

N M M
NEW MASSES, MARCH 28, 1939

Paul de Kruif

The Fight Against Lies

We Can Stop Hitler!

A Program for American Democratic Action

Karl Billinger

An Analysis of "Mein Kampf" by the Author of "Fatherland"

Now Comes Mussolini's Turn

Richard Goodman Cables from Paris

What's On Your Mind?

Earl Browder Answers Questions on the Soviet Union

Ajay, Gardner Rea, Redfield, Richter, Art Young

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

BETWEEN OURSELVES

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

The offices of **NEW MASSES** are now located at 461 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Our telephone remains the same, CAledonia 5-3076.

THE experiences of American doctors who have gone to the aid of the people in war-ridden countries will be the subject of several articles in forthcoming issues of NM. Dr. Leo Eloesser, famous West Coast surgeon and a member of the faculty of the Leland Stanford School of Medicine, will write two articles on surgery at the front in Spain, and Dr. Norman Bethune will write on his medical experiences in China.

Other features planned for future issues include: "Couple in Exile," a short story by Lion Feuchtwanger; "Mr. Wilson Retreats to Munich," by V. J. Jerome; "What is an Explosion?" by J. B. S. Haldane; and NM Editor Granville Hicks' part in a debate with the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, reactionary leader of the Catholic International Truth Society. The debate will take place in Boston on April 2.

Mordecai Bauman's highly successful concert at Town Hall under the auspices of NM came too late to be covered in this issue; it will be fully reviewed next week by John Sebastian.

When the little gang of traitors, led



Paul de Kruif

One of the country's most outstanding crusaders for public health. His published works include "Men Against Death," "The Fight for Life," and "Microbe Hunters" and he is a frequent contributor to the "Ladies Home Journal," "Country Gentleman," and other national periodicals.

by Casado, Besteiro, and Miaja, seized power two weeks ago in Madrid, they immediately saw to it that the few foreign correspondents remaining in loyalist Spain wrote the news their way. Four correspondents were put in jail, including Art Shields, representing NM and the *Daily Worker*. Thereupon newspapers all over the world printed that six "Communist" revolts had been crushed in as many days, and the *Daily Worker* ran a box headed "Warning!" over a UP dispatch as phony as anything William Carney ever sent from Burgos. Early this week the press services reported that Art Shields had escaped (the N. Y. *Times* changing "correspondent of the *Daily Worker*" to "correspondent of a leftist newspaper").

Upon inquiry by Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles wired as follows: "Consul at Valencia reports Shields sailed for Sete, France, last Saturday night on steamer *Barrington Combe* and requested you be informed." Shields, who had penetrated the Central Zone, was saved when the custodian of the United States embassy in Madrid effected his release from jail and sent him in an embassy car to Valencia. As we write, Shields is undoubtedly preparing the first authentic story of the Madrid coup.

Joseph North speaks this Sunday, 8:15 p.m., at Musicians Hall, 120 North 18th St., Philadelphia, on "Will France Go the Way of Spain?" under the auspices of the People's Forum of Philadelphia.

This Thursday's Keynote Forum will feature William Gropper, Fred Ellis, A. Birnbaum, and Gardner Rea, speaking on "The Problems of the Cartoonist." Drawings will be made by the four speakers during the course of the evening.

Saturday night, March 25, at the Keynote Club (201 W. 52nd St.) there will be a dance and entertainment borrowed from NM's *Sunday Night Varieties*, with proceeds—at 49 cents a ticket—going to the NM financial drive.

Warning—to anyone who has delayed seeing NM's *Sunday Night Varieties*: the performance this Sunday night, March 26, will positively be the last. See ad on page 28 for details on the show.

With five hundred people attending, and as many turned away for lack of room, the party given Saturday night by the Committee for Democratic Action netted more than \$400 to the NM fund drive. For the success of the entertainment, special thanks go to Manuel Compinsky, Leonard Elliot, Eleanor Lynn, Charles Rabiner, Harold

Rome, and Michael Abrams who master-of-ceremonied—and of course, to the committee, which deserves particular credit for its planning and management of the whole affair. Watch for future announcements of the activities of this up-and-coming group.

Who's Who

RICHARD GOODMAN is NM's European correspondent. . . . Hu Williamson is an American correspondent in Mexico. . . . Harry Reinlieb is a Lincoln Brigade veteran. . . . Duncan Stuart, an Oregon newspaperman, is correspondent for NM in the Northwest. . . . Karl Billinger, author of *Fatherland*, has written another book, *Hitler Is No Fool*, which will be published this spring by Modern Age. . . . C. Day Lewis is an outstanding British critic, poet, and novelist. . . . E. Franklin Frazier is professor of sociology at Howard University.

Flashbacks

CHARACTERISTICALLY fighting on different fronts at the same time, Russian revolutionists made important pronouncements on March 27, 1917. From the Leningrad Soviet

came an address to all peoples of the world, declaring the war was an imperialist war and that the working classes everywhere should agitate for an immediate peace. From the pages of *Pravda*, in an article written by Stalin, came advice on internal policy: "A temporary alliance between the workers and soldiers is far from enough to preserve the liberties achieved and further to develop the revolution. This alliance should be made conscious and stable, sufficiently stable to withstand the provocative attempts of the counter-revolutionaries." . . . Maxim Gorki, later to fall at the hands of counter-revolutionaries, was born March 27, 1868. . . . On March 30 falls an anniversary which can be turned to good account on behalf of the voteless millions of Negroes in the South. That day in 1870, the Constitution was amended to include the following: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXI, No. 1

March 28, 1939

Now Comes Mussolini's Turn by Richard Goodman . . .	3
The Fight Against Lies by Paul de Kruif	6
Earl Browder Answers Questions	8
Four-fifths of a Nation—III by Richard H. Rovere	9
Mexican Oil: The Inside Story by Hu Williamson	11
More Piercing than Bombs by Harry Reinlieb	12
Vatican Payoff by Oronzo Marginati	13
Heil Kolopus Hitler! by Duncan Stuart	14
Rendezvous with Life by Robert Forsythe	15
I Always Come Home A Poem by Alfred Hayes	16
We Can Stop Hitler! An Editorial Article	17
Editorial Comment	18
Reader's Forum	21

REVIEW AND COMMENT

The Hymnal of Hate by Karl Billinger	22
Two English Novels by C. Day Lewis	24
"Dr. Addams" by Marjorie Brace	25
Southern Negro by E. Franklin Frazier	26
Brief Reviews by Joseph Hastings and L. M. J.	28

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

"Concentration Camp" by Robert Terrall	29
Joint Dance Concert by Owen Burke	31
Eisler's Movie Score by John Sebastian	31

Art work by A. Redfield, Art Young, A. Ajay, Gardner Rea, Mischa Richter.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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New Masses

VOLUME XXXI

MARCH 28, 1939

NUMBER 1

THIS is the seventh week of our drive for \$30,000. We started the drive on the basis of needing \$30,000 for the next year of NEW MASSES. \$30,000 represents the deficit for one year of operation, an amount that must be made up by our friends and readers in order to keep the magazine going.

We have not yet reached \$30,000. If we had, we would not be writing this appeal. The results of the campaign have been so far behind the expectation and the need that we are once again in an emergency state.

Throughout the past week, our staff has been meeting daily to avoid immediate catastrophe. We have been having six crises a week, six councils of war, and each time it has been a matter of bringing the magazine through. These were not preliminaries—they were meetings at which the magazine was saved by an exceedingly thin margin.

There cannot be many more of these. We are at the end of our resources. Barely enough money has been coming in to keep the magazine appearing from week to week. This week, as we have said, it became a matter of day-to-day existence.

We must have the money immediately. If we are to continue on a week-to-week basis, let it be so, but see that we are able to do at least that. Send what you can to NEW MASSES at 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., immediately.

George Hillner

BUSINESS MANAGER.

Now Comes Mussolini's Turn

After the Czechoslovak grab, the minor axis partner waits for his "appeasement." A decisive moment for the democratic coalition.

Paris, March 20 (By Cable).

NAZI Germany has completed the process begun at Munich: to all intents and purposes Czechoslovakia is now part and parcel of the Third Reich.

What is the significance of these developments? The best informed and most realistic circles in Paris and London are agreed that the latest events in Central Europe are an integral part of the Nazi preparations for safeguarding its rear in the East and Southeast—one of the necessary conditions to launching a war against the West. The Munichis—British and French—hope to "lure" Hitler eastward and provoke war against Russia. These wishful-thinking people still believe that Slovakian events show the "correctness" of this policy. But actually the reverse is the case. Their plans have gone askew, as Stalin so clearly and calmly made plain in his speech to the 18th Congress in Moscow. The annexation of Czechoslovakia—it is nothing less than that—is the beginning of a serious attempt by the Nazis to clear up the rear in readiness for a Western offensive. Domination of Czechoslovakia is the necessary preliminary to "neutralizing" Poland and attaching the Polish Ukraine to the "gnat," the Nazified Carpatho-Ukraine.

GERMANY NOT PREPARED

In connection with all these happenings it is noted here and in London that while the Soviet leader Manuilsky was declaring that Germany is not prepared for a major war, General Goering, on a visit to Italy, was admitting precisely the same thing to representatives of the Italian General Staff. According to information from usually reliable sources, Goering told the Italians that it is necessary to realize the following conditions before launching a final attack on the West: (1) Axis powers must obtain a source of raw material adequate to supply them throughout a long war. In his view and in the view of the German General Staff the only possible source was the USSR, but now that must be ruled out completely since the slashing of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. (2) Central and Southeastern Europe must be completely "neutralized" and the United States must be driven into "rabid isolationism" by Nazi propaganda inside and outside the country, branding Roosevelt and his supporters as "warmakers." And (3) Franco's army must be entirely reorganized and rearmed.

In view of Goering's statement, Manuilsky's speech is indeed significant. Here is one passage: "Fascist Germany is not prepared for a major war; it has not enough raw materials, food supplies; its financial position is critical; its coasts are vulnerable to naval blockade; its army is inadequately officered; its



Regards

WILL IT BE HERE? Arabs watch Italian freighter unload in Tunisia. Tomorrow it may be a battleship unloading shells.

rear is a dangerous one for fascism." That is the real situation upon which the democracies' action must be based.

FRANCE'S WAY OUT

France's task, should war break out, has been defined by Pierre Cot, former air minister, as follows: "To act as the cover for the army of the democratic coalition which will go into action against the aggressor."

The Nazis realize that too and that is why they are at the moment doing everything in their power to prevent that "army of democratic coalition" from coming into existence. Following the recent political and commercial rapprochement between Poland and the USSR, the Third Reich thought it could muscle in

too, and tried to get a trade delegation in to Moscow. But nothing was doing and this cap-in-hand effort, the significance of which has been slurred over by the capitalist press, failed. But the Nazis' big weapon in this undermining work in the East—and West—is, of course, Munichism. This, besides making the Anglo-French Entente a weapon directed against France, isolating and reducing her as any scheduled victim of a fascist *Blitzkrieg* must be isolated and reduced, is also being used to reduce the small countries of Central and Eastern Europe, to break the ties binding the West and the East—the Franco-Polish and Franco-Soviet Pacts.

As I write, I have before me a very interesting map, copies of which are now being distributed by Reich agents in Poland and Czechoslovakia. It shows the "frontiers" of Eastern Europe as the Nazis hope to see them at the end of this year (or earlier?).

To Lithuania has gone Vilna and all the thin northeastern wedge of present-day Poland right up to the Soviet border. The Polish corridor, Posnan, and that strip of Poland which now runs west to east parallel with Prussia to Russia are incorporated in the German Reich, the area to the east of Prussia being labeled "Autonomous Russia." To Czechoslovakia—by that time, presumably, a passive vassal of the Reich—go Teschen and the Polish Ukraine, the latter making with Ruthenia another "autonomous" area, evidently "Greater Ukraine." All that is left of Poland is an approximately rectangular area completely surrounded by Germany and a swollen and Nazified "Czechoslovakia." But perhaps the most significant thing about this map is the fact that the frontiers of the USSR remain as they do today—evidence enough of Hitler's real fear of the might of the socialist fatherland!

Still, although the Nazis are at the moment soft-pedaling their Ukrainian plans, it is known that the idea behind the plans is to establish an "autonomous Ukraine" from Ruthenia and the present Polish Ukraine, so as to use this when "the time is ripe," as a base for a new offensive against the Soviet Ukraine.

Now, in the view of many observers here, it is unlikely that the Nazis will attempt anything themselves in the West until these undermining plans are pretty well advanced.

FRENCH MILITARY VIEW

Germany is already faced with the problem of a three-million labor shortage. During the last war it was necessary for her to maintain a ratio of one worker in industry to every three soldiers. According to the Reichswehr's own estimate, a *Blitzkrieg* lasting only six months would necessitate a reduction of this ratio to one-to-two. If, however, the war lasted for

more than six months it would be necessary to reduce this ratio still further to one-to-one—an impossible situation if the present labor shortage is taken into account.

There are, however, two vital factors which are operating in the other direction. These are: (1) the growing political tensions in Germany; and (2) the desire to "start something" before British and French rearmament progresses too far and makes a *Blitzkrieg* against the West as difficult as it would be against the East.

It is important not to underestimate these factors.

From reports received from Rome and elsewhere it appears that at any moment Italy, impatient to follow up her partial success in Spain, may take decisive action against France in the Mediterranean. It is now possible to reveal that the real reason for France's sudden action in sending reinforcements to Djibouti at the end of 1938 was the receipt by the French General Staff of information of an impending Italian action against the port. According to this information Italian-armed Eritreans and Abyssinians were to infiltrate into Djibouti, start trouble of a serious character, and then, after two or three days—a period too short for the French to reinforce their inadequate garrison there—the Italians would march in "to restore order." Having performed this "great service," Mussolini would have been in a very excellent position to demand quite openly the establishment of a new regime at Djibouti—either an international zone or a free port. Happily, however, this coup was averted.

But since that time, encouraged by the occupation of Catalonia, Italy's determination to press her demands on France has strengthened considerably. So serious has the situation become that everyone here speculates on exactly where, when, and how the Italians will attack or threaten to attack. In violation of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, the Italian troops in Libya have been reinforced. Will the attack come from there? Will it be accompanied by a simultaneous attack or threat of attack from Spanish Morocco? Will an attempt be made at direct invasion from the sea? It is not possible and it would be unwise to attempt an answer. There can be no doubt, however, that whatever move Italy makes, whether it be bluff or a real threat, Germany must back her to the limit. Italian fascism is desperate but whatever she does (or is permitted to do by the democracies), Germany dare not allow her to fight—if it comes to that—alone. For the destruction of Italian fascism would be a death blow to the Third Reich. The Nazis and the Reichswehr General Staff understand that well enough and so do Mr. Chamberlain and MM. Bonnet and Daladier. Today a strong united front of the democracies against the fascist demands might very well result in a first-class internal crisis in Italy, a crisis which, whatever its outcome, would have the most serious effects in Germany. Such a strong united front could avert war but it would weaken fascism throughout the world. And it is precisely this prospect which terrifies Herren Chamberlain and Bonnet. Hence the preparations for a new Munich—first at the expense

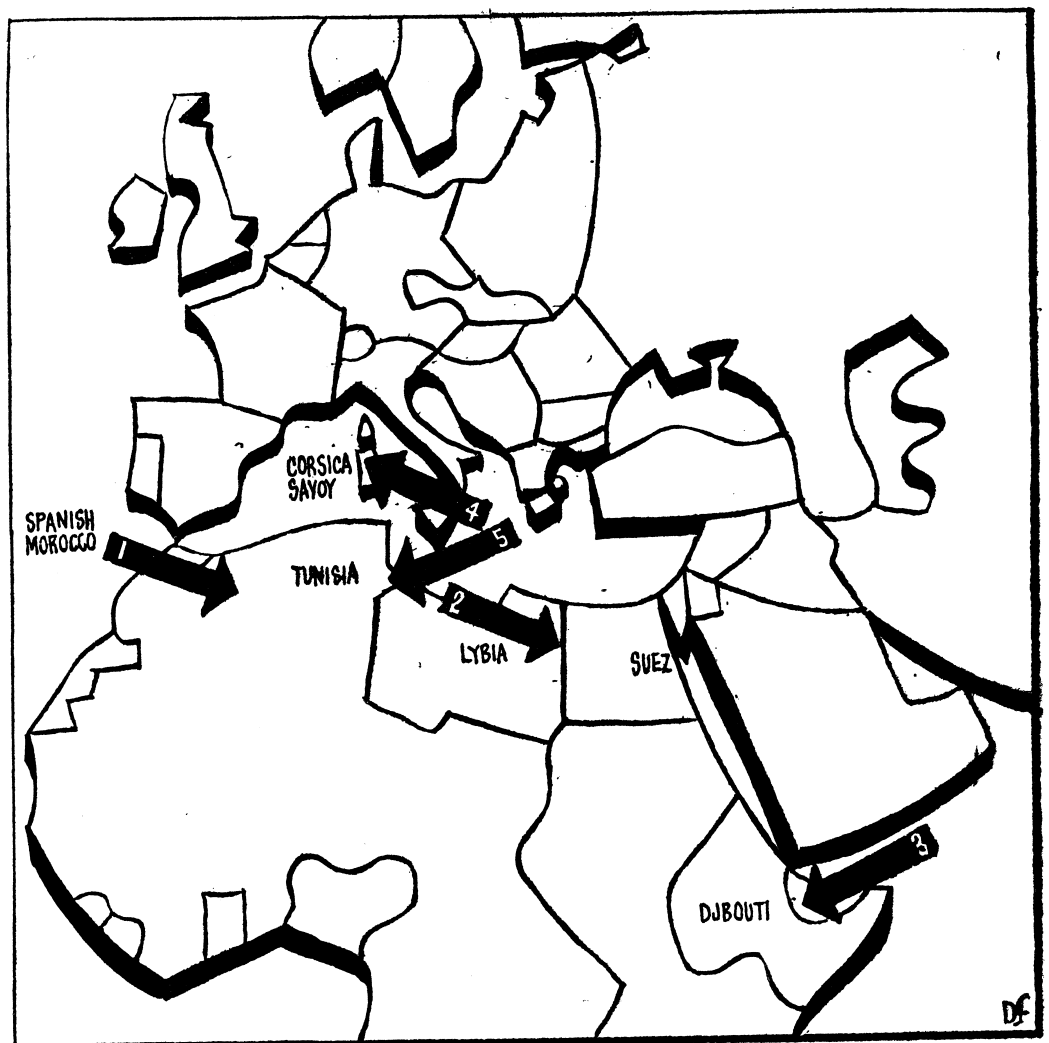
of republican Spain and then, perhaps without respite, perhaps even simultaneously, at the expense of France herself. There can be no doubt that this is what Bonnet and Chamberlain are working for, that it is this which was behind the now notorious visit of de Brinon to Berlin and Baudouin to Rome—the latter to offer Italy concessions in Tunisia, Djibouti, and the Suez; the former to implore Ribbentrop, in the name of the Franco-German declaration of "friendship," to use his influence with Mussolini to "moderate" Italian fascism.

WAR THIS AUTUMN

What then are we to conclude? Certainly the danger is great. Almost certainly there will be in the coming months, perhaps even this month or next, a serious crisis repeating many of the features of that which preceded the Munich betrayal. A new Munich would make almost certain war in the autumn at the latest.

Any hesitation by the democracies might encourage the fascist powers to precipitate war at once. But a firm stand by the democracies could avert war and give the world a breathing space to reorganize once more its forces of democratic defense. There are many factors in our favor. The Soviet Union stands stronger than ever a rock in the sea of intrigue, defeatism, and treachery, which can never be submerged. Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia are turning—if at the moment only hesitatingly—away from the axis powers, while the forces of democratic defense are rising again in Britain and France. Much now depends on the USA, to whom many democrats, rightly, look for assistance at the moment. The answer to our question is the old answer—it depends entirely on the people of the democracies. The people can ensure peace. And that is the only possible answer.

RICHARD GOODMAN.



Darryl Frederick

WHERE ITALY MAY STRIKE. Five points on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. (1) The Italo-German attack on France's African colonies may first come from Spanish Morocco which has now been fortified thoroughly by the fascists. (2) The massing of Italian troops in Libya, contrary to the Anglo-Italian Agreement, is the big gun that Chamberlain has allowed to be pointed at the Suez. (3) The forcing of France's hand in Djibouti with the same technique as that used in Ethiopia is right now being acted upon by Mussolini. (4) Corsica, Savoy have been threatened by Mussolini. He can move against France here to force concessions. He will if there is not immediate resistance. (5) Tunisia, with its "Sudeten" Italian colony, is also on Mussolini's immediate program. It is part of the fascist attack on France from the Mediterranean.

The Fight Against Lies

Paul de Kruif, scientist and author, gives a program for writers to join in the fight against fascism in America.

WHEN asked, "What are you doing to combat fascism?" the only honest answer is: So far, nothing effective.

The workers who are fighting for a higher level of life are the best fighters of fascism in our country. And the writers who can be said to have done most to fight it are men like Fox, Hemingway, Malraux, North, and others—who have risked their lives to observe this system of lies and death at its proper work of bombing women and babies.

For a long time it was my feeling that writing stories, read by millions of people, about what science could do to make them stronger and live longer—it was my fond belief that that was an important way to fight the baby-killers and liars. Well, those stories have been read now, for fifteen years, by very many millions. And the result? The people are still denied their strength and life. In fact, a bitter fight is now joining, at this moment, to prevent the proposed expansion of public health work. In many localities health activity is being curtailed, contracted.

This is the more polite form of bombing babies. It differs from the overtly fascist form only in this: you don't see their blood and broken bodies and smashed brains on the streets.

This has made it necessary to examine into the various forms of undercover, of disguised fascism in our country. You find forms more terrifying than the squads of toughs with daggers and little flat drums. You find it high up among our economic rulers. You find it among your scientific and technical friends: learning that they smile at you while in their hearts they are your enemies. You get to learn that Jew-baiting is only one manifestation of fascism. You see that the Bunds, Black Legions, and the assorted shirt-boys are only fronts for it. They may even now be denounced by the big boys, to divert the attention of the people from more important work the big boys must do to maintain their moribund system a little longer.

A FASCIST LITMUS TEST

You develop a litmus test for fascists—in spite of Stuart Chase's decidedly peculiar attempt to prove there is no fascism, by getting you balled up between a dozen different contradictory definitions of it. The litmus test is simple: scratch any doubter of the dignity of human life, the necessity of fighting to conserve all human life—and you find a potential adherent of this system of lies and death.

That doesn't mean the shirt-boys should not be fought; they are the only fascists the people, physically, can get hold of. And the days are here when this is no longer a mere war of words. The time has come for us, as writers,

to join with the people, to get ready to go up the line, as they used to say in France in 1918. What, then, can we do?

Over and over again—all over the world—it has been proved that the democratic method of counting noses is powerless against the liars, who now have a grip on channels of public information, who now are so adept at stuffing the ballot boxes and debauching the representatives of the people.

We must face this dilemma of democracy as at present constituted.

The moment a democracy tries to act drastically against the fascism threatening it, a great yell goes up—led by liberals!—that our democracy is no longer democratic, because it is suppressing the freedom of minorities.

THE WAY OF THE GANG

So these minorities go on organizing, arming, knowing that, because they're the ones who can use the lies, the blackjacks, the bombs and machine guns, they won't have to be a majority to grab the country, and grab it with so-called votes. The words of our great President, and of Harold Ickes, denouncing liars and baby-killers without and within our borders, are good stirring words. But to stop fascism they are hardly more effective than a barrage of creampuffs. They are muffled, they are neutralized in the mass of misrepresentations, half-truths, and downright lies now molding public opinion.

What, then, can we, as writers, do, since words are after all our only weapons—just now.

We have this to encourage us. More and more of us are volunteering for a lie-fighting army. The solidarity of this army is growing. We are getting to know well not only the handful of Red-baiting swine and renegade progressives now paid to write traitorous words for the people, but we are spotting the fainthearts and the yes-but boys who'll be no good in a battle.

More and more of us are getting skillful at spotting the key lies of fascism. But we face this obstacle, pointed out by Dorothy Parker: what's the use of trying to give the people the lowdown, when it's next to impossible to get that lowdown published? Books are good, but books aren't enough, when the distribution of all books except *Gone with the Wind* is so limited that the facts we write do not truly reach the masses of the people.

What, then, to do?

Organize the suggestion, made long ago by Robert Forsythe in this magazine, that we become pamphleteers. Steinbeck has led the way, has set an example in his wonderful account of the fascistic assault on the migra-

tory agricultural workers, in his booklet *Their Blood Is Strong*.

Of course Steinbeck had an angel, in the Lubin Society. But we are going to have to chip in ourselves, with maybe the possibility that organized labor will help us. We should contact progressive leaders of labor and tell them: We want to write facts. We want to blow up lies. We have no ax to grind. Here's a little money. You chip in to help us buy paper and ink. We're willing to give you a lot of our time.

And then what? Then start to write facts, nothing but facts, copper-riveted facts, not mere opinions, and set those facts over against those lies by which fascism—ingeniously disguised—is making ready to install its rule of terror and death.

What fun it would be to write these stories!

"Are we an essentially healthful people?"

"Are all possible means now being used to bring health to the people?"

"Is the average wage of the — industry \$1,500 a year, when you count in all the workers?"

"Is what's good for business good for America?—or, is what's good for America good for business?"

"Why doesn't our Public Health Service investigate what happens to the legs and backs of the men on the straight line?"

"Who pays Father Coughlin?"

"Who are General Moseley's friends—in the army and out of it?"

"How many little business men now own their own stores on Main Street—and what can Mr. Hopkins really do about it?"

"Why can't the state of Michigan afford to save the lives of babies with the whooping-cough vaccine its own scientists have discovered?"

"How did our newspapers report the Inventory of Accomplishment of the Works Progress Administration?"

"Why can't America afford to be healthy when disease sets its taxpayers back billions?"

"Did seven million bums and loafers build the airports, parks, playgrounds, schools, and roads of America?"

ABE LINCOLN'S VIEW

And so on—and nothing but the facts about these questions. Only simple questions about now undoubtedly existing classes, simple statements—non-political—like the statement made by Abe Lincoln, quoted in Carl Sandburg's great book, *The People, Yes*.

I hold,

if the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all of the eating and none of the work,

he would have made them with mouths only, and no hands; and if he had ever made another class, that he had intended should do all the work and none of the eating, he would have made them without mouths and all hands.

Surely we, as writers, are justified in standing on Lincoln's politics. If we get Lincoln's politics under the skins of enough millions of Americans, they might even start going to town with a *Lincoln* party. If we give the people Lincoln's lowdown on life, then when the wrong citizens use his name, the people

can throw their words back in their teeth.

But we've got to get these stories—written to *entertain* the people, not merely instruct them—into the hands of millions of all levels of the people.

Of course we will be leading with our chins if we do this. Facts skillfully stated, constantly reiterated, are terribly provocative. The bullies with daggers in their belts, marching to the beat of the little flat drums, are mighty likely to get orders to go into action against us. Against them, because our only weapons are words, we have no physical defense—

Except the mass of Americans we can do

our bit to solidify. Of course these too have no arms. But remember Ruth McKenney's account of what that nine-hour radio broadcast did to guard the Akron picketline from violence in 1936.

It is very discouraging to try to vomit-gas, to blackjack, or to shoot down forty million people.

But we must face our own possible payoff. They can and they will gang up on us—individually. Should that happen, so be it. We can only hope to have one of our own writing pals to bear witness—not in the big dailies, don't be silly, but with another pamphlet.

PAUL DE KRUIF.



The Isolationist Makes His Contribution to the Safety of America

A. Redfield

Earl Browder Answers Questions

Queries about the Soviet Union are answered by the general secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

FIVE THOUSAND New Yorkers turned out to the Hippodrome meeting called by NEW MASSES, to hear Earl Browder lecture on "Soviet Economy Today." Many of the audience were individuals who had never attended a NEW MASSES meeting before: their questions indicated that. The poverty, or to use a franker word, sabotage, of news on the Soviet Union in our native commercial press showed itself at this meeting. We asked for it—and got it—exactly 457 questions. Though the meeting continued until the Hippodrome people threatened to turn out the lights, Browder had time to answer thirty-five of the queries. "You'll find the answers to the rest in forthcoming issues of NEW MASSES, the editors asked me to announce," Browder said at the close of the meeting. The first ten of these questions are answered below. Subsequent numbers will deal with others. We invite all those throughout the country who could not avail themselves of the opportunity to attend the meeting and send up their slips of paper, to do so by mail. We shall be happy to answer all questions. In fact, we shall herewith begin a department of NEW MASSES called "What's on Your Mind?" Any questions, not only on the USSR—but on all matters of topical or historic interest—are invited. What's on your mind?—THE EDITORS.

Q. What is the proportion of armaments in the economic growth of the Soviet Union as compared, for example, to Germany?

A. Armaments in the Soviet Union today, I believe, constitute about 10 percent of the national production. Armaments in Germany, as estimated by British conservatives, represent about 30 percent or 33 percent of German production today. That is, Nazi Germany devotes something over three times the national income to armaments as does the Soviet Union. That does not mean that Nazi Germany is two or three times as well armed: the Soviet national income is much greater, their armed effectiveness is greater, and I think that one of the reasons why Hitler never followed up his Nuremberg speech, when he spoke longingly of the wheat fields of the Ukraine and the minerals of the Urals, is that he knows that Soviet defense forces are quite capable of taking care of anyone who crosses the Soviet border.

Q. What is the comparison of wages in the Soviet Union and the United States and other countries, both their tendencies of development and absolute comparison?

A. It is very difficult to make an absolute comparison but I have indicated in my talk what the best absolute measurement of the standard of living is so far as the Soviet Union is concerned—everything produced in the Soviet Union in the way of food, clothing, and shelter is produced for the working people of the Soviet Union. So when their figures show that articles of consumption increased in production 100 percent in the last five years, that means

the standard of living increased 100 percent. That is not true of the United States. America may have a big increase in articles of consumption but that doesn't mean that the standard of living is going up for the masses of people. It may mean that the gilded youth of our upper classes have begun to live on a more lavish scale and they can consume the equivalent of the livelihood of one hundred families in this way. You can see that they can swell the figures and raise the statistics. There is nothing like that in the Soviet Union. Everything that is produced goes to the people and goes to them according to measures of service in the production of those goods. One can say, even in the absence of exact statistics of measurement, that the absolute standard of living of the people of the Soviet Union is already higher than any country in Europe. It is still lower than the standard of living in the United States, if we exclude the unemployed and their families from consideration. If we include the unemployed and their families and dependents, then you can say that the Soviet Union has already got up to the American standard of living.

Q. If the Soviet Union increases its population as you say, why is the population still 170,000,000?

A. The answer is that it never was 170,000,000 before. It is above 170,000,000 now; it is closer to 180,000,000, as the new census will show. Some ten or twelve years ago it wasn't 170,000,000. It was below 140,000,000. The very rapid rate of increase has

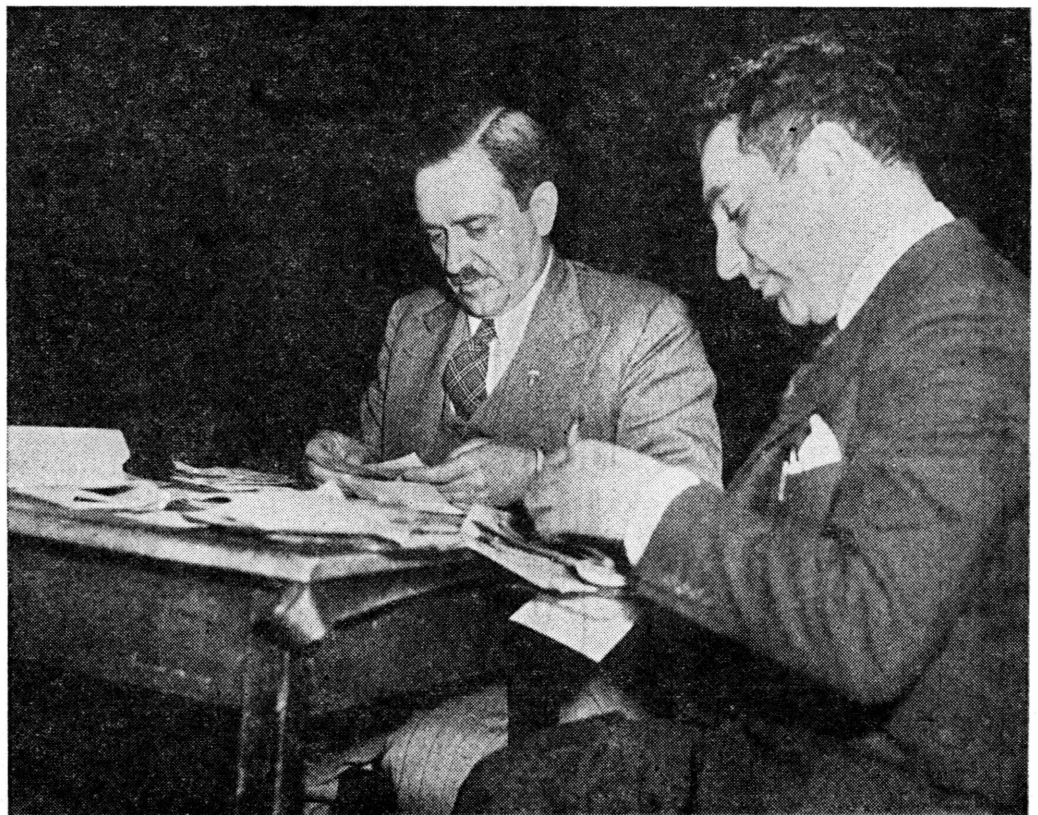
only taken place under the two Five-Year Plans. I didn't mean to infer that this was planned [laughter] but it was the result of the success of the plans, the increase of the people's economic well-being to such an extent that the people wanted to have children. The American people seem to have a tendency of limiting the population growth, so much so that scientists estimate that the population of this country will be stationary and in another sixty years it will be going back rapidly. But I think before that time comes around the scientists will have been given the lie by a change of system in the United States. When we have socialism in the United States, I think we are going to go back to the family habits of the American frontiersmen, who had ten or twelve babies in each family.

Q. Is it true that there are people in the Soviet Union who still live in poverty, and if so, why?

A. If there is anyone living in poverty in the Soviet Union, it can only be some very small remnant of counter-revolutionaries who have refused to merge themselves with the new social system. No one who works lives in poverty.

Q. Isn't it true that the growth of Soviet economy was so fast because it started from nothing?

A. Well, there are plenty of other countries under capitalism that can also start from nothing. Why don't they go so fast? Most of the Latin American countries are even farther back than Russia was; why don't they grow like the Soviet Union? The answer is that capitalism has never been able to grow like that in any country, either undeveloped or highly developed. Another form of that question is, "Isn't it true that the old economies tend to become stagnant and stabilize production, and the reason why the Soviet Union grew is that they started a new economy?" Well, the answer is, if our stagnation is caused by our system being old, that is a



Phil Stern

PEOPLE'S QUESTIONS. Earl Browder and NM Editor Joseph North sort the questions sent up to the platform after Browder's talk on "Soviet Economy and the World Today," sponsored by NEW MASSES at the Hippodrome in New York City.

good enough reason to start a new one and get rid of the old one.

Q. A friend who is a little discouraged points out that the First Five-Year Plan increased production by 100 percent and the third is going to increase it only 88 percent, and at this rate the rate of growth is now declining, therefore production will become stagnant.

A. Well, that is something you will have to figure out for yourself, comrade. But your pessimism may be lightened a little bit when you remember that 1 percent in the Second Five-Year Plan amounted to only 900,000,000 rubles and in the Third Five-Year Plan 1 percent amounts to 2,500,000,000 rubles, so that 88 percent in the next five years will total in actual value of wealth a good deal more than that in the first and second plans all piled up together. The amount of increase will be greater than the total production of the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Can't you see that 100 percent to 88 percent is not so serious after all?

Q. Could the New Deal, if carried out in the United States, give the people a much fuller life?

A. The New Deal could considerably improve the situation, but I am afraid that the most extreme operation of the New Deal policies could not overcome the fundamental restrictions of the capitalist system in any way commensurate with the rate of development in the Soviet Union. I can't promise you that, much as I am in favor of the New Deal.

Q. If, instead of socialist economy in the Soviet Union, there had been capitalist economists who really wanted to use the resources of the country, couldn't they have progressed just as fast as the Soviet Union has?

A. The only way to answer that question scientifically, and not as an expression of abstract opinion, is to try to see whether there was any case anywhere where capitalist economy developed a country anywhere nearly so fast, and strive as we may, we can't find such an example in history, not to speak about the present.

Q. Is it true that at the end of the year the Soviet Union will be able to distribute bread free of charge?

A. The answer is yes, they can do that and it is not at all inconsistent with the Soviet system that it might distribute bread just as free as the air, and freer than water in capitalist America. There have been some rumors about this. But I doubt it will be done, because it is not necessary and keeping a price on bread is a good measure to avoid waste. It is good to think that you might wake up some morning and get bread free of charge delivered to your door. But whether bread is free or not is not the important thing. In the Soviet Union everything is guaranteed to the worker, his job and his wages, so he doesn't have to worry about whether bread is free or not.

Q. Why does the Soviet Union minimize the danger of attack by Germany?

A. I don't think they minimize that danger. They are aware of this danger and know how serious it is. And because they know how serious it is they have taken very serious measures to counteract the danger. The Soviet Union has a very serious Red Army, a very serious Red Air Fleet, and the beginnings of a very serious Red Navy—and that is why Hitler will think not only twice but three times before he tries to attack it.

Four-fifths of a Nation—III

What the national health program can do. The last in a series of three articles on the nation's health.

IF YOU have no job, you're more likely to get sick, and if you're sick, you're likely to lose your job.

That may sound like a truism, but if so it's a truism that every American had better get through his head while the national health program remains a program. Fishbein and his cohorts will have to recognize the truth of the first proposition, but they will ignore the second. The average family, they will say, spends only \$25 per year for medical care—surely that is not too large a part of even a modest income to be spent on health.

The trouble is, and this is the point of our second proposition, that the average family exists only on the statisticians' charts. It is valuable to know that by dividing the amount spent on medical care by the number of families, one may arrive at the figure \$25, but in the small groups within the individual's experience it has little relevance. It is far more important to remember that at least half the sickness in the country comes with a severity that can wreck the savings and possibilities for future earnings of almost all but those in the top brackets. Even more than four-fifths of the nation is unable to bank against the financial exigencies of appendicitis, and there are few whose jobs will wait for them in the three or four months they may need to mend a broken leg. By spreading the bills, however, by a national program that would, by its very breadth, give the "average" a meaning, the saving would be in the neighborhood of 300 percent. The \$25 per year that the AMA estimates is sound enough, but it represents what is being spent, not what should be. Adequate care would cost about \$76 for an individual and \$310 for a family *under completely private administration*. If the government stepped in, it could be cut to \$25 and \$100.

Organized medicine will argue that most people can pay their own way and that the New Deal must be blamed for those who can't. That is one source of opposition to the bill. The other, as might be expected, will come from big business. Essentially the arguments of the business Tories will be the same as those of the AMA. They will, however, add an item of their own: the contribution of business and philanthropy to the health of the people. One of American industry's greatest boasts is its stewardship of the people's interests in regard to health. In Dearborn, Weirton, and Hershey they point with baronial pride to the facilities for medical care, and in the large cities they point to the services rendered by their philanthropies.

On this, as on almost all matters of medical economics, it remained for the fact-finding agencies of the New Deal to give the real figures. According to the President's Inter-

departmental Committee, the people themselves shoulder 80 percent of the financial burden. Public agencies, federal, state, county, and municipal, take care of 16 percent. Business and philanthropy combined pay only 4 percent of the total cost.

WHAT THE PLAN IS

The program which the New Deal is sponsoring, though it comes later than those of most European countries, is projected on a larger scale than any except the tremendous system of "medical defense" in the USSR. Planned as an extension of the Social Security Act, to be administered through existing agencies, it will expend about \$850,000,000 a year at the peak of its operation. Because capitalist economy is not flexible enough to take care of so large an initial outlay and because the program is designed to function within the framework of capitalism, the \$850,000,000 will have to be reached over a period of ten years. Likewise the devices for spreading the cost over larger consuming groups and greater periods of time will wait upon the economy's ability to digest them. The Soviet Union could adopt Dr. Nikolai Semashko's gigantic system of socialized medicine only because its basis was an all-encompassing social ownership.

As the program was first presented to the National Health Conference last July, it was summarized under the following five main headings:

1. Expansion of general public health services:
 - A. In public health organization and in combating specific diseases.
 - B. In material and child health services.
2. Expansion of hospital facilities.
3. Medical care for the medically needy.
4. A general program of medical care.
5. Insurance against loss of wages during sickness.

The first proposal would apply to the state and city agencies we now have and give them a boost. The comparative uselessness of our state agencies has long been apparent. Few people even know of their existence. The most effective of them average an annual total of 11 cents per person and many fall as low as 3 cents. They do, however, provide an apparatus which can be enlarged and improved and may some day become the basis of a real health department for the nation. They could alter themselves from publishing houses of pamphlets—which, useful as they are, seldom filter down to the people that need them—and become active dispensaries. They could be the principal agencies in the eradication of the specific diseases which the conference marked for concentrated attack. Tuberculosis, cancer, syphilis, gonorrhoea, malaria, mental disease, and the occupational hazards remain with us

and do almost unaccountable damage only because we are unable to gather our forces. The first proposal of the program would enable us to move against these on all fronts, bring their death rates down to the minimum that modern therapy can hope for.

We have already cited the preventability of deaths connected with childbirth. Forty percent of stillborn babies, 50 percent of those dying in the first month of life, and 66 percent of the mothers dying in pregnancy or at delivery could be saved if the mothers and children could be wrested from the grip of ignorance and rotten conditions. The second part of the first proposal plans exactly this. Clinics would be set up in the main trouble centers; doctors and nurses would be assigned to those expecting children. The mantle of modern protection could be thrown over the million or more where the conditions of birth are now intolerable, and the care given the young would extend until they are of school age.

The fact that eighteen million Americans live in communities where there are no hospitals does not tell the whole unpleasant story of the inadequacy of our hospitals. We have about 4,500 general hospitals that meet the most elementary licensing standards. Three-quarters of them depend upon patients' fees, but three-quarters of the people can't afford much in the way of hospital bills. These private hospitals are seldom more than half full. Only one-sixth of the hospitals are publicly owned, but these run at capacity 365 days a year.

The government, if the national health program goes through, will build 180,000 new general hospitals throughout the country—concentrating, of course, on the neediest areas—and will bring our hospital system up to what is now an accepted standard of adequacy, 4.5 beds per one thousand of the popu-

lation. New buildings and expansion of present ones are planned for the special problems of hospitalization required for TB and mental diseases. The government would help defray operating costs for the first three years.

The third proposition, the last on the agenda for immediate consideration, is that medical care shall be given to the one-third of the nation falling in the lowest income brackets.

THE WAGNER PROPOSAL

On March 1 Senator Wagner introduced a bill asking for \$80,000,000 for the first year of the national health program. The figure he asked would be distributed through grants-in-aid to the states, to be spent largely as the states see fit. Any state program would of necessity be based on a consciousness of the government findings of the key sore spots and of the situation in the particular state.

This is no program of socialized medicine. It is a plan whereby we add to our equipment for combating disease and see to it that the equipment is put to use to aid those who today receive none of the benefits of modern medicine. Private medicine will continue its function. But the plan can and will some day move on to a point where not only disease itself will be the focal point of attack. Unemployment and general poverty have been mentioned for their bearing on health. Housing, nutrition, water supply, and drainage could be added to the list.

The two final proposals of the President's Interdepartmental Committee will have to be added to give meaning to the first three. A general program of health insurance is the only inclusive solution, for it is impossible to talk only of the lowest one-third. Eighty percent of the population finds itself unable to afford really adequate care, and it will receive little increase in attention, particularly

in the first years of the program. And even for those who will reap some of the advantages the fears of the economic hazard of sickness will be as great as ever. The plan for illness compensation, embodied in the fifth point, must be added shortly. These two proposals, plus the assurance that the program will be financed by money from the higher brackets—rather than the "general" tax that has been suggested—should be fought for by progressives.

SUPPORT THE BILL

Senator Wagner's bill will come before Congress in this session. It will have the support of the vigorous New Dealers and a tremendous mass backing of labor and progressive groups; AFL and CIO delegates attended the National Health Conference and endorsed its suggestions without exception. The Committee of Physicians gives full support from within the American Medical Association and this following is influential.

Business does not lag far behind, however. The New York *Herald Tribune*, the weather-vane of tory thought, has started an editorial campaign against what it chooses to call "a premature program." The *Tribune* is not against health, but considers it inopportune at the moment. And Frank Gannett of the free press recently sent the following telegram to his private sucker list in an attempt to raise \$50,000 to fight Senator Wagner's bill:

Since Mr. Gannett wrote you about dangers in Wagner National Health Bill, Washington tells us that due to lack of public understanding bill may pass Senate without receiving adequate consideration. Situation requires instant nationwide educational effort. We have half-million key leaders in all congressional districts who should be reached this week. Initial fund fifty thousand dollars imperative to start nationwide program at once. Will you join small group contributing one hundred dollars immediately making check payable to Sumner Gerard, treasurer?

On February 25, sixty New York physicians were called together to hear an address by one Mr. Pratt, "field organizer" for Gannett's quasi-fascist reprint paper, *America's Future*. Pratt painted a frightening picture of how "socialized" medicine (i.e., the national health program) would be followed by revolution. To avert the catastrophe, Pratt passed out a list of 850 business men and bankers and suggested that each doctor get in touch with whomever he knew on the list. The culmination was to be a dinner at the Hotel Plaza at which big business and big-business-minded physicians would work out their common problems. The list included Winthrop Aldrich of Chase National, Jules Bache, Marshall Field, and Fred Ecker of Metropolitan Life.

Little more needs to be said. The national health program is evidence of a progressive, creative democracy; the nation's strength rests largely in its people's health and democracy's strength lies in its ability to progress and extend itself.

RICHARD H. ROVERE.



Art Young

Mexican Oil: The Inside Story

The big business propaganda machine waves the swastika over Mexico and urges American intervention. The failure of the red herring.

March 17 marked the first anniversary of Mexico's expropriation of the British and American oil interests. The occasion found negotiations between President Cárdenas and Donald R. Richberg, representative of the British and American companies, temporarily suspended but scheduled to be resumed shortly in an effort to reach a settlement. Since the expropriation, the American press has sought to create a distorted picture of Mexico's trade relations with the fascist countries. This article by an American newspaperman living in Mexico City gives the true facts of the situation.—THE EDITORS.

THE oil corporations have done their best to drive Mexico into the arms of Nazi Germany. They have tried to organize a worldwide boycott against Mexican oil and thereby have forced the Cárdenas government into ramified barter deals with the Third Reich. They have resorted to secondary boycotts to dissuade American equipment firms from selling to Mexico, thus aiding the German export drive in Latin America.

Having labored to force Mexico into economic dependence on the international fascist axis, the oil interests and their satellite press are deluging the United States with inspired stories of Mexico on the verge of fascism. The Alice in Wonderland fantasies in the New York daily press display an increasing tendency to abandon the cudgel of "Communism" in order to belabor Cárdenas with the fascist battle ax. This shift in oil-company strategy is very shrewd. The corporations feel that if the labor and liberal movement of the United States was strong enough to prevent intervention in Mexico twelve years ago, it is obviously capable of preventing the application of the Big Stick to the good neighbor's hide today. Therefore progressive America must be sold on the theory that Mexico is becoming another pawn of world fascism.

STRATEGY OF THE PRESS

Cárdenas is charged with Communism in order to terrify the American middle class and marshal it behind a movement for economic (and, perhaps, eventually military) intervention. He is accused of fascism in order to bewilder the American liberal movement and kill its resistance to the oil men's crusade.

Typical of the press campaign to exaggerate German influence in Mexico was the stress given by Frank L. Kluckhohn, former correspondent of the New York Times, to General Azcarate's sudden recall to Berlin to resume active duties as Mexican minister. Azcarate, who was described by Kluckhohn as Mexico's most eminent aircraft designer, was forced to abandon airplane design long ago after a series of fatal crashes. Moreover, the report that Azcarate planned a barter deal involving acquisition of fifty German combat planes

for the Mexican army is not only officially denied, but is refuted by the fact that Canadian Car & Foundry will set up an assembling plant to meet Mexico's needs in swift fighting planes this spring.

What are the facts of fascist economic and political penetration in Mexico? What are the underlying causes? What remedial action can the American people take?

Since the liquid capital of the fascist powers is largely earmarked for purposes of armament and foreign conquest, their investment penetration of Latin America is relatively small. The chief barometer of their economic influence is the course of trade, shown in the table on this page which indicates that:

1. Although the United States has been steadily losing ground in Mexico to the fascist powers, she still outsells them by more than two and one half to one. On the other hand, the fascist alliance sells more than the United States to the Brazilian and Chilean markets. In Latin America as a whole, fascist trade competition is far more ominous than it is in Mexico. Thus the facts do not justify the wave of alarm over German trade penetration of Mexico.

2. The fascist powers sold less to Mexico in the first nine months of 1938 than in the equivalent 1937 period. Combined German, Italian, and Japanese exports to Mexico were 83,318,000 pesos in the 1937 period as against 84,724,000 pesos in the 1938 period. Since the peso depreciated 28 percent in terms of dollars in March last, it is obvious that the value of fascist exports has shrunk considerably.

3. The figures for German trade are probably inflated because of the fact that the conversion factor between Ask-mark and pesos is artificial.

Nonetheless, Germany's commercial advance in Mexico cannot be viewed with equanimity. In the first place, Mexican foreign commerce has declined so drastically that she cannot afford to curtail her trade relations with Germany. Then, Reich trade involves such strategic items as machinery, fabricated steel products, and basic chemicals.

Mexico is far more dependent on her foreign trade than the United States is. The Cárdenas program for the modernization of agriculture entails heavy machine and tool

imports. Highway and railroad construction cannot be carried on unless large quantities of steel are purchased from abroad. The petroleum, power, and other industries stand in drastic need of modernization.

BREAK THE BOYCOTT

The inherent danger in the present situation is that the trade blockade instituted by the oil corporations has made Mexico dependent on the Reich for certain crucial capital-goods imports. The solution must be American action to break the oil men's boycott so that Mexico will become free to buy wherever she pleases. Cárdenas has stated on numerous occasions that Mexico's economic relations with the fascist powers are a matter of compulsion rather than preference. As early as last July, he predicted that closer economic relations with Germany might entail dangerous political consequences for both Mexico and the United States.

One of the main reasons for the German trade gains in Mexico is that American concerns have deliberately refused to sell goods to the Cárdenas government. There is no economic justification for this refusal, since the Mexican government has been paying promptly on its short-term commercial obligations.

It is well known here that the Standard Oil group, through its commercial and banking connections, has been able to bring almost irresistible pressure on business concerns which wish to sell to Mexico. Time and again Mexico has found herself unable to buy American goods, even when these products are unrelated to the oil industry. The corporations, moreover, are concentrating on the economic weapon of refusing to sell Mexico replacement parts needed in oil production, pipeline, and refinery operations.

If this boycott can be sustained indefinitely, one of two results might be expected: (1) Collapse of the government-owned Mexican oil industry as a result of persistent wear and tear on machine parts. This would mean economic chaos and a generation of ill will between Mexico and the American business community. (2) A revamping of the Mexican

Mexican and Latin American Markets Divided by Percentages

Country	Mexican Imports by Countries		1936 Latin American Imports
	Jan.-Sept. 1937	Jan.-Sept. 1938	
United States	64.2	58.7	29.4
Germany	15.1	18.5	14.0
Italy	1.0	1.7	very slight
Japan	1.7	1.9	2.2
Fascist Axis	17.8	22.1	over 16.2

oil industry to make it increasingly dependent on German equipment. American capital-goods industries would lose a lucrative trade. Moreover, once the Mexican industry is geared to German equipment, replacement parts can be provided only by the Reich. Germany would acquire a powerful economic lever which could be used for sinister political purposes.

The effect on Mexico's international trade of channelizing her exports to Germany is too obvious to require comment. The depreciation of the peso, following the action of the oil companies in withdrawing their bank balances from Mexico, served as an automatic deterrent to Mexican trade with Britain and the United States. Mexican imports from America now cost 39 percent more in terms of pesos, while Mexican sales to the United States realize 28 percent less in terms of dollars. Germany, with her multiple-gearred currency and centralized, militarist control of international trade, is impervious to fluctuations in foreign currencies.

Mexico has thus far refused to make political concessions to the international fascist axis. When the German minister here demanded that labor leader Lombardo Toledano be chastised for attacks on Adolf Hitler, the Mexican government ignored his representations. The petroleum crisis has not succeeded in swerving the Cárdenas government from

its policy of unconditional support of loyalist Spain. Mexico has persistently demanded that the Non-Intervention Pact be liquidated. She has furnished volunteers for the International Brigades. If the Cárdenas government was compelled to curtail arms shipments to the loyalists, this was not a result of Nazi pressure, but of State Department skullduggery.

NOT ANTI-SEMITIC

American opinion has recently become alarmed over certain manifestations of anti-Semitism in Mexico. The reasons for this anxiety are the decrees of October 15 and November 1 which effectively limited refugee entry into the country; the action of Secretary of the Interior García Téllez in refusing certain Jewish exiles permission to land on Mexican shores; and the recent anti-Semitic riots in Mexico City.

The disturbances in the capital were probably Nazi-inspired and are a reflection of the fact that the majority of the Mexican urban middle class has fallen under the influence of fascist ideas. A very large section of the Mexican press is subsidized, either directly or indirectly, by foreign fascist groups. The slow poison of its anti-Semitic, anti-democratic, and ultimately anti-American propaganda has seeped through the veins of a class which is not numerous but is articulate and politically

influential. The receptiveness of the middle class to this type of propaganda is a result of its unenviable economic position. The Cárdenas government has failed to adjust the pace and structure of its social-reform program to the needs of the petty bourgeoisie. Consequently, the middle class is searching frantically for scapegoats.

The Cárdenas government refused to take punitive action against the authors of the anti-Semitic riots because it did not care to make martyrs of an insignificant group of discredited politicians. Moreover, the Mexican laws do not provide adequate penalties for outrages such as these, and Cárdenas is unalterably opposed to Obregón's tactic of lynching political undesirables in the Mexico City police station. The Communist Party, the trade-union movement, and the peasant leagues issued vigorous statements against the rioters; and if the fascists make a second appeal to violence, it is probable that the anger of the Mexican workers and peasants will find tangible forms of expression.

Neither the Mexican government nor the healthy sections of the revolutionary movement are anti-Semitic. Téllez' refusal to permit the entry of Jewish refugees who came here on tourist cards is understandable. These refugees were the harbingers of some three to seven thousand more who wished to settle

More Piercing than Bombs

I DECIDED to go to Castellon, which was about twenty miles away, the biggest town near the hospital. When the doctor entered the ward, I had already made up my mind that I would go. So when I asked him if I could go to town, he smiled and said, "Yes, you may go for two hours. Remember, your wounds are far from healed, as yet. Take it easy in town; don't walk too much; sit down and rest every now and then." He walked to the next patient, suddenly turned around, and warned me: "Don't drink or—uh—women." I promised to be a good boy. As a matter of fact, I was interested only in walking and in seeing people go about their business. I wanted to look into store windows, and buy a few things, as I had been bed-ridden for almost five months.

I began to dress rather quickly. I felt a sharp pain, and realized that I would have to "go easy." But I was determined to go to town, nevertheless. I was going to make use of my permission to leave the hospital for two hours. An ambulance gave me a lift to the edge of the town. As I started to walk to the center of Castellon, I heard sirens and whistles blowing like mad. I realized that fascist planes had been sighted and were coming to bomb the town. The underground was a short distance from where I was standing, and the entrance was close by.

Along with a great many others, I rushed to the entrance. Looking up, we saw in the distance six specks in the air. We realized that it was a matter of minutes before the bombs would begin to drop upon us. Just before going into the underground, I noticed a group of women coming from one of the side streets toward the entrance. In the center of the group was a young woman, who was supported under each arm by one of the older women. I thought that she was faint from fright. But as they came closer, I realized that this woman was in terrible pain.

She was about to give birth to a child. I followed them down the entrance, behind a woman who was carrying a large basin and a jug of water. Other women carried blankets and bedding. As we entered the underground, the bombs began to drop. The sound was dull and muffled to us, since we were pretty deep in the earth.

There I lived through an experience I shall never forget. The pregnant woman was in the throes of giving birth. Recognizing the delicacy of the situation, I walked to a far corner of the underground, where there were old men and a few soldiers. We looked at each other without speaking. We were listening to the talk of the women who were helping the pregnant woman. They were encouraging her.

They were telling her to relax her leg muscles. And they were saying "Strength! Strength!" over and over again. Suddenly the odor of hot blood reached us. It reminded me of men who had received stomach wounds. It was the same odor of hot blood. One of the women asked for a knife. She was given a Spanish soldier's trench knife. I told her to wash it carefully. With this, surrounded by the other women, she severed the life cord.

One of the women picked up the newborn infant by the legs and slapped it on the buttocks. It wailed very weakly. The odor of hot blood became stronger; I felt dizzy. The baby's cry was getting stronger. I felt that I had to leave. Although a soldier at the entrance warned me that they were still bombing, I ignored him, walked up the steps, and inhaled a deep breath. The baby continued to wail. I could hear it above the sound of the bombs. It was more piercing than the sound of the bombs.

HARRY REINLIEB.

in Mexico. They could not have been absorbed into the Mexican economy unless adequate capital were forthcoming for the development of new industries and new agricultural regions. As long as there are over a million Mexicans in the United States—many of them destitute and awaiting repatriation—it is politically impossible for the Mexican government to devote its scant resources to the settlement of aliens. Moreover, had the refugees attempted the hopeless task of competing with poverty-stricken Mexican peons on the land, they would inevitably have migrated into already overcrowded retail trade in the capital. Since no responsible Jewish organizations had presented a feasible economic plan for refugee settlement or given guarantees that foreign capital would be forthcoming, Mexico felt that she was unable to establish the precedent of legitimatizing illegal immigration.

WE MUST ACT

The ultimate target of the Mexican fascist and reactionary movement is not Jewry but the United States. Action on our part therefore appears imperative. The boycott against sales by American concerns to Mexico serves to destroy American commercial opportunity and strengthen the economic position of an unfriendly power in Latin America. In addition to being unpatriotic, this conduct is illegal. Accordingly, a Senate investigation of the oil industry's Mexican campaign, to determine whether the anti-trust laws have been violated, would seem long overdue. This would presumably cover:

1. Resort to secondary boycotts, victimizing American concerns which trade with Mexico.
2. Use of financial pressure, or any other monopolistic device, against domestic companies purchasing Mexican oil.
3. Attempts on the part of the oil trust to influence American opinion by subsidizing newspapers and feature writers.

If the oil companies were found guilty, they would face criminal prosecution under the anti-trust laws. The mere announcement of such an investigation would probably imbue independents with sufficient courage to trade freely with Mexico.

The Export-Import Bank of Washington is advancing credits to Latin American countries in need of capital. The most recent instance is the commercial and financial agreements signed with Brazil. However, the Export-Import Bank has systematically cold-shouldered Mexico. This policy would appear to be undemocratic in the extreme and incompatible with the declared objectives of the New Deal.

Mayor LaGuardia has stated that the United States cannot fight the coordinated Nazi trade advance by its present blundering methods. He has proposed a government subsidy to American exporters which would meet the difference between their production costs and the sales price of dumped German merchandise. It is argued that such an anti-dumping policy is just as vital a part of our

Pan-American defense program as the building of new battleships.

A more systematic policy of technical and, to a lesser extent, cultural assistance to Latin American nations is obviously needed. Mexican fisheries are today exploited by Japanese craft which take soundings of potential Pacific submarine bases. The United States will not furnish these soundings free of charge. Mexican fishery experts are obliged to learn Japanese, read Japanese books, and study in Japan, because the United States government offers such inadequate facilities. While the fascist ministries are staffed with alert technicians, able to guide Latin American governments in the most important phases of their national programs, United States diplomats are too often Georgetown-trained charm boys whose talents are largely limited to helping elderly ladies get visas.

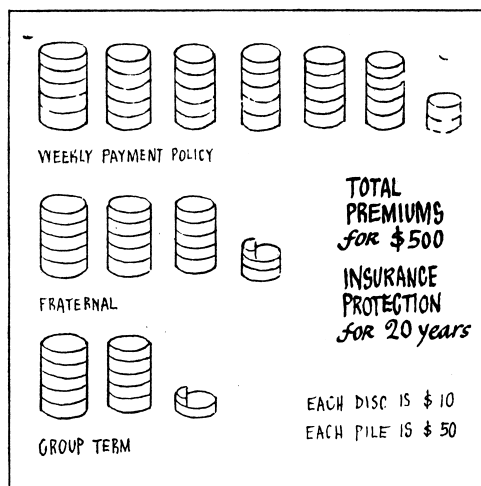
The fight for democracy in Latin America cannot be won on the basis of florid speeches by Washington politicians. It involves far-flung operations and the use of effective pressure devices. If democracy is to vanquish fascism, it cannot lag behind its adversary in efficiency and adroitness.

HU WILLIAMSON.

“Industrial” Insurance

Only one in twenty-seven five-and-dime policies ever matures.

ONE of the most cynical rackets ever devised to suck money out of small pay envelopes is the so-called industrial insurance sponsored by Prudential, Metropolitan, John Hancock, and several of the larger concerns.



FOR EQUAL BENEFITS. *Comparative premium costs for \$500 protection for twenty years. All three policies are issued to 35-year-old persons whose deaths occur at 55. The Metropolitan's 36-cent-a-week total for twenty years, less approximately \$57 in dividends, is \$320. Fraternal insurance costs begin at 56 cents a month on a step-rate basis and net premiums total \$173.04. Group insurance (Metropolitan) costs begin at 58 cents a month on a step-rate plan and net premiums total \$111.*

Known to workers as “five-and-dime” or “burial” insurance, it is a scheme whereby the wage earner pays a few cents a week on policies up to \$500. The sum, he is told, will pay creditors’ bills at his death, or will leave the money to compensate his dependents.

Almost all the companies’ claims for industrial insurance are false or misleading. The worker, having no security, has no guarantee that he will be able to meet the payments, no matter how small they seem. Actually, only one out of twenty-seven industrial policies ever matures. For every one hundred policies terminated in 1934, sixty-three lapsed with complete loss; twenty-three were canceled with a small cash return; *less than four resulted in death payments*. Over \$3,000,000,000 in industrial insurance lapsed with a complete loss of protection—a sum *double that spent for relief* by the federal government.

Joker clauses in most policies prevent borrowing on the money invested. An enticing argument used by the companies, that no physical examinations are required, is turned against the policyholder; a proviso in the contract states that the signee has not “knowingly or unknowingly” had any one of a long, almost universal list of diseases—a statement which no one would ordinarily sign.

Industrial insurance is a fake. There are policies, however, which will give the worker similar benefits. The International Workers Order, the Knights of Columbus, various fraternal orders and trade unions do issue policies the worker can trust. In Massachusetts and New York there are state savings-bank plans of life insurance offering the maximum security and the minimum expense. The important thing is to warn and be warned against the big companies’ industrial rackets, which make Dutch Schultz’ policy and numbers rackets seem like small boys’ mischief by comparison.

Vatican Payoff

Banco Ambrosiano now papal finance center in Italy.

EVER since 1925, the Banco di Roma, which used to be the Vatican Bank, has been under fascist financial control. The Marelli clique now run it and their big shot, Signor Benni, is the present minister of communications for Il Duce. The Vatican’s depository at the present moment is the Banco Ambrosiano, whose president, Count Franco Ratti, is a nephew of the late Pope Pius XI.

On the Ambrosiano Bank’s board of directors, along with Count Ratti, are several members of other episcopal families such as Count Caccia-Dominioni and Marquis Reggio, etc. The bank, incidentally, is capitalized for 75,000,000 lire.

On the same board of directors will be found representatives of the big Lombard textile group of Gavazzi, whose connections with the Ratti family are already well known. Alongside of them is Count Rabaudengo who hooks up the Banco Ambrosiano with the Cre-

dito Italiano and the great trusts of FIAT, Montecatini, Snia Viscosa, and the Volpi gang. For these are the same interests that Count Rabaudengo represents on the board of directors of the Franco-Italian Credit Bank.

Count Ratti, the late Pope's nephew, is a director of twenty different big corporations now. Before the "concordat" he was given only a few minor jobs in small outfits. But as a representative of the Vatican money he is now highly placed in a great number of corporations where the Vatican has invested the dough that Mussolini gave it upon the signing of the concordat. There is a persistent rumor both in New York and Paris, however, that all the concordat payoff money that could be gotten out of the country has been transferred to New York banks. This may account for the vigor of the church's recent anti-fascist stand in Italy.

But in the meantime Count Ratti is the big shot in the Dalmine Works and numerous metallurgical and machinery organizations in the Ilva trust. It is with the Cini-Volpi cartels that the Vatican finances are most closely attached; such as the Italian Gas Co., which controls the production of gas for all Italy. And through this same big gas company, Vatican finance is hooked up with the Banca Commerciale, the Franco-Italian Bank for South America, and the Paris and Netherlands Bank.

Through the Officine Meccaniche Reggiane, the Vatican money is related to the Pesenti group and to the Banco di Roma, its former affiliation.

Thus it can be seen that the Vatican money in Italy is in the three big Italian banks and trust companies. But it is with the heavy industry groups that its main deposits lie.

ORONZO MARGINATI.

Beloved Bandits

An example of the Japanese dialectic in Manchuria.

"AS THE regions watered by the Sungari River are very much out of the way and are adjacent to Soviet territory, the Communist bandits, who had been infesting Shengking Province and the Tung-pientao district, fled into these districts when the pressure applied to them by punitive forces became too much for them to bear. The Sungari River basin contains the largest number of bandits, the total number there being estimated at about three thousand, or about three-fifths of the bandit population of Manchuria. The outlaws inhabiting the above regions are generally known as Communist bandits as they are controlled by the Soviets. Though they are the most vicious, they have the knack of bringing popular feeling under their power and always as the friends of the masses. Their dexterity in organizing the masses is amazing."—ENZO NAKAJIMA, of the publicity section of the Kwantung Army, writing in "Manchuria," semi-monthly review published by the Manchuria "Daily News."

Heil Kolupus Hitler!

"Red Cloud" Towner, the Meoninton gauleiter of the Indian reservations, spreads the Nazi gospel, for a fee . . . A screwball fascist plan to create 100 percent American Sudetens.

ONLY the Nazis could think up this one—an Indian fascist movement.

And it smells surprisingly of those extraordinary promises the Germans were making in Mexico a couple of years ago. But they must have learned a thing or two since then and applied a bit of graffito to their technique, for this idea is not without cleverness. The first I heard of it was at a Silver Shirt meeting in Portland. There was a handful of Indians present—not particularly good specimens of their race, to be sure—who giggled approval of the anti-Jewish thrusts and clapped loudly at the mention of Henry Ford's name. I was at a loss until one speaker made promises, sufficiently vague and general, that all their former lands would be wrested from the Jews and returned to the Indian people, that along with the Negroes they would be given stipends by the government.

AN ANTI-RED REDSKIN

But it took a Bund meeting to get to the core of the matter. There was an Indian named A. E. Towner, who, I was told, was a chief. A short, muscular man, impressive in his movements, with fiery eyes and dramatic silences, something of a spellbinder. He told a story, an Indian prophecy, which proved that it was the mission of the Indians to drive out and exterminate the Jews. He used the words Jew and Communist interchangeably, as though it were accepted that they were synonymous. More outspoken than Bund members dare be, he spoke of the final struggle when the Jews and the liberals would be decimated. "When that day comes, the Indian people will be 100 percent behind you."

For ten months now, maybe a year, Towner, who calls himself "Red Cloud," has been devoting all of his time and energies to speaking to Indians. He has been all over the Northwest. He has traveled to Alaska, come down through British Columbia. He has visited reservations on the Western plains and as far south as Texas. At one point he was working, with small success, on other minorities—he spoke before the Filipino Cannery Union here in Portland, and he has addressed Negro groups in Arkansas, Eskimos in Alaska and northern Canada. No one seems to know who is paying his expenses.

A year and a half ago A. E. Towner was ripe for such a deal. He is partly Indian, of uncertain ancestry, although he claims to be the grandson of Chief Selsic of the Meoninton tribe. He attended the Chemawa Indian School, and there showed himself an apt pupil. Someone interested in Indians saw to it that he was able to continue his education. In time he graduated from the Willamette Law School

and was admitted to the Oregon bar.

It was expected that he would enter the office of a lawyer in Salem, the state capital, but he had a row with the man and came to Portland to start out on his own. He found the sledding hard and, after several years of picking up a precarious living, he applied for a job in the Indian Affairs Bureau. Not long afterward, John Collier, U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, visited a number of reservations in the Northwest. At one of these he met Towner and was impressed by his personality and rhetorical powers. Towner was seriously considered for a position.

TOWNER'S SHADY PAST

In his years in Portland, however, A. E. Towner had gained a reputation for shady dealings, even a police record. When the Indian Affairs Bureau ran into this, they naturally refused him a job. From all accounts this left "Red Cloud" almost starving. Who started him on a new line will not, I suppose, be known for a long time. But he was soon in comparatively affluent circumstances and was allowed a generous expense-account. He appeared first in the American Indian Federation.

This is an interesting organization. Started by a certain non-Indian in Texas, it has managed to get for itself a list of Indian vice-presidents throughout the country. But its main backing seems to be from capitalists who have been able to lease (and reap enormous profits from) Indian rights to oil fields and other valuable properties; its principal aim is to fight the Wheeler-Howard act, which has given back to the Indians a measure of control in their own affairs and has cut down this sort of exploitation. The argument, of course, is that the Wheeler-Howard act is "pure Communism." Here Towner found fertile ground for his new philosophy, although today he claims that the American Indian Federation is merely a front. "We can't come out openly with our real purposes, but we can use this group to fight the first skirmishes for us."

WORKS THROUGH LODGES

Towner is working through the Indian lodges. These lodges have always existed. They have been the inner councils of the Indian tribes, and they exist inter-tribally. In the past they have been the main agent of concerted action. Towner has gained access to a number of these, some of the most important in the country. Their members are leaders of the Indian people, and, belonging to other lodges, are able to reach most of the Indians on the North American Continent.

Towner admits that he has used the natural dissatisfaction of the Indians with what has happened to them in the last hundred years—a dissatisfaction justified by the treatment they have received—as a starting point.

And he has worked out a cogent set of arguments. It seems that when the Great Spirit—Watta Tonka—left the earth, he gave his people rules for the conduct of the future. Among these, according to Towner, he stated that there would one day come to the shores of America a light-haired, pale-faced people (Towner even identifies these directly with the Germans). The Indians should take them in and share their country with them. (He explains all the Indian wars by saying that the Jews were already engineering trouble in America.) But after them, the Great Spirit supposedly stated, would come another people, dark of complexion, whose god was money, and whose aim would be the destruction of the rest of mankind. These, Towner's prophecy continues, must be killed to the last man, before the rest of mankind can return to its natural prosperity.

DUPING MEDICINE-MEN

Towner will tell you that the American government is now completely Jewish. Roosevelt is, of course, a Sephardic Jew, and John Collier is another. He will tell you that Jewish traders are responsible for the Indians losing control of their properties—a good way of diverting Indian anger against the real exploiters. Of course all these people are automatically Communists, and now the administration is trying to foist its Jewish Communism onto the reservations (through the Wheeler-Howard act).

An educated Indian, who will have nothing to do with Towner, told me that most of the prophecy business is pure fabrication. But he says that is because many of the Indian wise men, who knew the laws and religious mysteries of their people, disgusted with modern conditions, have died without passing on their truths. Because some of those left have been duped into this proposition, Towner has been able to get away with his inventions.

KOLUPUS HITLER

Hitler, however, according to Red Cloud, is the only one who really understands the Indian people and their needs. He knows how to help the Indians, and knows "how important they are going to be." Even this is worked out with poetic flare. Towner tells the Indians that Hitler from the beginning was a wise man, a Kolopus. But about ten years ago Watta-tonka sent the spirit of one of his own trusted chiefs to reside in Hitler's body and Hitler is thus a Mayokhut, a great ruler. It is the Great Spirit's ideas that Hitler is carrying out, and these ideas he will spread all over the world. Soon they will return to the Americas. In fact, according to Towner, they are already all around us, and "they will before long make the Indian people again great and strong."

DUNCAN STUART.

Forsythe

Rendezvous With Life

THE secretary burst open the door to Mr. Chamberlain's room and then stood petrified in the doorway, aghast at what he had done. However, he made no move to withdraw.

"It's something I think you should hear," he began tentatively.

"Couldn't you have waited?" asked Mr. Chamberlain, tartly. "Couldn't you have said I was in conference? Or in the country? Or that my gout was bothering me again?"

The secretary came all the way in then, and closed the door carefully behind him.

"It isn't anything like that," he said breathlessly. "It's much worse." He paused, looked around apprehensively, and then blurted out: "It's the Unknown Soldier! He's come out of the tomb. He's sitting on top of it!"

"Now, just what sort of nonsense is this you're telling me!" demanded Mr. Chamberlain, sitting up angrily.

"It's true!" cried the secretary. "He's out. He's sitting on the tomb and nothing anybody can do will dislodge him! He says he got the idea from some American play."

"He would—the bloody Americans," said Mr. Chamberlain tensely. "Where are the police?"

"When they go up to him, he disappears."

"Can't they shoot him!" demanded the prime minister.

The secretary looked at him in horror.

"Shoot the Unknown Soldier?" he cried; shocked.

"Well, arrest him, then; take him in custody," said Mr. Chamberlain with irritation.

"He just fades away when anybody tries to talk to him. He says he won't move till he's talked with you."

"Nonsense!" cried Mr. Chamberlain with exasperation.

"But you must," said the secretary. "The police are holding back thousands of people. They won't be responsible unless something is done."

"Very well," said Mr. Chamberlain, arising and taking his umbrella and preparing to go out. "If it's a duty, of course I must do it."

The Unknown Soldier sat casually on the Cenotaph, with his right ankle drawn up under him. He seemed in no hurry to release Mr. Chamberlain, who stood impatiently before him. In the background were the police holding back the mobs. However, in the heart of London, the prime minister and the soldier were quite alone.

"I thought it was only honest," the soldier was saying. "If I'm to be a symbol, I assume the empire wants me to be a decent one."

He was not put out by Mr. Chamberlain's indication of annoyance.

"As I understand it," continued the soldier, "I'm the representative of three million dead Britons who helped save civilization from the ravages of the Hun. I think we were also sweeping back the Hordes of Attila. Wasn't that it?" The prime minister made a gesture of irritation.

"Yes, yes," said the soldier, gently. "It is a bit boring but I must get this straight. It just seemed strange to me that what three million men died to do, you succeeded in undoing in one simple gesture. I refer to Munich, Mr. Chamberlain, as perhaps you have guessed."

"We had to do it," said the prime minister tensely. "What else was there to do! We were helpless!"

The soldier's face was solemn and sympathetic.

"Yes, it did look as if Hitler could have flown over London in a kite armed with nothing but a popgun and captured the city, but that also seemed odd to me. Although you had two years at it, the defenses were so poor that half of the two hundred defense guns seem to have been loaded with old boots, nails, and bits of suet pudding."

"There had been delays, I'll admit . . ." said Mr. Chamberlain miserably.

"Oh, I'm sure of it," said the soldier. "They began even before your day. They began with your friend, Londonderry. Since he is your dearest friend and Hitler's warmest admirer in England, I should have thought he would have looked out for you. Previous to your time, he had been air minister under Mr. Baldwin. In 1935 Mr. Baldwin learned to his dismay that Germany had achieved air parity with Britain. He publicly accused Lord Londonderry of having misled him as to Germany's air strength. They have an evil-sounding name for that in some countries, Mr. Chamberlain. I believe they call it sabotage or even treason—"

"He is a loyal man!" cried Mr. Chamberlain. "He has been a great assistance to me in my policy of appeasement."

"Oh, I'm certain of it!" said the soldier cheerily. "I can imagine you must be much comforted by Londonderry and by your sister-in-law, the widow of Sir Austen, who admires Mussolini so greatly, and by Lord Lothian, who admires Hitler so greatly and is so close to you, and by Lord Astor and Nancy and a great many others who have guided you so well in reaching a rapprochement with that great man in Berlin. But as a military man, I'm interested—was it these who had all London digging trenches in the park during the war scare?"

"And why not dig!" demanded Mr. Chamberlain, righteously indignant.

"Oh, it merely struck me as strange that we were digging and the French were digging and the Germans and Italians were doing no digging whatever. It can't be that we had no planes capable of reaching Berlin, for only two weeks after Munich one of our planes flew from London to Australia—non-stop. But it seems the Germans and Italians weren't worried at all. It almost seemed as if they knew there wasn't going to be a war."

"You talk like a foreigner—or a radical!" cried Mr. Chamberlain.

"No," said the soldier simply, "you can't say that about me. I was born in London and if you'll look closely at my uniform you'll see I'm a captain in his majesty's forces. Of course there may have been a mistake in my selection because I really was only a Tommy and an amateur gentleman, boosted to my rank because there were no others for the post, and accepted in the officers' mess on a temporary wartime basis, but that was no fault of mine. I think I've done as well here as any other Unknown Soldier would have done."

"You are certainly not acting now in an English way," said the prime minister sternly.

"A great many things don't seem to be English any more," said the soldier sadly. "Gibraltar doesn't seem to be English; the Mediterranean is no longer safe for the English; the Japs are pushing us out of China. But I must say, our old habit of taking advantage of anything that will help English business has worked well in Spain. I couldn't

help admiring the way we yelled 'Stop the fight' and then held the arms of the Spanish people while Franco rained blows on them. I hope we aren't wrong in thinking we can put the country in our pocket now that it's over."

Mr. Chamberlain made no reply, looking grimly at his umbrella as he turned it over in his hand.

"Of course," went on the soldier in his kindly way, "I think Hitler might have played the game a little more sporting-like in the matter of Czechoslovakia. Going into Prague itself didn't seem quite cricket after the promises he had made. But from what you've always said, I know he is an honorable man and wouldn't have done it if there weren't some good reason for it. They are saying now that he may take Holland next but I am sure that would be all right. After all they're much alike, all those Heinies, speaking that strange language. I suppose the Boers might even like to join with them—"

"Your mind has been poisoned!" cried the prime minister furiously.

The soldier looked at him in open admiration.

"You know, Mr. Chamberlain, there must be something psychic between us. I've been thinking the same thing. I thought for a while that probably I had been poisoned by the truth and that might be making me act differently but I'm sure now it's just something that's got into the embalming fluid. However, it has made me curious about things

—about you, for instance. England could have stopped Hitler, you know, at any point along the line. . . . When he tore up the Versailles Treaty, when he went into the Rhineland, when he took Austria. . . ."

"We thought he would see reason. . . ." began Chamberlain miserably.

The soldier looked at him with sorrow.

"Mr. Chamberlain," he said tenderly, "I don't really fathom you. As I look at you now, I'm not sure whether you are an evil and sinister old man or a fool."

"I did the best I could," cried the prime minister.

"Yes, but when I visit about with the wraiths," answered the soldier, "I discover that history has no place for the merely well-intentioned. You could have set down an entire list of broken promises by Hitler which would have made you understand that his word couldn't be trusted. But you say now that you trusted what he told you at Munich. You see that really makes you out an awful ass. It just isn't enough for you to say now that you were mistaken. At Munich you were representing the world. You had the lives of millions of people in your hands and you turned out to be entirely wrong in your policy. You thought you were bringing peace by surrendering to force and you only made war more certain. A lot of people warned you of that but you didn't listen. Now, either you didn't want to listen because you preferred the type of government Hitler represents, which makes you out a knave, or you were bilked, which makes you a fool."

Mr. Chamberlain stood silently, fumbling now with the umbrella.

"After all, Mr. Chamberlain," said the soldier. "I've tried to be decent, I've tried to be a good symbol. Don't you think you might do something of the same kind. Don't you think you might resign and give somebody a bit less knavish or stupid a chance to govern? As I sit here I rather sense a loss of confidence in you. We *did* die to save the world from the Hun, you know, and I suppose others will die in the future for the same reason, but I am afraid the whole world may have to die if you are not stopped. I know you wouldn't want *everybody* to die in vain, Mr. Chamberlain. . . ." ROBERT FORSYTHE.

I Always Come Home

The pretzel man ugly with warts and a crippled hand
The blind newspaper dealer in the fur cap at the newspaper stand

The hunchbacked clerk and the dieting girl whitewashed with powder
The counterman and the customers and the halfeaten clam chowder

What was expected? Angels in pressed tweeds?
This is how the beast looks. This is how it feeds.

You however must be drawing the bath naked in steam
On the toilet shelf the mascara brush, the polish, the cream

The bath salts, the hand lotions, the mouth rouge, the dye
Your hair screwed in a dark knot loose and pinned high

About you the smells of stoppered bottles and that other smell
A woman in a hot bathroom naked early in a big hotel.

I wait for the bus. The bus is late. The bus is always late.
Delivery trucks back up to freight entrances and unload freight

Will Dr. Abrams the dentist have a patient in the chair?
Whose pillows are hung out? Who has left his garbage on the stair?

I always end up home. Mail box is empty. What did I hope to find?
Telegrams from heaven. Love letters in longhand. And checks, signed.

ALFRED HAYES.

If Germany Won

MILITARY and diplomatic soothsayers point out that if Imperial Germany had won the World War, that country would today be an armed camp filled with goosestepping soldiers. International treaties would be mere scraps of paper before such a brigand power, swollen with success. Austria would not have remained an independent state for long.

German intellectuals would be exiled, the labor movement abolished, and the Jews would have been treated worse than they were in the Middle Ages. All European nations would live under the threat of another war.

Of course all the above is purely theoretical since Germany did not win the World War.

We Can Stop Hitler!

Isolationists want Americans to remain separated from the world of democratic action so that the United States can be an easy prey to the fascist powers. Here is what we can and must do to keep our democracy alive.

CAN Hitler be stopped? The Czech people, defenseless — thanks to Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier—betrayed by the leaders foisted on them by the Munich settlement, had only jeers and clenched fists with which to oppose the legions of the Nazi Caesar goosestepping through the streets of Prague. But fortunately the rest of the world still has something more. Despite Chamberlain and Daladier, the peace-loving peoples of all countries still have the means for effective action at their disposal. The job is to use these means without delay, to reject all policies that facilitate fascist aggression, to isolate the warmakers, to take positive action for peace. Hitler *can* be stopped.

The first fact to remember in any realistic discussion of the present world crisis is that the seed of the destruction of Czechoslovakia's independence was sown at Munich. The second fact is that not merely Munich, but the policies pursued by the governments of Britain and France *after* Munich, particularly in regard to Spain, dug the grave of Czechoslovakia. And third, that those responsible for Munich and post-Munich, the accomplices of Hitler, cannot be trusted now to oppose effectively the consequences of their own crimes. There is every reason to believe that, while the full details of Hitler's plans may not have been known to them, Chamberlain and Daladier had been apprised in advance that a new blow was being aimed at Czechoslovakia. In the debate in the French Chamber of Deputies last Saturday Bonnet was compelled to admit that he knew of the mobilization of German troops on the Czech border as early as March 11—three days before Hitler struck. The British and French governments did nothing and said nothing because the wiping out of Czechoslovakia was entirely in accord with their policy of inciting the fascist axis to direct its drive eastward in the hope of ultimately embroiling Germany with the Soviet Union.

The first reaction in British and French government circles to Hitler's coup confirms the fact that Chamberlain and Daladier were indifferent to the fate of Czechoslovakia and, despite the guarantees they themselves had given at Munich, had no intention of opposing Hitler. With Nazi troops marching through Czechoslovakia, Chamberlain denied in the House of Commons that any unprovoked aggression had taken place. The next day, facing a barrage of criticism, he said a few mild words in deprecation of the latest Nazi crime.

At the same time, however, he declared that the guarantee which Britain had given to Czechoslovakia last September was not binding and he made it clear, in the words of the New York *Times* dispatch, "that he intended to pursue his policy of 'appeasement' whether Germany gave him any encouragement or not."

What, therefore, caused the sudden change in Chamberlain's tone in his Birmingham address two days later? It should be noted that a large part of his speech was devoted to a defense of the Munich betrayal and to a rejection of the idea that the present catastrophe is the fruit of Munich. Second, Chamberlain sought to give the impression that he had been taken in by Hitler—apparently the Führer's past record of broken pledges and lawless aggression only served to convince guileless Neville — representative of the shrewdest ruling class in the world—that he was a man of honor and probity. Yet for all its defensive lying and evasion, there were sharp words in Chamberlain's speech and intimations, all too vague, it is true, that a new policy may have to be adopted. This changed tone and the subsequent British overtures to the Soviet Union were precipitated by four main developments: the rising storm of popular indignation at fascist aggression and all collaboration with it; information that the United States government was about to issue a strong condemnation of "the acts which have resulted in the temporary extinguishment of the liberties of a free and independent people"; the firm attitude and the vast economic and military power of the Soviet Union; and the fear within increasing sections of the British ruling class that Hitler, being a realist, not a madman, had no intentions of breaking his jaws on the hard nut of the USSR, but might conceivably be strengthening Germany's rear in Southeastern Europe in preparation for the reckoning with France and Britain in the West.

The reality of this threat to the West is evident from the comments in the Italian press immediately after Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia. In a remarkably frank statement *Popolo di Roma*, for example, declared that the seizure of Czechoslovakia was necessary for Germany "to protect its shoulders" in the event of war with France. And already the Nazis, in pursuance of this aim, are applying the squeeze play to Rumania and Lithuania.

In the face of this situation will there be a real change—other than verbal—in the poli-

cies of Chamberlain and Daladier? Or are they merely counting on riding out the storm and then returning to their accustomed ways? Certainly Daladier's utilization of the present crisis to secure dictatorial power for himself, with one of its prime objectives the destruction of the forty-hour week, can hardly be considered reassuring. What is needed is the creation in England and France of the broadest front, irrespective of political party, of all those who favor a united stand of the capitalist democracies *and the Soviet Union* against further acts of aggression of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis *in every field*. But to permit Chamberlain and Daladier to head such a front without binding guarantees is to invite disaster. Unfortunately the British Labor Party leadership, which has persistently opposed unity of all anti-fascist forces, now seems, judging from a speech by Arthur Greenwood, deputy leader of the party, ready to unite with Chamberlain and to give him *carte blanche*, as it did in the days preceding Munich.

What of the United States? Every advance of the fascist axis exposes the folly of isolationism and of our unneutral Neutrality Act. Japan's recent seizure of Hainan Island, 750 miles west of the Philippines, is a direct threat to American security. The Franco victory in Spain, strengthening the position of the fascist axis in Latin America, is a direct threat to American security. The rape of Czechoslovakia, vastly increasing the danger of a general war, is a direct threat to American security. All democratic Americans applaud our government's condemnation of the expropriation of Czechoslovakia. They applaud the imposition of virtual economic sanctions through a 25 percent increase in the duties on subsidized German goods. But the times demand even more affirmative action, more vigorous leadership. A minimum program should include:

1. Immediate revision of the Neutrality Act in the spirit of President Roosevelt's message at the opening of Congress. (This question is discussed more fully in another editorial in this issue.)
2. The imposition of a complete embargo on trade with Germany, Italy, and Japan.
3. Collaboration with the peace forces of all countries and with the other great power which has shown its devotion to the cause of peace, the Soviet Union.
4. Strengthening of the popular boycott against fascist goods.

Let America act. Hitler can be stopped!

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"Cash and Carry"

SENATOR KEY PITTMAN's new Neutrality Bill, intended as a substitute for all present neutrality legislation, must prove a keen disappointment to all those who want the United States to pursue a positive and realistic foreign policy in behalf of the cause of peace. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, his bill apparently has administration backing, yet it can hardly be said to accord with President Roosevelt's statement in his message at the opening of Congress: "We have learned that when we deliberately try to legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give aid to an aggressor and deny it to the victim."

The fact is that the principle of Senator Pittman's bill is exactly the same as that of our present Neutrality Act: it makes no distinction between aggressor and victim. The difference is that it operates in reverse: instead of banning arms to all belligerents, it would permit all belligerents to secure arms and other products of American industry. The only proviso is that this must be on a "cash and carry" basis, that is, trade with belligerents could not be carried on in American ships and the commodities could not leave American ports until all right, title, and interest in them had been transferred to some foreign government. This is an extension of the "cash and carry" provisions in the existing Neutrality Act which apply only to arms. Credits to all belligerents would continue to be barred, as in the present act, with the exception of Latin American countries engaged in war against non-American states.

Apparently the Pittman bill has been drawn up in an effort to conciliate the isolationists and secure the broadest possible support. It is argued, and with some justice, that in the case of a European war the

"cash and carry" provisions would operate to the advantage of Britain and France, which are in a position to dominate the seas, and to the disadvantage of the fascist powers. But what about the Far East? Here the Pittman bill would actually represent a step backward from the present Neutrality Act. In the first place, the President would be compelled, under the Pittman bill, to proclaim a state of war whenever hostilities develop between two or more belligerents. The existing law makes this discretionary and in the case of the Japanese war against China, President Roosevelt has refrained from invoking the act. Second, the "cash and carry" provisions would operate to the advantage of Japan and prevent China from obtaining not only American arms, but any products of American industry. And third, by barring credits to all belligerents, the Pittman bill would make impossible the recent \$25,000,000 credit which our Export-Import Bank extended to China.

The Pittman measure is an evasion of the problem, and comes at a particularly unfortunate time. The best solution would be the complete repeal of the Neutrality Act, as proposed in resolutions introduced by Senators King and Lewis. At the very least, revision should take the path indicated by an amendment introduced by Senator Thomas of Utah, which would permit the embargoing of an aggressor by the President with the approval of a majority of both houses of Congress.

Tax Revision

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has injected a much needed note of realism into the discussion of tax revision. Following certain unfortunate statements by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau and Secretary of Commerce Hopkins, indicating a desire to eliminate those taxes that supposedly were "detering" business investment, Wall Street was preparing for a field day. But the tax revisionists were rudely brought back to earth when the President declared at a press conference that any readjustment of taxes must not result in the curtailment of federal revenues and must not impose additional burdens on small business. Both Speaker Bankhead and Senator Barkley added weight to the President's statement by speaking out unequivocally against tax reform à la big business.

The fact is that there is genuine need of tax revision, but of a different sort than that contemplated by the exponents of business "appeasement." Far too large a share of the tax burden, federal, state, and municipal, is already falling on the masses of the people. There is definite need of a change.

Haggling over Relief

IF CONGRESS refuses to grant the President's request for a deficiency appropriation of \$150,000,000 for WPA, five million people will lose their means of livelihood; from now until June 30, American workers will be dropped in chunks of 200,000, 400,000, and 600,000; every twenty-five people in every city, town, village, and rural area in the country will have an extra mouth to feed, an extra body to clothe and house.

Bruce Barton knows all that, knows that the President almost understates when he calls the situation an emergency, but Mr. Barton's only answer is an advertising slogan, a tory syllogism: Roosevelt has declared, by actual count, thirty-nine emergencies in his term as President; none of these has ever matured into a catastrophe; hence no emergency now exists. As cynical as Barton's answer was the reply of Rep. Edward Cox of Georgia. Cox, a Garner Democrat, has been a steady opponent of WPA. "The unemployed will remember you," a Negro constituent, a delegate from the Workers Alliance said to him on Tuesday. "Well, here's something to remember," said Cox as he cut the man across the face with the palm of his hand.

The tory Democrats plan a kind of sabotage less obvious than the Republicans' straight opposition. It has taken two forms. The first was to propose an investigation of relief and WPA practices, which would of necessity extend beyond April 1, the time set for the first dismissals; the second was Cox's suggestion for another bill which would accomplish the same purpose. Haggling over the exact sum required, instead of straight debate on the President's request, would also extend over the first period. This devious double-dealing of the nominal Democrats is probably cleverer than the adamant reaction of the Republicans, but its achievements would be the same. People would go hungry in the same way. They would be just as ill-clothed and badly housed.

The President's statement was the clearest. His original proposal of \$850,000,000 was a minimum figure, far short of what was estimated by the CIO and the Workers Alliance. Whatever recovery there has been in the past months, Roosevelt said, has not lessened the problem. WPA rolls are hardly adequate now; indeed, the eligible list has increased by 16 percent. The figure of \$150,000,000, like the original appropriation, is a bare minimum. Every progressive should put pressure on Congress to see that we get at least that. WPA cuts at this time would put Representative Cox's bourbon arrogance on a national scale. Congress would be handing the people of the United States a slap in the face.

Cannon and Butter

IT HAS been fashionable in certain liberal circles to project their political confusion on the international scene by lumping the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy as "dictatorships." Such political Simple Simons need only turn to the minutes of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to find at least one acid test of differentiation. The theory and practice of the fascist states has been summed up by themselves in their famous slogan: "Cannon instead of butter." The theory and practice of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as outlined in the reports on the Red Army and the Third Five-Year Plan made before the Communist Congress of the USSR, is: Cannon and butter.

To the rest of the world this is such a self-evident contradiction that the Soviet slogan sounds like a paradox. Socialism alone has made it possible. That the war machines of the fascist states have been built up at the expense of the living standards of the people is too well known to need restatement. But even the rich capitalist democracies have accepted it as axiomatic that cannon and butter are incompatible—at least so far as the people are concerned. The Daladier government can see no way of rearming France except at the expense of the French workers. On receiving dictatorial powers for

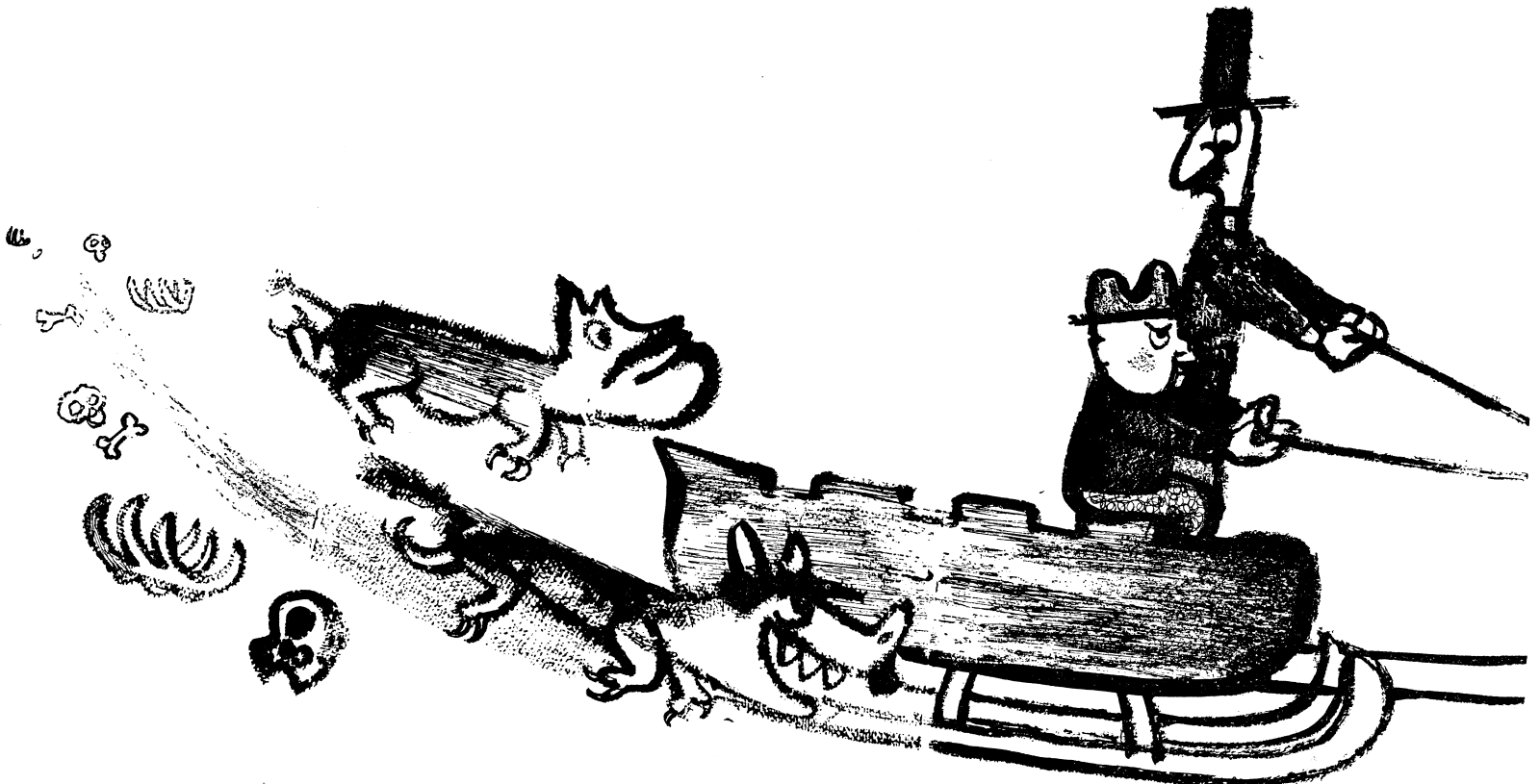
national defense, Daladier hastened to announce (*New York Times*) "that he intended to suspend the forty-hour week in all industries that work for national defense" and boasted that many armament factories were already working on a fifty-hour schedule. Similarly the Chamberlain government is intimating to British organized labor that it will have to "cooperate" for national defense by lowering its labor standards.

In the Soviet Union alone the rapid increase in armament, necessitated by the threat of fascist aggression, has been accompanied by an equally rapid increase in the standard of living of the workers, farmers, and intellectuals of the classless Soviet society. At the 18th Congress, Defense Commissar Voroshilov was able to report that in the last five years the numerical strength of the Red Army had increased by 103 percent, its airforce by 138 percent, its heavy artillery by 80 percent, and its tanks by 150 percent. Concurrently Stalin and Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, were able to report that the average wages of factory workers and office employees had increased by 113 percent during the Second Five-Year Plan, while the state expenditures for cultural and social service for factory workers and office employees had increased more than threefold and the income of the collective farmers by more than 2.7 times.

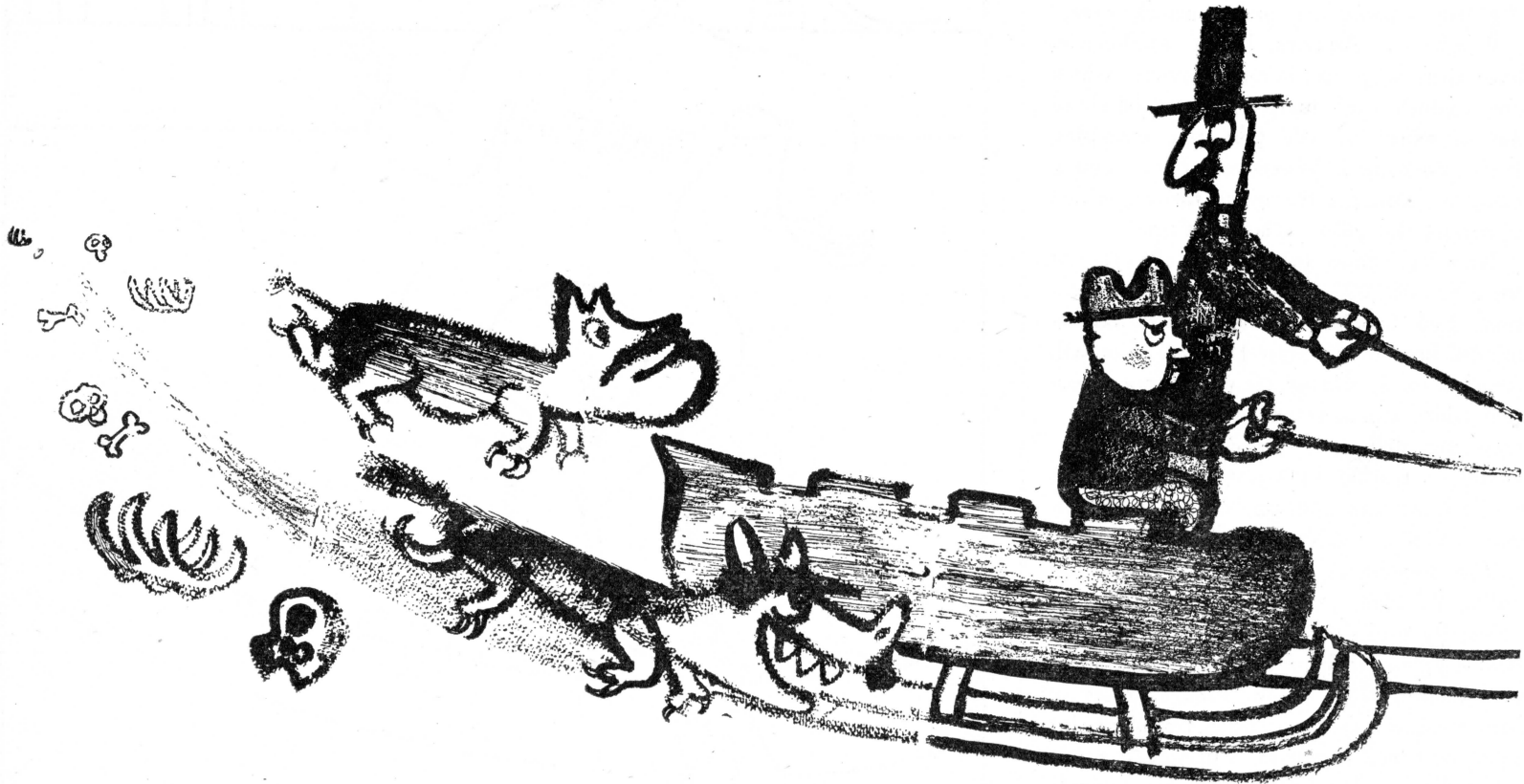
While in Nazi Germany the eight-hour day has been denounced as "part of the shackles of Versailles" and in democratic France the Daladier government is whittling away the forty-hour week which the Popular Front won for French labor—the Soviet Union is demonstrating to the world that it is able to match the fascists, gun for gun, plane for plane, tank for tank, and not only maintain the seven-hour working day (the shortest in the world) which it inaugurated at its inception, but as a result of the constantly increasing productivity of labor it has been able to double the real wages of its workers every five years. This is the difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorships over the proletariat.

Flushing Meadows Führer

IT IS no secret that the New York World's Fair is a commercial enterprise, and what's good for business is O. K. with Grover Whalen. It was no great shock to hear that twenty-one members of Mr. Whalen's Advisory Committee on Consumer Interests had resigned last month, despairing of being able to look out for consumers' interests in the face of the \$150,000,000 being spent in the interests of big corporations. Considerably more startling is the news that Mr. Whalen's conception of the



"Next?"



"Next?"

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World of Tomorrow includes race discrimination as well as dove-dancers and snappy architecture.

The first letter the World's Fair sent to employment agencies requested only applicants of "no distinct racial types." Mr. Whalen's personnel director promptly apologized—more, it seems, for the letter's crude wording than for the policy it expressed. Since then no one has been able to get a job at the fair who was not "of Christian appearance," which is also a condition of employment in Berlin. Out of two thousand people who have already been hired only forty are Negroes; all but two are porters.

Mr. Whalen is evidently determined to form a kind of tall, blonde elite guard, which he was never able to do while police commissioner because of Civil Service. However, the World's Fair has been handsomely subsidized by New York taxpayers, including Negroes and Jews. It will be attended by several million people of different races, including Negroes and Jews. Mayor LaGuardia cannot permit a small-time Napoleon like Grover Whalen to play ducks and drakes with New York's reputation for tolerance and equality. Flushing Meadows is not an autonomous district. There will be no place for führers in the real world of tomorrow.

Aimed at Education

THE schools are under attack everywhere in America. If the reactionaries have their way, educational services, which are woefully inadequate now, will be sliced out of existence. We take two examples, New York and Wisconsin, from among many to illustrate the grave menace which confronts the public school system.

New York State reactionaries are pressing for a \$31,000,000 cut in state aid to education. Led by Merwin K. Hart, fascist-minded head of the State Economic Council, Republicans at Albany are planning a reduction which would mean an increase in overcrowding, delinquency, and maladjustment; a rise in teacher unemployment; a cut in medical services and textbooks for school-children; and a slash in teachers' salaries.

The Republican governor of Wisconsin, Julius P. Heil, proposes a time clock for university professors and a curb on students who wiggle in their seats. "I want to know," says führer Heil, "how much it costs us here to have a professor teach a student, for light, heat, and power for a particular room, what depreciation because the boys wiggle at their desks and don't pay attention, and such things."

President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education found that three million

Americans cannot read at all, and fifteen million Americans haven't sufficient education to read newspapers intelligently. To reduce educational services under these circumstances would be fatal to democracy, as the reactionaries are well aware.

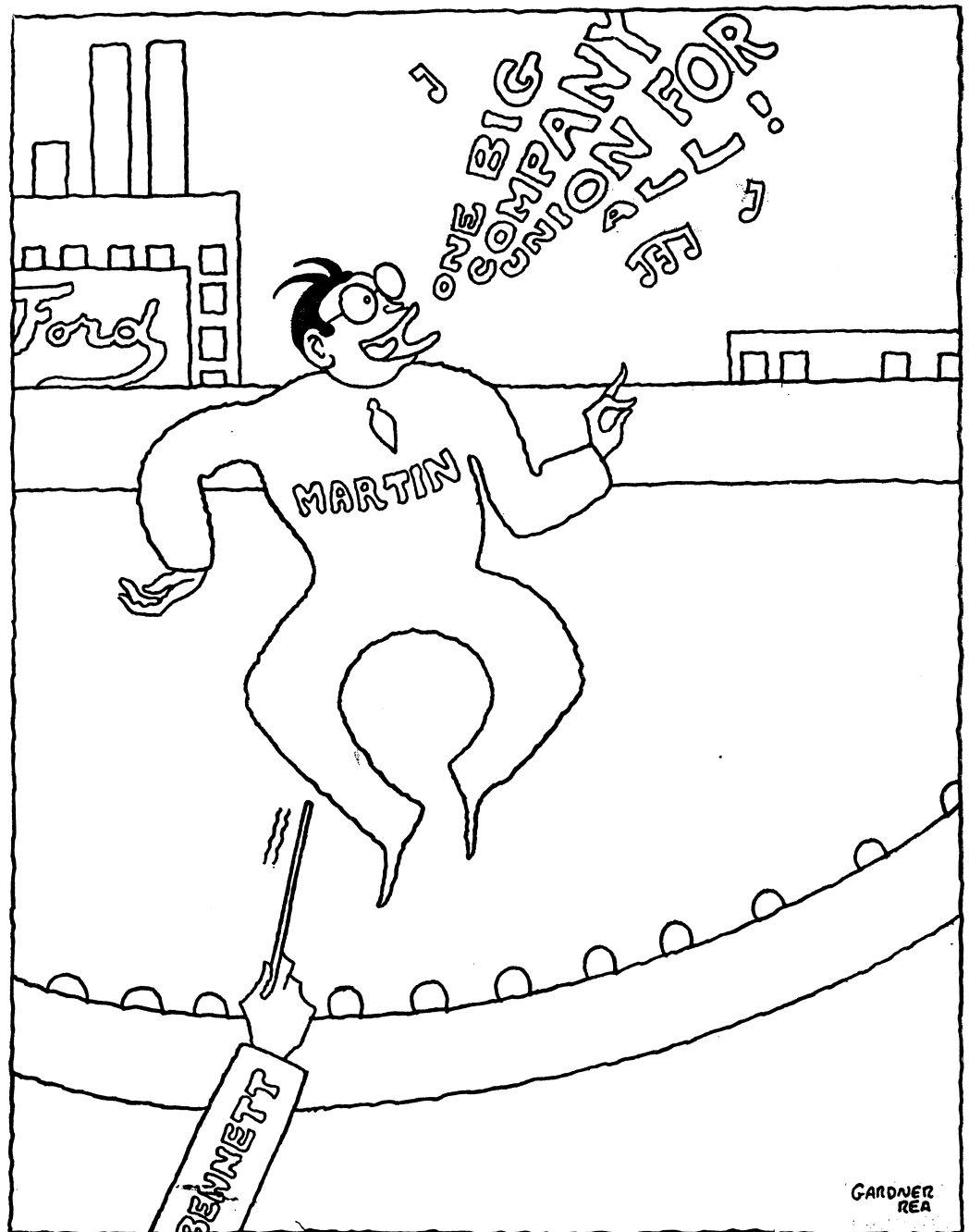
Refugee Intellectuals

WITH news out of Madrid censored as heavily as news out of Burgos, the exact truth about events there is hard to get. But this much appears evident: the Casado-Besteiro-Miaja junta has begun negotiations with Franco for complete capitulation. The "end" of the war is near—but not the end of slaughter. Franco's man, Suner, reiterates: there will be no clemency. And indeed, the Madrid Junta wants little of it except for their own skins. They have been arresting, and shooting hundreds of the

finest anti-fascists who refused to knuckle down to the enemy.

Honest men throughout the entire world, are heavy-hearted over the terrible plight of the 400,000 refugees in French concentration camps. Intellectuals everywhere are particularly alarmed at the condition of the hundreds of Spanish writers, scientists, and artists confined in these camps. They are prisoners without medical attention, sufficient food, clothing, or shelter. Machado, the great Spanish poet, died as a result of this inhuman privation.

A committee—the Spanish Intellectual Aid, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.—has been set up to speed aid to these prisoners. It includes Dr. Karl Menninger, Prof. Frank Dunn, Vincent Sheean, Louis Bromfield, Franz Boas, and Prof. Harold C. Urey. Aid sent this committee will help safeguard Spain's literary, artistic, and scientific future.



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Reader's Forum

THE Reader's Forum department we have been running in NM gives no idea of our mail. Adequately to print the letters we receive from our readers would take a half-dozen pages per issue. In our present size, this is impossible. But we realize the importance and necessity of giving this cross-section of reader reaction as fully as possible. So, rather than print a few letters in their entirety, we are going to quote from our most interesting and pertinent mail, in the hope that more correspondents may be represented.—THE EDITORS.

The Small Business Man

A LETTER from J. W. concerning the plight of the progressive small business man brings out a point of view oftentimes overlooked:

"The small business man, the retailer, the store-keeper, occupies a peculiar paradoxical position. In many instances the driving force for being an employer is to seek employment for himself. And while he is, generally, victimized by economic forces, as is the worker or the professional man, yet by sheer position as an employer of wage earners he enters the rather nebulous category of the exploiter.

"What has prompted me to write this letter has been due to conversations I have had with persons of various types and temperaments, engaged in numerous phases of life, some intellectual, some dogmatic about the conflict of labor with the small retail business man. I have had the opportunity of seeing this problem unfold itself to me from many angles, both as an employee and as an employer. Often the antagonistic remark issuing from such emotional conflicts was: It is those damned Communists—you simply can't reason with them.

"I countered that many of the so-called organizers of labor are not Communists, which is unfortunate since a Communist, generally, is a person of intelligence and understanding, animated by profound moral and social principles, a person of vision with a mind and a heart that are constructive. I said that anyone who embraces the Marxist philosophy in its proper light has learned to regard the small store-keeper as being in the same desperate plight as the worker—a helpless victim of monopoly capitalism; and one who knows that the directive power of revolt must not strike against that class, but must unite with it in the ultimate overthrow of the real economic enemy, the powerful oligarchs of industry."

What Eddie Cantor Thinks

A LETTER from H. Wolfe, one of our many Hollywood correspondents, begins:

"I spoke to Eddie Cantor last night.

"'We Jews,' the comedian told me, 'have got to be very careful. We must not fight these Nazis. We must leave 'em alone. Because, if we fight 'em, they will only become martyrs, but if we leave 'em alone, the next time they will grow bolder and the time after that they will grow more bolder [direct quote] and then the government will step in and break it up in the right way—by law and order.'"

The answer to this sort of confused thinking can be found in our editorial on "Free Speech," March 14 issue of NM.

Mr. Wolfe is worried at the development of jingoism in Hollywood, which he feels is just as bad as an outright pro-fascist stand. And the movie magnates, while anti-Hitler, still have a warm regard for Mussolini.

Queens Wakes Up

MARGARET R. SCHWIND, secretary of the Queens League of Women Shoppers, asks us:

"Please announce in Reader's Forum that the most reactionary borough in New York City—Queens County—is coming to life at last.

"The women, instead of wasting time on bridge and tea parties, are doing active work for their communities and their country, in the newly formed Queens League of Women Shoppers.

"We are launching a membership drive and invite readers of NEW MASSES to join our organization and join in the drive for a dynamic women's club in Queens."

Women NM readers in Queens, there's your chance!

A Lincoln Vet's Widow

SYLVIA BOEHM, whose husband died in action during the Ebro offensive, writes:

"On page 4 of your February 14 issue you have a picture called, 'On the March.' Towards the left there is a medium-height fellow, bareheaded, sleeves rolled up, and from his position at some distance from the men preceding him, I surmise he had some special duties. Although only the profile is visible it answers very much the description of my husband, George Boehm, who fell in action (so runs the story given me) July 30, 1938, during the Ebro offensive.

"Of course I would like to see the negative, and wonder whether you have other pictures of him. He wrote so little about himself that his experiences there are very vague to me. Did you know the man or know others who did? Quite a number of the Mac-Pap boys should know him. He was with them from about the fall of 1937 until Teruel, where he was wounded. By spring 1938 he was back and with the Lincoln-Washington volunteers. Can you give me the names of Americans with the Mac-Pap who might know him? From February 1937 until fall he was serving behind the lines because of his foreign-language facilities. Only when he insisted was he sent to the front. There he was happy. 'Fascism will be defeated with the gun,' he wrote, and pleaded with me to be brave. He was an excellent shot and courageous, I hear. I am proud of him. He was fighting for me too and I always wrote him to do a good job! It is very hard for me. But it has not been all in vain. Fighting Spain, bleeding Spain, will yet be free! The earth saturated with such sacred blood will take on flesh and bone again and they will rise from their sleep to destroy the modern monsters who ravage beautiful, freedom-loving Spain! The prophet's dream will come true."

The negatives of all the pictures used in our Lincoln Brigade Memorial issue can be seen at the office of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, 125 West 45th St., N. Y. C.

The Mexican Press

MARC FRANK, who knows his Mexico, gives an interesting sidelight on the newspapers down there in a recent letter to NM:

"By far the greater proportion of the Mexican press takes its tone from its American equivalent,

although Mexican reactionaries are loud in their denunciations of 'Yankee imperialism' and know perfectly well that a reactionary government in Washington would probably be fatal to all sections in Mexico. Therefore, it was extremely useful to know that the American public has been misled in precisely the same way as the Mexican.

"To judge from the headlines, British and French recognition of Franco has been granted weeks ago, Azaña has absconded with the Prado pictures, and so on. Looking at the stories closely, one finds simply that the old "circles," "quarters," "sources," "authoritative observers," etc., have been working overtime, but that in fact no direct news whatsoever has come out of Paris or Madrid, or, if it has, it has been suppressed!

"NEW MASSES, therefore, has done an excellent job not only in exposing the similar lies fed to the American public but also in giving us direct news about what really goes on.

"This is very valuable, since, with the Spanish situation (Mexico has been the only country apart from the USSR consistently to support republican Spain) and with the renewed propaganda drive of the expropriated oil companies, Mexico is quite obviously scheduled next for an increased slander campaign by the American papers which just don't like the democracy which allows them freedom of the press."

Still More Bouquets

DURING the course of our financial drive we have received a flood of congratulatory letters. No magazine, we dare say, has such hearty and intelligent readers, who write at the drop of a comma to tell us their reactions to the editorial contents.

If we printed all of these bouquets, we would be open to the charge of being swell-headed. But even a booster should get a break, so we will print just a few now and then. For instance:

E. S. of Manhattan writes: "NEW MASSES is as necessary to the household as the traditional can-opener. No home is really complete without it. You have the true support of all defenders of democracy and every hater of racial intolerance and fascism in all its venomous forms, whether obvious or disguised."

H. R. writes from Dorchester, Mass.: "I like the new format and the pictures. Your magazine is certainly indispensable for those who want to get a good, timely, well biased appraisal of world events."

M. F. S. of New York City: "Here is \$25 from an un-Marxist, looked-askance-at liberal. And I wish it were \$2,500.

"I just read Gedye's *Betrayal in Central Europe*. I wish that you would urge every man and woman who subscribes to NEW MASSES to do likewise. If they ponder the object lesson there demonstrated, your financial problem should soon be solved.

"If we middle-of-the-roaders can't learn that a betrayal of those to the left of us means our annihilation by the ruthless and united forces to our right—well we'll get what's coming to us.

"Meanwhile I hope you get what's coming to you in the form of prompt and generous support."

C. F., another New Yorker, says:

"I saw NEW MASSES today for the first time in months. It moved the hell out of me. Long before I got to the beautiful Chinese letter on the back page I made up my mind to send you some money. Here it is. I'm only sorry that I can't make it more now.

"Dare I be so emphatic to say that NEW MASSES will never suspend?—because we'll all work the beejezis off us to see that it doesn't! I'm gonna start right now."

The Hymnal of Hate

Karl Billinger, the author of "Fatherland," compares the two new "unexpurgated" editions of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf."

IT TOOK six years to publish the first expurgated and systematically censored edition of Hitler's notorious book in America and six more years to present a complete translation of it. But two separate publishers got the idea at once, so it was a question of life and death whose book should come out a week ahead of the other. All, of course, for the benefit of the consumer, who now has the choice between *Mein Kampf*, "complete, unauthorized" (Stackpole Sons) and *Mein Kampf*, "complete and definitive, unexpurgated edition, fully annotated" (Reynal & Hitchcock).

Both publishers make it a point of honor to state that the proceeds from their editions go to the help of refugees; Stackpole's jacket stating categorically that "This edition pays no royalties to Adolf Hitler." Reynal & Hitchcock, bound by copyrights of Hitler's own publishing house in Munich, say that all proceeds "after deducting all legitimate expenses as approved by the editorial committee, will be turned over to a fund for refugees." Stackpole's has an introduction by Ludwig Lore; Reynal & Hitchcock's has one by a committee of ten sponsors which vouches for the objectivity and accuracy of the annotations. Both books cost \$3.

Neither of the two translations adequately comes up to the wild and barbarous lingo of the Führer, although Stackpole's might be a little closer to it. Both are made from the German original and claim to take into account changes in later German editions. "Such changes," the sponsors of the R & H edition write, "are not as extensive as popularly supposed." This is quite true and it might have been useful to explain the reason for it. The erroneous notion of impending or actually made revisions of some of the most aggressive passages contained in the German original has been cleverly spread by the Nazis and by Hitler personally to ward off apprehension and indignation in the countries singled out in *Mein Kampf* as the next victims in Hitler's plan of redivision of the earth. On the occasion of the last Daladier-Ribbentrop pact in Paris, promises of changes in the offensive sections directed against France appeared again in French newspapers, and Lore, in his introduction, seems to have taken them seriously. The French, in the meantime, have not waited any longer. After a complete, unauthorized edition had been suppressed in 1934, they put out another one which is now being distributed illegally throughout France.

The Führer's dilemma of changing or not changing the text of his book arises from the

very purpose of *Mein Kampf*. Written originally for the elite of his followers (to whom Hitler owed a justification of the ill-fated beer-cellar putsch) and for the German bourgeoisie with which he had to settle an account, the book expresses the real convictions and intentions of its author with an amazing naïveté. There is, for instance, very little of the social demagoguery which characterized the twenty-five points of the so-called program of the Nazi Party. Hitler does not even care about hiding the contempt he feels for the "stupid," "feminine," "cowardly" "herd" of the German people. There are very few promises addressed to them but the most outspoken threats against their "Marxist-Jewish" organizations.

Hitler's outline of the future foreign policy of a reawakened imperialistic Germany and his suggestions of how to achieve the ultimate goal of world supremacy are most realistic, fantastic as they may sound to the American reader. But the frankness of a program which was once necessary to build up a party, a mass following, and to prove at the same time its author's indispensability to the reactionary and imperialistic forces in Germany, becomes very embarrassing once this more or less obscure author has been entrusted with the state power. The program, mind you, has to be carried out; for no other reason was the corporal made Führer. The German people have to be familiarized with it; there is no other way of "nationalizing the masses." But the less the suckers abroad know about it and the

less seriously they take it, the better. That is why the Führer himself has disowned and belittled his book abroad. "When I wrote the book," he said to the French newspaperman Bertrand de Jouvenel in the famous interview of Feb. 21, 1936, "I was in prison. The French troops had occupied the Ruhr. It was the moment of the highest tension between our two countries. Yes, we were enemies at that time."

Hitler's recollection shows here, as throughout the autobiographical parts of *Mein Kampf*, definite signs of weakness. He forgot that the Weimar Republic had granted him an amnesty in December 1924, reducing his sentence for high treason from five years to six months. He forgot that he wrote the second volume of *Mein Kampf*, the one containing all the hostile and devastating passages about France, not in prison but in full freedom and not at the moment of highest tension between Germany and France but in the Briand-Stresemann era of reconciliation, after the French troops had left the Ruhr. How seriously he intends to change anything he has written becomes clear when we see the veneration of *Mein Kampf* as the Bible of Nazi Germany. More than five million copies of the complete, authorized, and unexpurgated edition have been sold under state pressure in Germany so far.

In spite of the "granite basis" of his *Weltanschauung*, however, the Führer has made quite a few changes in later German editions; changes—but no revisions. It would have been

Two Translations

The movement, in small things as well as big things, represents the principle of a Germanic democracy: choice of the leader, but absolute authority of the latter.

The practical consequences of this principle in the movement are the following:

The first chairman of a local group is elected, but he alone is then also its responsible director.

All committees are under his jurisdiction and not inversely, he under that of a committee.

There are no committees by election, but only committees for work.

The first chairman is always elected, but with this he is the exclusive leader of the movement.—Reynal & Hitchcock (p. 478).

In detail and in the large the movement upholds the principle of absolute authority of the leader, coupled with the highest degree of responsibility.

The actual results of this principle in the movement are as follows:

The chairman of a local group is appointed by the next higher leader; he is the responsible director of the local group.

All the committees are under his authority, and not the reverse.

There are no voting committees, but only working committees.

The leader is always appointed from above, and invested with absolute power and authority.

Only the leader of the entire party is elected, for reasons of organization law, by the general assembly. But he is the exclusive leader of the movement.—Stackpole (pp.332-4).

most interesting to have brought some of them to the attention of the American reader. The name of Henry Ford, for instance, does not appear in current editions any more. Whereas this early idol of Nazism figured conspicuously in the original version as "the one great man," "the single great man" among American industrialists who held out against Jewish finance capital, later editions speak rather vaguely of "a few only" in America who remained independent of the forces of the "Jewish Stock Exchange."

The change might reflect Mr. Ford's own desire not to be too closely identified with the Nazi Bible; it might just as well express the fact that "a few" more have seen the light since. Neither of the two American editions thought it worthwhile so much as to note the change. Stackpole's has the excuse that it did not comment at all, but the sponsors of the annotated edition promised that "any changes of significance have been noted." Perhaps they did not bother with such trifles. Let us see, then, how they treated the most significant change of the original edition. It occurred in connection with Hitler's views on the "Führer principle," or the principle of "Germanic democracy" as opposed to the "Jewish democracy" ruling in France, England, and America. Here Stackpole's translation, suddenly and for no good reason, switches from the original to the German current edition; Reynal & Hitchcock's sticks to the original without any comment on the change in the current edition. The American reader is thus presented with the translations in the box on page 22.

This "development" of the Führer principle reveals most clearly the kind of changes Hitler has made. Once in power, he can call the thing by its real name. The discrepancy between the two forms of Germanic democracy, as shown above, is not, however, entirely Hitler's work. The Reynal & Hitchcock translation omits one sentence entirely and mixes two others up. The last quoted passage should read:

The first chairman is always elected but hereby is also invested with unlimited power and authority. And the same holds finally for the leadership of the entire party. The chairman is elected but he is the exclusive leader of the movement.

A technical mistake only, but it sheds light on the haste with which the edition was rushed through.

American readers not thoroughly familiar with the historic background of the problems discussed in *Mein Kampf* will certainly appreciate a guide, the purpose of the annotations in the R & H edition. The editorial committee explains in the introduction that it tried to steer a middle course between too plain and too recondite information. The average reader will find the notes altogether on the recondite side. Considerable academic attention is sometimes given to obscure and irrelevant names and events while vital explanation is badly lacking. A touch of German professorial pedantry is unmistakable throughout.

Hitler's robust and aggressive language, even in a too refined translation, forms a strange contrast to the scholarly reflections of the notes. One example—commenting on Hitler's anti-Semitism as an instrument of mob-incitement, the annotation reads:

The popular readiness to be stirred to a passion over the Jews—witness the "Juda verrecke" (May the Jews die) outcry which the youth organizations in particular have taken up—seems based partly on willingness to detest all things not strictly German (a consequence, no doubt, of the disappointments and privations that followed the war) and partly on economic unrest.

The translation of "Juda verrecke," if not the whole passage, will make clear what we mean by professorial pedantry. "Juda croak" would approximately express the brutality of the Nazi battlecry. There was, by the way, never any readiness among organized labor, not even among the unemployed, to be stirred to a passion over the Jews. But such "Marxist Jewish" subtleties are not in high favor nowadays. The annotations are, on the whole, so badly connected with the passages to which they refer that the reader has the greatest difficulty linking them together.

Another mark of the pressure of time, and one that we object to most, is a consistent political tendency which runs through the notes and political judgments which have nothing to do with the explanation of *Mein Kampf*. Thus, when giving the background

of the execution of the national terrorist Leo Schlageter by the French government in 1923, the notes refer quite unnecessarily to Karl Severing, then Social Democratic minister of the interior in Prussia—describing him as a "zealous though cautious patriot whose firm defense of the democratic institutions of Weimar angered extremists of all kinds." The directly responsible statesman at the time of passive resistance against the French troops in the Ruhr was not Severing, but Reichs-Chancellor Kuno. But when the zealous though cautious patriot Severing, as minister of the interior, surrendered without so much as an attempt to resist Papen's *coup d'état* against the Prussian government in July 1932—thereby opening the gates to the Nazi flood—the notes confine themselves to the unhappy remark that Papen had "systematically undermined the republic so that it was virtually defenseless when in 1933 Hitler was entrusted with the government."

On the underground German Communist Party the notes say that "many observers predict that if the movement reappears at all, it will be in the form of 'National Bolshevism.'" The annotators also find similarities between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, and think "it not at all improbable" that a policy of alliance between the two countries "may triumph ultimately."

The Social Democratic observers and annotators of the New School for Social Research obviously cannot refrain from continuing their fight



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against the German militant Left. It is unlikely that all men whose names appear on the list of editorial sponsors of the Reynal & Hitchcock edition have been aware of and have agreed to it that the first "unexpurgated edition, fully annotated" has been used for unnecessary attacks on Hitler's most courageous enemies. We wish they would, together with the elimination of the technical deficiencies of the book, expurgate the annotations of the edition. KARL BILLINGER.

Two English Novels

C. Day Lewis reviews Rex Warner's and Elizabeth Bowen's books.

REX WARNER'S The Professor (Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.50) is an allegory, tauter, of more immediate significance, less fantastic and surrealist than The Wild Goose Chase, which made so favorable an impression in America last year. Here again we have the self-inflicted tragedy of the enlightened liberal, the man whose principles cannot be squared with a real situation in the real world, whose remoteness is his doom.

The professor, a famous but retiring classical scholar, is made chancellor of his country at a crisis when it is threatened by fascist rising within and foreign intervention from without. During the few days he is in power he attempts to govern the country on democratic lines, on principles derived from the philosophers of antiquity. He is completely blind to the disloyalty in his own camp, the ruthlessness of his opponents, and the gullibility of his countrymen as a whole. His son implores him to arm the workers; his son's fiancée is raped in a fascist barrack; but still the professor clings to those abstract principles which blind him to the facts of flesh and blood. The climax comes, with symbolic irony, when the professor makes an eloquent broadcast appeal to the nation for spiritual unity, none of which is heard, for the fascist rising has taken place and he is speaking to a dead microphone.

The moral of this book, unlike that of The Wild Goose Chase, is perfectly plain. The book's greatest value lies in its interplay of ideas. It shows us not only the best but the worst of the democratic ideal; how it is an ideal whose dangers are commensurate with its worth, an ideal which is destined for defeat unless it is constantly adapted to the changing contours of history. And Mr. Warner does something more valuable still: he shows us not only the worst but the best of fascism—that is to say, unlike too many left-wing writers, he is not content merely to expose the obvious and radical evil of fascism, but makes a serious effort to account for its success. One chapter, which consists largely of a dialogue between the professor and an ex-schoolfellow of his, Julius Vander, now a fascist leader, shows a deep penetration into the fascist psychology and ethic—or, as Mr. Warner demonstrates it, anti-ethic.

"Will I put anything in the place of your ideals?" says Vander. "Yes. I will. I will put their direct opposites in their place. And, what is more, people will like it."

Vander, the author's devil's-advocate, has a real logic of his own, though it is the logic of death. He points out exactly the weak spot in the professor's ideal of democracy—its abstract, intellectualized character, the fact that it is still too much a rigid form of politics imposed upon the masses rather than a form growing out of their deepest needs and altering with their circumstances.

Though Vander's tirade is based finally on false premises, it throws out enough hard and uncomfortable truths by the way to deserve all the attention we can give it.

Elizabeth Bowen is no more concerned with politics than Mr. Warner has yet shown himself concerned with character. She takes a small world—the world, say, of the old Irish landed gentry, or, as in her new book (The Death of the Heart, Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.50), the London intelligentsia—and explores its secret heart. She has real affinities with Jane Austen, but stylistically has been influenced more by Chekhov and Henry James; yet her manner is for the most part original to herself. The life she presents in her books is a highly stylized life. It is not exactly artificial, but at the same time it does not aim at realism; it has the quality of Greek vase-painting of the best period. It would be fair, I think, to call her the most poetic of living English novelists.

This is seen first in the felicity and precision of her images, such as, "her face, eroded by darkness like a statue's face by the weather, shone out now and then when a car fanned light on it." Later, we begin to notice it in the way she develops her theme, in a certain gay and inconsequent ruthlessness that throws her characters to and fro between brilliant relief and subtle shadowiness. Much as I dislike transferring metaphors from one art to another, I cannot help calling attention to the lighting of her novels. Her theme, in The Death of the Heart is innocence, the destructive power of innocence. Of the innocent she says:

Incurable strangers to the world, they never cease to exact a heroic happiness. Their singleness, their ruthlessness, their one continuous wish makes them bound to be cruel, and to suffer cruelty. The innocent are so few that two of them seldom meet—when they do meet, their victims lie strewn all round.

This is exemplified here by the meeting of Portia and Eddie. Portia, an orphan, a shy, fervent, unsophisticated schoolgirl, goes to live in London with her step-brother and his wife, Anna. Anna and Thomas are worldly, charming people, selfish, sympathetic within their own narrow circle, but unnerved by their responsibility for this girl to whom they, for their part, seem almost unintelligible. Portia goes for comfort to her diary and to Eddie. Eddie, who plays the villain's part, is forced into it because he too is, in his way, an innocent. His sophistication is no more

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than protective disguise, worn to guard his real integrity against Anna and her friends. Flippant, disloyal, moody, infinitely appealing, he is the *enfant terrible* who cannot help showing off, who dramatizes his own humiliations in order to conceal their depth.

Portia falls in love with him; and, in his perverse way, he grows fond of her. Portia's tragedy sets in when she finds that the secret of her diary has been betrayed to Anna through the indiscretion of one of Anna's friends, a novelist, and when Eddie, from sheer self-defense, is compelled to disillusion her about himself. The culminating love scene between these two is one of the most singular and piercing beauty; while the final scene of the book, when Thomas, Anna, and the novelist discuss how they can best bring Anna home (she has run away from them in a childish nightmare agony of desperation) has an oblique, revealing quality which perhaps no writer but Henry James could have surpassed.

C. DAY LEWIS.

"Dr. Addams"

Irving Fineman's novel relates the scientist to society.

THE theory that art is somehow separated from the social organism is now generally discredited, but there is still a prevalent notion that scientific research is a mysteriously "pure" activity unrelated to normal experience. In analyzing this idea in *Dr. Addams* (Random House, \$2.50), Irving Fineman subjects to prolonged scrutiny the assumptions of capitalist civilization on which it is based, in particular the myth of the "free individual." Like *The Citadel*, *Arrowsmith*, and similar novels which have examined the functioning of medicine and science in our society, the book draws a harrowing picture of waste and frustration, but Mr. Fineman is especially concerned with a philosophic exploration of those scientific minds which are "disappearing like comets from the apprehension of the rest of mankind."

He describes a great research foundation, its staff of supposedly free scientists corrupted by prejudice and competition, deprived of any working ethic by dependence upon the philanthropy of exploiters who insist that scientists take no interest in social problems and at the same time urge upon them research which will be "practical" or attract publicity. "Disinterestedness" has become a hypocritical weapon, strangling the emergence of any human significance in a scientific ethic anachronistic to the order which supports it.

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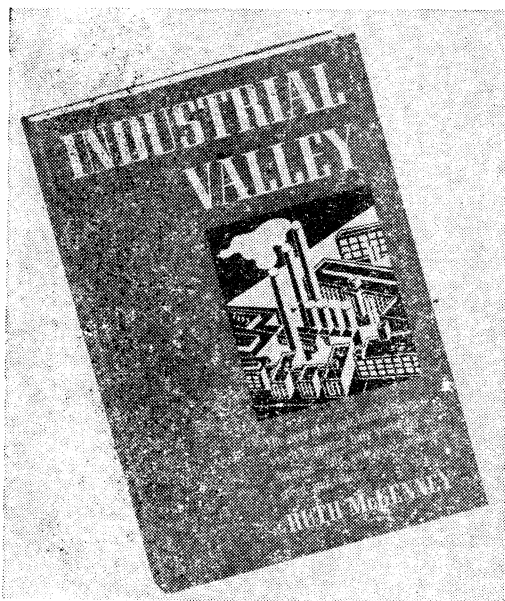
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opening of the book, with Dr. Addams fleeing the sterility of his personal life, throughout his search for fulfillment in an individualist career, until the end, when the girl he loves turns from him to the radical scientist who has allied himself with the people, who has "freed" her from an empty freedom and given her "a sense of my place in this world . . . a living logic of human life"—the thesis of individual aloofness from society is carefully analyzed and finally demolished. Detachment ends in bankruptcy or destruction; "promiscuity and monasticism are both irresponsible." It has become clear that the idea of freedom must be separated from untenable concepts of the isolated personality, that liberty exists only in cooperation and social unity, just as true democracy will be achieved only as socially unreal and constricting ideas of its nature are abandoned.

Although filled with distaste for the cruelty and moral decay of capitalism, this is not a directly political novel; it has little awareness of any logic in social development. But the writing is fine and sensitive and the intellectual level is incomparably higher than that of the usual run of medical novels, whose doctors all seem to be immature. Mr. Fineman's, in their complex nihilism, go somewhat to the opposite extreme: there is a feverish emphasis upon sexuality which sometimes throws the whole book out of focus. The detailed and rather tiresome generalizations about the sexual relationship finally appear as inapposite to the gravity of the theme as might an insistence that many people in Spain are suffering from unhappy love affairs.

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Southern Negro

E. Franklin Frazier reviews "After Freedom: A Cultural Study of the Deep South."

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER regards her study (*After Freedom: A Cultural Study of the Deep South*, Viking Press, \$3) as an experiment in which she applies to a Southern community "the training and methods of a cultural anthropologist and whatever perspective had been gained through field work in civilizations other than our own." It is, of course, of little value to make fine academic distinctions between studies in the field of sociology and cultural and social anthropology. A work of this type should be judged according to the author's understanding and analysis of a social situation. It is on this basis that we may regard *After Freedom* as a contribution to the growing body of scientific literature on the Negro in the South.

In the first section, "The Social Scene," the author presents a vivid picture of "Cottonville" against the background of general social and economic conditions in Mississippi. Hence, this study of Cottonville is not simply a dissection of race relations in a small town but an analysis of social and economic

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forces inherent in the plantation region. Although Dr. Powdermaker is primarily interested in the acculturation of the Negro, her description and analysis of the situation in Cottonville deal with the solid facts of everyday life. Culture, for her, is not some epiphenomenon detached from the interests and motives of men in their everyday relations. This is evident in her discussion of the attitudes and behavior patterns of Negroes and whites, which are shown to be related to the general social and economic organization.

In the section of the book devoted to the place of the Negro in the economic organization, the author gives a realistic account of the role of cotton in the plantation economy and the class division and class antagonisms which have continued despite the "emancipation" of the Negro. She shows clearly that the masses of Negroes, and the poor whites, for that matter, are victims of the system. Here we see the dependence of the Negro not merely as a "tradition" but as a present concrete fact growing out of the relationship of disfranchised, propertyless, and terrorized Negro sharecroppers and tenants to their white overlords. Likewise, in her analysis of the Negro's status in the town, the author shows how this is affected by the role and interests of the white middle class in the social structure.

Although a special section is devoted to economic relations, the influence of economic factors is not divorced from the analysis of other aspects of the Negro's cultural life. The picture which the author presents of the Negro's "matriarchal" family organization shows it to be a group formation which has arisen as the result of historical, social, and economic factors which have been present in the social life of the Negro since slavery. Unlike Professor Herskovits, the author does not attempt to tie up this type of family organization with the Negro's African cultural heritage. The influence upon Negro family life of the prestige of a white skin and the white man's assumed right of access to Negro women is discussed with frankness and an understanding of its relation to the social and economic relations existing between the two races. Dr. Powdermaker shows that the extremely few Negro families that have escaped to some degree from dependence upon the white overlords and have had an opportunity for development have been able to maintain the same patterns of family life as the whites. However, the author is keen to point out the overvaluation of Puritanism in the upper class.

The section on religion and superstition presents a good picture of Negro religion and the church as both a religious and secular organization. Even better is the author's picture of the educational situation. Not only does she show that the Negro is forced to accept poor school facilities because of his economic and political impotence, but she gives an excellent account of the Negro's great faith in education as a solution of his problem. However, she recognizes that the Negro, especially of the younger generation, is losing this faith. The

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changing attitude of the younger generation of Negroes is presented in contrast to that of their parents and grandparents. The grandparents accepted their place with resignation and even accepted the white man's evaluation of the Negro. The parents have no illusions about the white man's superiority or right to rule and exploit Negroes; but their beliefs are seldom expressed in action. The younger Negroes are beginning to challenge in word and action the white man's arrogance and authority; but as yet they have worked out no philosophy. In the author's words, they have not "found themselves." Though recognizing the growing possibilities of conflict in the situation, the author rightly refuses to indulge in prophetic utterances.

In regard to a few minor points, such as the statement that a good marriage is evaluated in terms of skin color, this reviewer would be inclined to question Dr. Powdermaker's conclusions. Although many of the facts presented are known to students of Southern conditions, the merit of the present study is that these facts have been analyzed and presented in such a manner that their cultural significance can be understood by the intelligent layman.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER.

Brief Reviews

Pierre van Paassen's "Days of Our Years" a spirited chronicle.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN'S *Days of Our Years* (Hillman-Curl, Inc., \$3.50) is a spirited chronicle of vivid personal experience by a man who has observed the world scene for twenty years as a roving foreign correspondent. There is an underlying quality of compassion for the oppressed and hatred for fascism, but it is rather the charm of his personal reminiscences that gives Mr. van Paassen's book a refreshing tone.

The popularity of *Days of Our Years* increases the necessity for pointing out certain serious errors which tend to vitiate what is in some respects a fine book. The author's manifest antagonism toward the Soviet Union leads him to an attack on the Soviet peace policy, formulated in the classic manner of those same fascists he so thoroughly detests and so trenchantly exposes in his book. This bias is obviously motivated by the author's fervor for an almost mystical pacifism. In his generally sound chapter on the situation in Palestine, Mr. van Paassen accuses the Communist Party as having justified anti-Jewish riots, a charge which is sheer nonsense of course. No Communist Party anywhere has ever defended terrorism. On the contrary, the Communists have always pointed out that the riots are fomented by reaction in its attempt to keep the Arab and Jewish masses apart.

While such distortions do not occupy a major part of the book, they succeed in warping the perspectives of a socially minded writer.

JOSEPH HASTINGS.

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE was the editor of the *Harkness Hoot*, undergraduate gag sheet at Yale. In *Hannibal Hooker* (Random House, \$3) he tells a story of the Midwest at the turn of the century, a story largely woven out of the career of his father. Hale is a fancy writer with less to say than his style demands. The acrobatics are good, though, and the color is brilliant in spots.

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“Concentration Camp”

A Soviet movie about justice in Germany—a country where eight million people wear uniforms. . . . The first three of \$15,000,000 worth of Hollywood westerns.

“CONCENTRATION CAMP” is not a sequel to *Professor Mamlock*, but it has somewhat the same cast and the same overpowering purpose: to show how people live in Hitler Germany. Mezhinsky, who played Professor Mamlock, is a simple Jewish druggist in a German city, denounced by his Nazi competitor next door. With the other prisoners at the concentration camp, he is set to digging drainage ditches in a swamp. A soft, dumb Storm Trooper gloats over him: at last Jews, members of the inferior race, are doing the job they are fitted for. How about the rest of the prisoners in the ditch, says the druggist—aren't they Germans, superior? “I was told how it was,” says the guard. “Don't mix me up. . . .”

One of the Germans is a young Communist worker from an airplane factory. Another is a student. Another is a rare old Social Democrat with a huge mustache. The Communist refuses to give the names of other Communists in the factory and it is thereupon arranged that he will be shot trying to escape. Actually, with the help of the druggist and the student, he does escape. In a tremendously rousing scene which ends the picture, the workers in the airplane factory strike.

The Storm Troopers in *Concentration Camp* have the same fat faces you saw in *Professor Mamlock*. You can see them in any newsreel. Like *Professor Mamlock*, its settings seem perfectly authentic and it uses only events which have actually happened. Still, probably because it tells too many stories, it is not as convincing as *Professor Mamlock*. It does not give as many details about the underground movement as do other Russian pictures about Germany, like *Der Kampf*. It is nonetheless a very good picture. The strike scene and several of the prison sequences are as exciting as anything in the last half-dozen Russian movies, which, as anyone knows who lives within commuting distance of the Cameo, N. Y., says quite a lot.

Concentration Camp has already been banned in Chicago for making the indelicate suggestion that Communists may be working underground in Germany against Hitler. Another thing it shows, very specifically, is what can be done about fascism, and no board of censors approves of that. In the barracks of the concentration camp the Social Democrat is having a quarrel with a Communist about which of their parties was responsible for the rise of Hitler. It turns out that both of them are there for the same reason—asking how the Nazis could be considered lovers of labor when they were breaking up the labor unions. As a united-front gesture, the Social Democrat offers the Communist a piece of zwieback his

wife has sent him. The Communist can't eat it, having just had his teeth knocked out by a jailer.

THREE MEN, SIX GUNS

Hollywood directors have been making westerns longer than Soviet directors have been making civil-war pictures. By this time they know how. John Ford, whose *Stage Coach* has just been replaced at the Music Hall, N. Y., with *Love Affair*, has made westerns himself, and he hasn't worried about taking bits from other people's westerns. The story about the outlaw who has a big price on his head and comes into town looking for the three men who killed his paw is folk lore, on which nobody has any patents. As a result of Mr. Ford's lack of scruples it is an excellent western. The question is—will a stage coach full of Hollywood character actors get safely to Lordsburgh across Apache country without all its passengers being massacred? The answer, naturally, is yes.

The passengers are all perfectly familiar to anyone whose moviegoing experience antedates *My Man Godfrey*. In the seat next to the window is a prostitute who wonders if a girl like her should get married—if only to the handsome desperado sitting on the floor between the chivalrous Southern gambler and the pure lady from Virginia who is about to have a baby. Opposite her are the drunken

doctor and the browbeaten whisky drummer from Kansas City; next to her is an absconding banker. The banker is caught; the doctor, for a moment or two, is regenerated; the pure lady has her baby; the gambler is killed; and the prostitute marries the desperado.

Mr. Ford would be surprised if any of these events came as a surprise to anybody in the audience. Of course the Apaches attack, and it is no less exciting because you know that the United States cavalry is just over the next hill. Every time a white man takes aim he knocks an Apache out of the saddle, and the Apaches generally give the impression of never having had a gun in their hands before. That didn't bother Mr. Ford, and it won't bother you.

“OKLAHOMA KID”

Oklahoma Kid and *Let Freedom Ring*, for various reasons, are less satisfying. *Oklahoma Kid* is a kind of outdoor *Count of Monte Cristo*, with James Cagney hunting down one after another of the men who hanged his father. It is as full of the William S. Hart clichés as *Stage Coach*, but this time they seem like clichés. Still, Cagney is a good enough actor not to seem too much like a small boy dressed up in a cowboy suit, and of course he is handy with firearms, having had plenty of practice. He looks a little like Mayor LaGuardia on horseback. He gets the



ESCAPE. An exciting scene from the Soviet movie “Concentration Camp,” now playing at the Waldorf Theater in New York.

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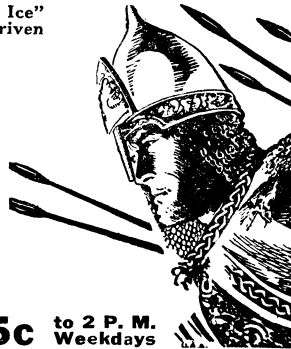
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girl, also, which Bill Hart never could quite manage to do.

"LET FREEDOM RING"

Let Freedom Ring is more of a musical farce, like Gene Autry's westerns. It is chiefly interesting as evidence that MGM, more ridden by reactionary bankers than even 20th Century-Fox, wants to be considered on the side of democracy. Its moral is excellent. A Wall Street capitalist personally conducts a gang of railroad workers into a little Western town (actually, I believe, capitalists stayed at home in Wall Street), buys the judge, buys the newspaper, and prepares to buy the election for mayor. Then Nelson Eddy comes back from Harvard. The novelty in *Let Freedom Ring*, for MGM, is that the railroad workers are considered, briefly and rather patronizingly, as people. Nelson Eddy sings to them and explains how the Wall Street capitalist wants to ruin the West, and they very sensibly vote for Lionel Barrymore. *Let Freedom Ring* has a characteristic MGM monopoly cast, more big names than will fit on an ordinary marquee. The only good thing about Virginia Bruce is that she might have been Jeanette MacDonald. What saves the picture, if it is saved, is Charles Butterworth as a barroom pianist who makes his living taking socks on the jaw, and Victor McLaglen as the construction boss who, upon being knocked down by Nelson Eddy, perceives that he has more in common with the workers than the bosses. Thereupon he orders the workers to vote against the capitalist, and Virginia Bruce leads the company in *My Country 'Tis of Thee*.

Note: Hollywood is planning \$15,000,000 worth of westerns in the next couple of months.

BRIEF REVIEWS

Three Smart Girls Grow Up. Sort of a sequel to *Three Smart Girls* and sort of a sequel to *Four Daughters*, too. Whether or not it will make you sick depends on how often you go to the movies.

The Spirit of Culver. It was La Pasionara who said, "It is better to die on your feet than live forever on your knees." In *The Spirit of Culver* the same sentiment is voiced in the same words by Freddie Bartholomew. It has nothing to do with the picture, which is the usual slick promotion for the particular brand of patriotism supplied by upper-class military academies.

Prison Without Bars. English picture about a French girls' prison, the bars of which are taken down by Edna Best, the new matron. Again, highly familiar stuff, but slowly and carefully done.

Crossroads. A serious analytical study of how a great French industrialist discovers he is someone else. It is acted with either admirable restraint or complete woodenness—I can't make up my mind which.

Love Affair is the kind of picture which is completely given away by its title. Charles Boyer and Irene Dunne in *Love Affair*—it is as revealing as Garbo loves Taylor in *Camille*. Not that Leo McCarey, the director, doesn't postpone the inevitable happy embrace with much ingenuity and wit. He has engaged Donald Ogden Stewart to write some clever lines, which no one does better.

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Joint Dance Concert

Lily Mehlman and Si-Lan Chen in an admirable, moving recital.

FOR the benefit of Chinese war orphans, Lily Mehlman and Si-lan Chen recently gave a joint, completely gratifying dance concert at the Guild Theater (N. Y.).

Lily Mehlman danced her *Harvest Song*, the folk lyric which won her the Dance Award in 1937; the moving and beautifully poignant *Lullaby for a Dead Child*—out of the fascist invasion of Spain; and *Refugee*, which needs sharpening both in concept and execution. Si-lan Chen offered her minute portraits of the Chinese people in *Death from the Skies*, *Chinese Partisan*, and *In Conquered Nanking*, in which she etches in pantomimic dance the valiant struggle of her people against the overwhelming odds of Hirohito and his military clique. There were two duets of lesser significance, a suite of four sketches in which Si-lan Chen showed best her bent for showmanship, wit, and good satire, and the *Uzbek Dance* which brought down the house.

The feature of the concert, however, was *Americana*, a group dance set to the work of Randall Thompson, words and music. The *Americana* of Randall Thompson is inspired by, if not directly out of, Mencken and his old *Mercury*—a satire on the backward section of America's women. But in the hands of the progressive dancer, the composition took on a more positive point of view than might have been expected of the Baltimorean.

OWEN BURKE.

Eisler's Movie Score

Music for "The 400 Million" maintains a high standard.

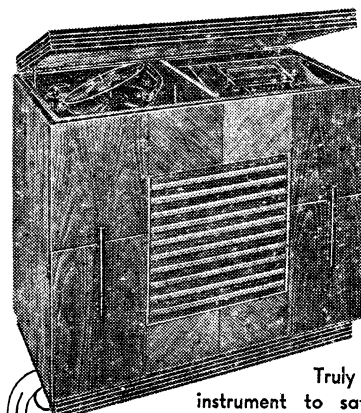
IN his score for Joris Ivens' *The 400 Million*, Hanns Eisler has proved that music for the movies can maintain standards as high as those of the concert hall. This, in the face of Hollywood's impressionistic scores built into a patchwork of Tschaiakowsky, Debussy, and Victor Herbert.

Throughout Eisler has utilized in full his equipment as a musician, making only those concessions which are absolutely necessary to the needs of a motion picture. This has made for a really fine score, sympathetic to the action on the screen and no less sympathetic to musical integrity. The music is neither presumptuous nor weighty, but serves rather to underline scenes of impassioned human struggle or simple pastoral scenery. One notices this particularly in the dust-storm scene. Here a perpetual running figure in woodwinds and horn provides a remarkable effect. Eisler also employs the native Chinese guitar-like "pipa" for which he has written original music in a Chinese style. To give a sense of heightening excitement, the battle scenes are accompanied by a theme and variations in which the theme is given out by the trumpet as a signal for an air alarm.

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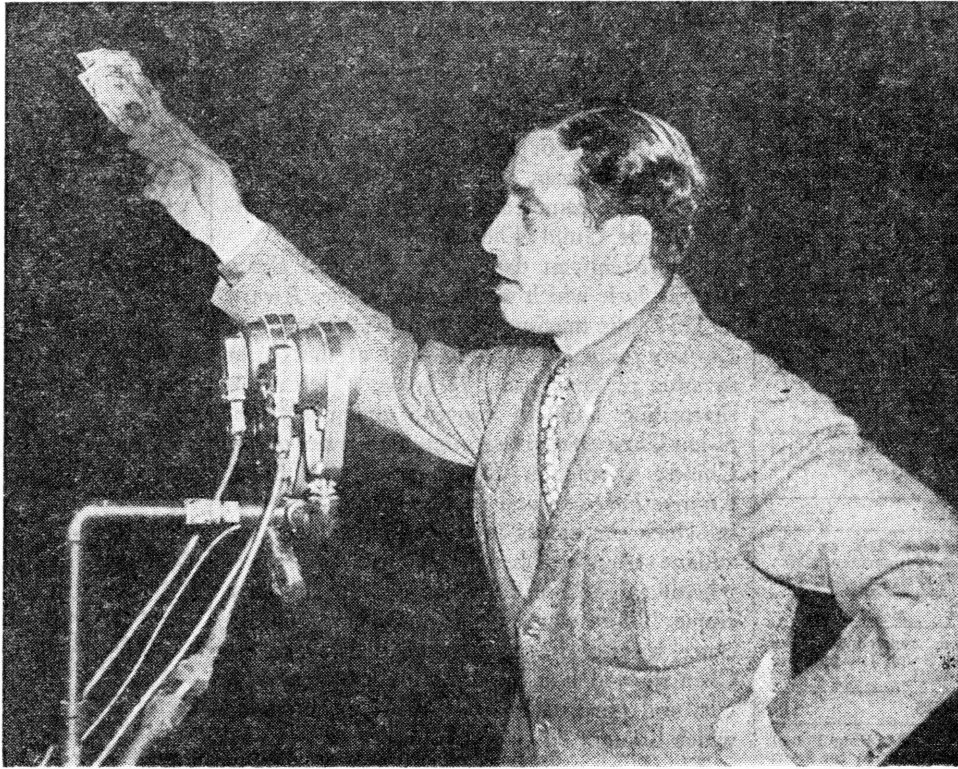
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Willner's speech, our own appeals are collection speeches to America. We say that this magazine is protection—insurance, if you will—in a world in which so many bastions of

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