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NEW MASSES

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JUDGING THE WAR CRIMINALS

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE little neighborhood grocery was crowded the other night when we stopped in to do our evening shopping. Bending over the boxes of bright-colored fruit, one woman said to another: "Yes, I heard from him yesterday. He's a first lieutenant now—been on twenty-one missions, too. He's real cheerful—says we're over there mopping up and it won't be long." A middle-aged man jerked a frisky German shepherd on the leash and apologized to a frail little old woman who had nearly had her bag knocked out of her arms. The seventeen-year-old boy back of the counter worked efficiently, long years of practice behind him, ladling out milk and eggs for the evening meal of a little group of people who lived downtown near Third Avenue—happy people on the whole, doing without little and not caring what trifles they've been deprived of; people with sons and husbands and friends overseas, realizing that their ration books are generous, not minding the stand in a line for their turn.

We felt good as we waited, wondering vaguely what to eat that night. It had been a pretty fair day, everything smooth, and we had just picked up an avocado experimentally, when the laugh came, somewhere from the rear of the store, followed by a voice with a German accent that couldn't be missed. Everybody stood still and looked—the women picking out their fruit stopped talking, and surprised, we thought for a minute it was a Nazi short-wave broadcast. Then we noticed the man in the well-cut suit looking at the chart of ceiling prices. "Bet you dealers will be glad when this OPA is over," he said, with what he hoped was a significant glance at the young clerk. "Weinzwieg, Goldberg, and Goldstein—they started all this business. Hitler's got something there—knew what he was doing when he kicked 'em all out."

The little old woman who'd almost been knocked over by the dog stepped up, fast. "If you don't like it, mister," she said, "go back where you came from. And what you've got a dirty look on your face about is what's kept us off inflation in this country. Those names you mention are fighting, too, dammit."

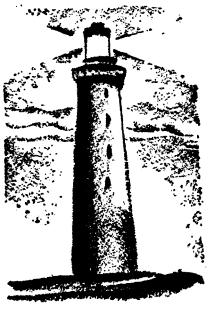
The owner of the shepherd didn't need any prodding either. "Mac," he chided the dog, "you keep that German accent out of your bark. No Nazis in our house. Glad we've got the OPA"—he turned around—"and I'm voting for Roosevelt again. Anybody want to say anything?" Nobody did. Everybody moved around quietly, got his packages and left, eyeing the man who, by a tacit ostracism from the majority at least, had been shoved in the back room. From this point on, it's not a question of what he and his kind will have—it's what they'll get.

THE US mail is doing its best—and we'd like to do ours—to get letters from France and our other battlefields. Wives, mothers, and sweethearts, are getting them every day. If you don't want to send us entire letters, please delete the personal passages and enclose what's left. There are people who don't have relatives in the service who would like to know firsthand what our men are thinking and what's going on.

TWO articles by New York councilmen are on hand: one by Ben Davis, on the election role of the Negro people—the other by Pete Cacchione, about registration. The GOP, on the whole, is basing its hopes on a low vote—Cacchione says this can be prevented and points the means.

HOW do you feel about the piece on war guilt in the current issue? We know there are lots of opinions, and you may not like Mr. Trainin's. Perhaps you agree with the conclusions, but not the methods or perhaps it's the opposite. Write and let us know.

M. DE A.



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NEW MASSES

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JUDGING THE WAR CRIMINALS

By A. N. TRAININ

This is the first of two articles on the question of the responsibility of the Hitlerites for their crimes against international law and morals.

Moscow.

WAR, with all its cruelty and bloodshed, is not a natural element where absolute liberty of action and unbridled cruelty reign supreme. On the contrary, there exist—and this is one of mankind's most valuable achievements—active international conventions which divert the raging torrent of warfare into regular channels bounded by law and custom. These conventions forbid the employment of certain methods of warfare, the torture of prisoners of war and of sick and wounded soldiers, the killing and plunder of civilians, and the destruction of cultural treasures. The more perfected weapons of destruction become the greater the significance which the Hague and Geneva Conventions have for mankind, and the more obligatory becomes their fulfillment by every state associated with them.

Germany signed the Hague and Geneva Conventions. Germany, like other states, solemnly undertook the observance of these conventions. But what are the facts?

In the wars which preceded the present world war Germany invariably employed the "strategy" of cruelty and destruction, the "Prussian strategy" based on the systematic violation of the laws and customs of war.

"General indignation," wrote Marx on the behavior of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, "has been aroused by the methods of conducting warfare: the system of requisitioning, the burning of villages, the shooting of francs-tireurs, and the taking of hostages."

Wilhelm II made the following cynical appeal to German soldiers before they left for the Chinese front in 1900: "When you meet them, remember, no quarter and no prisoners. Whoever falls into your hands must die. Like the Huns under the leadership of King Atilla who made a name for themselves a thousand years ago which has made them terrible in tradition and history, so let the name 'Germans' in China become, through you, so famous that in a thousand years to come no Chinese will even dare to glance sideways at a German." Fourteen years passed and the bandit face of German imperialism became even more sharply defined.

In the very first days of the war of 1914-18, Wilhelm II wrote to the

Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph: "Everything must be drowned in fire and blood, men and women, children and the aged must be killed, not a house or a tree must be left standing."

The terrorist methods of warfare recommended by Wilhelm in 1914-18 were extensively carried out in practice. Special commissions of investigation set up in Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Russia at the time investigated and established many cases of murder, the torture of civilians, prisoners, and wounded, and the destruction of private and public buildings.

The seventh chapter of the Versailles Peace Treaty on "Sanctions" deals with questions of the criminal responsibility for the crimes committed by Wilhelm II and his accomplices in 1914-18.

"Allied and Associated Powers," says article 227 of the Versailles Treaty, "arraign Wilhelm II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties."

In a note dated January 15, 1919, the Allied powers demanded from Holland the surrender of the former German Emperor, Wilhelm II. The note referred to Wilhelm's violation of international treaties and the sacred rights of man and to the necessity of the observance of the high principles of international morals. In their reply the Netherlands, referring to laws and traditions, refused to surrender Wilhelm.

Holland's refusal put an end to the question concerning the criminal responsibility of the head of the German state for what the Versailles Treaty had called "insult to international morals and the sacred powers of treaties."

THE attempts at organizing a court to try Wilhelm's accomplices, also guilty of violating the laws and customs of warfare, were more prolonged but equally without result. On February 3, 1920, Millerand sent a letter to Baron Lersner, chairman of the German peace delegation in Paris, giving a list of the persons to be surrendered to the Allied powers under article 228 of the Versailles Treaty. Great Britain demanded the surrender of ninety-eight persons (among them Admiral Tirpitz), France 344 (among them Hindenburg), Belgium fifty-one, Rumania forty-one (among them Mackensen), Italy thirty-nine. Altogether the Allies demanded that Germany surrender 890 persons. They included the Chancellor Bethman-Holweg, Ludendorff, Crown Prince Ruprecht, the Duke of Wurtemberg and others. Although Baron Lersner had received a letter from Berlin on January 31, 1920, a few days before he was handed the Allied note, in which he was given categorical instructions to accept and forward to Berlin any such note, should he be handed it, Lersner returned the letter to Millerand.

Germany's efforts to escape responsibility were not in vain. In a note dated February 16, 1920, the Allied powers stated that they "duly acknowledged the announcement made by the German government to the effect that persons guilty of violating the laws and customs of war would be handed over to the Imperial Court at Leipzig."

In view of the situation which had developed Germany did not show any great haste in bringing cases before the Leipzig Imperial Court. In March 1921, according to the telegram from London, "the General Attorney stated in the House of Commons that to date none of the German violators of the rules of warfare had been handed over to the court by Germany." In May 1921, the Leipzig court heard the case of ex-Sergeant Heinen, accused of cruel treatment of British prisoners of war in the camp at Muenster. A special British mission watched the proceedings of the trial. Heinen was sentenced . . . to ten months imprisonment.

Almost all the trials heard by this court ended with the same ridiculous sentences. One of the greatest tragedies in the annals of mankind ended, therefore, in a comedy. There is no doubt that this fact is at the same time one of the reasons why the beginnings of terror and vandalism which characterized German methods of warfare in 1914-18,

Chapters from "Mein Kampf."

grew to the unbridled terror of Hitlerism, which has covered a tremendous part of Europe with blood and ruins.

Compared with the crimes of the Hitlerites during the present war, the German excesses of 1914-18 seem to be nothing more than the timid experiments of beginners in the cut-throat trade. The monstrous characteristic of the Hitlerite war is that plunder, murder, and torture had become a system, a state program for the annihilation of nations and the destruction of national wealth.

In 1935 Hitler made a declaration. "The Imperial Government announces," he said, "that all obligations arising out of the voluntary signing of treaties will be fulfilled even in the event of a treaty which was concluded before the government came to power."

It must be admitted that the "Imperial Government" actually made no distinction between treaties concluded before and after it came to power: Hitler violated them all with equal cynicism.

On November 27, 1909, Germany joined the Hague Convention of 1907 which established that "prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile government, but not in that of the individuals or corps who captured them. They must be humanely treated."

An order issued by the high command of the German army on January 14, 1942, reads: "Prisoners should under no circumstances be treated humanely . . . any delay in using arms against a prisoner is a matter of danger. The Commander in Chief hopes that this order will be carried out in full."

The order has been carried out in full. When Soviet units occupied the village of Lutovna, Duminichi district, Smolensk region, the bodies of thirty-seven Red Army men were discovered on the outskirts of the village. Seriously wounded soldiers had been taken prisoner and brutally tortured by the Germans. The Germans burned six of them in a fire which they lit under a tree. The prisoners were hanged from the tree by a rope and roasted over the fire. Seven Red Army men had their eyes put out, four had their ears and noses cut off while the remainder had their fingernails torn out, their fingers twisted and their arms and legs broken. This is humanity as understood by the Hitlerites.

"In the village of Voronki, in the Ukraine, the Germans placed forty wounded Red Army men, prisoners of war and nurses in a building that had formerly been a hospital. All bandages and medicines were taken away from the medical personnel as well as food and other equipment. The nurses were raped and shot and a guard was placed over the wounded, nobody being allowed near them for four days. Some of the wounded died and the remainder were later thrown into the river, the local population being forbidden to remove the bodies" (from V. M. Molotov's note of January 6, 1942).

linoleum cuts by Joe Le Boit

ACCORDING to international law it is the generally accepted principle that war is conducted between armed forces and that civilians who remain on occupied territory may not be considered as doomed victims whom the occupiers may kill, plunder, etc. In this respect the Hague Convention says: "Family honor and rights, the lives of persons . . . must be respected."

Here are some examples of Hitlerite "respect" for life, rights, and honor: In the Pokrovsky Village Soviet, Cheremisinovsky district, Kursk region, the Nazis undressed a peasant, A. N. Alekhin, forced him to dig his own grave, compelling him to lie in the pit several times in order to measure it. When the grave was dug they broke Alekhin's arms, cut off his ears, put out his eyes and then shot him.

In the village of Donets, Dolzhansky district, Orel region, the Hitlerites bound seventeen-year-old Nadezhda Maltseva and ordered her mother, Maria Maltseva, to place straw around her daughter and set fire to it. The mother fainted. The Hitlerites themselves then threw straw down around the girl and set fire to it. The mother recovered consciousness, leaped into the fire and dragged out

her daughter. A blow from a rifle butt aimed by one of the Hitlerites killed the mother and the daughter was shot and thrown into the fire.

AT THE Krasnodar trial held in July 1943, the whole world was informed through the mouths of the criminal associates of the Hitlerite villains how thousands of innocent victims, the sick, aged, and children, were forced, like cattle, to enter a motor-truck in which they were killed by poison gases while they were travelling. In the Starobinsky district (Byelorussia) the official German data alone states that 6,743 people have been shot. This is no longer "racism," this is not the excesses of war: this is bloody slaughter organized by the state before the eyes of horrified humanity.

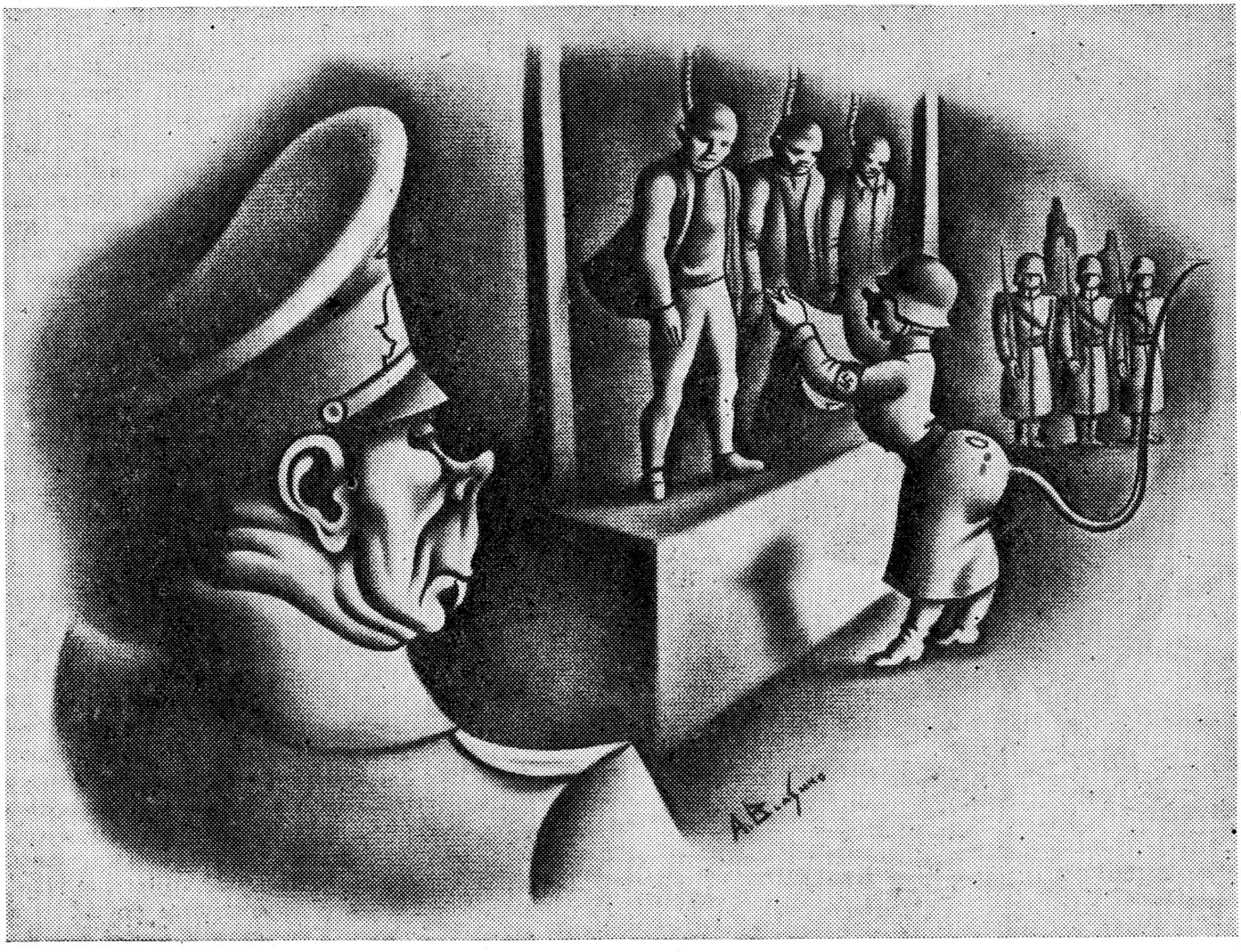
This, however, is not sufficient to satisfy the Nazi barbarians. In the headquarters of an SS cavalry brigade routed by the Red Army there was found telegram No. 37 from the commander, a *Standartenfuehrer,* sent to troops of the Second Cavalry Regiment on August 2, 1941, in which it was stated that Himmler, Imperial Fuehrer of the SS and the police, now Germany's Minister of the Interior, considers the number of civilians destroyed to be "too insignificant," and points out that "radical action must be taken" and that "commanders of formations carry out operations too mildly," and ordered the number of people shot to be reported daily.

In the memorandum found on many German officers, "Twelve Commandments Governing the Behavior of Germans in the East and their Treatment of Russians," the following instructions are given: "You must be conscious of the fact that you are a representative of great Germany and new Europe. Therefore we must carry through in a worthy manner even the most cruel and ruthless measures dictated by German interests. Keep the Russians away from you. Never forget that they are not Germans but Slavs. Beware of the Russian intelligentsia . . . you will never change a Russian's convictions. Don't talk with them but act."

Brands and tallies placed by the hand of the violator on Soviet people will remain as an eternal brand of disgrace on Germany.

Article 47 of the Hague Convention said: "Pillage is formally forbidden." Hitlerite "strategy" has established a different rule: looting is elevated to a cult as the main principle of total warfare and is planned and systematically organized by the state like a huge bandit commercial undertaking.

A second and final article will deal with how the criminal responsibility of the Hitlerites should be dealt with according to international law. Can the German state be placed in the dock? Can the German people be tried in court? Or can they be held responsible only politically, morally, and materially—while their leaders, their financial masters, and the individual perpetrators of concrete crimes must be the ones to receive the severest sort of punishment? Professor Trainin answers these questions in the ensuing article.



"The Partisans," from a series, "The Ratmen," by A. Blashko.

I GIVE YOU MY WORD . . . by JOSEPH NORTH

WHO LIT LUBLIN'S PYRES?

You were ushered into an establishment appointed as neatly as a haberdashery on the Kurfuerstendamm. Coathangers, row on row, lined the corridors. They expected you, like good housekeepers, to take off your coat, hang it up, put your shoes where they belonged. Men's department, women's department, children's. The baby shoes were stacked neatly as though in a show window of a smart Berlin shop.

You had made the trip from Warsaw or Odessa or Liege or Vienna or Budapest. You may have traveled with wife and children on a coach and no conductor asked for fare. You were a schoolteacher, or an auto mechanic, or a peasant. A rabbi or a priest. It didn't matter. You may have had an IQ of 150 or you may have been able to turn out the most delicate chronometers. It didn't matter. Whoever you were, whatever you did, you didn't measure up to the standards of the *Uebermensch.* And so you made the trip to Lublin; a million and a half of you who could never appreciate the Nazi passion for order. And you scarcely had time to grasp it in that moment you stood before the arm of the gibbet or the door of the crematorium. And so you stepped into eternity. Scientific. Up-to-date. Streamlined. Nazi *Technik.*

I can see Mr. and Mrs. Stefan Mikolodzik, of the farm near Warsaw, and their tow-headed child who were hustled off the land because they couldn't scrape up the taxes the stout official with the briefcase demanded. They hadn't even time to cross themselves or to feed the cow before they were enroute to the trim lawns and the clean, geometric barracks at Lublin. I can see them blinking in the spacious corridor of the big house, hanging up their coats, putting their shoes where they belonged before going under the shower-baths provided for the travelers. And then, worried at their separation from the tow-headed youngster, they stepped, with anxious, backward glance, through a door. And then they were dead. They died with fine scientific precision. A bagful of crystals, manufactured by one of the best Berlin chemical firms, turned into poison gas when it met air: one of I. G. Farbenindustries' finest patents.

In an earlier day our ancestors would expect the skies to darken, the earth to stand still at facts like Lublin. But they were naive: we are sophisticates. We don't believe atrocity stories: we skip them. The Berliners figured it that way and went on manufacturing atrocities like Henry Ford turning out Model T's. And so the New York *Herald Tribune* can still conjecture that "Maybe . . . we should wait for further corroboration of the horror story that comes from Lublin, Poland." The dispatch received from their own correspondent "sounds inconceivable." When, in the name of mankind, does skepticism end and understanding begin? What experience must the editorialist undergo to know the meaning of the Nazi? Is it necessary for us to witness the cremation of our own children before we recognize reality?

For five years now—no, more—for eleven years history has given her testimony. The burning of the Reichstag in 1933 was Chapter One: then, logically, came the book-burnings. (The cremation of ideas preludes the immolation of men.) Then came the pogroms, the rape of Czechoslovakia, the bombing of Rotterdam, the Golgotha of Lublin, the robots bombing London. And still the editor waits for corroboration.

However, the awful truth has begun to dawn on all who will see. Men tangled in skepticism come unravelled. W. H. Lawrence, described by his newspaper, the New York *Times,* as a "thorough and accurate" correspondent, cables from Lublin that he has seen the most awful spot on earth: "I am now prepared to believe any story of German atrocities, no matter how savage, cruel, or depraved." Daniel De Luce, Associated Press correspondent, quotes SS Officer Schoelen who said that the radio played Strauss waltzes the day 18,400 prisoners received "special treatment" in the gas chambers. Maurice Hindus cables: "Outside his apartment Administrator Mussfield had a flower garden, which he fertilized with the ashes of the dead from the crematorium." There it is. Finally. And we have yet to learn of all the Lublins in Europe.

I believe it significant that the Nazis sought to bury the evidence of their crimes. As the Red Armies approached they feverishly dug up the corpses, cremated them. The criminal conceals evidence when he can't get away with the swag. As the fortunes of war shifted, the Nazis prepared their plot for a negotiated peace—a "soft peace." It wouldn't do for the world to know about Lublin. And so General Dittmar comes on the air with a palpably obvious invitation to negotiate. The cornered mobster seeks to bargain.

But it is too late. Too many of us have drawn the necessary conclusions. The New York *Times* said editorially, "Over the graves of the [Lublin] dead the common bond of humanity should surely draw all groups, all factions, all free nations together." For "civilization itself" is at stake. It demands the punishment of those responsible for this "inconceivable crime" and that the world should see to it that no "power arise in Europe capable of such crimes." Call it punishment if you will, call it retribution, but the imperative is this: extirpate the setup which bred these monsters, and the men responsible for it. We trust the New York *Times* will remember its undebatable generalization when it gets down to current specifics.

For extirpation means the Nazi hierarchy from the Fuehrer to the Kommandant of the crematorium. It means, too, those who made the Nazi setup possible, those in frock-coats and cravats, the thin-lipped directors who sat behind glass-topped desks while their lieutenants sweated over corpses. Yes, Herr Krupp and the Board of Directors of the Deutsche Bank are as guilty as the miserable Oberleutenant at Dach-

au. And too, it means that the German people cannot escape their responsibility for the Lublins of Europe. They must help in the reconstruction of those lands their sons destroyed. Only thus will they find the road back toward redemption and national dignity.

ONE word more: news of Lublin comes simultaneously with news of the America First Party convention in Detroit. The resolution Gerald L. K. Smith cagily tabled drew sweaty approval from the delegates: that the Jews be sterilized in America. Jew-hatred, Negro-hatred, are integral with the deed of Lublin. The anti-Semite, the Klansman, are potential crematorium operators. Sooner or later we must face up with this fact, and the sooner the better. Had we fully understood the logic of Hitler's *Rassenhasse* the pyres of Lublin might never have been lighted. At long last we know the enemy abroad: is he unrecognizable at home because he speaks English?

Poem for Liberation

In the valley of briars northward from Barcelona
the ivory bones of Roland and his horn
make nibbles for the mice. Deep, deep
all those who fought the Moors. Only
the piping wind sings battle.
And the thorn
impales our empty and forgotten bones
lying in their last innocence asleep.

Here
the world came to an end. Here in the lonely
valley we left our courage and our hearts
and Durandal broken on the stones.

The sword is broken but the horn unbroken. . . .

And the horn lies
hollow in the hollow grass, and the wind cries,
and Comrade Roland has roots inside his eyes.

In the valley of thorns, up north from Catalonia,
we set down the burden of our bodies
and left our courage broken on the stones. . . .

Only the horn unbroken
singing in the singing grass
midway between France and Spain

The battle talk is spoken underground
by the wise moles, but only in whispers;
what then can come of this?

climbs in the whispering sap, sharpens the thorn:
but the dead lie still.

The dead lie still, but something is not still;
The battle talk is whispered to the horn
by the chittering mouse, by the wind's rising roar,
by the seething bush, by the great shout of trees,
and thunder, thunder, over the Pyrenees. . . .
Comrade Roland,
Cumpaing Rollanz, car sunez vostre cor!

JOY DAVIDMAN.

(*Last line is from the Chanson de Roland, the national epic of France. "Comrade Roland, sound your horn now."*)

BRIGHT TIES FOR WHITE COLLARS

By VIRGINIA SHULL

JUST before Christmas in 1936, six industrial insurance agents met with Lewis Merrill, then president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants Union-AFL, to discuss the serious straits of agents in the insurance field and to talk union. The agents had long-standing grievances, but they had suffered defeat after defeat in earlier attempts to organize. They needed help, and Merrill got it for them. The news spread quickly. From Metropolitan, Prudential, John Hancock, men joined up. From Massachusetts all the way to the West Coast they worked. By the spring of the following year the insurance agents were organized. Then President Merrill received a letter from the AFL representative in New York forbidding organization because, said the AFL, white collar workers couldn't be organized on a national basis. To prove it, the white collar locals who had presumed were shortly expelled.

From a series of such events and their consequences was born the United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO, the imaginative young union which is holding its fifth convention in Philadelphia this week (September 4 to 9). It now has over 50,000 members in good standing and is busily discussing how it can make more potential members familiar with its already remarkable achievements and its program for the future.

There are many people who ought to meet the UOPWA to discover what a union can mean to middle-class people. Among the sections of working America from which the UOPWA draws its membership there are many misconceptions, despite the events of the past fifteen years, of what unions are like. Notions are often fuzzy even where they are not colored by the unabating unfriendliness of the national press. Unions are for those who wear overalls, not white collars. Such notions of prestige as make it possible for the "best" department stores to pay the worst wages, still persist in great sections of white collar America, and are subtly, if wrongly, intertwined with attitudes toward unionism. And the belief that he should exercise his citizenship only as an individual goes very deep among professionals and often is the stronger the more highly skilled the worker.

But outworn traditions and obsolete notions have never long stood in the way of Americans. And if the UOPWA-CIO takes the proper steps it will not be long before America's most skilled workers discover in it the most efficient means for solving their very real and growing economic problems, and for assuring the fullest possible use of their rich technical resources for the postwar.

IT IS not generally realized in the country how serious are the straits in which white collar America finds itself, or how this situation threatens the whole national welfare. For the position of America's white collar citizens is bad and has been steadily growing worse over a long period of time. Their troubles have been acutely increased by wartime prices, the open and hidden inflations that have been forced past the administration's stabilization measures to raise the over-all cost of living by nearly half. Where the real wages of workers in durable goods, mining, construction, and other production work have risen from fifteen to forty odd percent from August 1939 to March 1943, the real wages in great areas of predominantly white collar occupations have declined. And their position was far from good in 1939. An average woman working in a bank or financial institution in 1940 earned $25 a week. In printing and publishing offices she earned around $22 a week—an average which includes people with real professional skills such as editorial assistants, proof readers, royalty accountants, etc.

The New York *Herald Tribune* of July 25, 1943, vividly pictures the pinched living facing the office girl in wartime. "Twelve office workers at a radio network—none of them earning more than $130 a month—said they had dental work that must be done. Not one of them could afford it now. One girl was giving up her hay fever injections because her budget did not allow for doctor bills. All of them had their fingers crossed, hoping they would not get sick."

"Food is the last thing these girls cut down on; yet no matter how ingenious their other economies, they know well enough that they are not getting all they need of the proper foods. When they have to eat in restaurants, they do not get enough of any food." The *Tribune* goes on to observe that the office girl has to keep up appearances, that as domestic workers have practically disappeared and the withholding tax takes a large chunk out of the weekly paycheck, the office girl has to spend evenings washing, ironing, and fixing up her clothes. Vacations, which are especially necessary to sedentary workers, who suffer more than other workers from neural fatigue, are skimped, or even spent in other jobs to make up for debts and old doctors' bills.

It is not merely the Kitty Foyles working in the tall offices of America's financial centers who are facing a difficult present and a threatened future. The difference between the salaries of filing clerks, stenographers, dictating machine transcribers and the like, and those in many of the professions proper, so-called, is not so wide as short stories or the movies would lead one to believe. For example, the university instructor, the grade in which a young academic normally ripens for from four to seven years in the usual course of establishing himself as a professional, in few cases gets more than $1,800 a year. And in many institutions the bulk of lower class teaching is conducted by "the graduate assistant" who receives a pittance well below $1,000 a year for his services while he completes his degree—an undertaking of quite a number of years, under these circumstances. And these are mild examples of the privations and inequities in the whole range of the professional field in the USA.

Such pictures can be multiplied by the thousands in many areas of economic and social activity among some 20,000,000 salaried workers in the USA. The privations and skimping have not only personal consequences for the workers involved, but are a serious factor—if one not easy to tabulate—in the over-all costs of war production. The comprehensive statistics of Lewis Merrill's *The White Collar Worker and the Future of the Nation*, presented as testimony to the Senate subcommittee on wartime health, paints an alarming picture. Losses in efficiency from poor health, meager living, pressures and strains do not show readily in production statistics but workers in plants and offices offer wide testimony to their reality. Moreover, the results of neglecting health, further education, proper rest, and of declining morale are cumula-

tive and bode ill for the future. And we shall need an efficient administrative and professional personnel for the full production picture of the postwar toward which we are working.

It is precisely as the war has expanded our economy to high production levels that the efficiency of the white collar worker becomes more important. High turnover today means jobs unmanned or patchily done as it becomes harder and harder to replace the departed clerk or technician. In the banking industry alone, the average turnover is estimated at around thirty percent, as workers have drifted off to higher paying jobs in war plants. The monetary loss in retraining and inefficiency from the poor salary scales in this industry is estimated by Mr. Merrill to be more than enough to provide a salary structure that would keep the workers on their jobs.

Another source of trouble in the white collar field arises from chaotically unsystematic pay for work received. The same job will draw a rate of pay that may vary as much as fifty or seventy-five percent. Such variations prevail not merely in a given area or municipality, but are commonplace even within individual plants and offices. White collar workers have been shifting from town to town and from job to job at a phenomenal rate in an attempt to better their difficult financial position, with a loss to the nation of countless man-hours of specialized work.

INTO this highly complex and variable problem area in the national economy, the UOPWA-CIO has entered with a practical, realistic program of significance for all salaried employes. It is a program built on a careful analysis from the best available statistics on both the long-range and immediate problems of salaried workers, to improve not only their individual status, but to create a policy which will increase their contributions to both a war and peace economy of full production. It is a program for which the UOPWA is fighting on a national scale as well as in each individual contract it signs.

The proof of the pudding. . . . Take the union's work in insurance, an industry of major importance as the need for expanded capital investments in the postwar increases. As a source of large-scale capital investment the industry can afford one of the primary guarantees against inflation in the postwar period. Even if major social security provisions should be enacted, private insurance will continue to furnish immense reserves of working capital for a long time to come. Consequently insurance needs to be sold, not particularly to help the insurance companies, but to strengthen postwar national and international economy. So the agents who sell insurance become the most indispensable parts of this great financial machine, and their welfare is of vital concern to the public at large.

The UOPWA has already effected important and substantial improvements for the insurance agents it has organized. A Prudential debitman (he is the man who collects the premiums) used

"Corn-husking," by Helen West Heller

to have to check into his office six days a week, sometimes as early as 7:30 AM to be given a going over by the manager, a sort of "pep" talk that was usually a round of abuse and threats. The agent would return at three for more of the same after a morning in the field, go out again and return at 9:00 or 10:00 PM to make a report. He was often threatened with dismissal, perhaps humiliated before the office staff, and lived torn between the desire to quit and the need to keep his family going. Over a period of years an increasing number of contractual abuses were added to the unpleasant personal situation. He was charged for all lapses even though the lapsed business might have been written thirty years before by some other agent. He was even forced to write "tombstones" or fake business by some managers on the theory that if you throw enough mud against a wall some of it will stick. He was overwhelmed with contests and drives. Vacations were almost unheard of.

The union has changed this picture. Grievance committees have been established in every office and have adjusted many bad practices. Saturday reports have been eliminated, and the number of report days per week have been cut. Vacations with pay have been instituted, contests and drives limited and afternoon and night meetings eliminated. The union has succeeded in putting through legislation in New York and Massachusetts forbidding the notorious "lapse charge" which shouldered the agent with charges in case of a lapse. And Massachusetts agents of all companies have received as a result of this around $1,000,000 in back commissions on rewritten business. And direct increases in income through improved compensation clauses in their UOPWA contracts have added substantially to the well-being of the agents. In addition the contracts ensure job security. No longer can the manager threaten to throw the agent out without due cause.

THE job the UOPWA did at the Curtiss-Wright airplane plant in Buffalo affords an excellent picture of the measures developed by the union to meet its special problems. The production personnel at Curtiss-Wright had been organized by the International Association of Machinists-AFL, but the 4,500-odd office, technical, and engineering employes remained unorganized. Conditions in this extremely important section of the plant were far from good. Salaries were low. New employes were often started to work at higher pay than old employes. There were promotions without salary increases. Many working side by side received unequal pay for the same work. The technical workers were worse off in many respects than the production workers. Not a good state of affairs in a plant turning out one of the primary implements of war. Many of the workers in this section had patriotically left old jobs to contribute more directly to the war effort, and were bitterly dissatisfied at the waste and inefficiency in the midst of which they had to work.

A handful of Curtiss-Wright employes appealed to the UOPWA for help. They were organized and signed a contract. Some 3,200 of the employes concerned were assured of pay raises to the new $30 minimum agreed upon in place of the old $22 minimum. There would be no more promotions without raises; a minimum of two to four dollars must accompany each promotion. There were various improvements and regularizations in merit increases, bonuses to second shift and third shift workers, an increase in vacation with pay, seniority established for lay-offs and promotions, and grievance and arbitration machinery set up. These are not unusual results of satisfactory negotiation of a contract.

One of the special features of the Curtiss-Wright contract is directed at clearing up problems that are peculiar to white collar workers' conditions of employment: a new system of classifying jobs. The classification of jobs in technical fields becomes more complex the more specialized the job. It is one thing having in your plant an aluminum welder, a steel welder, a riveter, a riveter's assistant, or a drill press operator. It is another having to cope with job classifications reading "Accountant B, Accountant C, Aerodynamicist, Aerodynamicist Junior, Artist (Employes' Publication), Associate Editor (Employes' Publication), Auditor A Invoices, Auditor DPC Invoices and Construction, Blueprint Cutter, Blueprint and EO Liaison," etc. It is easier for inequities to arise, and easier to maintain them if it should be to the company's interest, where such diverse operations are the rule of the shop. These complex differentiations are typical of office and professional workers' milieux. For five weeks during negotiations, the union conducted a thorough salary survey with the company of all job classifications and labor grades. There were consultations with department stewards, interviews with employes. Every point value assigned to a particular job was tested against the facts they discovered. In the end they were able to demonstrate that whole categories of jobs were rated too low, and hundreds of workers were promoted to higher labor grades at more pay.

The union is still fighting for a twenty percent general increase in wages, severance pay, notice for layoffs, more sick leave and other similar provisions. But the steps already made represent a great measure of improvement for the employes. The young local now puts out its own paper, has its own clubrooms, runs dances and canteens for the servicemen stationed nearby and in general flourishes as a progressive young local should.

THE UOPWA has made signal contributions too in the solution of purely professional problems of many of its workers. Technical and professional workers take pride in their skills, and it has been one of the blots on American professional life that too often external circumstances have thwarted and twisted the accomplishments of skilled workers. Various degrees of dissatisfaction and frustration have accompanied too much of what should be a rewarding and dignified contribution to society. The UOPWA has wisely concerned itself with these problems of its membership quite as much as the bread and butter problems.

One of its most successful undertakings in the field of human relationships was initiated in Brooklyn, largely through the efforts of the National Social Service Division of the UOPWA. The project, like most really satisfactory projects, grew out of the joint desires of all of the parties who participate in it. It consists of a workers' consultation service set up by the Brooklyn Council of Social Planning and some six locals of the United Radio, Electrical, and Machine Workers-CIO, the Transport Workers-CIO and the United Shoeworkers-CIO with the case workers supplied by the UOPWA social service division. Brooklyn is a war center, and like other war centers has had a sharp increase in personal problems among workers arising from the strains of wartime living. Health, child care and family problems have increased absenteeism and affected efficiency and morale. Here existing social agencies cooperate with the trade unions. Personal service departments are set up in union headquarters, with case workers from the agencies assigned to man these departments twelve hours a week. The case worker is chosen for his understanding of the union point of view, and the worker with a problem comes to the service department with the same confidence with which he goes to his union and the same dignity. The old hangovers built up during depression days between workers and social agencies in general by bad or inadequate social work, by anti-labor attitudes on the part of some agencies, by overtones of charity, and most often by the fact that the agency seldom had any real power to cope with the worker's problems, are broken down. The new relationship is dignified and realistic. The social service workers and the established agencies (who suffered no less at the other end of the situation) are equally happy. Similar projects are now successfully under way in Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, and elsewhere.

THESE are only samples of the many accomplishments already to the credit of the UOPWA. It has put up a vigorous fight not only for its own members, but is working for legislative and administrative recognition on a national scale of the special difficulties and needs of the white collar world. Most of the social achievements in legislation of the past decade have bypassed the white collar worker. The UOPWA has brought its workers under the jurisdiction of the National War Labor board, so that they now have at their disposal the apparatus to settle problems around a conference table. This has improved their situation somewhat, but the NWLB still fails to recognize the special plight of the salaried worker. It still clings to the Little Steel formula, which is outmoded even for production workers as a stabilization measure. The UOPWA is pressing for immediate relaxation to provide both special and general increases in pay needed to match the rise in living costs. It is asking for a Salaried Employes Commission in the NWLB, for a government survey to establish standards in job classifications, for incentive bonuses, merit increases, and advance in grade for increased work. It is campaigning for tax revision that will relieve the especially heavy burdens put on this already disadvantaged group of workers. And so far, it is the only major national organization to work consciously on behalf of what is dangerously near to becoming a forgotten section of the nation.

While the UOPWA has been examining the peculiar problems of its special area of operations, it has at the same time been in the vanguard of the unions on the problems that concern them all. Having pledged after Pearl Harbor that it would call no strikes in wartime, it has kept its word. There have been no wildcat strikes nor threats of strikes in the UOPWA. In the legislative battles over economic stabilization, veterans' and soldier legislation, in support of such essential measures as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill on social security and the Kilgore-Celler bill for planned reconversion it has been in the forefront even of the CIO unions. It has consistently and intelligently fought Red-baiting. It has supported Franklin Roosevelt's foreign policy actively, and most of its locals have already gone on record for the reelection of FDR. It has a handsome record of war activities and was the first of the unions to start servicemen's canteens.

For all its excellence and the unquestionable wisdom of its program for the special section of America which is its province, the UOPWA still has much work to do. It is work in reaching people who are not used to unions, who have never thought they would need them. It is work among people who still retain notions that somehow, despite their troubles, despite much evidence to

(*Continued on page* 31)

JOHN L. IN A PIT

By ALEX MEDINGER

Washington.

ONE of this warm and humid city's more notable anti-war reactionaries and Roosevelt-haters—a member of the Republican Advisory Committee in the golden years of 1924 and 1928—is having quite a struggle with himself and some of his advisers these days on just how far he can go, successfully, in getting his not unsizable organization lined up behind Tom Thumb Dewey. The name of this not too worthy character is John Llewellyn Lewis. His organization—some 500,000 strong—is made up of mine workers and a few scattered thousands still enrolled in the catch-all District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America. Mr. Lewis definitely is not a happy man these days. Nor, if reports from within the UMW headquarters are to be believed, are the other members of the royal family happy. There are several reasons for this gloom. (K. C. Adams, the anti-Semitic, anti-British, anti-Soviet editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, puts it this way: "Mr. Lewis hasn't been feeling so well, and you know—.")

The miners' convention comes the second week of September in Cincinnati. The UMW *Journal*, a personal mouthpiece for Lewis and responsible to no one in the UMW except Lewis, has made it plain that the perfectly consistent Lewis desires the defeat of the Commander-in-Chief and the election of the anti-Teheran, pro-appeasement Dewey.

Now, Kathryn Lewis and "Dinny" Lewis and Ora Gasaway of Indiana and John Kmetz of the Pennsylvania anthracite fields and all of the other faithful palace guard have held for many years that "the policies of the Mine Workers are the policies of Mr. Lewis—and they will continue to be so as long as Mr. Lewis lives." Probably nothing except the sudden removal of their singularly fat pay checks could shake this belief on the part of the palace guard. The miners in the Springfield (Ill.) local, where Lewis still holds his card, don't draw such checks, however. They get much less from the mine operators, and their sons and daughters are fighting this war. They are plain Americans, who see their stake in this nation and in its victory over fascism.

For years, Mr. Lewis has been one of the three delegates which his local sends to the UMW biennial conventions. This year, he isn't. For years, the resolutions which the Springfield local has adopted just before convention time have been Lewis resolutions. This year, the Springfield local voted unanimously for a fourth term for President Roosevelt. (Adding insult to injury, it ordered a copy of the resolution sent to Brother Lewis in his office here.) Elected a delegate from Mr. Lewis' local was one Ray Edmundson. (The other two elected delegates ran on Mr. Edmundson's slate, against Mr. Lewis' slate.) Ray Edmundson is a smart Mine Workers' politico now running for the presidency of the UMW in opposition to John L. He received his training under Lewis. He served for years as a Lewis-appointed official in the provisional Illinois district. He worked in closest cooperation, and most effectively, with progressive CIO leaders in Illinois when Lewis was riding the wave of industrial union organizing; he Red-baited those same leaders when Lewis turned to reaction.

That's one side of Mr. Edmundson. Here's another: the better labor reporters in Illinois—and on one or two eastern papers—were tipped off two days ahead of the Springfield meeting which endorsed Mr. Roosevelt that the local was going to take this action in defiance of Lewis. The tip came from Ray Edmundson. He knew how the miners felt and he knew them well enough to know who would introduce the resolution and who would second it. The political reporters on these Illinois papers knew that Mr. Lewis' opponent is considered a mainstay of Gov. Dwight Green's Republican organization in Illinois. They will have considerable of a piece to write, if their publishers want it, when Mr. Edmundson comes out, as his associates say he will, for Mr. Roosevelt's reelection this fall.

The Edmundson-Lewis fight, considered in terms of personalities, is just another squabble in a big, and decidedly important union. Edmundson was getting ahead too fast for some of the palace guard and he couldn't hide his contempt for Kathryn Lewis, whose ignorance of such matters as how unions are organized is notable. The palace guard got Ray.

If that were all the story, there wouldn't be much to say—and there wouldn't be such gloom at 15th and Eye Streets NW, in Washington, where the big UMW headquarters stands. Ray Edmundson has, however, been increasingly forced into a progressive position as the miners, traditionally a militant group in a basic industry, assert themselves against the Lewis-UMW *Journal* defeatist line. (Many other locals in many parts of the country have followed Springfield's lead in calling for Mr. Roosevelt's reelection—both in "the bituminous" and in "the anthracite.") The miners want to win this war. The miners want to reelect Mr. Roosevelt. The miners do not like the defeatist illiteracy peddled by K. C. Adams.

In a machine-controlled union like the UMW, they have had all too little chance to express themselves. The candidacy of Ray Edmundson, which started over the issue of autonomy for the Illinois district and then grew to autonomy for the other twenty provisional districts, now has become a rallying point for progressive forces in the union. It's a fairly sure bet that, things being as they are in the UMW, Edmundson won't defeat Lewis for president. (It's a good bet, though, that many of the provisional districts will get autonomy at this convention and that Edmundson will be elected president of the Illinois district.)

But, the Lewises aren't betting that they can jam through a UMW endorsement for the little man from Albany. This is bitter medicine because they started right after Lewis' unsuccessful effort to swing the miners against FDR in 1940 to make sure that John L. was never so humiliated again—and to make sure that "That Man" got his. (Kathryn Lewis told one of the many editors of the *District 50 News*, in September 1941: "Give me this paper for three years and no member of District 50 will vote for that —— and his policies again.")

The miners are speaking up—for Roosevelt and victory. Keep an eye on Cincinnati. It seems now that the best that Lewis can get for his little man Dewey is a draw—no action by the convention—and he may get a licking.

EBOUE: A MAN TO REMEMBER

By ALPHAEUS HUNTON

IN MOURNING the death of Felix Eboue, the Negro governor-general of French Equatorial Africa, fighters for democracy everywhere paid tribute last May to a man whose life was dedicated to the advancement and liberation of the people of Africa.

This war introduced many changes to the continent of Africa, but nowhere were the changes more pronounced or far-reaching than in French Equatorial Africa (FEA) under Eboue's administration. It would be difficult to find a better example of how the liberating character of this people's war has brought social and economic advances to those who have been fully enlisted in the effort for victory over fascism. The fact that this colony, through Governor-General Eboue's decisive stand against the Vichy capitulation, became the center for the organization of Free French resistance accounts for its remarkable wartime progress.

The same initiative and democratic instincts which led Eboue to take his stand, unhesitatingly and courageously, with the Free French characterized his administration as a colonial official. Governor Eboue is dead, but as Rene Pleven, Free French commissioner of colonies, declared at the great man's funeral, "The French and Christian ideal which was yours, of human brotherhood and uplift of the downtrodden, will continue to guide the colonial policy which you helped us to develop only a few weeks ago at Brazzaville. From beyond the grave, your wise and calm inspiration will continue to light the efforts of France to lead unerringly into a modern life the people to whom you were so devoted."

It is my purpose to explain what Governor Eboue's reforms and policies meant for the people of FEA and what they imply for the future of Africa in general. But first let me review briefly the life of this man, Adolph Felix Sylvester Eboue, who holds the distinction of being the only Negro to attain the post of a colonial governor-general. He was born at Cayenne in French Guiana, December 26, 1884. In France he made a brilliant record as a student. He took a Master's degree from the Paris Law School and earned the title of Colonial Administrator at the Colonial Institute in Paris.

He had always been attracted to Africa and it was there, to Ubangi-Shari, in the territory of FEA, that he was sent in 1911 on his first assignment as a French civil servant. He remained in FEA for twenty years serving in various administrative posts. From 1931 to 1935 he served as secretary-general of Martinique. In the latter year he returned to Africa as governor of the French Sudan, this unprecedented appointment for a Negro having been made during the administration of Leon Blum. After another interval away from Africa from 1936 to 1938 as governor of Guadelupe, Eboue returned once more as governor of Chad province, to the territory where he had first served.

As a member of that small class of the educated colonial elite in French society and as a civil servant, Eboue departed radically from the pattern of conservatism and conformity customarily found among both these groups. He was not concerned with personal ambition; his aim, like that of the Indian leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, was to contribute to the emancipation of his people. As a young civil servant he refused to live in the comfortable quarters reserved for the official group, isolated from the people he was to serve. He traveled into the interior of the country, penetrated veldts and forests which Europeans had never entered before. He came to know the African people intimately, their languages, their culture, their aspirations, and their needs. Probably no one has ever known Africa and its people as well as Eboue. His wide knowledge in many fields brought him membership in the principal learned societies of France. The people whom he governed, including the African chiefs, all of whom he knew personally, were devoted to him; and the white subalterns, who at first resented subordination to a Negro, came to respect and admire him for his quiet and yet powerful personality and his great accomplishments.

In October 1940, Eboue was appointed as one of the nine members of General De Gaulle's Council of Defense of the French Empire at Brazzaville, the first *de facto* government of the Free French. A month later he was made governor-general of FEA over the heads of the lieutenant-governors of the other provinces of the territory. The climax of Eboue's career was his role of leadership in the Brazzaville Conference of Colonial Administrators, which was called together by General De Gaulle and Rene Pleven early in February of this year to map the future of France's overseas territories. At that conference the recommendations of the Negro governor-general, based upon his successful administration, were accepted as the guiding principles for the new orientation of French colonial policy.

FRENCH Equatorial Africa, including the Cameroons mandate, is a vast area of well over a million square miles. It extends from the Atlantic Ocean northward and eastward, between Nigeria and the Belgian Congo, to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is the heart of Africa, a land which includes desert, rich farm land, green savannah, and lush forest.

Since the French took possession of the territory in the late 1870's, FEA has been known as the "orphan of the French Empire." The reasons usually advanced for the economic backwardness of the colony are its lack of rich resources, its sparse labor supply, and the bad climate and prevalence of epidemic diseases. However, the primary cause of the retarded economic development seems to have been the character of the exploitation by French monopoly concessions which the colony underwent during most of its history. Another fundamental cause of stagnation in the colony was the nature of French colonial administration. This administration, before the war, was highly centralized. Absolute authority over the entire Empire was vested in the minister of colonies in Paris, who demanded that the governor-general of each territory unquestioningly follow his orders down to the last detail and undertake no action of any consequence without written permission from Paris. The governors-general, naturally, exacted a like subservience from their assistants. At the bottom of this pyramid of authority was the African subject. Initiative and progress in colonial administration were stifled.

With Eboue's severance of allegiance to the Vichy government, the Chad province and then the whole of FEA became free to go forward under the

leadership of a man who had the ability and vision to take full advantage of this opportunity.

Eboue's policies with respect to African labor provide one of the principal explanations of how and why more general progress was achieved in FEA during the three and a half years of his administration than during the entire previous history of the territory. These policies were based on the premise that the African worker was a human being and not a "beast of burden," that he merited the same modern standards of labor as workers elsewhere, and that he must be given the proper incentives for work.

One of the first of Governor-General Eboue's efforts was to abolish the evils of the large European-owned concessions, and to place them under definite restrictions. These concessions had long followed the practice of rounding up workers through what is euphemistically called the "recruiting system"—still widely used in the Union of South Africa. This system, involving large-scale migrations of male workers, brings about the destruction of the African's family and community life. Under Eboue's administration the use of labor on large plantations, in mines and industry, or on public works such as building airfields, has been regulated so as to provide that the workers with their families may take up permanent abode in newly-developed communities near the place of employment. Eboue did not seek to bar outside investors, but he insisted that they adhere to the new labor policies.

The second of the governor-general's important measures toward improving labor conditions was the elimination of the common practice in colonial and semi-colonial countries of using human power in place of machinery wherever possible. This short-sighted, wasteful, and inhuman practice is particularly symbolic of the meaning of imperialism. The use of more and more machinery was encouraged in FEA's industry and agriculture. Thousands of miles of roads were constructed and derricks and other harbor installations were built at the main ports of Pointe Noire, Libreville, and Port Gentil, with the result that head-carrying and other forms of human porterage virtually disappeared.

Third, Eboue promoted the African's advancement in agriculture, the common occupation of the territory and of Africa. He fostered individual ownership and enterprise, and also encouraged cooperative ventures in the working of large farm areas. A state credit organization, the *Societe de Prevoyance*, grants long term loans to the independent African farmers, at one percent yearly interest. The same organization fixes the rates of crops so as to insure an adequate income to the producers. In both local industries and agriculture emphasis is placed upon producing to meet local needs, as contrasted with the old policy of producing for an export market. However, the tremendous volume of increase in production has made it possible for FEA to contribute largely to the United Nations' war effort.

IT IS not my purpose here to give the details of FEA's achievements in production and general economic development. It may suffice to mention that rubber production was tripled between 1938 and 1942; that huge consignments of timber, far outmeasuring previous exports, have gone to Britain for the building of planes and ships, together with large quantities of cotton, copal, peanuts, coffee, and palm oil (for explosives); that lead, zinc, tin, and titanate have gone to the United States in reverse lend-lease; and that important new trade relations have developed with the Belgian Congo and other African territories.

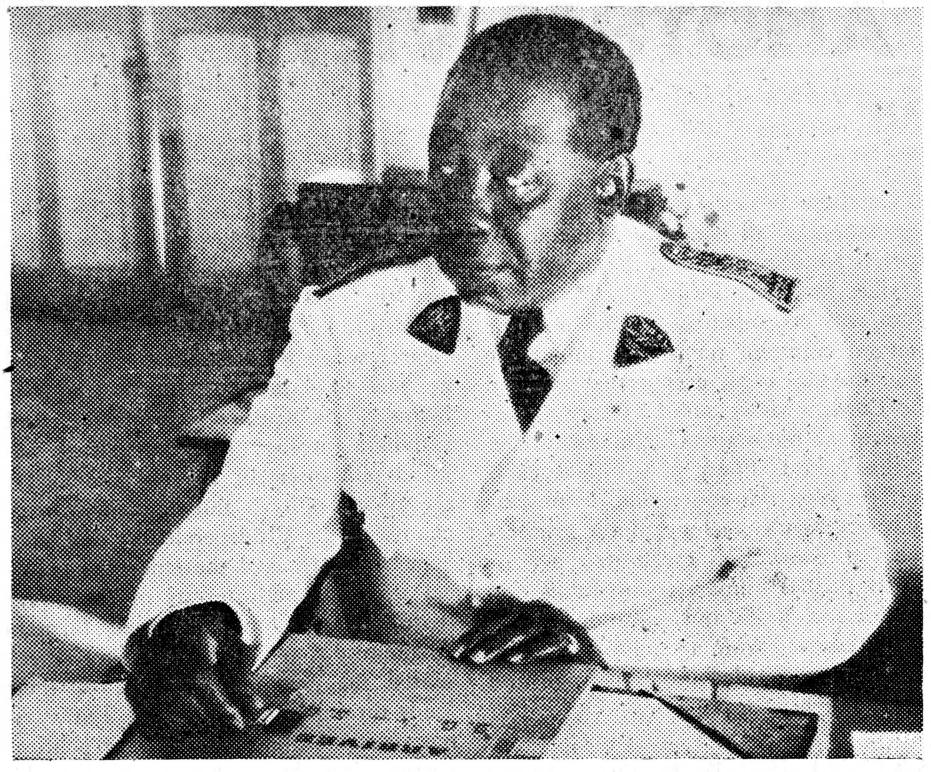
France formerly accounted for two-thirds of the colony's exports and imports. The "orphan of the Empire," having broken the chains which bound it economically to the mother country, has gone far toward taking its place in the open market of world trade. What is true of FEA is also true, in varying degrees, of other African territories. As General De Gaulle said in 1941, "While the war is thus materializing the theoretical unity of Africa by discovering and increasing the means of communication, it is also causing elements of economic unity to appear. . . . One can see the outline, by virtue of the war, of a true African economic life which could certainly never have been created by normal circumstances."

Economic progress of a country entails raising the general living standards of its inhabitants. That the Negro governor of FEA sought systematically to improve the life of the people may be seen in the following figures. In 1937 expenditures for health and education amounted to 9.5 percent of the colony's budget; for 1944 it amounted to 19.3 percent. The financial provisions for public health, which had amounted to 19,900,000 francs in 1939, had risen to 60,500,000 francs for 1944. The expenditure on education in 1939 had totalled 5,399,000 francs, while the estimates for 1944 amounted to 21,166,000 francs, although even this figure is far from meeting the educational needs of the masses. The tropic diseases which in the past took a heavy toll of human life have been curbed through health campaigns and medical services in the most remote regions of the colony. Technical and professional education for civilians as well as those in military service developed rapidly during the war. Today at Brazzaville, Fort Lamy, and other centers one finds institutes training hundreds of men and women in various occupations. One of the most significant advancements is the training of large numbers of African agricultural demonstrators who are employed directly by the African farmer cooperatives as well as by the state.

Self-government, not only in the political sense but in the broadest human sense, was the end toward which Governor-General Eboue's program of economic and social reforms was directed. The means by which he hoped to achieve this result were set forth in three General Circulars on Native Policy issued during 1941 for the guidance of his administrative staff, and in his speeches at the Brazzaville Conference. His proposals represented a revolutionary change from the traditional French colonial policy of assimilation.

The object of that policy was "to rule, protect, and teach—for service." For service to France, of course. Assimilation, in the French view, implied not a merging of different cultures and institutions, but an absolute conversion of the foreign to the French pattern. Thus, to "civilize" an African, as one writer has put it, meant "to make a Frenchman out of him, or at least someone who served French interests." Only a small minority of the French colonial subjects could receive the necessary advanced education (including fluency in the French language) and other qualifications to enjoy the superior status of French citizens or "evolved notables," a slightly lower category.

This elite class experiences very little racial discrimination in French society. It is, in actual fact, assimilated. Its members serve on the administrative councils, advisory to the governor-generals of the colonies, and may rise to high political posts. Notable examples are Gratian Candace, who was elected vice president of the French Chamber of Deputies; Diagne, a Senegalese, who became Under Secretary of State; and, of course,



Felix Eboue, Governor General of French Equatorial Africa

Felix Eboue. These opportunities for the individual French colonial subject to rise in the social and political scale, something unparalleled in other colonial regimes, represent the favorable side of the French policy of assimilation.

But the bad aspects of the policy far outweigh the good. First, it does violence to the traditional culture of a people. The attempt to sweep away established mores and substitute an alien pattern of life means to destroy that which gives a people dignity and self-respect. Second, it elevates and benefits only the minority, the elite class. And third, it establishes a cleavage between the educated and advanced minority, who have adopted French ways and French interests, and the masses of the people. This minority has been trained to serve France, not their own people; the masses are bereft of the leadership which could and should come from those among their own people who are qualified to give it. Felix Eboue was a signal exception to this rule.

Eboue sought to correct the three evils of French policy which I have just enumerated. He insisted, first of all, that the African's family, tribal, and general cultural affiliations be taken into full account in any program of development—that he be regarded as a human being. "If we wish to build solidly, if we wish to work with true wisdom," he said in one of his General Circulars, "it is essential to determine and follow a sound policy, taking into account the needs of the masses, their degree of development, the form of their culture, the material and spiritual security which we must provide them. . . . There must be programs which are adapted to the different environments in which they are to be applied." Eboue's attitude toward missionary work is representative of his whole attitude toward the process of "civilizing" the African: while favoring "wholesome Christianization," he rejected efforts at mass conversion because it resulted in a product which was "neither a good Christian nor a healthy pagan."

In the second place, as we have already seen from our review of his economic and social reforms, Eboue endeavored to improve the status not merely of an elite class but of the whole mass of the population: "All our efforts must be directed toward the moral and material elevation of the native peoples. Let us not forget that everyone, whether missionary, planter, trader, industrialist, or civil servant, must always have as his primary consideration that we are here for the benefit of the native."

Thirdly, Governor-General Eboue proposed and implemented in place of the traditional policy of centralized authority a new policy of increased responsibility and authority for Africans in the local administration of their own affairs. By enlisting all educated Africans, including the chiefs, in deciding and directing matters relating to education, health, housing, roads, public safety, etc., in their communities, Governor Eboue tried to develop among this more privileged group a sense of cooperative effort and a feeling of real responsibility toward the masses. It has been said that this policy is similar to the British system of indirect rule practiced in the neighboring colony of Nigeria and other parts of the British Empire. The similarity, in my opinion, is merely on the surface. I shall not attempt to discuss this point here except to point out that in the British territories one generally finds a long-standing conflict, which government officials seem to make little effort to resolve, between the conservative-minded chiefs and the liberal-minded intellectuals; whereas in FEA no such conflict of viewpoints has been evident.

The fulfillment of these three political aims of Governor Eboue, together with his economic and social policies, would mean the development of African nation-states capable of taking their places on a footing of full equality within a French Federation of autonomous states, which seems destined to supplant the Empire, and within the family of United Nations of the world.

As SEVERAL writers have pointed out, Felix Eboue's accomplishments as governor-general of FEA provide a graphic demonstration of what enlightened policy can accomplish in Africa. In sharp contrast is the negative, repressive policy prevailing in South Africa, Kenya, and other parts of Africa. Which will govern postwar Africa, the progressive policy or the reactionary one? Or will the continent be split by divergent tendencies?

The answer lies with the United Nations, with the liberal and progressive forces within each of the United Nations, and particularly within the United States. To achieve world security and lasting peace the United Nations, through collective agreements and action, must plan so that there shall no longer be any backward areas or exploited peoples. This country, the most powerful economically in the world, has a key role to play in that task. Domestic fascists and partisan politicians would have America shirk that responsibility. For our own security, as well as for the obligation we owe our colonial allies in this war for freedom, we must make certain that these enemies of democracy do not succeed.

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CALVINISM: ANOTHER VIEW

By RALPH BOWMAN

THE recent articles on "Our Calvinist Legacy," by Francis Franklin (NEW MASSES, August 8 and 15) were a further effort at revaluation of the social forces and trends in early American history from the Marxist viewpoint. Mr. Franklin's book, *The Rise of the American Nation*, published early this year, is a substantial contribution in that direction. I agree with the premises and approaches in the book, as a whole, but, like all tough beginnings and individual undertakings, it is not, it seems to me, without weaknesses. His articles on Calvinism reflect many of these weaknesses, I believe. And this is not altogether surprising. The uncovering and evaluation of the motive forces of human society in American history is difficult enough, but to find these elusive forces in the history of religion, especially in the social complex of the Reformation and the English revolution, is a prodigious task that has baffled many other historians.

Already in an earlier article on Jefferson's philosophy (NEW MASSES, April 4, 1944) Mr. Franklin projected his ideas of the connection between Calvinism and Marxism, of Calvinism as a "dynamic intellectual current in colonial times" and of the revival of Calvinism "as a revolutionary moral force" in the Civil War. In the recent articles he elaborates these rather original claims.

Calvinism was one of the three main currents of the Protestant Reformation that split away from the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Mr. Franklin himself characterizes the Calvinist creed as "fierce and hideous" and embracing "horrible doctrines of mankind." Calvinism denied the right of people to change or overthrow their rulers, teaching that "the Powers that be are ordained by God," thus retaining the feudal Catholic creed of the divine right of kings. Mr. Franklin further informs us that "there was absolutely no program of democracy in early orthodox Calvinism." In fact, it was "the perfect religion of the rising bourgeoisie." But it must be added that this creed suited the feudal landlords and princes of Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, and parts of England just as perfectly. Calvinism in common with Anglicanism emphasized the doctrine of predestination. Another grim feature of Calvinism was the unconditional condemnation of all common humanity to eternal punishment in the hereafter and servility to their lords in this world. This was accompanied by the doctrine that all common men were inherently evil and depraved, except the select of the Lord, a view shared in varying degrees by all the major Christian churches of that period. There is an unbridgeable gulf between this conception of humanity and Christ's teaching of the brotherhood of man. This creed that permanently divides humanity into saints and sinners and lords and commons is not so far removed from a similar conception of humanity divided into supermen and subhuman beings.

WHERE then is the link between Calvinism and the Declaration of Independence and Marxism? It begins with Calvin's delicate hint to the Bourbon king of France that *evil* princes will be punished by the armies of the Lord. This might have been a long range prediction of the French Revolution 250 years hence, but Mr. Franklin finds "the germs of revolutionary theory in this threat." One hundred years later, according to Mr. Franklin, the Independent Puritans of England developed "this thought of Calvin" into a "revolutionary theory." But the Cromwellian revolution was not a development of Calvinism. It was the first serious challenge to the ancient doctrines of the divine right of kings, of the monarchist form of government, of predestination and unconditional submission of the people to their lords and masters. Mr. Franklin will readily admit that among the most violent opponents of Cromwell's republic and his people's army were the orthodox Calvinists (Presbyterians) of England and Scotland. Is it possible that both the revolution and counter-revolution were inspired by Calvinism?

Mr. Franklin must be fully aware that material conditions, expressed in the conflict of the feudal and capitalist modes of production, supplied the primary motive forces of the English revolution. It is in these material conditions that we must seek the roots of the political-religious differences that reflected the rival class interests in this civil war, and not in the sixteenth-century views of John Calvin. This may seem a bit complicated at first, because the issues were formulated in theological language and the rival groups appeared as rival faiths and churches. But it all becomes clearer when we seek the economic and political substance beneath the religious forms. The Catholic, Anglican, and Calvinist theology was the mature political philosophy of the feudal nobility, the great landlords and monopolist merchants. The Independents and the Separatists reflected the emerging political theories and interests of the rising middle classes and the small farmers (yeomanry), while the Levelers represented the peasantry, driven off their lands through the enclosures. The various churches played the role of political parties, and the clashes of theology by and large mirrored the conflicting political theories in that early development of capitalist society in England. The promising fruits of this revolution never matured. The young and apprehensive British bourgeoisie deserted Cromwell's Commonwealth and helped restore the old monarchy. And in 1688 they effected a compromise formula for equal political rights with the landed nobility. under the poetic title of the "Glorious Revolution." The common people on the whole were thrust back to their ancient status of subjects without political rights, to be governed by laws as cruel and inhuman as any in the feudal codes of Europe. John Locke became the political philosopher and the exponent of this new constitutional form of monarchy. His eminent contribution to human progress lay in his formulation of the first important materialist conception of nature and society. He was not the spokesman of the oppressed common people of Britain, nor does he belong in that later galaxy of humanist philosophers who voiced the democratic aspirations of the common man.

CALVINISM in American history is inseparably linked with the Massachusetts Bay Colony and its semi-feudal theocratic government. This grim Calvinist state was a fusion of the church, the merchant class and the aristocratic landowners aiming to inflict the seventeenth-century economic, social, and political system of Britain on the unwilling people of the colony. Their chief

political-theological philosophers were John Cotton, John Winthrop, and Cotton Mather. Theirs was a faithful and accurate application of John Calvin's doctrines. The brief and dismal rule of Calvinist theocracy was like a chapter from the Dark Ages with heresy trials, witch hunting, excommunications, banishment, flogging and hanging of those who protested their regime or displayed progressive inclinations. Some prefer to consider this period of bigotry and intolerance as a form of religious aberration. But this was authentic Calvinism, the inevitable and logical product of the political-theological creed of John Calvin. The Massachusetts Calvinists' vile attitude towards common humanity was an integral part of the political faith they imported from Britain, where the common man at this time was considered and treated as a common beast. This contempt for the common people was the central political ingredient of Calvinism, as of all reactionary upper-class philosophies.

The American Revolution, and some years later the French Revolution, were the opening battles in the epic conflict between the democratic political philosophy and the ancient monarchist political doctrines. A maturing capitalist mode of production, creating new class relations and new concepts of human rights, among them national consciousness, motivated these great social upheavals. Our revolution was the first great encounter between the new political theory of the rights of man and the older creed of the divine right of kings. Mr. Franklin's own presentation of the essential tenets of Calvinism testifies that it was a weapon in the arsenal of the enemy. One can contend that Calvinists John Adams and John Knox, among many others, fought on the people's side during the War for Independence. That is true. But after the war, when our democratic principles were at stake, they joined Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist Party to destroy the democratic content of our revolution. And the Federalist political philosophy differed only in minor degree and form from that of the Calvinists and British monarchists.

It may be protested that this is a distortion of Mr. Franklin's contentions, for he does not condone "orthodox" Calvinism but rather traces the main Calvinist contribution to American democracy through the "Independent form" of Calvinism, specifically from William Rogers, Thomas Hooker, John Quincy Adams, the Baptists, and the Abolitionists. But here too his position lacks a stable foundation. John Cotton, the chief persecutor of William Rogers, was an Independent. And Rogers, it will be recalled, was excommunicated and banished from Calvinist Massachusetts, as was Anne Hutchinson, for opposition to the fundamental tenets of Calvinism.

The Baptist Church was a movement in the opposite direction from the reactionary doctrines of Calvin. It represented the rejection of Calvinism by the common people, as the Methodist Church was the repudiation of Anglicanism. The Baptist Church was largely inspired by the Anabaptists, the organizers of the Peasant Wars in Germany against the Lutheran and Catholic princes and landlords. One can attribute the progressive views of Rogers and the Baptists to Calvinism with the same justification that the Catholic Church could claim Bruno, Galileo, John Huss, or Luther because they were reared in the Mother Church before being burned at the stake or excommunicated.

John Quincy Adams together with his reactionary father were Calvinist, and both were in the enemy camp of Federalism during the decisive struggle for American democracy after the Revolution. His Calvinist views are preserved for us in his *Publicola*, a violent attack on Tom Paine's influential book, *The Rights of Man*. When the younger Adams deserted the discredited and shattered Federalist Party *eight* years after it was routed by the people under Jefferson's leadership, he was following the footsteps of important sections of disillusioned merchants and manufacturers misled by Federalist teachings into believing that the election of Jefferson would usher in social chaos, confiscation of property, and anarchy. Mr. Franklin's glowing tribute to Adams' "most brilliant and dialectical thinking" does not bridge the gap between Calvinism and democracy. We might add that Mr. Franklin holds an opposite, and also questionable, view in his book when he writes, "The strong grip of Calvinism on New England afforded most fertile soil for mass support to Hamiltonian Federalism."

As TO the Calvinist "revolutionary moral force" in the Civil War, it need only be said that the use of biblical language and hymns in the war against slavery only proves that the American people were, and still are, essentially religious and supplemented the justification of their progressive cause with the ethical teachings of Christianity. One might ponder the case of the progressive Methodist Church splitting on this great issue. The Southern Methodists supported slavery. And the Negro people adapted their section of this pro-slavery church to express their aspirations for liberation through biblical allegories and their superb spirituals.

The successful struggle of the common people for equality and democracy begins with the eighteenth century. The political philosophy or theory of this movement was formulated by Franklin, Paine, Jefferson, Rousseau, Diderot, Marat, and others who fought for freedom and the rights of the common man as well as of the black slave. And these philosophers of the people, despite the limitations imposed on their views by the eighteenth-century level of science, were all fighters, either against the governments and the armies of the kings or the theology and philosophy of old and new privileged classes.

It is not very important to trace the remote origins of the elements making up the eighteenth-century democratic philosophy or today's scientific theories unless this research is illuminated by an examination of their limitations and of the material forces and class aspirations that gave rise to them. Some elements of our democratic philosophy are to be found in writings of the ancient Greeks, in the Gospels of Christ, in Spartacus, John Huss, Thomas Muenzer, John Ball, Wat Tyler, Cromwell, John Locke, and a host of others from ages and periods preceding the opening of the epoch of democracy in the eighteenth century. There is no continuous and gradual evolution of the political philosophy of the rights of man or of Marxism. There are leaps and mutations in the sphere of philosophy and theory as in the social and class relations which philosophy always ultimately reflects. The aspirations for freedom and human brotherhood together with the fighting traditions of these early movements and leaders are immortal and form the vast international background of our democratic heritage.

There are two justifications for dealing with this problem at length: Calvinism contains one form of the sinister doctrine of scorn and contempt for common people, a hallmark of every reactionary movement in the history of man. Second, the growing trend for a Marxist revaluation of history is a difficult and complex task and requires a great deal of serious debate, discussion, and constructive criticism.

NM SPOTLIGHT

Teheran in Operation

THE joint communique of the three delegations at the Dumbarton Oaks security conference confirms what had been apparent earlier from intelligent news reports. There is general agreement on the proposed organization's structure with a council and an assembly as the pivots of its operations. While the announcement did not reveal the details which were still being explored, the assembly will be comprised of representatives "of all peace loving nations based on the principle of sovereign equality." When it begins to function, the council will be the decisive body containing permanently the leading four powers (with France joining later on) and delegates from other states elected periodically. On the council will fall the central responsibilities of preserving the peace through such instruments as an international court of justice and the use of military sanctions.

All this marks a steady stride forward on one of the largest problems facing the coalition. It is an immense achievement, for it provides the mechanism for an enduring peace and brings to a higher level of maturity the alliance leading the United Nations. It symbolizes, after the tragic years of failure to obtain collective security, a universal community of interest in halting potential aggression. And more it forms the basis of political understandings which will give future generations that sense of security and confidence without which progress is a phantasm. In an atmosphere of collaboration such as has been evinced at Dumbarton Oaks there is no problem, however difficult, that cannot be adjudicated through an exchange of opinions and a compromise of differences. This is Teheran in operation.

As we write no official statement has been made by the American, Soviet, and British representatives on the exact methods by which force will be applied to curb states bent on menacing the peace. This was obviously one of the major tasks undertaken by the experts. But it is clear that whatever means are used, the job of applying sanctions will be the major responsibility of the Big Four. Each of them will provide the forces that may be called upon after a majority vote of the council in which the four powers are in absolute agreement to act. The proposal of an international police or air force is still in the conference stage and indicates what the communique last week described as "varied approaches to the common objective."

In time we shall know what decisions have been adopted but meanwhile the problem of applying military sanctions is being exploited by isolationists in Congress who are now busily mastering the tactics used by Henry Cabot Lodge in torpedoing the League of Nations. Of course it is only the most foolhardy among the opposition to American participation in a security organization who will openly attack such projects. The more clever ones use a camouflaged approach. They are behind in principle what the government is doing but do not approve the men who are doing it or the proposals they make. They insist, for example, that Congress retain its right to nullify the use of American forces even though our delegate on the peace council may have agreed that American troops should act. This would to all purposes make the new security organization completely ineffective. And this is only one of the reservations which the Vandenberg-Taft wing of the Senate make. The other is to delay the establishment of a structure of international security until the peace settlement takes place and the Republicans have a chance to "study" it. Senator Vandenberg, who recently castigated the government for expelling Finland's fascist ambassador, Hjalmar Procope, from Washington is among the leaders of this phase of the campaign against Dumbarton Oaks.

But so strong is the national sentiment for a functioning mechanism to safeguard peace that none of this opposition has made much headway. And so colossal was the political boner Candidate Dewey pulled in his demagogic brief for the small nations that the Re-

The World at a Glance: Vichy

Tokyo

publicans for the time being are treading warily lest their hypocrisy explode in their face once again. Mr. Dewey's amanuensis, John Foster Dulles, may genuflect before the principle of nonpartisanship in an effort to obscure the real intent of the Republican high command, but he too was last week denuded of his "liberalism" by the columnist and radio commentator Drew Pearson, and by the *Daily Worker* (August 29 and 30). The evidence gathered makes it clear that Dewey's adviser on foreign affairs is working a tremendous hoax on the gullible. His record, especially in the critical days of 1939, shows him to have wept bitter tears for Germany, Italy, and Japan because they were "repressed" and were not given room for expansion. Before the New York Economic Club on March 22, 1939, Dulles said that "there was no reason to believe that any of the totalitarian states, either separately or collectively, would attempt to attack the United States. Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us." This is the mettle of Governor Dewey's brain truster and the man whom he would make Secretary of State—if he could.

Who's Going to Buy?

THE New York *Herald Tribune* continues to cavil at any proposals which inject certain government controls in the international economic world, although it doesn't do so on that basis. When E. M. Bernstein of the Treasury in a speech last week said the proposed Bretton Woods monetary agreements would act to preserve free enterprise in foreign trade, the *Herald Tribune's* editorial rejoinder was to say not to worry about foreign trade. It chided the economist for confusing cause and effect and said, "The best way for the United States, in the long run, to produce a flourishing export trade is by producing prosperity conditions at home."

Just what would the *Herald Tribune* propose to occupy the machines and plants and mines, and men, now engaged in turning out eighty-five to ninety billion dollars in government orders, while we waited for prosperity and the *Trib's* go-sign for foreign trade? It is like saying, "let's produce only for home consumption, but let's first have a labor surplus and pay for this home production with low wages." It is like the Republican Party coming out for peace and world stabilization and adopting a foreign trade plank largely written by Joseph R. Grundy, leading high tariff lobbyist and author of the notorious Grundy tariff of 1930.

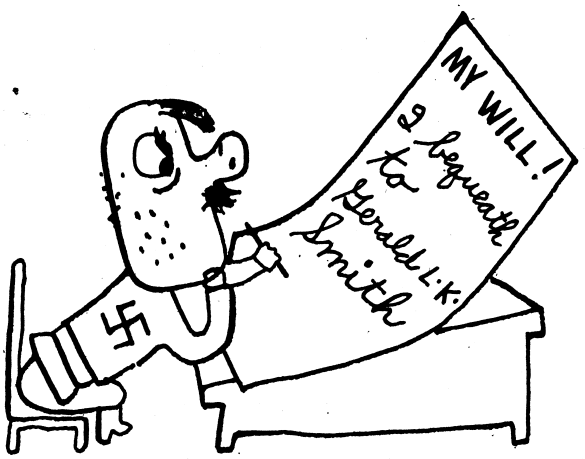
In calling for exports of fifteen to twenty percent of the industrial production (which is not to be confused with the considerably larger national income, estimated at around $200,000,000,000 for 1944) Mr. Bernstein is ahead of most of the orthodox economists, except John D. Glenn, president of the New York Board of Trade. But, without knowing the exact figure he used for industrial production, we can assume that he is still short of Senator Harley Kilgore's figure. The Senator declared last May (New York *Times*, May 12) that $25,000,000,000 in exports would be needed to maintain the national economy at the $200,000,000,000 level. Meanwhile the Department of Commerce and the National Foreign Policy Association cling to a figure of seven or eight billions.

Earl Browder in his *Teheran* speaks of "the ridiculous inadequacy of all prevailing orthodox thought" on the question of foreign markets, and declares that American industrialists "as a condition for the survival of their prevailing system" must "begin to make realistic plans for at least forty billions." Browder also explains that he has no objection to "free enterprise" solving the problem in its own way, but warns: "To the degree that private initiative and 'free enterprise' fail to solve this problem, to that same degree the US government must assume the responsibility to perform the task, with the same all-out determination with which it is committed to victory in the war." The *Herald Tribune's* solution seems to call for crawling out on the limb of self-sufficiency and cultivating a snug prosperity at home, a simon-pure free enterprise model, at the expense of the

Madrid

San Simeon

Berchtesgaden



Jamison

Labor Has Work To Do

THE commemoration of Labor Day this year came simultaneously with news of mounting victories abroad and the impending end of the war in Europe. It came with an increasing awareness of labor's central role in this war, and the delegation of union leaders home from the front confirms the recognition by our soldiery—despite libelous stories in the press—of the American workingman's tremendous contribution. It is imperative that more GI's—all of them—recognize that the Americans who man the strongholds of the production front did their job—turned out the stuff and got it there. And that stuff, wielded by our incomparable armies and allies, has almost completed the job in Europe. Due to the sagacity of our Commander-in-Chief, it has aided our allies immeasurably in winning the battles the headlines announce.

For these and subsequent reasons the libelers in the GOP high-command who have descended into an orgy of partisanship—whose anti-labor smears fill the columns of most of the press, are all the more reprehensible. Their strategy is to stem the increasing surge toward unity within labor's ranks; to frighten the middle classes and conservatives from the imperative alliance of all national groupings.

It is more than regrettable that the imperative of unity is still denied by a powerful segment of the AFL top council. September opens a month of trade union conventions—let us hope that they will adopt all necessary measures toward cementing the alliance of labor's various groupings—for this is the keystone to our nation's unity.

This Labor Day many realized this: that the war is not over, and much remains to be done in Europe. And the Pacific war is yet to be resolved. Furthermore, the problems of peace and conversion to a prosperous postwar era challenge us, on a different level, as the exigencies of wartime. To accept that challenge and to surmount it requires the uttermost working unity of labor, without which national unity will be immeasurably more difficult in achievement.

The cohesion of labor around Roosevelt is heartening; but even here much remains to be achieved. Registration of all who stand for the Commander-in-Chief is a must: it demands organization down to the ward and the precinct. The issues of the election must be clarified to all, and particularly to the great area of independent voters who will be decisive in November. Too many unionists believe that victory will be swung by Roosevelt alone: they do not realize that home front issues require especial elucidation. In another editorial we comment on the plans of the GOP high command: and only labor's unifying and dynamic role can frustrate those plans. These are some of the hard-shelled facts which labor had to face up to on its traditional day.

world. We won't get it. If we try, we'll get that just what Bernstein warns us against, a "world of restriction and discrimination in which international agression is again the prelude to war."

Do-Nothings Rampant

THE House has done one thing in passing do-nothing legislation on reconversion. It has run up a flag which warns the nation we must send back a different Congress, a win-the-peace Congress, in January. The coalition of Republicans and bitter poll taxers who hid behind the anonymity of a voice vote is doomed to face a lot of pent-up wrath in November.

The fight for uniform and adequate unemployment insurance levels will continue and if unsuccessful will be taken to the polls in November. But to fight for unemployment insurance does not mean the fight assumes the premise taken in a *PM* editorial which said: "Obviously, with 30,000,000 people engaged in fighting the war or making materials for it, there is going to be widespread unemployment when the war ends." It is not a question of how to feed the starving. It is a question of our entire economy, all sections included. There doesn't have to be widespread unemployment, and the Kilgore-Celler bill with its procedures for orderly reconversion would have done much to black out "Brewsters," or wildcat cutbacks. It was not alone against any adequate unemployment insurance, or any insurance plan which would work toward stability, that Congress went on record. It went on record against order in the entire transition to peacetime economy. When Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) offered an amendment to give the demobilization director some power to organize and plan reconversion, the anti-FDR coalition shouted it down in a voice vote.

It is a question of order against chaos, and of course is related to orderly agreements among nations and a *plan* for a greatly amplified foreign trade. The Republican majority has been operating in Washington right along on the theory that if enough confusion is created it can be blamed on the administration. Is this then the climax of their strategy—to have unchecked cutbacks and dislocations and shifts in labor, to have fear and instability, to have one grand piece of confusion by November?

The problems of reconversion cannot be looked at as does *PM:* simply a means of preventing starvation. It is rather in recognition that adequate unemployment insurance is one of a set of factors which will keep our economy going, and that the entire Kilgore-Celler bill philosophy envisions plants kept running and great new foreign markets and higher living standards here, that labor and other patriotic citizens will continue to demand action for a quick beginning and an orderly plan for reconversion.

Get Out the Vote

THERE is something refreshing, in the midst of all the current double-talk by Dewey, Dulles & Co., about the frankness of that sturdy sheet of suburbiana, the New York *Sun*. Thus the *Sun* in a page-one story by Phelps Adams takes the Census Bureau's recent figures of population shifts and gaily chalks them up as justifying the Republican strategy of doing all possible to get out the smallest vote in recent history. In eighteen key states, comments Mr. Adams as he steps to the head of the class —states which went Democratic in 1940 —"the Democratic vote is expected to suffer a substantial cut as a result of the migration of labor to other sections of

the country." The Census Bureau's report showed population losses to the armed forces by states, and this produces the same note of jubilance in the *Sun* account. Both sets of figures tell "a story which is generally disheartening to the supporters of President Roosevelt," and all but seven states have suffered a net loss in both the labor migration and armed service columns.

The story cheerfully points out that in New York this net decline is 1,311,000 persons, of which 223,000 migrated out of the state and the remainder are in the armed forces. Roosevelt's plurality in 1940 was only 224,000 votes in New York. "To whatever extent the soldiers and sailors do vote . . . ," the *Sun* goes on blandly, "the prospective Democratic losses will be reduced proportionately. . . ."

It is hardly news that Dewey and the Republican high command long have recognized young voters and labor as Roosevelt's "greatest political strength," as the *Sun* obligingly describes it. Their double-barreled strategy in knifing the soldiers' vote bill and trying to impede the CIO Political Action Committee by "investigations" and smear techniques, have made the recognition evident enough. As Sidney Hillman told the House Campaign Expenditures Committee, the main objective of the PAC and the National Citizens PAC is to get out the vote. "We know that when enough Americans vote they will vote right—that their collective judgment will prove to be a sound judgment," he testified. This simple American point of view apparently makes the Dewey boys laugh; with soldier ballots made difficult or impossible, and workers fighting the production battle away from home in many instances, the prospects look dandy for a small vote.

The answer to this is to double your efforts to register your neighbor, wife or husband, your fellow members of church, lodge, union or service organizations, and to form delegations to election boards to demand that night hours be kept on certain days to enable workers to register.

Political Communique

ON THE day we write, the official communique of Supreme Allied Headquarters announces that "Chateau-Thierry, on the Marne, has been occupied, and our armored units have moved north to take Soissons and establish a bridgehead across the Aisne. . . ." Now it happens that these communiques are issued by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. General Eisenhower was appointed by his commander-in-chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Therefore, it would seem that those who see eye to eye with Norman Thomas and the GOP high command must regard these official war communiques as campaign material designed to reelect President Roosevelt. For surely they are of the same character and contain the same sort of report to the nation as the speech made by Mr. Roosevelt at Bremerton on August 12.

The Socialists, whose tactics find a quick echo among the Republican hierarchy and vice versa, demanded equal short-wave radio time to counteract that "political" report of the President from Bremerton. We cannot understand why they permit General Eisenhower's communiques to go unanswered. For surely these form the basis of radio broadcasts and surely if the Bremerton report was political so are these. After all it is logical to suppose that the American electorate will react affirmatively to the administration which has been responsible for the victories on the battle fronts. How can the Socialist flea and the Republican elephant let such an opportunity go by?

Fortunately the initial error of ofcials of the War Department in permitting the Socialists short-wave privileges to answer the President's August

(*Continued on page* 30)

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

BATTLE FOR GERMANY

THESE lines will reach the reader a week after they were written. It is therefore quite hopeless to examine the military situation on both the Western and Eastern Fronts in detail because these details will have changed by the time this appears in print.

The piece I wrote last week ended with the words: "The battle for the Inner Fortress Germania is about to begin." Now I begin this piece with the words: "The battle for the Inner Fortress Germania has begun." Let us see why.

In northern France (i.e., in the fifty-mile wide corridor paralleling roughly the borders of Belgium and Luxemburg) General Patton's Third Army acts like a great crowbar, loosening up the big "boulder" of the German Fifteenth Army located between the Somme and the Scheldt while General Montgomery's British and Canadians and General Hodge's American First Army are scooping up enemy formations like an excavator, driving them northeastward, out of the "robot-area" and into the Belgian gap.

This "excavator" has swept across the Somme, after capturing Amiens, and roared toward Arras and Lille. It was on these battlefields that Ludendorff saw the handwriting on the wall twenty-six years ago and advised the Kaiser to sue for peace—which was done two months later. Thus the whole coastal area between Abbeville and Calais is being outflanked and the robot-guarding Fifteenth Army must either fight now—face to the rear—or get out, abandoning the robot-launching installations which are located in this area. (Others, of course, are set up in Belgium and even, maybe, on the islands west of Holland.)

The US First Army (General Hodges) after breaking down the gates for General Patton's armor at Lessay-Periers-St. Lo a little over a month ago has now been replenished, rested, and refitted and has taken its place at the front between the British-Canadian coastwise sector and General Patton's armored forces. Hodges is driving roughly along the axis Paris-Namur and is reported to have already crossed the Meuse between Verdun and Charleville. He may be expected to enter the Belgian Ardennes, thus creating a still wider encirclement threat for the German forces in the area between the Somme and the Scheldt.

General Patton is storming through the Argonne Forest and is headed for

the German frontier in the Saar-Vosges sector, across the Moselle. Thus while British and Canadian armies have for their objective the physical blotting out of the robot-installations and the German forces that man them, two American armies (Hodges and Patton) are sweeping around the British-Canadian objective and are headed for the ramparts of the Inner Fortress Germania—the Upper Rhine and the so-called West Wall, or former Siegfried Line.

Meanwhile, General Patch's Seventh American Army with a French Army under General de Lattre de Tassigny, reinforced by the liberation of the ports of Marseilles and Toulon has swept past Nice toward the Italian border in the east, to Montpellier through Nimes in the west where it is headed for the Spanish border, and has liberated Valence in the valley of the Rhone with Lyon as a none-too-distant objective. These Allied forces will doubtless be in Lyon, Clermont-Ferrand, St. Etienne and Vichy before many days have passed because the German Nineteenth Army which was entrusted with the defense of the French south is fast disintegrating. We don't really know what is happening between the Pyrennes and the Loire, but it seems certain that French Forces of the Interior have liberated the port of Bordeaux.

It is clear that the Germans are in no condition to hold *anything* at all in France, except perhaps the Maginot Line zone.

IN ITALY the Germans see their Gothic Line position greatly menaced by an outflanking movement in the west (Allied forces along the western border of Italy) and by a possible outflanking movement from the east by Marshal Tito who, after a possible junction with Soviet forces on the Danube (the distance between Bucharest and Nish is 200 miles, or exactly as far as the Red Army has marched in eight days from north of Yassy to Bucharest), would have his hands considerably more free for a stab near the head of the Adriatic Sea.

In the East the entire German Balkan position has collapsed under the piledriver blows of the Soviet Second and Third Ukrainian Armies (Generals Malinovsky and Tolbukhin). Rumania, as far as the Germans are concerned, is out because part of its Army fights against the Germans with the reconquest of Transylvania as an incentive. Bulgaria is as good as out. Hungary is reported in revolt for peace. Slovakia is reported in revolt, with the underground springing into action. The Red Army has pried open at least two of the eastern Carpathian passes (Oitoz and Ghimes) which lead into Transylvania. The German divisions in Greece and in Serbia might have quite a time getting out of there and back home.

They are freeing the patriots from prison in Europe these days. Have you done everything you can to persuade Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y., to free that American patriot, Morris U. Schappes, still in jail on a trumped-up charge?

On the Central Eastern Front the Red Army is slowly but surely biting into the German defenses near Warsaw. The position of the German armies in the Baltic remains critical even if it has not worsened much during the last few days. Finland will sue for peace any day now. The German Scandinavian *place d'armes* is bound to collapse before long. In fact, Germany is fast approaching the stage of the war where it will have to defend the Rhine, the Alps (Brenner), the Danube, the Morava, the Vistula and the Baltic and North Sea seaboards, i.e., little more than *Grossdeutschland* (Greater Germany), or what Hitler considers to be that. The criminal work of five years will have been wiped out. The outer defenses of *Grossdeutschland* are already being attacked on the Rhine, Moselle, and Meuse, on the Vistula and along the border of East Prussia. The area of the above described Inner Fortress Germania—Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, East Prussia and the greater part of the so-called General Government of Poland—is about 300,000 square miles. The periphery of the defenses of the Inner Fortress is about 2,000 miles plus another 800-mile stretch of the Baltic and North Sea coasts.

This writer figured that the Germans last spring had about 7,000,000 mobilizable men of all categories. Swedish military analysts figured that the figure was 7,300,000, which is quite close to our guess. Since June 6 of this year the Germans and their satellites have lost on all fronts close to 1,500,000 men. The defection of Rumania and (probably) Bulgaria will certainly deprive them of another million men. This leaves about 4,500,000 men for the defense of the Inner Fortress. Now, when you have 4,500,000 men at your disposal, you cannot possibly squeeze more than 3,000,000 into your front line units (the calculation is very lavish and takes into consideration the "super-extra-total" mobilization Dr. Goebbels promised). This means theoretically 200 divisions, but in reality is much less. Maybe 200 divisions of 10,000 men each, instead of the usual 15,000. One undersized division per ten miles of front. Decidedly not enough, as we shall see.

IN THE west the Germans cannot count much on the Maginot Line which has been turned inside out, whose heavy guns have been carted away to Norway and Denmark, even as far as Sevastopol. It is the West Wall, or Siegfried line the Germans will have to defend. This is roughly 500 miles long. It will not be possible to man it with less than fifty divisions.

Now they must man the 600-mile front between Switzerland and the Carpathians. Here few fortifications are available, but on the other hand the pressure is not likely to be as great as on the western and especially the eastern walls of the Fortress, even if Red Army troops will probably be present there. Another fifty divisions are necessary here, in any case.

And this leaves one hundred divisions for the Soviet Front north of the Carpathians. One hundred small divisions when during the whole war this front has been absorbing between 200 and 250 full divisions! (And, by the way, in this calculation we have not made any provision for the defense of the Baltic and North Sea coasts which with the collapse of the German Scandinavian position may very well become subject to attack both from East and West.)

Consider also that three months ago the Allied Air Forces were dumping their loads on an area four or five times greater than the area of Fortress Germania is going to be in a matter of days or perhaps a few weeks. The position of Germany is hopeless. It can "slam the door" on its own exit with some monstrosity. But what? The robots have done a lot of damage, but they have not changed the situation. Neither will they in the future. There is really nothing left but fight in order to delay the hour of reckoning, according to the principle: "There will always be time to die."

And strategically speaking, I still maintain that the decisive battle of the war will take place in the Great Bend of the Vistula where the bulk of the German Army is concentrated.

READERS' FORUM

Catching Up With Jerry

The following is a letter to a friend of NEW MASSES *forwarded to us.*

RIGHT now I seem to be buoyed up by that feeling of triumph that permeates our victorious Army. We're having a heck of a time trying to catch up with the Jerries who are now carrying through such a masterful advance to the rear. Have talked with quite a few prisoners. Now and then you still run across one who thinks that *Der Fuehrer* is okay, but is surrounded by a bad group of advisers and that he still has some tricks up his sleeve which he will pull out at the last minute and will save the situation. It is this lingering illusion which still causes many Nazis to keep up the fight. But the great mass of prisoners seem to agree that all is *kaput*—that the Nazis are licked. And the great fear that haunts their guilty consciences is what *Die Russen* will do to Germany. They are trying hard to rationalize and justify their actions. Some blame all atrocities on the SS troops, which they regard as a closed corporation separate and apart from the army. Another fellow told me that they were very kind to the Russian slave laborers—even paying them for their work and allowing the women a day off each week when they could walk about unguarded. When I asked him how he'd like it if the German women were taken by force to Russia and given the same magnanimous treatment, he stared at me with an expression as if I was out of my mind. Many of them were told, and believe, that all the Cossacks and a great many other Russians have volunteered to serve Hitler—and pretend not to understand why the Russians are so ungrateful. I notice that Austrian and Sudeten Germans have quite a different attitude.

I tell you, it's quite a complex psychological study to try to fathom their thinking. They are all undergoing a difficult process of trying to orientate themselves to the new situation. I think they regard the Americans as good natured bumpkins and I fear, with good reason. Some of our men treat these skunks as if they were Allied soldiers and I've even seen Jewish soldiers share their rations of cigarettes and candy. But it is quite a different story with our men who've seen the Nazis in combat and quickly learn that they are a bunch of degenerate, cold-blooded murderers who will run their tanks over our wounded and shoot our medics from the rear. The other day we had a Nazi and an American soldier in the operating room and our soldier wanted to kill him—he kept shouting, "Give me a chance at him and you won't have to bother operating." Of course, our policy is to give equal medical treatment to all wounded.

For the past several months I have been leading current events discussions amongst our officers and enlisted men, and from these as well as conversation with the wounded enlisted men I know that our soldiers, especially those who've seen plenty of action, want very stern measures to be taken against Germany to make sure that she won't try any monkey business again. There is a deep feeling that some of our politicians are too chicken-hearted and will let the Nazis get away with murder—that much of our sacrifice may then be in vain.

As to postwar job prospects, nearly everyone expects to find a good paying job without much trouble. Very few anticipate joblessness and hard times. If these men are let down, there is going to be trouble.

. . . Reading the NM is like a cool breeze in the desert. I am particularly pleased with the stories about service men. I note they are having a money raising drive. Suppose you advance them five dollars and I'll send it on to you. . . .

PFC. H. T.
Somewhere in France.

The Issue of Socialism

TO NEW MASSES: I am very much dissatisfied with NM's reply to my letter of May 11 [NEW MASSES]. In dealing with my interpretation of Teheran as an agreement to abide by the verdict of democracy in the settlement of social conflict in Western Europe, the editors characterize it as "Mr. Edelman's orderly disorder" and belief in "well-behaved earthquakes." With equal justice they could ridicule Lenin's sponsorship, in September 1917, of a proposal to the Kerensky regime to abide by the verdict of Russian democracy, a proposal which he thought afforded an opportunity for "a peaceful development of the Russian Revolution," a phrase bearing a strong family resemblance to orderly disorder and well-behaved earthquakes. By an amusing coincidence, the very same NM issue, to prove a different point, includes a letter by Marx in defense of the concept I make use of, "peaceful social upheavals." Moreover, Earl Browder seems to back me up when, in his current book, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace,* he urges "the postponement of final decisions on economic and political systems for each of the liberated countries until victory is achieved, when each nation will be able to achieve its own destiny without any intervention from outside its own borders." If I am ridiculous, I am so in very celebrated company.

The NM reply is particularly annoying because, on the strength of the disparaging comment, an NM correspondent, D. L., proceeds, in the June 27 issue, to impute to me the most childish conceptions. I never for a moment doubted that capitalists stand to profit financially from realization of the perspectives of Teheran. That situation does not, as he assumes, invalidate my statements to the effect that capitalists are profoundly worried about the forces that will shape postwar Europe, that they are extremely mistrustful of the popular forces, and that this worry and mistrust constitute the source of much indecision and anti-democratic maneuvers. A factor which must be taken into consideration in our struggle for Teheran. In trying to solve what D.L. calls my "second point of difficulty," he assumes that I am wondering whether "a country in which a majority of the people desire socialism can have it." The fact is that, far from wondering on this score, my letter of April 11 expresses unequivocal affirmation.

In my opinion, D.L. is far fetched in assuming that the composition of the Czech government-in-exile, the French Committee of Liberation, the Yugoslav People's Front, and the Greek people's movement necessarily reflects the relationship of forces of postwar Europe. These bodies are instruments created for a special purpose, to drive out the Nazi invader and to prepare for elections to the constituent assemblies. To these latter will fall the task of shaping the political and economic systems of their respective countries. It would be rash to predict what relationship of forces will crystallize in the constitutent assemblies when the issue will be not the driving out of the invader on which there is practical unanimity, but the policy during reconstruction, nationalization of basic industries and confiscated quisling property, and other issues on which there may be serious differences. The relationship of forces will, no doubt, be profoundly influenced by the discussion which will open the moment the Nazi heel is lifted. D.L. is not justified, in the name of sincere progressivism, to exclude the issue of socialism from that discussion. That is the prerogative of the people of Europe.

ERWIN EDELMAN.
New York.

That Address of Yours

Two weeks notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Post Office regulations require all soldiers with A P O numbers who desire subscriptions to send us written requests.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE SLICKS

By WILMA SHORE

UNBELIEVABLE though it may seem, the fact is that even the commercial magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* are undergoing a constant process of change. Of course, it's sometimes necessary to stand way far back and squint in order to notice it, but the change is there just the same. I'm not referring to such drastic upheavals as the *Collier's* and *Post* price-hike from a nickel to a dime, with its concomitant increase in the number of stories per issue, or the great day when *McCall's* came out as Three Magazines in One. I'm talking about the kind of stories they print. They change, and they keep on changing as the times change.

Not that they run along with the times, or even just behind them. There's often quite a stage wait between the stern march of events and the fiction policy of *Cosmopolitan*. Those big magazines don't have all those big, beautiful pages of ads for nothing. That's where their bread is buttered, in the advertising pages, and they don't like, naturally, to do anything to hurt the advertisers' feelings. And sometimes advertisers have awfully definite reactions to what's going on. Sometimes they don't like to admit that anything's going on at all. When that happens, it's generally pretty clearly reflected in the refusal of the magazines to recognize that history has just taken a giant step. Or even a little one.

Pearl Harbor, however, was a piece of history that you couldn't very well deny. You could deny, with varying success, that there was a depression going on during the thirties. You could show rich women making difficult choices between two or three eligible suitors, or even middle-class or lower middle-class women fighting to hold their men. You could show poor people whose financial problems were partly solved, either through their realization that money wasn't everything, or by having them marry handsome young heirs to sizable fortunes. Or you could just look the other way. But a global war is another matter. There just isn't any other way to look. And even more important, nobody, or at least very few people, wanted to look the other way. For the first time in many years, the interests of advertisers and readers coincided, they were faced with the same problem, and stories in the commercial magazines reflected that identity of interest.

Of course, the war as subject matter for stories cannot be regarded as an undiluted blessing. There have been an awful lot of bad war stories, and there is every indication that there will be more. To many writers the war has been just something to write stories about, the way you might use a craze for flag-pole sitting, or a new wrinkle in gangsterism. Writers who don't, or can't, write about real people in real situations, who must look for their material in other stories instead of in life, suffer from a terrible hunger for stories to write. The war was a good springboard, a good background; you could take a common or garden love story, and by putting the hero in a sergeant's uniform, and limiting the time involved to a week's furlough, you could sometimes manage to create the impression that you were telling something new. Or you could use a good reliable western plot, turn the cowboy into a captain in the marines and the cow-rustlers into a bunch of toothy Japs, and make enough to put a down-payment on that bungalow in Croton.

BUT there have been some good war stories too, in the commercial magazines, stories quite a bit better than the kind of thing we're accustomed to expect. Writers who contributed only to the quality or little literary magazines now appear from time to time in the *Post*. Authors who have been turning out run-of-the-mill stuff occasionally come through with something really good. I think this is due to the unity of the country in this period. With very few exceptions, the sincere writer's point of view is simply to win the war. With equally few exceptions, that is also the point of view of the editors and the advertisers. So, really for the first time, the writer can write honestly about an important subject and stand a good chance of being bought. This doesn't mean that the policy of the big magazines is a hundred percent progressive. It isn't. But surely there is enough common ground for the writer and editor to stand on it together without crowding each other off.

I believe that this ideological affinity, as much as the paper or manpower shortage, sounded the death knell for a number of little literary magazines that breathed their last shortly after the outbreak of the war. There's no point beating your brains out to say something in a whisper that someone else is willing and able to holler over a loudspeaker.

The influence of today's world on editorial policy is evident in another way. This is the abandonment of a number of tenets that were once as dear to the average editor as the fingers of his hands. Things that have been accepted as gospel for many years can no longer be accepted. For example, I recently read a woman's magazine story in which the wife of a serviceman went out to dinner with an old friend of her husband, and neither he nor she showed the slightest desire to fall into the other's arms. They just went out, had a good steak dinner and a few dances, and parted amicably at the doorstep.

Or take the old, old story of the woman forced to choose between love and a career. You know what used to happen; the geraniums on the kitchen window-sill and the gingham apron were sure winners. The typewriter or sales pad or paint brush fell like straw men before the patter of tiny feet. Nowadays things have got to be different. Women have to work today. We can't win the war unless they do. Editors know that. And they also know that too many women have given up the geraniums for the riveter's arc, the gingham apron for the welder's mask, for any magazine to hope to sell them the idea that a working woman is a miserable, maladjusted creature, childless, neurotic, and unloved. They know differently.

So a lot of the good old formulas have bitten the dust in the last couple

of years. Subject matter is fresher, more real. But what about style?

Well, in the first place, there has always been a certain seepage of technical innovation and improvement from the literary magazines to the commercial. Ways of writing that used to seem peculiar, far-fetched, unclear, are now encountered in the most strait-laced magazines. There is a greater freedom in style than ever before. And this process is continuing. In the second place, it is important to think of the relationship between style and content. A newer, realer approach to realer, more honest subject matter inevitably brings a realer, more honest style. Certainly a writer can write better when he brings to his work an interest and feeling that was impossible when all he could tackle was stuff that he knew was dishonest. A writer describing a new and truthful relationship between people will almost inevitably find newer, more truthful means of setting it on paper.

TODAY the writer can tell the truth and still hope to make a buck and reach his readers. All during the depression his stories, to be saleable, had to come out right at the end, although in the world around him the unhappy endings had a tremendous edge. His characters had to encounter simple problems which could be neatly and genteely worked out in five thousand words, while in actuality people were frustrated, cynical, deprived. Today things have changed. In spite of the tragedy in the war, all the signs point to a richer, fuller life for the world, for the individual. Things are getting better, and people know it. It's no longer necessary to put on the final happy twisteroo with tongue in cheek. On the contrary, to write bitterly and protestingly today is an indication of a lack of fundamental understanding of the period. It's realistic and sensitive to write with a positive attitude about a positive world.

This is by no means an attempt to describe the commercial magazines as the ultimate in short story markets. Far from it. The commercial magazines still suffer, and probably will go right on suffering from triteness, from poor craftsmanship, from sentimentality, from two-dimensional protagonists with lithe tanned bodies and incredibly violet eyes, and from pre-fabricated situations that no real character would be found dead in. They suffer from racial chauvinism, and from a good bit of male chauvinism. Most important, they continue to suffer from an under-estimation of their readers' intelligence and understanding. They have all kinds of ailments, some of them quite serious.

Oil, by Will Barnet.

This is, however, an attempt to point out that in the patient's eye some gleam may be discerned, some reflection of the light from Teheran. This is an attempt to prove that the commercial magazines today no longer deserve to be cut dead by the progressive writer.

Many people who, today, have overcome their patronizing attitude toward the radio and the movies still regard the big commercial magazines as something pretty loathsome. Partly I think this is a result of the many years when those magazines stood so completely for a dishonest approach to life and to the problems that people were facing. Partly I think it is a hangover from a very fundamental snobbishness towards anything that was financially successful. If it didn't go into the red, it couldn't be good. If it was something that a lot of people read, it had to be inferior. And yet in many cases these same people have lost patience with the abstract attitude of the literary magazines. They no longer care for subtle word-pictures of insignificant emotions caught in obscure prose.

These people, it seems to me, are suffering from a kind of split personality. They have made a sharp distinction between literary literature and commercial writing, and they are not content with either. Obviously, both types have their shortcomings, but isn't it possible to make a kind of synthesis? Isn't it possible to take the best of the literary type

of writing, its sensitiveness, its creative quality, and join with it the things that the commercial magazines stand for—the story quality, the quality of telling something that has happened, the solid construction of a piece of writing that goes somewhere, the intelligibility, and most of all, the thousands and thousands of readers? In other words, to make literature commercial, or commercial writing literary?

It seems to me that rather than avoiding the commercial magazines as he would the plague, or writing stories for them which he feels to be dishonest and unreal, the progressive writer can profitably begin to think in terms of commercial stories with dynamic structure and significant subject matter.

It's no longer smart to be snobbish about a medium that reaches millions. It's a lot smarter to look it over objectively in the light of its tremendous possibilities. It has a lot to offer to progressive writers. And progressive writers can do a lot for it.

The Nessus-shirt

THE MOCKING BIRD IS SINGING, *by Louise Malley. Holt, $2.75.*

SINCE Lillian Hellman's play, we have all become able to spot a Little Fox on sight. We know the sly eyes and the mean grin; we can practically name the rate of profit and the size of the bank account. Yet for every Little Fox who is naked and unashamed there are a dozen in holy sheep's clothing. It is this latter breed that Louise Mally has anatomized in *The Mocking Bird Is Singing*.

Her New Orleans Beaumarcs and Dancourts are a predatory lot—and a prim lot. They correspond with Emerson, they disapprove of slavery—but they make a fortune out of blockade-running to help the South. In private life they are suave, cultured, and charming, if a little thin-blooded, while in business they are piously nasty. In contrast, their Scotch brother-in-law, Keith McCloud, has the harsh arrogance of the traditional Calvinist, and is hardly pleasant in family life. In business, however, *he* is piously nasty too. The superficially dissimilar French and Scotch capitalists are thereby revealed as essentially the same breed of fox.

The Beaumarc dynasty is studied in detail, from its lusty matriarch through its sterile and neurotic grandchildren. And by this study Miss Mally is able to trace the history of a significant contradiction in our world. Beginning as a

piece of hypocrisy, lightly put on by the grandparents, the contrast between good intentions and predatory acts turns into a Nessus-shirt that destroys the third generation. The grandchildren are alike incapable of doing what they believe in and of believing in what they do. Michel, passionately eager to help the North free the slaves, proves a coward in battle, loses his self-respect and turns into a cynical grafter, finding at long last a partial redemption through the strength of a proletarian wife. Keith, a stiff gentleman who will break but not bend, blows out his brains when the money-making formula unexpectedly fails him. Charles and Therese wear themselves out in the Tantalus tortures of unhappy marriages. As the book ends it is apparent that the dynasty is well on the way to destroying itself; the bank accounts may still hold firm, but the characters flow away like water.

This decadence is all the more sharply lighted by its contrast with the novel's background. Miss Mally has set the Beaumarcs against the vast, lusty surge of the developing West; more, she has subtly stressed a few of the minor characters to show a road to health which the Beaumarcs are unable to follow. There is St. Joseph, the Negro butler avid for learning, who becomes a leader in the days after the Civil War; there is Bach, the German saloonkeeper and ex-professor who fought in '48 and gives Therese what little political and psychological insight she ever gets. Above all there is Mary, the frightened and starved slavey whose love affair gives *The Mocking Bird Is Singing* some passages of inspired writing. These few people in the small Texas town are a microcosm of the America of the

1870's; they incarnate the forces that built or undermined it.

For a book of such merciless insight to make best-seller lists in, of all places, the South, is rather astonishing. *The Mocking Bird Is Singing* no doubt owes that dubious eminence to the character of its heroine, Therese. For at first sight Therese seems little more than the formula-female of romantic novels, soap operas, "women's movies": the female who lies back and suffers and suffers. Read further, however; Miss Mally has given the formula a magical shake and turned it inside out. Therese is treated with something very different from uncritical admiration. Her whining, her passiveness, her neurotic self-pity and incapacity for stirring her stumps to get out of the mess she's in—they are all revealed, not as charming feminine graces, but as the symptoms of a sick personality. Therese, though naturally an intelligent and sensitive woman, behaves like an exasperating idiot: why? Because, as Miss Mally makes very clear, the combined forces of her family and her social contacts have made it impossible for her to do anything else. She is condemned to be a Genteel Female for life.

So she lets her marriage be a mess, because a Genteel Female cannot possibly discuss with her husband anything so vulgar as his lovemaking technique. So she eats her heart out for her cousin Charles for years, and when he comes to her, desperate and longing for comfort, she drives him out because he has offended a Genteel Female by appearing in an Intoxicated Condition. So she imagines herself in love with three men and does none of them any good.

This is what Flaubert was getting at when he wrote *L'Education Sentimentale;* nor have the Genteel Females perished from the earth as yet. If they had, the soap operas and some of the women's magazines would have to go out of business. Far too generally is it accepted, even today, that a woman not only is but ought to be the sort of nauseating spiritual jellyfish that Miss Mally has dissected in Therese. And no doubt some of the book's readers innocently think that Therese is just lovely; witness the publisher's blurb, which simpers "the story of a woman whose destiny is bent to her essential belief in love." It is Byron's offensive imbecility about love being woman's whole existence over again in sillier language; and it is notable that Byron spent more of his existence on love than any ten women.

Miss Mally and the discriminating reader, however, are under no delusions about what makes Therese tick; nor is it her biologically-determined feminine nature, as the more foolish Freudians are always contending. Therese is what she is, a jellyfish limp on the sands, because the wave of social forces has tossed her there. It is a detailed and unrelenting picture Louise Mally has drawn in this vividly written book; but though she gives little hope for the Thereses of this world, she has pointed the way in other characters to a world with no Thereses—and none of the destructive forces that make them.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Dreamy-Eyed Nonsense

EINSTEIN, *by Dimitri Marianoff and Palma Wayne. Doubleday Doran, $2.75.*

MARIANOFF was married to Einstein's stepdaughter and claims to have lived with the scientist's family for eight years—his only claim for preparing this "intimate study" of the great mathematician.

However, what emerges is not a study of Einstein but a very conscious attempt to paint a picture of a dreamy scientist who lives on some remote planet. To have written a good biography of Einstein would have required a writer who understands or can translate into simple language the achievements of the father of relativity.

But Marianoff and Wayne are ill-equipped for this task and the result is this disguise dressed up with glowing adjectives, private tid-bits, and misconceptions. They portray Einstein as the "unapproachable abstraction." He is the "contemplative and remote" mathematician, whose "eyes retain a tranced look"—the usual nonsense about the absent-minded professor who places his burning pipe into his unpressed suit of clothing.

But all this is contrary to what is known of the man. To the people he is not locked away from irritations and "the daily explosions of living with them." He has definite and decided opinions. Nowhere in this poorly written biography emerges his interest in intellectual freedom. The Einstein who is loved has just issued a call to professionals to organize with "the working class serving as a model."

The best review of the book appeared in a public repudiation of the work: Einstein called it "generally unreliable," and regretted that so reputable a publishing house should have gone ahead with the project.

JAMES KNIGHT.

FILMS

ALTHOUGH *Mr. Winkle Goes To War* made its official debut some time ago, it has not yet appeared in the community theaters. It is therefore not too late to reopen discussion—a sentiment prompted by a belief that *Winkle* got kicked around out of all proportion to its sins. It was objected to on the grounds that Edward G. Robinson, chiefly remembered as "Little Caesar," was out of place as an old Joe who timidly spends his years as a bank clerk while yearning for a life of tools and dirty overalls. In fact one writer kept seeing the firm jaw of the gangster in all Mr. Winkle's hesitant actions. For downright silly critical observation, this one has yet to be matched, especially when one remembers it's the same jaw Robinson carried around so well as a Milquetoast in *The Whole Town's Talking*.

The film was also criticized as being dated, presumably because men of forty-four are no longer tapped for service, and Winkle as the overripe inductee has no pertinence to the current regulations. The main gripe, however, had to do with the fact that as a funny picture it was not particularly successful, the humor was hardly original, and the conclusions were unreal. If *Winkle* were meant to be a funny, this kind of criticism would have merit. But the Messrs. Salt, Solomon, and Corey were not trying to pull a Preston Sturges. The humor is incidental to the theme, concerned mainly with the adventures of one nondescript GI. He represents all the slogging, hard-working boys who serve as the compendium of those characteristics whereby we recognize the average doughfoot.

The writers had no intention, it seems to me, of creating a situation merely to exploit it for whatever funny moments it might have occasioned. Winkle's character is established *before* he gets into the Army, and the efforts of a middle-aged man, accidentally afforded a longed-for opportunity by the war to make good, provide more pathos than humor. The incident in which Winkle becomes the hero is more natural than any of a long line of such incidents portrayed in many another film. He is no swashbuckling egoist, mowing down hundreds of the enemy with the idea

that he is worth two hundred of the opposition. He is the consistent little man who for once becomes angry enough to rise above his normal acts and abilities. He knows that he has done nothing that any other man of similar sensibilities would not have done under the same circumstances. It is consistent with his character therefore that he should be mystified by the behavior of his fellow-townsmen in according him a hero's reception. He turns down the works—including an offer of a vice-presidency from the local bank. His refusal is a rare example of mature screen writing, and makes much more point than all the laboring of *Conquering Hero*. He wants no medals, says Winkle. Only the opopportunity to work at what he is best suited, under the best possible conditions. And that, I think, expresses pretty well what all the postwar planning is about.

Unless I have to revise my vocabulary, I don't believe that this kind of preoccupation by Hollywood writers makes for "dated" material.

THE piece on *Conquering Hero* published in this department last week brought forth a number of passionate letters both for and against the arguments expressed. Those who disagree point out that slapstick has always been a great medium for social satire, as witness Charlie Chaplin. Therefore why attack Preston Sturges because he makes use of it? Nobody in his right mind would attack slapstick as such, and my objections to *Conquering Hero's* technique are not against the use of slapstick, but the *manner* of its usage.

Chaplin grew out of a tradition which provided an easy yardstick for the measure of heroes and villains. However rigid its conventions, its conclusions were always based on broad patterns of reality. In the days of the Keystone comedy, there never lived a banker or a mortgage holder who was any good. Conversely every poor man unable to raise the moola on interest or rent day was on the side of the angels. Characters were fixed for purposes of easy identification. Chaplin, of course, gave greater elasticity to his types, but remained true to the traditions of slapstick in that he *never stepped out of character*. The bedraggled and insecure social waif, he always picked as his adversaries men of overpowering brawn. If he was hungry, his adversary was a restaurant owner or the owner's best customer. In all his struggles he was never the ultimate victor. He could get even with

fate and with his enemies by kicking Mr. Big in the belly and ducking as many return blows as possible. But his advantage was never permanent. Always at the end of the film he walked off, sad and friendless, leaving his enemies in possession of the spoils. He never became the thing he was kidding. If there is one truism which emerges from all the Chaplin films it is this: that if satire is to be seriously derived from slapstick, it must never disturb the audience's, hence the general, concept of reality.

Now let us consider *Conquering Hero*. Eddie Bracken is chosen for the main role for deliberate purposes. He is not only the pathetic hero-struck marine busted out for hay fever. He is also the zany of *Miracle of Morgan's Creek*. To further that impression, the father in *Miracle* is here an elderly soldier, whose relation to Bracken is immediately made paternal. Sturges thus wants us to accept Bracken as something of a ninny, a clown who will provide amusement. In this spirit the picture unfolds, until Bracken is chosen to run for mayor. At this point the business of kidding ends. We are suddenly asked to take Bracken seriously, and to accept all that now happens in the spirit of an unconventional reality with all the previously established conditions of unreality still on hand. The speech that Bracken makes to a much-moved electorate is as straightfaced a piece of moral pleading as anything you will find in the movies, set within circumstances that no one would ever accept in a straightfaced picture. It is as though at its conclusion *Conquering Hero* states, "You may have thought it was Eddie Bracken, but actually it was Henry Fonda all the time." JOSEPH FOSTER.

Political Communique

(*Continued from page 21*)

12 report was speedily corrected by the acting Secretary of War John R. McCloy. The basic issue, nevertheless, has not been resolved. For in conformity with a recent amendment to the Soldier Vote Law the Army has announced that until elections all qualified political parties will be given equal time on the Army's short-wave radio facilities to rebroadcast political speeches to the armed forces overseas.

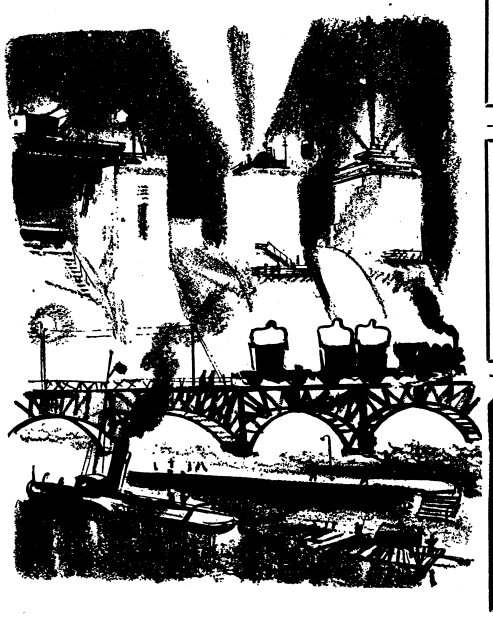
By the Army definition, which seems to carry out the congressional mandate, this includes such a political group as the Socialists. That group's candidate for president, Norman Thomas' position on

the war is typified by the following quotation from one of his speeches: "Let us have done with the monstrous hypocrisy of calling this a war for true liberation which . . . now threatens most of Europe with the dictatorship of Stalin and promises only the restoration of white supremacy in the Far East . . . it is certainly not necessary for this generation to die for it and by their death to water seeds of more terrible war for the next generation." It would hardly seem appropriate that a man and a political party who spread such treachery should be permitted to appeal directly, each week, to the valiant men of our armed services.

White Collar

(*Continued from page* 11)

the contrary, they are separate from the rest of working America and that somehow joining a union has nothing to do with or for them. The UOPWA is in the process of organizing many big companies in the financial world and has some major prizes under its belt to match its excellent record in the insurance field. But white collar America is twenty million strong. Its problems are urgent. Both its stake—representing the major administrative and technical forces which will fashion the postwar world—and its influence in that world, for better or worse, are great. We hope to see come out of the UOPWA convention now sitting in Philadelphia, more and more imaginative ways of coping with the immense field that lies before it. It has the program. It has a young, loyal, and flexible leadership, and we may expect them to accomplish the remarkable things they must in time.



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