire of "cultural diffusion." Consequently they do not try to substitute any scheme of social evolution for Morgan's. Fantastic as it may seem, most of our American anthropologists reach a climax in their anti-

dialectical, anti-materialist philosophy by rejecting the very idea of an evolutionary approach in their science, calling it an "out-moded nineteenth century method." Some of them do not go quite this far but, as agnostics, they get lost in the often esoteric details of the life of the individual tribes, producing at most limited and local theories of development.

IN FAIRNESS to these scientists, however, it must be admitted that their fundamentally unscientific approach has not prevented them from gathering a mass of valuable material. But the approach has kept them from knowing what to do with this material. Furthermore, this anti-evolutionary or agnostic approach has not prevented some of them from developing certain progressive ideas in their science or from identifying themselves with progressive movements outside of their field. A few even consider themselves "Marxists." In fact, the present theoretical chaos in anthropology permits many anthropologists to go around with a most peculiar kaleidoscopic mixture of progressive and conservative, scientific and unscientific ideas.

This is not merely an academic issue concerning the dead past. As such it would have only minor importance. It is also a vital issue concerning the living present and the emerging future. Scientists who can see no order in the past can see none in the present and future. And this anti-evolutionary approach, carried to its logical conclusion, leads in the direction of a fascist pseudo-scientific anthropology. For the ideology of fascism is the culmination of everything that is anti-evolutionary.

What is necessary is a critique of the critiques of the anthropology of Morgan-Marx-Engels, somewhat as Lenin's *Empirio-Criticism* refuted the anti-dialectical and anti-materialistic scientists of his day. Such a housecleaning must take place so that American anthropology can build, as Soviet anthropology is now doing, a real science based on the foundations laid by Morgan, Marx, and Engels. In this way we can most effectively counter the false racist and imperialistic propaganda which has reached its climax not merely in a fascist pseudo-science, but much more important, in its horrible practice of mass murder and mass oppression of so-called "inferior slave peoples."

Thus we shall not only enrich our American scientific heritage, but will make our scientific knowledge of the evolution of mankind a stronger and sharper weapon in the struggle to kill fascism and bring about the unity of the human race.

PAUL ROSAS.

Mr. Rosas' article is based on a larger work to be issued by International Publishers. All quotations from Engels are from his two prefaces to "The Origin of the Family."

HOW FREE IS THE FREE PRESS?

The implications of the court decision versus the Associated Press. Morris U. Schappes shows how the AP's monopoly practices work in favor of reaction.

A FUNDAMENTAL issue of great moment to our democracy has been temporarily decided in favor of that democracy. I refer to the opinion written by Chief Justice Learned Hand for the District Court of the United States in the Southern District of New York, in the suit brought by the government against the Associated Press. Although the opinion was given some weeks ago, it has implications that go far beyond the "timely" aspects of the case under consideration. (Since the AP and others connected with its defense, like Col. Robert McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune*, will appeal the decision to the US Supreme Court, the matter is not closed, but all democrats will hope to see the lower court's decision affirmed.) Justice Hand's opinion is a searching, statesman-like paper worthy of study by all who are now examining anew, in the light of our war experiences, the full meaning of the process of democracy.

The foundation for the opinion is the finding by the court that *news as such* is "affected with a public interest" and should not be handled, even commercially, only as a business. Justice Hand avers: "... neither exclusively nor even primarily, are the interests of the newspaper industry conclusive; for that industry serves one of the most vital of all general interests: the dissemination of news from as many different sources, and with as many different facets and colors as possible. That interest is closely akin to, if indeed it is not the same as, the interest protected by the first amendment; . . ." Justice Hand's opinion analyzes the press as it now exists, bringing an uncommon awareness of reality to a complex problem. For the Court found that the AP, as now constituted—despite certain *ad hoc* modifications hastily made after the government began its suit—is revealed by its by-laws to be a monopoly in restraint of the trade in and dissemination of news. Therefore the Court issued certain injunctions to prevent the AP from continuing to operate under its present by-laws; staying the injunction, however, until the Supreme Court could finally determine the issues.

In defining the AP as a monopoly, the Court also indirectly added strength to the vital idea that the entire commercial press of our nation is not the "free" press it loudly claims to be—that it is, rather, the principal means yet devised by the owners of the giant newspaper industry for dominating the public mind. The Court's opinion notes that the AP is "the chief single source of news for the American press." The

private agency that dominates the *source* of news clearly also dominates the life-lines of information without which democracy is always in danger of being a hollow deception. From the founding of our nation there has been a continual, many-angled struggle between those who would sacrifice the public need to their private wills and fortunes, and those who have fought to extend the boundaries of the public interest. From roads to post-offices to what are now

known as "public utilities" (although they are still privately owned), the battle has raged; and from time to time the progressives have been successful. Each victory gave a broader base to our democracy. Were news to be declared a "public" article of necessary usefulness, the possibility of regulating its gathering and publication in the public interest would be affirmed and furthered.

Now the AP as the source of news is an

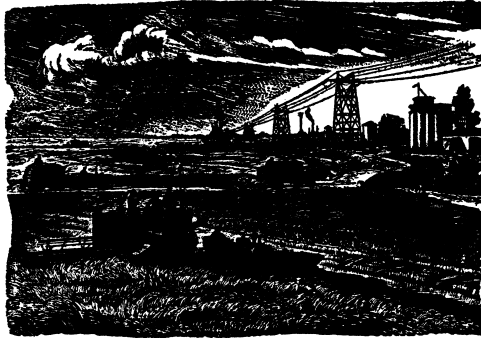


Pin-up Girl.

organism worthy of examination. How and to what extent does the very nature of the Associated Press and its methods of selecting, reporting, and writing news make the AP an inseparable part and tool of the dominant American press? The heart of the problem lies in understanding the structure of the AP. In filing its reply of Oct. 28, 1942, to the civil suit brought by the government, the organization describes itself as "a mutual cooperative association." Its 1,252 members (since then increased to 1,274) "are the owners of newspapers published through the United States and in certain parts of the world." Furthermore, "AP is prohibited by its charter from making a profit or declaring dividends." And as the *New York Times* pointed out editorially on Oct. 28, 1942, when it published the full text of the AP's reply, not only does the Associated Press not make a profit or pay dividends to its members, but "on the contrary, its individual members are assessed for the cost of gathering and distributing the news with which they are supplied." The Federal Court accepted the claim that the AP "is not a profit-making company."

If it is amusing to find the *New York Times*, which is itself a highly profitable segment of big business, implying that there is a certain special virtue and innocence attached to its belonging to a *non-profit-making* cooperative, it is still worthwhile analyzing the implication. The point at issue is whether, under capitalism, a profit must be shown at each stage in a complicated production process or only out of the final product.

For instance, United States Steel, decidedly a profit-making enterprise, has many so-called "captive" mines. These mines are owned by US Steel, and they produce coal exclusively for its use. The "captive" mines do not, and need not, show a profit (although a change in the book-keeping technique could have them show a profit which would later revert to US Steel anyway). The "captive" mine, therefore, which provides the raw material to US Steel at a price lower than it would have to pay in the open coal market, is a non-profit-making institution! But the "captive" mines are not cooperatively owned. Now if US Steel and one or more of its comparatively small competitors jointly acquired certain "captive" mines and assessed themselves payment for the coal in certain commonly agreeable proportions, we should have the Associated Captive Mines, a non-profit-making cooperative. Surely no special virtue would attach to these mines as non-capitalist institutions that do not themselves show a profit but merely make it possible for the steel mill owners to make their profit. These mines would be a part of the capitalist relations of production. And by the same token the Associated Press, non-profit-making cooperative though it may be, is a part of the capi-



talist relations of production that determine the operation of the American press. (Roy Howard, once a member of the AP, has denied, as have others, that the AP is in fact a democratically controlled cooperative, but for the purpose of this analysis it is just as well to accept the AP at its own face value.)

WHAT are the requirements for membership in this cooperative? First, a sizable amount of money for mere initiation. No paper without heavy capitalization and a lot of liquid capital need even apply. The extent of the initiation fee is indicated in a news item in the *New York Times* of Feb. 10, 1943. According to amendments to the by-laws made by the AP at a previous meeting, which tended to reduce the initiation fee, the applicant must hereafter be prepared to pay "ten percent of the total amount of the regular assessments paid by the members in that field since 1900." This would mean in trade union terms that the initiation fee would be ten percent of what the members who have belonged to the union for forty-three years have paid in total dues! And yet the *New York Times*, and many another member paper of the Associated Press, is frequently to be found condemning the "prohibitive" initiation fees of some of the more "exclusive" old line craft unions!

The following table, published in the *Times*, gives an idea of what an applicant to the AP must be prepared to pay in cash for initiation:

Cities	Morning papers	Afternoon papers
New York	\$824,333	\$575,003
Chicago	334,250	342,310
Detroit	152,789	154,606
Los Angeles	228,126	134,709
St. Louis	182,323	186,882
Washington	118,930	88,293
Baltimore	169,163	148,658
Boston	253,680	218,917
Cleveland	144,865	131,474
Philadelphia	286,719	288,115
Pittsburgh	188,598	147,606

The provident applicant for an Associated Press franchise will also, of course, have determined the approximate range of his *annual assessment* for the AP services. The current annual assessment, according to the president of the AP, can be estimated from the following table, derived

from figures published in the same article in the *Times*:

Cities	Morning papers	Afternoon papers
New York	\$477,981	\$365,001
Chicago	138,877	198,591
Detroit	91,310	100,234
Los Angeles	164,422	52,217
St. Louis	77,974	90,601
Washington	61,474	60,991
Baltimore	69,733	97,749
Boston	112,253	103,342
Cleveland	66,907	68,187
Philadelphia	130,391	142,639
Pittsburgh	63,901	61,732

In all instances it will be understood of course that smaller papers will pay less, both as initiation fee and as current assessment; yet in all cases it is obvious that only the newspaper owner with adequate capital can afford to belong.

THERE are, however, other requirements for admission to membership besides the financial. Until Feb. 9, 1943, the applicant had to be elected by a four-fifths vote of the membership; moreover, any member in the same field (that is, operating in the same city at the same time—morning or afternoon) was able to exercise his "right of protest" and by his sole vote exclude the applicant from membership. This practice led rejected applicants, or applicants who expected to be rejected, to seek to buy up an existing franchise from an expiring newspaper enterprise as a method of avoiding the selective process of "election." On February 9, however, the AP changed its by-laws to allow election by a majority rather than four-fifths of the membership and to prevent blackballing by one competitor of the applicant. The *Times* story of February 10 cites the reason for the alteration: "That action followed threat of an anti-trust suit, which was filed by the Department of Justice four months later, on August 28, but has not yet been tried."

It must be assumed that various factors enter into the reasoning behind the election or rejection of an applicant. Prominent of course is the strictly newspaper business aspect of reducing competition or keeping a competitor at a certain disadvantage. Recently another reason seems to have come to the fore, and it seems to have been a significant element in rejecting the application of the *Chicago Sun*, owned by Marshall Field, reputed to be in command of a fortune of more than one hundred millions of dollars. But Mr. Field, who might ordinarily be regarded as safe enough even for the Associated Press, owns the *New York newspaper PM*, which has been denounced as radical and communistic by the same kind of mentality that applies such terms to the New Deal, President Roosevelt and the advocates of a genuine second front. This liberal capitalist, finding his home city, Chicago, without a morning paper to challenge the defeatism and general viciousness

of the Chicago *Tribune*, established the *Sun* as a rival morning daily. In due time he applied for membership in the AP, and was turned down.

In explanation, it was said that the Chicago *Sun's* reporters could not be trusted to do the kind of job that the thousands of reporters for AP members were habitually doing. The fact that a good number of the reporters engaged by the *Sun* had once worked on AP member papers was not relevant. The essence of this thinking is to be found, I think, in the editorial in the *New York Times* of Oct. 28, 1942, from which I have already quoted: "Why is Associated Press news 'accurate'? Fundamentally because the organization has the right—which Mr. [former Assistant Attorney-General] Arnold would destroy—to choose the local members upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of gathering local news. Why is Associated Press news 'nonpartisan'? Fundamentally because of the cooperative nature of the organization, with a membership representing a cross-section of opinion on all issues of general interest, and because this membership has the present power to take disciplinary action against any member who departs from the standard of integrity in the reporting of the news."

Perhaps it should be explained that local news gathered by the reporters of the local AP member paper becomes the property of the entire AP. That is why the story known as the "Guadalcanal lie," originating in the AP paper, the *Akron Beacon-Journal*, was flashed to all the other papers as an AP dispatch—(The story falsely reported, a Congressional investigation ascertained, that merchant seamen, members of the National Maritime Union, had refused to unload munitions at Guadalcanal.) Now, apparently, those who effectively excluded the Chicago *Sun* seem to have feared that the reporters were unfit to bear "the responsibility of gathering local news," and the "cross-section of opinion" represented by the AP would be needlessly extended if it included the opinions of Marshall Field! Whatever the merits of the case may be, it should be absolutely clear that the AP has, and must of necessity have, a certain fundamental editorial policy which is common to all the member newspapers. The myth of the AP's non-profit-making, its cooperative impartiality, would now seem to go the way of other myths that seek to hide the nature of the commercial press as a class-conscious institution.

THE way the AP reflects its character was once described by Oswald Garrison Villard, then one of the eighteen directors of the Associated Press that govern its conduct. Writing in the *Nation*, April 16, 1930, Villard said: "Thus, if there are labor troubles in Pennsylvania or in the southern states, the news is affected by the bias of the local Associated Press dailies,

unless the issue becomes one of such magnitude that a special correspondent is sent to the scene; even he will have to rely upon member help if there is a large territory to be covered. Since the newspapers of the great industrial towns of Pennsylvania are usually controlled, directly or indirectly, through advertising or ownership, by the large capitalists, it is obvious that in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred their reports will represent the view of the employing class, just as, if there were a group of labor dailies in the Associated Press in a given territory, its news from that section would inevitably reflect the labor point of view."

There Mr. Villard has stated the matter pithily: no deliberate suppression practiced or perhaps intended by any one individual, but a thoroughly false picture nevertheless, conveyed throughout the land by the very nature of the structure of the Associated Press! The nature of the AP's membership is the best guarantee that certain matters will be treated in a manner satisfactory to the basic interests of all the publishers. *Fortune*, in an article published February, 1937, recognizes this situation: "For it must be remembered that the AP, as a cooperative, draws most of its domestic news from its own member newspapers. Therefore, the quality of AP impartiality may approximate the impartiality of the entire US daily press; like a stream it cannot rise above its source. And since the US press is prevailingly capitalistic and overwhelmingly conservative, that level of impartiality may not satisfy a man like Oswald Garri-

son Villard, who, a one-time AP director, declared the service constitutionally incapable of doing justice to the underprivileged." In the same article, *Fortune* goes on to show how the very manner in which the AP sometimes sends out its news, reveals its bent. The point is that there are alternative ways of handling the filing of news, and the editors of the AP service must choose one or another in accordance with their editorial policy.

Remembering how often public officials, including Elmer Davis of the OWI and Under-Secretary of War Patterson, have been compelled to criticize the press (not any particular paper or group of papers, but the press as a whole) for its handling of war news, one may well infer that the problem is in large part concerned with the source of most of the news, the AP. It is ironical that the AP boasts of its being a non-profit-making-institution. That the claim is fraudulent, I have already demonstrated. But what immediately concerns us is that, even if the by-laws are changed and Marshall Field and others get franchises, the AP may still continue to handle its material in such a way as to threaten the national interest. Against such a dread outcome, Justice Hand's opinion and the decision of the court over which he presides are definitely obstacles.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

The bulk of this article consists of a chapter of a projected book on the American Press.

From "Siege"

In the deserted suburbs,
sitting on the stone steps
are the children who could not run away.

Staring at the ruins,
they whimper and do not understand
the widening pain in their bodies,

nor the bellies swollen
with the sharp paradox of hunger,
and the motherless evenings.

They must remain here until
one by one they stumble to the ground
and the heart simply stops.

Riders through the hidden towns
come upon these pitifully slain,
who bear no sign of wound or sorrow
but are merely unalive, like toys.

NORMAN ROSTEN.

(Reprinted from "The Fourth Decade" just published by Farrar and Rinehart, reviewed on page 26 of this issue.)

SLINGS AND ARROWS

Paul Scheffer, the Nazi journalist, who has been revealed as on the loose in this country, doing odd jobs for both the New York "Times" and the Office of Strategic Services, has good company in the latter organization. Another member of the OSS staff is Eleanor Clark, one time wife of Leon Trotsky's confidential secretary, Jan Frank. Miss Clark's highly confidential job is, highly confidentially, to point out to some members of the US Government which members of European underground movements they can most safely work with.

Kyle Crichton, associate editor of Collier's, has written a novel, "The Proud People," to be published in the spring by Scribners. It is his first novel and deals with national groups in the southwest of this country.

Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York "Times," went to Russia on a Red Cross passport and therefore is not permitted to make public speeches about his trip. But at a series of private lunches, Mr. Sulzberger has been quietly and very suavely attacking the Soviet Union. "It is the last tyranny in Europe"; "it obviously doesn't matter how many men are killed since they are just cannon fodder," etc. And then he turns archly to his Wall Street audience, drinking this all in, and remarks: "But my editorials in the 'Times' show you pretty much where I stand on Russia, eh?" At that, we guess they do.

Sulzberger was particularly peeved over the fact that an appointment he had with Stalin was called off because the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet armies had to go to the front. It was really most rude.

Heinrich Mann, author of some of the most widely read novels in Europe, is now working at his California home on his second novel written in this country. Alfred Doebelin, another German refugee writer in Hollywood, has written a long novel of 1,500 pages on the stormy events at the end of the last war. So far he has been unable to find a publisher.

As Madam Ivy Litvinov was leaving Grand Central Station, surrounded by a large group of friends, to begin her trip back to the USSR, a Negro redcap pushed his way through the throng. "I just want to tell you, Mrs. Litvinov," he said, "that I send my greetin's to the Red Army on their magnificent fight. They're savin' my boy's life, an' I know it."

The Church in underground Europe has been taking steps to formulate its position in the postwar world. Underground documents are now circulating inside Hitler's Fortress showing that the Church is actively occupying itself with the punishment of war criminals "not for the sake of revenge, but because justice of God demands that it should be so." Another sentence runs: "Crime is not only a social evil; it is also sin." In Norway, Holland, France, churchmen have been secretly helping nationals against Nazi terrorism.

In Holland the Nazis accuse the clergy of "combing the Gospel for texts" against them. The Amsterdam Nazi weekly "Volk en Vaterland" complained: "Nowhere is a more virulent hatred preached by people who call themselves Christians than from the pulpit. Without generalizing, it can be said that an embarrassing number of these shepherds are

examples of this kind of conduct. They comb the Gospel for texts, which, after the necessary mutilations, are used as a parallel for the present times."

Permits to listen to foreign radios in Germany have been withdrawn from all foreign reporters except the Swiss and Swedish. Also, all bags of correspondents must be opened before they enter the Ministry of Information for press conferences. Only neutrals may now ask questions. Attendance has fallen off two-thirds. The Foreign Press Club has been "gleichgeschaltet." Two Danish reporters were recently arrested, jailed, and deported for overstepping the vague line between reporting and espionage which the Nazis draw. A Lithuanian reporter was sent to labor on a Prussian farm for asking "embarrassing" questions at press conferences. One was forbidden to work in Germany for listening to the Moscow radio.

The president of the Foreign Press Club in Berlin, a Swede named Bertild Svahnstroem, of Stockholm's "Tidningen," was told by Goebbels to resign from the presidency or else leave Germany. Svahnstroem resigned and his place was taken by an Italian "puppet" reporter. After that the Nazis withdrew Svahnstroem's telephone and telegraph facilities, thus forcing him to leave Germany anyhow.

The readings in American poetry at the New York Public Library every Tuesday evening, organized by May Sarton, have been drawing overflow throngs. The readings were organized as a public service in wartime on the lines of Myra Hess' concerts in the National Gallery in London, which also had overflow attendance. There is now a plan afoot to continue them, perhaps at the Museum of Modern Art.

The State Department, which before the Moscow conference of foreign ministers opposed the formation of a Free Germany Committee in this country, is now willing to permit it. Thomas Mann has been invited to work on it.

Two million five hundred thousand copies of the Esso War Map II featuring "The World Island, Fortress Europe," have been distributed. The American-Russian Institute did the USSR part of the map.

William C. Bullitt donated two and a half million dollars to the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee for his recent Mayoralty campaign and still didn't win. He was not invited to the Soviet Embassy's November 7 celebration but crashed it, tagging along with his friend Attorney-General Francis Biddle.

One of the eminent physicians at the American-Soviet Congress told of a hospital they were looking for in a distant village. It was so completely camouflaged that it was finally traced only by the sound of an accordion being played inside.

This physician also told of the generous glasses of vodka offered the visitors by the Russian doctors. The Americans demurred. "You don't want us to be patients in your hospital, do you?" they asked.

PARTISAN.

DIMITROV SHOWED THE WAY

The man who ten years ago indicted the Nazis in their own infamous Leipzig court. How he charted the course for the defeat of fascism.

THE Bulgarian Communist, George Dimitrov, lived in Germany as a political exile before Hitler came to power. When the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag and thus began the most vicious Red-baiting campaign in history (a campaign which dates back to the beginning of the labor movement) they did so in order to win a majority in the 1933 Reichstag elections and install the dictatorship of their party in Germany. They arrested this Bulgarian exile to prove to the world how the Nazis, as Goering put it in 1933, could ward off "every blow against the peace of Germany and of Europe" and defend themselves against the "Communist incendiaries."

But this Bulgarian exile had nothing in common with those appeasers who in the years to follow were so instrumental in bringing the world to its present state. He refused to be intimidated by the German High Court, the Nazi Dies Committee, in which hangmen were judges and before which a man's head, not a job, was at stake. He did not have the British fleet and the French army behind him as did Chamberlain and Daladier when they went to Munich. Dimitrov's hands were in chains, but his spirit and his will were linked with all those who stood in the forefront of the struggle against fascism, and whose vision was not blurred by momentary setbacks. So Dimitrov used the court to attack the Nazi dictatorship and to expose the Nazis before the whole world as the incendiaries of the Reichstag and as the future incendiaries of the world. In his autobiography *City Lawyer* Arthur Garfield Hays, who attended the trial, writes: "Dimitrov was all iron fearlessness. He dominated the proceedings so that even the hardbitten Nazis gave way before the force of this stock radical."

When the Communist International elected Dimitrov as its head, it chose a man who had proved that he meant what he said and was himself ready to carry out what he proposed to others. But not only that; he was a man who had witnessed the fall of the Weimar Republic and the triumph of the Nazis, and whose rich knowledge and experience in the labor movement enabled him to draw the correct conclusions from the German tragedy—which was to become the tragedy of the world.

DIMITROV's speech to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was not, as slanderers are fond of presenting it, a blow against the democracies. It was a "blow"—but against fascism. Dimitrov's speech was a manual



George Dimitrov

for the struggle against fascism. And although many things have changed since that speech, it still is valid today and can provide advice and guidance to every statesman and general, every serious political leader and above all every labor leader and liberal fighting against fascism.

In that speech Dimitrov developed and explained his definition of fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital." He described, from the example of Germany and other countries, the methods by which these elements use the fascist movement as an instrument and how they exploit the social and political crisis they have themselves caused to corrupt the masses and turn them into blind beasts.

Who will assert that Dimitrov's analysis of fascism will not ease our task of finding the correct way to uproot fascism in the reconquered countries? Who would deny that Dimitrov's analysis will help us finally to wage proper political warfare against Hitlerism? Indeed, we would do better to reread Dimitrov than to listen to the reactionary outbursts of such amateurs at history as Emil Ludwig and Lord Vansittart, who help the Nazis keep their hold over the German masses by presenting National Socialism as a race question or an exclusively German question, and the history of Germany as the forerunner of Nazism.

Is not the answer which Dimitrov gave to the Nazi historians at the Seventh World Congress also an answer to people like Ludwig, Professor Foerster, Kingsbury Smith and their kind? Dimitrov said, "The fascists are rummaging through the entire history of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany which pursue only one aim—to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion."

"The new-baked National-Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the last two thousand years, by virtue of some 'historical law,' a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread which led to the appearance on the historical scene of a national 'savior,' a 'Messiah' of the German people, a certain 'corporal' of Austrian extraction! In these books the greatest figures of the German people in the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement."

HISTORY, after a fearful detour, has proved Dimitrov right. The detour would have been avoided if every responsible labor leader, progressive, and liberal had seriously taken Dimitrov's advice in time and built a broad anti-fascist front.

It has been proved that fascism is neither invincible nor a necessary stage; nor is its victory inevitable. Who would deny that today, after the collapse of Italian fascism and the tremendous defeats of Hitler's army? It has been proved that a world anti-fascist front is possible, but that unfortunately for our generation it could only arise in the fire of war instead of at a time when it might have prevented war. It has been proved that the working class parties and all progressive elements can, despite their wide differences, unite in the struggle against fascism. And where the fire burns most strongly they unite most closely—as in the Europe labor and people's movements. It has been proved that fascism can be beaten only by struggle, and not by appeasement or surrender. It has been proved that the Nazi "crusade" against Communism was only an excuse for an attack on the national existence of all peoples, and that the suppression of the Communists was only the prelude to the blotting out of all freedom and progress.

Spread the Story

TEN years ago George Dimitrov, Bulgarian labor leader and Communist, stood with three co-defendants before a Nazi Court in Leipzig to be tried on the charge of burning the Reichstag building in Berlin.

Dimitrov, in the court of his enemies, although deprived of the simplest opportunities to prepare his defense and denied all legal aid of his choice, and held in chains in a solitary cell, transformed that trial into its opposite; he placed Hermann Goering and Joseph Goebbels in the criminal dock for the whole watching world, and convicted them of the incendiarism; he denounced the Nazis as the organizers of a new blood-bath for the entire world; he called upon the whole democratic world to unite against this Nazi menace; he reduced Hermann Goering to the gibbering impotence of wild threats in the open courtroom; and in the end he forced the Nazi Court to dismiss the charges against himself and his associates and compelled the Hitler government to allow him and his two Bulgarian co-defendants to depart for the Soviet Union, which had granted them citizenship since their native Bulgaria had refused them readmission.

In this greatest of all political trials, George Dimitrov exposed the clay feet of the Nazi colossus and pointed the road to its final defeat and destruction, the road now being blazed by the Soviet Red Army as the vanguard of the armies of the United Nations.

Less than two years later, in the summer of 1935, Dimitrov appeared before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International to chart a new course for the Communists of all the world, the course of resolute struggle for the People's Front, the unity of all democratic peoples of the world to defeat the Nazi monster and the Axis combination of Germany, Italy and Japan—the military alliance against all the democracies of the world which was publicly proclaimed a year later under the banner of the "Antikomintern." Dimitrov's report to the Seventh World Congress was the first charting of the course which, even over the disasters of the Munich betrayal, laid the popular basis indispensable to the coalition of the democratic peoples that took form in the United Nations in January 1942.

It was the characteristic genius of George Dimitrov that he pointed unwaveringly throughout these ten years to the unity of Communists and non-Communists, of all democrats of whatever ideological trend, as the master-key for the defeat and destruction of the Axis architects.

Today such unity among the United Nations and such national unity within are the obvious and accepted key to victory. Such unity is the foundation of the French Committee of National Liberation. Such unity is the secret of the magnificent People's Liberation Army in Yugoslavia which is winning that land from the Nazis plus the Mikhailovich traitors even before any military help comes from the outside. Such unity is the living spirit of the Greek resistance, the Polish partisan movement, and all the risings of the peoples of the Nazi-occupied lands. Such unity rises with might and dignity out of the rubble of the collapsed Mussolini regime in Italy. Such unity is the supreme sign of victory in every country in the world.

Never was a publication more timely than this review of the great Leipzig Reichstag fire trial, and of the historic role of its hero, George Dimitrov. And in the native land of Dimitrov, the people are rising at this very moment in preparation for the mighty effort of shaking off the Nazi flunkey rulers, and coming into the camp of the United Nations, under the banner of this all-inclusive democratic unity.

Let the story of Dimitrov and the Leipzig trial be spread far and wide, as an inspiration to the people of all lands, and as an instruction on the type of men required for the destruction of Nazism and its agents everywhere in the world.

EARL BROWDER.

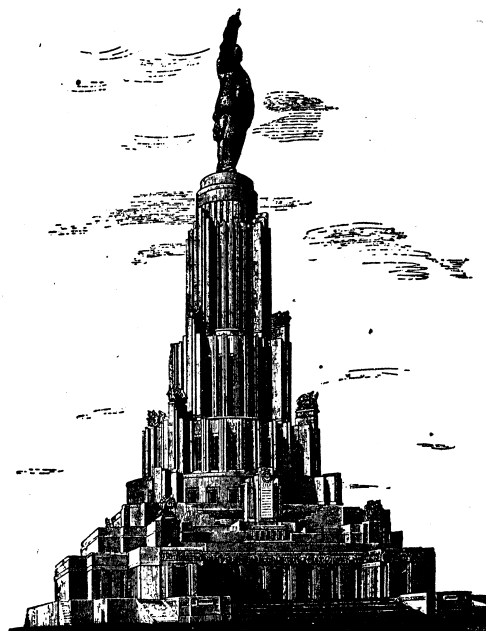
The above is Mr. Browder's introduction to a new pamphlet, "George Dimitrov," issued by International Publishers.

But nothing would be more dangerous than to assume that these tragic detours are now things of the past; or that the lessons history taught us at so fearful a cost because we would not willingly learn them in time, make us immune to the repetition of old mistakes in new form.

The Nazi dictatorship was ushered in with a most vicious Red-baiting campaign, centering about the Reichstag fire. Now when everything points to a victory in the nearest future over Nazism, a new Red-baiting campaign—expressed in the slogan "The danger of a bolshevik Europe"—is being waged by the friends and supporters of Nazism. Thus they are attempting to delay its end and save it from destruction. And who will deny that this campaign of the fascist international and its accomplices is not having its effect? Who dares deny that because victory over the main enemy of mankind is in sight the danger has also grown that the world anti-fascist front, born in fire, blood, and tears, may be disrupted from within instead of being strengthened? This great moment in history must be utilized for the destruction of Nazism by a bold all-out offensive.

To avoid new pitfalls and successfully to overcome those which again appear before us, it is useful and necessary to remember the past—the terrible mistakes of the past—which we had to correct at the price of tremendous sorrow and misery. And what could be a more fitting occasion for this backward glance than the tenth anniversary of the Reichstag fire trial, in which George Dimitrov showed the world how boldness can defeat the enemy—a lesson which remains true, and an urgent warning to those who are called upon to give the signal to attack. We have made a great step forward in learning from the past by the anti-fascist solidarity expressed in the Moscow Conference.

HANS BERGER.



READERS' FORUM

More on the Liberal Arts

TO NEW MASSES: Mr. Kerman's young friend, in the article "Educating the College" (NEW MASSES, October 19), draws a picture of the liberal arts college that is both better and worse than the facts. It is better, because he does not know how bad the badness is; it is worse, because he overlooks the merits which such colleges still retain.

I have no wish to deny the existence of such teachers as Mr. Kerman describes. They are there, and I may add that to associate with them as colleagues is infinitely more painful than to sit under them as students. Nor do I wish to absolve them of blame, for their influence, whether stimulating or soporific, is poisonous. The *whole* story, however, is something like this:

In the American college, a professor is watched over by a dean, the dean by a president, and the president by a board of trustees. Who guards *these* guardians? Nobody. They are the ultimate repository of power. Controlling the disbursement of funds, they control everything. Moreover, boards of trustees are self-perpetuating. Sometimes the alumni elect a few members; sometimes (very rarely) faculty representatives are allowed to belong. But in the main the boards elect their own members, and the members they elect are commonly "successful" business men and lawyers. If there are clergymen members, they too are of the successful variety.

Boards of Trustees elect college presidents. And what presidents they elect! It used to be said that men who fail in business become college professors. That is false. In point of fact, they become college presidents. In this newer and higher calling they exhibit, one by one, every device their business school textbooks assured them would influence people.

And their speeches, those still rough diamonds of Dale Carnegie oratory! They enumerate "factors," they consider "phases," they look at things "from angles," they take that dreadful but inevitable glance "at the other side of the picture." This purple prose is interlarded with quotations culled from calendars and sententious follies of their own creation. The whole is delivered with an enunciation and a rhetoric that would startle Webster. I remember one president, just escaped from a moribund business enterprise, who, despite the best efforts of the instructor of public speaking, could never be got to say anything but, "I hanja dis diploma, propilly signed and sealed with the seal of the colletch." Don't think I exaggerate. I have not attended twenty-five commencements for nothing.

It would be wrong to suppose that boards of trustees commit these preposterous errors intentionally. They undoubtedly think they choose wisely, and they probably marvel at Prexy's swift acquisition of the higher learning. Trustees who have an appreciation of culture and an understanding of education are at best few in number, and on many boards non-existent. The rest are an

easy prey for the fascist-minded, who are eager to make the college a trade-school as soon as possible. Ignorance, however well-intentioned, is no match for calculated philistinism.

In the light of this, Mr. Kerman's young friend will perhaps understand why his teachers were what they were. The college professor sees his dearest beliefs stultified in daily administrative practice. Funds for research decline, the library budget is cut, while at the same time a business man is employed to put budget-cutting on a scientific basis. The professor's timidity at expressing his beliefs merges with a sense of their futility. He becomes cynical or aloof. I can assure you that it takes an unbounded confidence in the future of mankind not to do either.

Well, you will think, socialism would cure all this. Undoubtedly it would, but we aren't going to have socialism for some little time. Must the colleges meanwhile stagnate? I think not, and I should like to indicate what can be done about it.

The crucial problem is the colleges' source of income. It is, generally speaking, derived from tuition fees, endowments, gifts, and grants from cities and states. Tuition fees come directly from the people and have some slight effect in keeping the colleges democratic. All the other sources are in one way or another under the control of men of wealth. It happens that very few colleges are able to exist on tuition fees alone, and therefore most colleges simply have to cater to capital. They tend, in fact, to become a part of capital. Clearly, the liberation of the colleges means primarily liberation from this sort of financial control. And the liberation will occur when another sort of financial control is substituted, that is to say, when the colleges can get their main income from another source.

That source, I think, will have to be the federal government. Of all political instruments, this is now the most responsive to the popular will, and this alone can assemble the funds necessary for so vast a program. Through the federal government the people can immensely increase the opportunities for higher education, unstop the mouths of teachers, banish cynicism, and regenerate scholarship by bringing it into close touch with themselves.

If you have not thought of federal support



for higher education, be assured that the reactionaries have. They are already campaigning against it. A speech by President Valentine of the University of Rochester, reported in the *New York Times* for October 31, even goes so far as to attack President Roosevelt's program for the postwar education of service men. Conjuring dreadful visions of "vocational education" (how uncultured!) and low-quality students (how rare in existing universities!) and invasions of states' rights (shades of Jefferson Davis!), Mr. Valentine suggests that it would be much better for big business to provide a number of graduate fellowships "for the right people"—"given," he adds with a cautious tone, "given adequate prosperity."

I do not think that the American people will want their access to higher education to be conditional upon the prosperity of business men. I predict, rather, that the attempt of the people to recover their colleges will create one of the great issues of the postwar period. And unless college faculties are more apathetic to democracy than I think they are, the cry of the people will find some answer in academic halls.

Before I end these remarks, I must say a word about NM columnist Richard O. Boyer's discussion of his summer reading, in which he seems to rejoice over his inability to read Gibbon. Surely this is feeble radicalism indeed. Gibbon, the first great scientific historian, who matched the grandeur of his subject with the grandeur of his style, who wrote from a point of view, and that a progressive one! And Mr. Boyer says, "you can have Gibbon." In his celebrated chapter on the early Christians, for example, Gibbon wrote, "The lame walked, the blind saw, the sick were healed, the dead were raised, demons were expelled, and the laws of nature were frequently suspended for the benefit of the church." Can Mr. Boyer equal that profound irony? Of course he can't, but at the same time of course he should. And so should all of us who profess the immortal human hope.

You can have Boyer; we'll take Gibbon. And we'll use his spirit to smite the enemies of culture, to raise after us a generation as free as it is wise and as wise as it is free.

ACADEMICUS.

[Will Academicus please inform the editors of NEW MASSES how they can get in touch with him?]

Memo to Pegler

TO NEW MASSES: May I offer as addenda to Mr. Leo Huberman's "NMU Answers Pegler" (NEW MASSES, October 26) the following excerpts from OWI Release 2419—Sept. 9, 1943:

"Since December 7, 1941, there have been *no strikes* in the Maritime industry, *nor any serious delay* (barring isolated misunderstandings) in the sailing of a vessel *as the result of labor disputes*.

"Seamen sign on voluntarily for 'such foreign ports as the master may direct,' and generally now for a period of twelve months. This time limit has often been extended through the necessities of war. *Not since whaling days have Americans shipped blind on such wild wanderings. Yet overall discipline is high.*

"Preventive treatment (in rest houses) is given to forestall the *breaking point of fatigue and nerves. Often the problem of Rest House doctors is to prevent a seaman from returning to his ship too soon.*"

New York.

ELEANOR GREENE.



CHINA FIGHTS ON

Agnes Smedley, in her new book, has told her countrymen of the faith of a great and valiant people. Reviewed by Frederick V. Field.

BATTLE HYMN OF CHINA, by Agnes Smedley.
Knopf. \$3.50.

LATE on a winter evening in December 1939 in the central part of Hupeh, that province in the middle of China in which is situated the great city of Hankow, Agnes Smedley was talking to Major General Chung Yi. Chung Yi, later killed in battle, commanded a division of the famous Kwangsi Eleventh Group Army. He was one of the progressive leaders of government troops. Leaning across a table lighted by a single candle he told Miss Smedley about his army, about the problems of the war. He asked why it was that the United States was so actively aiding the Japanese invader. "We have our faith," Chung Yi said. "Victory will not be easy, but we will fight until victorious. We have our faith—tell your countrymen. . . ."

At the close of the book Miss Smedley tells us that she had vowed by everything that she believed not to forget these words: "Tell your countrymen." She has fulfilled her pledge. She has written a book which pulses with the blood of the Chinese people. She has faithfully and brilliantly told her countrymen all that Major General Chung Yi and countless other Chinese want us to know.

Battle Hymn of China is an important book for two reasons. The subject, our Chinese ally at war, is of paramount interest to our own war effort. We know relatively little about China, its history, its culture, its economy, society, or political organization. I venture to say that the public at large has less actual information on China than it had on the Soviet Union before the Red Army's glorious exploits began to break down our ignorance and prejudices.

Today we can afford neither ignorance nor a mere casual interest regarding our Far Eastern ally. China is a vast nation whose fate has become inextricably bound with our own by the dictates of coalition warfare. To weld the unity which must be hammered out on the battlefields, between the general staffs and between our respective governments, a firm link must be welded between our people and the Chinese.

There is in the very nature of war against fascism the necessity of a comradeship



Agnes Smedley

among the people of the United Nations based on sympathetic knowledge of each other. In no other way can the war be fought to a successful and speedy conclusion; in no other way can the objects for which we are fighting the war be secured.

BUT in the case of China there is more to it than that. China and her people have officially been lined up against fascism much longer than we have. The invasion of China began in 1931. In 1937 it became a war of national existence involving the entire country. In large areas and among large sections of China's armed and civilian forces the fighting has for many years taken the form of genuine people's war.

China, moreover, is geographically and politically situated in the midst of one of the great colonial regions of the world. Adjacent to China or separated from her only by neighboring waters lie vast colonial empires still claimed, though (except for India) not occupied, by Great Britain, the Netherlands, and France. And nearby are the Philippines. To the scores and hundreds of millions of people who inhabit these colonies the liberation of China through their struggle against Japan has become a symbol of their own emancipation. In important respects, therefore, the

Chinese nation assumes a position of leadership among the anti-fascist coalition. From her Americans have much to learn in shaping our own contribution to the war.

THE Chinese people today desperately need our help. And it is here that Agnes Smedley has done a most important job. Within China there is sharp division which the leaders of the people, persons like Madam Sun Yat-sen, have appealed to us to help overcome. It is not a division between the Kuomintang and the Communists; rather, it is a division between those defeatist, feudal, fascist, or semi-fascist elements in China and the great mass of Chinese people which includes all the Communists and a not inconsiderable section of the official Kuomintang Party itself. Agnes Smedley does not simply reflect or represent the Chinese masses and their progressive leaders; she has identified herself with them.

I have suggested that *Battle Hymn of China* is important for two reasons and one of these, the objective situation of China, I have touched upon. The second reason is Agnes Smedley's virtually unique accomplishment, her literal embodiment of the aspirations of the Chinese people. In this respect the book gives the reader the rather startling impression that Miss Smedley is a Chinese. Certainly her long and intense association with China and her actual participation in the struggles of the Chinese have made her a spokesman for these allies of ours rather than for ourselves. When she speaks of the United States, of American women, or of the Communist Party of this country she is dealing with subjects which are foreign to her. She neither feels them nor understands them. But when she describes a close row of Chinese wounded lying in a filthy hut, or when she reports a conversation with the officer of Chinese troops, or when she tells you about the treacherous intrigues of the CC clique in Chungking she is revealing her own soul. At one place she writes, "I always forgot that I was not a Chinese myself. To me the problems, strength and weakness of China seemed to be those of the whole world." At another point Miss Smedley explains herself and her approach in a few sentences which, because of the clue they give to this book, deserve quotation.

"From the day I set foot on Chinese

soil I began gradually to realize that two paths lay before me. I could protect myself from the flood of abandoned humanity by building around myself a protective wall of coldness and indifference, even of hostility. I could learn to curse and strike out at those who molested me; or I could stand in the middle of the stream of life and let it strike me full force—risking robbery, disease, even death. For a long time I chose the latter way; then experience taught me to vary it by protecting myself to a certain extent. In my last years in China I again changed and took the stream in full force."

Well, this is exactly what Miss Smedley has done. She has taken the full stream of Chinese life in its overwhelming force. All of the impact of China upon this extraordinary personality is not revealed in the one volume under review. Agnes Smedley has written other memorable volumes: *Chinese Destinies*, *China's Red Army Marches*, and *China Fights Back*. Together with the present book her literary works constitute the most complete saga now available to us in English of the Chinese people's movement. The fourth volume of the series, *Battle Hymn of China*, is to my mind the warmest in the characterization of the Chinese people and at the same time the most profound in its understanding. Perhaps this is to be expected, for in this latest volume Miss Smedley is writing about a valiant people whose very existence has been threatened and who in their effort to defend themselves have been forced to put to the final test of survival every aspect of their society. Agnes Smedley has viewed the scene as a whole and in much of its myriad of detail. This is not a fragmentary treatment of the Chinese people in battle; rather, it is a sharing of their actual experience.

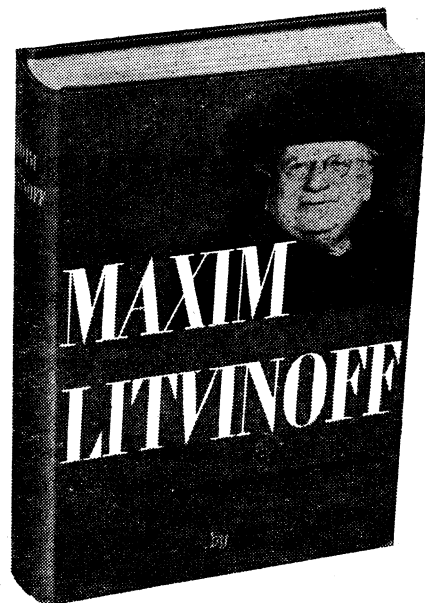
THE author is extraordinarily, in fact uniquely, equipped for the job she has undertaken. With but brief intervals in the United States or in the Soviet Union she has been in China since 1929. She has seen eight years of civil war and five of national defense against the fascist invader. Formally her assignment started out to be correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a relationship which ended with Hitler's seizure of power; from 1938 she was special correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. I did not read her dispatches in these newspapers, but if they reflected a tenth of the life she led in China, particularly during the later period, they must become a part of the documentation of the history of a people's war. For whatever formal assignment Agnes Smedley may have had, the task she set for herself was to find out how China was fighting the war and in doing this she became so completely immersed in the battle that she herself was also doing the fighting. I want that remark to be taken literally, for this woman was as much a part of China's fighting

forces as the American nurses on Bataan and Corregidor were a part of ours. As a field representative of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Corps Miss Smedley lived for months on end with the desperately fighting armies, succoring their wounded, crying to the far horizons for medical aid, lecturing to troops, to officers corps, to political training institutes. She founded the first delousing stations, which are a precondition to the elemental health of the soldiers. She raised hell in Chungking, or wherever else it was necessary in order to get some attention paid to the most primitive needs of the men at the front. At a period when an American was as likely as not to be spat upon by any decent thinking citizen of China because of our policy of supplying the enemy with the very bombs and planes and shells which were killing the Chinese, Agnes Smedley was explaining to all who would listen—and there were many thousands who sought the privilege of hearing her speak—that most Americans were opposed to appeasement.

I have read a number of reviews of *Battle Hymn of China* and in several I have noticed the criticism that Miss Smedley intrudes too much of herself in this account of our fighting ally. Perhaps that is so. It is true that the book is autobiographical; indeed, the first section is wholly so and is not at all concerned with China. But as I have noted earlier, the author and China are two things, one a personality and the other a conglomerate people, which cannot be separated. Therefore, I think, there is little to be said for this line of criticism.

Another complaint about the book is that Miss Smedley is prone to making political howlers. Granted she does this when writing of something foreign to her, like the position of women in the Soviet Union (she is upset because women do not make speeches at Red Square celebrations), or like the policy of the US Communist Party before June 1941 (it is incomprehensible and reprehensible to her). But such points constitute no more than a passing remark here and there, at most a sentence or two. The book is not concerned with these subjects. The book is on China, on the Chinese people fighting for survival, and here she is almost always on sure ground. Sure ground? Yes, in terms of people, of human motivation, of mass suffering, of unbelievable hardship, of such filth and disease and negligence as stretches the imagination, of corruption and treachery in high places, of rotten political chicanery, of individual and group bravery, of one of the greatest examples in history of broadminded political leadership on the part of those who lead the Eighth Route and new Fourth Armies. These are the qualities that make the book important—more than important, something that we ourselves must absorb in order the better to participate in the war of the United Nations. Of all times, it is *now*

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that we must remember our sense of proportion in judging a contribution of this sort.

Assuredly, *Battle Hymn of China* is no definitive political guide to the maze of Chinese society. We do not pick it up for that type of guidance. We read it to become acquainted with what kind of man the Chinese soldier is as he faces the problems, both military and political—and also biological—which to most people would long since have proved insuperable. This is not to say that there isn't much of political value in what Agnes Smedley recounts. Anyone whose political thinking on China has been sharpened by reading the brilliant analyses of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh and their colleagues will find in Miss Smed-

ley's book much concrete documentation. Page after page contains detailed accounts of the great fissure in China of which I spoke early in this review, the split between those willing and anxious to accept all the democratic consequences of winning China's nationhood and those exploiting the war for their own private benefit and, wittingly or unwittingly, for the benefit of the Axis. The whole volume, as a matter of fact, is a series of case studies of this fissure and of the crying need for national unity. Maybe Agnes Smedley is not a political writer, but I challenge any one to show me a book containing more ammunition for political thinking.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

equaled by the earlier group of poems on the Spanish Republic and the International Brigades, and here Rosten has opportunities at times for another mood—that of savage irony, which he handles brilliantly. The escapists waltzing to Strauss on the ice at Radio City, the renegade liberals who "left no forwarding address"—they serve as a black background to the tragedy of Spain. And there is bigger prey:

*Generalissimo Francisco,
the man of God, the pope's choice,
voted most likely to succeed. . . .*

*Approach, friend, and be recognized!
Greetings! We rejoice with you!
The State Department on this occasion
of your victory takes your bloody hand
in most fraternal greetings. . . .*

*We assume the German and Italian
troops
will leave as quietly as possible.
Let everything take place quietly.
Let the political prisoners be shot
quietly
and the bleeding be as internal as
possible. . . .*

This has not lost its bitter relevance in the years since the betrayal of the Spanish Republic. Nor has the extraordinary newsreel-in-three-acts of the League of Nations, in which swift flashes of historic moments build up to Munich and the final catastrophe—"We walk to the exits, into the burning world." Wherever there is a positive emotion to be expressed, whether it be rage or love, Rosten is at his best. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the opening section of the book is its weakest; for here Rosten is merely tilting at paper windmills. Rotary clubs, literary teas, and radio soap operas—all the more commonplace sillinesses of the thirties—are obviously not quite such exciting material for poetry as the siege of Sevastopol, and Rosten's humorous attack on them has been influenced rather too much by the later trivialities of Fearing. Nevertheless there are moments which give you the authentic "cauld grue" of horror:

*Down, down the decade comes;
all the king's horses
and all the king's men
will not put it together again.*

The Fourth Decade is a delight for its own sake. And it is equally valuable as a symptom of the healthy morale of the American people that such poetry should appear just now, that Norman Rosten should be able to reach millions over the radio with the *Ballad of Bataan* while defeatist poets must live by taking in one another's washing. With the radio poetry resumes its long-lost character as one of the vocal arts; it sheds the affectations of the slim pale-mauve volumes and regains di-

The Language Men Speak

From Spain to the siege of Sevastopol. Norman Rosten's "The Fourth Decade" reviewed by Joy Davidman.

THE FOURTH DECADE, by Norman Rosten. Farrar & Rinehart. \$2.00.

THE little critics continue to moan in the little magazines. Poetry's a frail butterfly, they tell you, and its wings have got broken by the iron realities of this war. There isn't any American war poetry, there can't be any; the little critics refuse to discover it. All the *true* poets—whom you may identify by their consistent refusal to write anything comprehensible—must continue to stifle in the unventilated closets of their own souls.

And meanwhile, of course, the great poetry of this war is being written. It looks at heroes; it sings on piercing trumpets, and it does not ask the critics' permission first. Such a book as Norman Rosten's *Fourth Decade* is all the answer our defeatist critics need. Here is verse written, like the Declaration of Independence, out of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" rather than out of the contemplation of the poet's navel. Norman Rosten is speaking to human beings of their own struggles and achievements; he speaks in the language that men speak, and it is a language that burns and freezes with fiery beauty and with icy rage. You will not find here the self-pitying whine which neurotics from Eliot to Delmore Schwartz have attempted to establish as the sole business of verse.

But you *will* find Spain, and the volunteers coming across the Pyrenees on foot in the cold and surreptitious dawn. You will find Sevastopol, holding the Nazis back till its bricks and the bodies of its children were confounded in one red ruin.

*This was not Paris, the open city.
This was a closed city and men fought
for it.*

*They pulled the sky down over their
heads.*

Honor blazed in their eyes like suns.

For eight months the body held.

*This is the last day of the eighth
month.*

This is the day the heartbeat stopped.

When verse is as good as that it becomes an absolute, and you cannot measure it with yardstick, you can only feel it go through your heart like a knife. There is much in *The Fourth Decade* which is as good as that, particularly in the last section, "Siege," which tells the story of Sevastopol. Norman Rosten has not contented himself with the empty lip-service which declares that the Russians are so brave, the Nazis so brutal, the whole thing so terrible, yes—and goes on its way without the faintest conception of what terror and bravery really mean. Rosten brings you face to face with the individual men; with Piotr Barkanov, torn to pieces between the Nazi tanks; with Luzenko, the grower of vines, and the nameless sailor drowning at sunset in the Black Sea, and the nameless lovers in the bombed hospital; with twenty-five soldiers trapped in the cellar of the armory when the Nazis held the city over their heads. He is not afraid that horrible things will destroy his flowerlike verses, he dares to show you a schoolgirl with her hair in two long braids, tied to a bed for the pleasure of the Nazi officers. Yet, from these innumerable tragedies, a single sharp beauty is created—the beauty of the unbroken spirit of a fighting people. It is good to see poetry saying again what so much poetry has forgotten to say in the last twenty years: that there is only one final beauty, to be on your feet, and only one ultimate ugliness, to fall to your knees.

The heroic mood of "Siege" is almost

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rectness and sincerity. And if *The Fourth Decade* is any indication, American poetry is even now coming back to the people for good and all.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Brief Reviews

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAS, by *Leland Dewitt Baldwin, Simon and Schuster.* \$3.50.

THE OTHER AMERICANS, by *Edward Tomlinson, Charles Scribner's Sons.* \$3.00.

BOTH of these books have their place on the shelf of any man's Latin American library. They pose no deep problems, assay no peaks of Darien; they conquer neither new frontiers nor ancient civilizations as did Pizarro. But they round out in an interesting and stimulating way one's knowledge of our hemisphere. Baldwin's work, while re-telling the story of how the two Americas were first discovered and settled, is most interesting on the history of the early Spanish and Portuguese operations. The tale of the Conquistadores lives again with particular brilliance and brutality. What will impress the North American reader most is the fact that our Latin American friends have a much longer and more tragic history than ours; the roots go back five centuries and are gnarled in the remains of the great Indian civilizations. Baldwin tells the story directly, pausing on some of the more bizarre details.

Tomlinson's is a kind of travelogue: South America as seen in terms not so much of history and underlying economic and social reality but in every-day life, mores, foods, costume, and custom. It conveys in a very adequate fashion the physical sense of the other American peoples, the kind of land they live in, their way of thinking. Not too deep, but neither so shallow that one cannot float through it pleasantly.

THE SPANISH LABYRINTH, by *Gerald Brennan, MacMillan.* \$3.50.

NOTWITHSTANDING its considerable value as a historical survey of Spanish history since the fall of the first republic eighty years ago, this book succeeds in painting a rather poisonous picture of the unforgettable fight of the second Republic in our time. Brennan's book has scholarship, a great deal of interesting material on Spanish syndicalism, on the national issues such as those in Catalania, and the personalities and methods of Spanish reaction. But it is painfully clear that his friendship for Luis Araquistain and the German Trotskyist, Franz Borkenau, completely warps his view of the Republic's battle. Page after page on Soviet policy toward Spain in the thirties, and the role of the Spanish Communist Party are not only erroneous, but repulsive. An ugly example of how scholarship stops where professional anti-Communism sets in.

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"SAHARA"

John Howard Lawson's stirring war film is "Hollywood's most enlightened handling of the relationship between races yet to grace the screen. . . ." The week's drama—evasion without escape.

HOLLYWOOD continues to amaze. When it's good, it's very good, and when it's bad it's *Old Acquaintance* and *Claudia*. But whatever the rationale of this grand-scale inconsistency (perhaps future pages of the NEW MASSES can consider the matter), the heartening fact remains that one of this week's films, Columbia's *Sahara*, is right up on top with the best of West-Coast products. From every point of view *Sahara* is sure-fire. It's the kind of film the trade journals refer to as "money in the bank" or "a mortgage lifter." But the very certainty that *Sahara* can look forward to complete success is somewhat frustrating to the reviewer. In short, *Sahara* can take care of itself and doesn't require the tender ministrations of the present deponent.

John Howard Lawson, who scripted the film, has reared back and brought off a small miracle. For from a strictly formal point of view, *Sahara* follows practically the exact lines of the *Lost Patrol* genre—the heroics of a small isolated band of men opposed by a cruel, implacable enemy of infinitely greater strength, and the relentless desert, friend to none. One by one the men are picked off until only the leader remains, to await the rescue party. Now this genre has traditionally served to reinforce the most sordid chauvinism. Inherent in the situation was the white man courageously shouldering his "burden." As a consequence, to a discerning movie-goer the *Lost Patrol* type of film was always more or less repugnant and the heroics more or less absurd, to say the least. What Lawson has done is to retain the genre and all its emotional potentialities. But he has transformed its *content* completely. What has ensued is without doubt Hollywood's most enlightened handling of the relationship between races yet to grace the screen.

The film opens in June 1942. Tobruk has fallen. An American tank crew is trapped behind the lines. Escape is possible only to the south. There is enough water for some four days, at the most. But on the way back six stragglers are picked up, among them a Sudanese corporal and his Italian prisoner—two of the best roles of the film, beautifully played by Rex Ingram and J. Carroll Naish. Now, what little water remains must be shared with eleven instead of the original five. How the group is kept together by the stern hand of the



Rex Ingram and J. Carrol Naish in "Sahara."

tank sergeant, Humphrey Bogart, and how it is guided to water by Ingram who can read the trackless desert as others read a primer, make a passage that can stand up beside the best of its kind in film work. For the middle section and conclusion of his film, Lawson has drawn on Mikhail Room's masterpiece, *The Thirteen*, which the Russian film studios produced some five years ago.

Sahara's production values are in full keeping with the demands of Lawson's script. It is a pleasure to be able to report such excellent, crisp sound-recording, the outstanding lens work of Rudolph Maté and directorial grasp of Zoltan Korda.

It is an equal pleasure to report that Korda has been enabled to break away from the kind of films with which he was formerly associated—films which contained objectionable expressions of white man imperialism. The impact of a just war has made it possible for many of us to take on healthier stature. And it is good to note

that Lawson and Korda will again be teamed in *Counterattack*, the forthcoming film from Janet and Philip Stevenson's stage play.

THE cleansing, and fructifying influence of the present struggle also makes itself felt in a minor but satisfying comedy, *Princess O'Rourke*, which opened last week at Warner Brothers' Strand Theater. It was both written and directed by Norman Krasna, at present in the armed forces. Krasna's previous contributions to screen writing have been strictly of the *luftmensch* variety, or "how to get by on nothing (esthetically) a year." But *O'Rourke* is definitely a better business.

It seems that a princess of the royal family of Bulgamia, or what have you, through a series of happy mischances gets thrown into the company of a Brooklyn boy. The contrast between O'Rourke and the bedmate papa had selected for the princess is very much in Brooklyn's favor.

The "Count" suffers from a bad twitch and sports a face like a Bourbon. From here on write your own ticket. You'll probably end up with O'Rourke copping off the blue-blood, as Krasna himself provides, but you'll never do it as well as he. To be sure, the film is Cinderella stuff, as one of the characters in the picture is frank enough to admit, but it holds a sensitiveness and an easy unforced inventiveness of incident that were all too lacking from Krasna's earlier efforts. Of the film's many amusing characters this reviewer's favorites were the hero's sidekick (Jack Carson) and Carson's wife (Jane Wyman). The brief scene these two play out in the chop suey parlor—Carson and O'Rourke (Robert Cummings) have been called up by the Air Force and are to leave in a few days—is outstanding for tenderness and insight. Olivia de Havilland handles her assignment with expertness.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

Evasion but No Escape

Where are the laughs of yesterday?

I AM haunted, at this writing, by a dimly recollected story of the Spanish inquisition in which a prisoner discovers his cell door open. He slips into the adjoining corridor and lo, its door is also open. With dreadful hopefulness, he crawls through corridor after corridor and finally emerges into the sunlit garden—only to be confronted by the jailor who has been waiting for him with patient pity. The play reviewer this season has been offered one door of escape after another. But thus far every corridor has been dismal, and upon emerging into the night, the reviewer has found implacable reality patiently awaiting him. He has been afforded escape without release and has trod a labyrinth of frustration.

From crying, "Where is the play which is of our life?" I now raise the cry, "Where is the escape play which will truly lift our spirit over the garden wall?" The producers wish us to believe that no one is writing about the moment because the moment is too stark and close. But judging by the record, neither is anyone writing anything that remotely resembles good escape theater.

I would willingly laugh myself silly at another *Three Men on a Horse* or give myself to such another whimsy as *Blithe Spirit*. Why is no one writing these entertaining japes today? Is it possible that the playwright cannot make the required adjustment out of our urgent time; that he does not sufficiently believe in such an adjustment; that, in fact, he is too well aware of the implacable jailor sitting on his typewriter? Perhaps the only successful escape play possible today is one which will escape only in time and circumstance but will re-

main within the imaginative scope of our lives today.

The Theater Guild's new presentation, *The Innocent Voyage*, dramatized by Paul Osborn from the novel by Richard Hughes, is definitely not such a play. Stewart Chaney has provided it with beautiful ship sets and a cycloramic sea-sky in which the clouds move more than the action does. Aline Bernstein has dressed the cast in colorful costumes of the early nineteenth century Americas. Oscar Homolka does excellently as the unromantic pirate who is merely carrying on his father's business when he sails afoul of the Thornton children. The children, headed by Abby Bonime, act with admirable naturalness, as after their inadvertent seizure by the pirates they proceed to captivate their captors. Herbert Greghoff takes off the most honest cut-throat who ever lived; and Clarence Derwent is fascinating as the Court of Inquiry which tries to discover from the children the circumstances of their adventure.

And yet, with all this profusion of physical excellence, the play for its first two acts is embarrassingly devoid of entertainment. The third act, however, under Derwent's masterful control, becomes interesting as a psychological study of the oldest Thornton child who, during the voyage, has made the step from childhood into first adolescence—and has glimpsed her relationship to the world of grown-ups. Had that theme been developed through the earlier action, the evening might have been more compelling. The author directed his own play and up to the second act curtain achieved the most astonishingly diffused climaxes to the many preceding scenes.

To my mind, the fact that Paul Osborn who has, in the past, written poetic and moving scripts has been unable in this period to create an escape play, goes far to support my feeling that in the true sense no such play can be written. Today's escape play must have some relation to the pervasive atmosphere of our lives.

HARRY TAYLOR.



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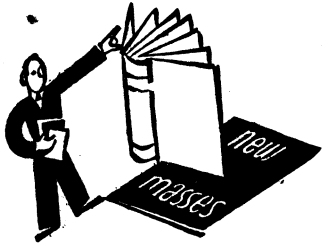
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Song and Dance

"What's Up" has Jimmy Savo but forgets to use him.

"WHAT'S UP," the musical revue at the National Theater, is a latter day *Merry Widow* and a much poorer one. Like its spiritual predecessor, it is composed of beautiful girls bent on love, and glamor boys in uniform bent on love. I am certainly no defamer of love, but for a persistent and unvarying song theme I'll take "Sunday in the Park." In tempo and content, the distance between the two productions is the distance between the waltz and, of all things, the Big Apple, which seems to be the only thing that George Balanchine could think up for the ensemble dances. In form, the play is a miniature musical with a young cast endowed with much charm, energy, and zest. As such it wistfully recalls those other youthful, small-chorused productions such as *Meet the People, Pins and Needles, Of V We Sing*—and it suffers woefully by comparison.

Jimmy Savo, one of our favorite comedians, is supposed to be a featured player, but he gets so little to do that he is more an adjunct than an integral part of the show. According to the book, he is an oriental potentate being flown to Washington by the army for some war reason or other. The plane breaks down and lands on the front lawn of Miss Langley's School for Girls, and in the ensuing rush Savo is forgotten, not only by the boys and girls but by the authors as well. What little he does do is consummate pantomime. But he is absent for such long stretches that one wag surmised he was rehearsing in another play down the street. This failure to make capital out of Savo, the company's one major asset, reflects the production's noticeable lack of pace. However, despite the repetitious pattern of its thirteen scenes, director Robert Gordon got maximum results from the script. He covered up the bare patches and dull interludes as best he could, and managed to present periods of gayety and brightness. Best of the company were Mary Roche and Lynn Gardner, singers, Don Weismuller, tap dancer, and Johnny Morgan, a hard working juvenile. There were two really first-rate songs, "Jericho" and "My Last Love." The rest were merely variations filling out the libretto.

JOSEPH FOSTER.



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Herald Trib.

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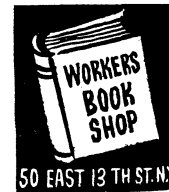
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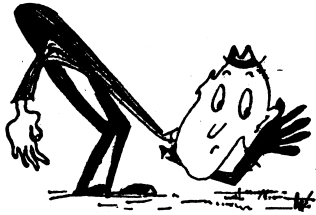
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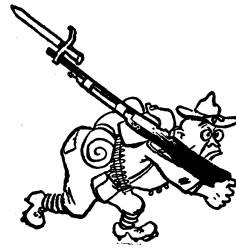
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