

WHERE DO THE LIBERALS GO FROM HERE?

by A. B. MAGIL

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

LOUIS ARAGON:

LIFE AND

DEATH OF A HERO

The famous French writer tells the hitherto untold epic of Gabriel Peri, who was vice-chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies.

Also in This Issue: What Vandenberg Really Means—by the Editors; Your Postwar House—How Much? by Virginia Gardner; Lenin in Dark Days; On the Offensive—by Colonel T.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

Partially to still the clamor of those who insist on seeing us at our worst we publish herewith the NM editorial gallery. Those not included lacked the hardihood to brave the reaction. The advantage shall not remain long with them. They will get their due in a forthcoming issue.—J. F.



Joseph North
Editor in Chief



A. B. Magil
National Affairs Editor



John Stuart
Foreign Editor



Isidor Schneider
Literary Editor



Virginia Shull
Managing Editor



Virginia Gardner
Washington Editor



Lottie Gordon
Business Manager



Doretta Tarmon
National Field Director



Moses Soyer
Art Critic



Joseph Foster
Film Critic



Betty Millard
Editorial Assistant

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editor: JOSEPH NORTH; Associate Editors: MARJORIE DE ARMAND, FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLD-FRANK*, A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART; Washington Editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER; West Coast Editor: BRUCE MINTON; Literary Editor: ISIDOR SCHNEIDER; Film: JOSEPH FOSTER; Drama: HARRY TAYLOR; Art: MOSES SOYER; Music: JOHN KITTON; Dance: FRANCIS STEUBEN; Business Manager: LOTTIE GORDON; National Field Director: DORETTA TARMON; Advertising Manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.

* On leave with the armed forces.

Contents:

Life and Death of a Hero Louis Aragon.....	3	Editorial Comment.....	18
Lenin in the Dark Days.....	6	On the Offensive Colonel T.....	22
Where Do the Liberals Go From Here? A. B. Magil.....	9	Book Reviews.....	23
Your Postwar House Virginia Gardner.....	13	Films of the Week Joseph Foster.....	28
The Red Army's Danube March William Brandt.....	16	Notes on Music John Kitton.....	29
Reader's Forum.....	17	On Broadway Harry Taylor.....	30

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than the post office will give the best results. Vol. LIV, No. 4. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y. Copyright 1944, THE NEW MASSES, INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions \$5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico; six months \$2.75; three months \$1.50. Foreign, \$6.00 a year; six months \$3.25; three months \$1.75. In Canada \$6.00 a year, \$3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

LIFE AND DEATH OF A HERO

By LOUIS ARAGON

Paris.

THEY killed him on December 15, 1941.

It is almost impossible to speak of him now as of the man we knew—not tall, with his finely etched features, a distinctive way of arguing with his pipe in his hand, and gestures that remain rooted in the memory. When he frowned, or cocked his head, he seemed to take you so seriously that you felt he was making fun of you (“Very important! Very important!” he would say about some trifle with which you bothered him). . . . And his laugh! If you have never heard Gabriel Peri’s laugh, what can I tell you about it? And an extreme politeness—his defense against the importunate. . . .

Yes, it is almost impossible to describe his neatness, the extreme care with which he dressed. Because in everything you say, you are no longer talking about a man, but about a hero, a martyr, a symbol. Words seem a desecration.

I have to make a great effort to see him again in the dim, smoke-filled setting in which I first knew him: the offices of *L’Humanite* on Rue Montmartre, where I worked at the newsdesk. Only a dark, narrow landing separated my department from the foreign affairs office, a narrow little room, its tables piled high with newspapers and files. He could be found there around the time of the daily editorial meeting, or later, after nightfall, when the session at the Chamber of Deputies had ended. He spoke with extraordinary verve of the people and things he had seen, of ministers and deputies, the strange fauna of the *Palais-Bourbon*. He discussed them, as it were, at arm’s length. . . . Vaillant-Couturier, listening to him, would laugh until tears rolled down his cheeks.

What a full life: the Chamber of Deputies, the newspaper, endless meetings, his constituency at Argenteuil. Yet in the midst of all this busyness he showed an exceptional fineness in human relations. He was a truly cultured

man. In him there was something of a prince, a Mediterranean prince.

I have often thought that he was the modern incarnation of the legendary Ulysses. The Mediterranean man is not necessarily a talkative merchant or black-haired adventurer, as Ulysses is usually depicted. Ulysses, King of Ithaca, was the very image of the subtlety and wisdom of the Mediterranean world, extending from Tyre to the Pillars of Hercules, from Alexandria to Genoa and the Euxine Sea. Ulysses must have had the dark eyes and light hair, the measured look, and the perfectly molded head that we know from ancient Greek statues. Whenever I start to talk about Gabriel Peri, I think of “illegal” words I penned about him in a poem I wrote in 1942, when it was dangerous to name him openly:

I have not forgotten . . . the memory of him who sang like a swan,

Who seemed a prince made of that Phoenician clay,

Whose fineness has remained a secret since antiquity. . . .

Always the same words and the same images. And there was also in him something familiar to me, something profoundly rooted in my life, because his family, like my own, came from Toulon; and there were cousins in my family whom I knew as young people who grew up with something of the same look, the same elegance and good taste in clothes, the same sense of humor, the same gay laughter—and that gleam of intelligence which seemed to light up the things around him.

He was a man from my part of the country, from my family’s native soil, where my ancestors go back to days of an ancient civilization. I think I understand him very well because I imagine that as a child he must have played on the *Champ de Mars*—which has now been smashed to bits by bombs—because as a young man he must have taken the boat for Seyne toward evening and visited Pere Louis’ cafe with a

girl friend and roamed, when he was sad, in the narrow dirty streets that run into the Quai de Cronstadt. I can see him on Sundays on the heights of Evenos, in the mountains of Ollioules, where most of the people are descendants of former convicts. His great-uncle was a priest at Pont-du-Las and preached the Lenten sermon there. My grandmother used to tell me about the theater of Pont-du-Las. Did it still give performances when young Gabriel was fifteen? But he was five years younger than I. . . . It’s silly of me to go on imagining all these things. He was fifteen years old in 1917 when the ten days shook the world. Besides, he lived at Marseilles; he only visited from time to time in Toulon, where his grandmother’s family lived.

“I was born at Toulon in 1902. My grandfather left Ajaccio as a young man and shipped out as a cabin-boy on a warship. . . .”

THUS begins his biography, written in prison. To his judges, he could only show himself as he was. That was his way of trying to understand them, a last effort made in good faith to give them a chance to be honest and human.

So Peri’s grandfather rose to be a captain and, marrying a schoolteacher of Toulon, founded and directed at Marseilles a school for apprentice naval mechanics. His son settled in Marseilles, where he became a technical superintendent of the docks. Peri tells us that his father voted in 1913 for Poincare against Pams and that his mother was a devout Catholic. He had one younger sister.

“I grew to intellectual maturity in a world that was still at war. . . . I looked for an explanation of the war, considered not only as a source of suffering but as an upheaval. I wanted to understand the meaning, the cause, the source of that upheaval for which the war served as a pretext, and I went on from there to investigate other, broader phenomena of human history. . . .”

Later, when men read without passion and without tears this history of a mind written in the simplest words, absolutely free of rhetoric, they will no doubt marvel at the perfection of such a unique document. Not a useless phrase, not a single digression or straining for effect. Nothing but essentials—straight as an arrow.

I shall not follow his biography step by step. Nor describe how as a young man at Marseilles in revolt against the war, he chose a path from which he never deviated.

"I came to the Revolution by way of passionate study and meditation. I walked entirely alone most of the time and, to make sure I was right, I renounced certain things, broke off some personal relations, made efforts that were no doubt gratifying but often painful as well. . . . I joined on an intellectual—perhaps a cerebral—basis; but all things considered, experience has shown that those who join on this basis are not of an inferior quality or of less tested a loyalty. . . ."

That he insisted, in the above-quoted passage, on defining the manner in which he joined the Communist movement is and will long remain inspiring to many of us. Let the reader, who is perhaps of my generation and Peri's, try to measure for a moment the distance separating Musset's *Confession of a Child of the Century*, and Peri's words. During the 1920's, when young Peri was going through the period of self-scrutiny he describes, most of his contemporaries were romantics, nearer Alfred de Musset than they then realized. Yet how many of these young men, some of whom were my friends, have, after wide detours, rejoined Gabriel Peri on his path! At the present moment in the war, when the world is undergoing an upheaval, the thirty-five pages of his biography take on such importance that it would be senseless to summarize them. Besides, his career is well known. In 1919 he joined the French Socialist Party; at the end of 1920 he was one of the founders of the French Communist Party. Here, I should like rather to underline how he faced his judges.

His story is nowhere separate and apart from the history of France and of the world. There is no history of a man, or of the world: there is only History. This story, linking World War I with World War II, is remarkable in that it is written in the first person

singular from beginning to end. Peri constantly writes "I"—to say that he collaborated on the publication *Avant-Garde*, that he was arrested, that he left Marseilles, as well as to express the political ideas which were not merely his own but those of his party:

"In 1935 I fought against Laval's Italian policy. Apart from questions of ideology, I considered that it was dangerous for France to support Italian imperialism in the Mediterranean and to weaken the League of Nations. . . ."

"In the many speeches I made on the Spanish question, in July 1936, as in January 1939, my ideological preferences, which I never concealed, played but a secondary role: at the center of my thought was my concern for French national interests, for French security. . . ."

EXAMPLES could be multiplied. This profound incarnation of a political party in a man: how far removed it was from the usual conception of Communism! Peri, throughout his life and in his death, tried to be an exemplary Communist. He paid a high price for his aim.

As Deputy from Argenteuil and vice president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, Peri devoted his life to the struggle for peace. Note in his biography his almost overriding concern with French-German relations. He even went to jail in protest against the French spirit of chauvinist *revanche* against the Weimar Republic of Germany. But once it was clear, with Hitler in power in Berlin, that Germany was preparing a new world war, Peri became the indefatigable defender of the policy of collective security. He is one of those who, in Marcel Cachin's magnificent phrase, did not wait for daybreak to believe in the light. And for that very reason he was one of the most hated, insulted, and slandered men in our country. And who vilified him? Those who showed themselves in their true colors when the Germans trampled on our soil.

Do you remember the joke with which *Gringoire* and a few other fascist sheets often used to regale their readers, calling him Peri-who-has-not-perished? Look at them now, those French traitors, living in Stuttgart or some other German city. . . .

It was Peri who led the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies to the Munich policy of surrender; it was Peri who kept telling the Chamber that

France's interests lay in a firm alliance with the Soviet Union; and it was above all Peri whom the Bonnets and Dorjots pilloried at the end of August 1939, because he said that France was wrong to enter the war without the proper alliances, that such a course would lead the country to the brink of disaster. Defered from military service, he tried to enlist when the fifth column split the nation by having the Communist Party banned. Then Peri had to choose between renouncing his ideas or going "underground," between the executioner's block which *Gringoire* demanded for him or the illegal struggle against the fifth column. He did not hesitate.

From September 1939, on, he fought. Those were the days when Drieu La Rochelle was at the Ministry of Propaganda in the Hotel Continental, when Jacques Doriot was a censor at Sens, and Pierre-Etienne Flandin went about freely. Then in the summer of 1941 we learned, again from the columns of *Gringoire*, that the Deputy of Argenteuil had held a meeting on the island of Grande-Jatte, under the very noses of the German barbarians. And during that period, the life of Gabriel Peri was more closely and deeply identified than ever with that of his country. He was almost certainly handed over to the enemy by a traitor.

THE summer, then the autumn of 1941 . . . first in the hands of the police and judges who still called themselves French, then in German hands. Every kind of pressure imaginable was used to force Peri to betray. For betrayal was then the prevailing official morality. Nothing was left undone to tempt the man. What did they not promise him—his life, honors, a political career! It was a period of ignominy, in which those who ruled thought everything possible, even and above all renegacy, because *they* were the renegades! What a victory for them if a Peri became a turncoat! It was the period of Pierre Pucheu. . . .

Here let me relate for the first time something that has never been disclosed: the Germans at that time were not anxious, for political reasons, to execute Gabriel Peri and Lucien Sampaix, both journalists of *L'Humanite*. Both men were especially hated by the men of the fifth column, the first for having championed the policy of collective security, the second for having exposed the *Cagoullards*.

The man named Pierre Pucheu was

the Minister of the Interior under Pétain. This person was the one who, before the war, used to give Doriot his monthly subsidies from the trusts. He was the right-hand man of those who financed the *Cagoulards*, the treasurer of the fifth column. When he learned that General von Stulpnagel had sentenced Sampaix and Peri to six years' imprisonment, he went to Paris. We have learned from the interpreter who translated the conversation between this French minister and the German general that Pucheu asked that Sampaix and Peri be put to death. General von Stulpnagel acceded to his request.

Later, at Algiers, Pucheu used to say that he had never done anything against the de Gaullists, that he had only fought against Communism. This story, too, like everything bearing on Peri, is revealing.

WE COME to the the night that was the last night of Peri the immortal.

On the road to the Cross, Jesus did not perhaps seem so pure and so great only because of the infernal din around him: Judas, and the Tempter, and those who spat in Jesus' face. In the Passion of Gabriel Peri, a similar individual embodies all this and serves as a foil. To play out the drama of the temptation, the enemy invents a certain Camille Fegy.

I knew Fegy some twenty years ago. A little roly-poly sort of man, his hair dishevelled, with red cheeks, eye-glasses, and a walrus moustache. A rather ridiculous figure. Brought to Paris from his native province by Doriot, he remained faithful to the latter to the end, like a character in a Balzac novel. He needed money, and a job as editor at *L'Humanité* did not pay well enough. God knows what made him join with the surrealists, or what he could understand in their writings! But that did confer some sort

of distinction on him; and soon thereafter he joined with the Trotskyites when they laid hands on the magazine *Clarte*. Fegy was subsequently expelled from their ranks for having embezzled funds. But even before then—and I know this from Gaston Bergery, never one to keep a professional secret, who was his lawyer before becoming his boss—Camille Fegy had some domestic dif-



Gabriel Peri

ficulties. Then, armed with an introduction from Bergery, he went to see Jean Chiappe, the Paris Prefect of Police, to ask for help against his wife whom he could not leave because every month she managed to steal his pay from him. . . . Just think how happy Chiappe was to get his paws on Fegy! But when the police came to escort the husband to safety, his wife opened the door. And behind her, Fegy gesticulated helplessly. His shrewd wife had stolen every pair of pants he owned, so he could not escape!

This character out of a Courteline comedy rejoined Doriot in 1936, when the latter became an open fascist; then he became *Gringoire's* stoolpigeon-in-chief against his former comrades. Later, when the Nazis occupied France, he got his revenge for having been a ridiculous husband and a dishonest cashier. He

carried out every slimy order the Germans gave him. His big moment came when he was made director of the *Rescos* (cooperative restaurants), organized by Vichy; it would be interesting to study the books of that venture, to see how much money Fegy stole at the expense of hungry Frenchmen. And it was he who was sent to Gabriel Peri to propose that Peri betray.

But on the last night of his Passion, the Germans came to ply Peri with the questions they had originally confided to Camille Fegy. The Deputy of Argenteuil knew that he was going to die. The enemy did not hide from him that it was his last night and his last question. Finally, the voice of the enemy spoke in foreign accents; it was no longer the native dialect of a former fellow-worker on *L'Humanité*. Finally, Peri faced the men of the Gestapo and unmistakably represented France; it was then that he spoke out in the deathless accents of the French language.

It was not only the sublime *No* he flung at his tempters. That night, when our history merged more than ever with the life of one man who illuminates it, Gabriel Peri wrote this letter which one day will be in all the schoolbooks, if patriotism triumphs over partisan anger:

“. . . Let my friends know that I have remained faithful to the ideal of my life, let my countrymen know that I am going to die so that France may live!

“For the last time I have looked into my conscience. The result is positive. If I had to begin my life over again, I would follow the same route. Tonight more than any other night I believe that my dear friend Paul Vaillant-Couturier was right when he said that ‘Communism is the youth of the world’ and that it ‘prepares for singing tomorrows.’ In a little while I am going to prepare for ‘singing tomorrows.’ I feel myself strong in the face of death. Goodby, and long live France!”

At dawn on December 15, 1941, Peri faced his executioners. The German guns took aim. He sang. The strains of the *Marseillaise* rose in the early dawn. The first volley sent him to his knees. Then his whole generous life poured from his lips, and he who sang for France now sang for all humanity. He was singing the *Internationale*, with words by Pottier who was also a son of France, when the second burst of German rifles silenced his voice forever. Thus ends the story of Peri.

Thus begins his legend.

LENIN IN DARK DAYS

"For him Marxism was no set of sacred precepts to be learned by rote. . . ."

January 21 marks the twenty-first anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of the Soviet Republics, titan of Marxism and of world culture. On this occasion we are publishing in slightly abridged form the text of a speech Lenin made on May 26, 1918, at the first congress of the Councils of National Economy. The speech will appear in Volume 23 of Lenin's "Collected Works" to be issued shortly by International Publishers.

We feel that this speech, though concerned with problems of a period vastly different from our own, is rich with meaning for our own times. For one thing it helps us understand the present achievements and policies of the Soviet Union by providing a picture of some of the gigantic difficulties it faced during the first months of its existence. That was the period of the "breathing spell" after the Brest-Litovsk peace with Germany. Large slices of Soviet territory, including the whole of the Ukraine, had been torn away. The country was still predominantly capitalist, with anti-Bolshevik political parties and newspapers operating, and with much of the old life largely untouched. In the midst of famine and economic disorganization and faced soon with the staggering problems of foreign intervention and internal counterrevolution, Lenin boldly set the course, demonstrating a historic vision and faith in the people that astonished the world. As Sen. James E. Murray writes in the current issue of "Soviet Russia Today," Lenin "instilled into his people faith in their own powers, releasing thereby forces which had been dormant since the early dawn of Russian history." It is this achievement of Lenin's, carried forward after his death under Stalin's leadership, that holds the secret of the Russian "miracle" of the past three and a half years.

Closely related to this faith in the common man is Lenin's ability, vigorously revealed in this speech, to see beyond mistakes, failures and difficulties to the indestructible pattern of history moving toward new freedom and democracy. In this respect too he provides signposts for our own time. It must be borne in mind, of course, that Lenin was not writing recipes for the indefinite future, but, as always, dealing concretely with the problems of a specific country at a specific time and in a world situation totally different from our own. Today the peoples of the United Nations face the task not of establishing socialism, but of eradicating fascism and all its feudal props and of constructing a strong and democratic peace. We too need to see beyond our mistakes, partial failures and difficulties: this was the gist of President Roosevelt's counsel against perfectionism in his message on the state of the Union and his plea for faith in our allies and in the enduring common interests that bind them together for peace as for war.

Finally, this speech reveals the creative Marxist in Lenin. For him Marxism was no set of sacred precepts to be learned by rote; "the theory of Marx," he said on another occasion, "must be further worked out independently, because this theory provides only the general guiding postulates, which apply in particular to England differently from the way they apply to Germany, and differently to Germany from the way they apply to Russia." And he also emphasized that Marxist principles must be applied differently to different historic periods. Thus in an article, "On Slogans," in the middle of July 1917, he wrote: "It happens only too often that, when history makes a sharp turn, even the most advanced parties cannot get used to the new situation for some time,

and repeat slogans that were correct yesterday, but have no meaning today, having lost it as 'suddenly' as the sharp turn in history 'suddenly' occurred." And elsewhere in the same article he wrote that "for the good of the cause the proletariat will support not only the vacillating petty bourgeoisie but also the big bourgeoisie." (All emphases Lenin's.) Lenin's writings certainly afford no comfort for those who today accuse the Communists of abandoning Leninism and Marxism because they are applying basic principles to new and unprecedented conditions.

The speech we are publishing here demonstrates admirably Lenin's great flexibility, his readiness to experiment and make all sorts of changes and adaptations in order to enable the Russian people to reach their great democratic goals.

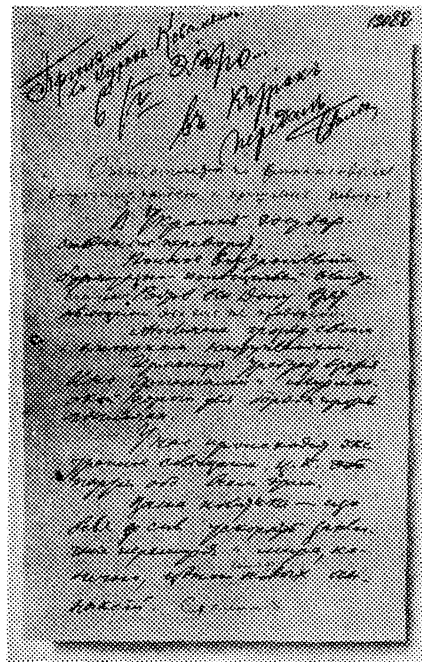
WHEN I look back on the experience of our Supreme Council of National Economy and of the local councils, with the activities of which it is closely and inseparably connected, I think that in spite of much that is unfinished, incomplete, and unorganized, there is not the slightest ground for pessimistic conclusion. For the task which the Supreme Council of National Economy set itself, and which all the regional and local councils set themselves, is so enormous, so all-embracing, that there is absolutely nothing to give rise to alarm. Very often—from our point of view, perhaps too often, of course—the proverb "measure your cloth seven times before you cut it" was not applied. Unfortunately, things are not so simple in regard to the organization of economy on socialist lines as that proverb puts it. With the transfer of all power—this time not only political, and not even mainly political, but economic power, that is, power that affects the most deep-seated foundations of every-day human existence—to a new class, and moreover to a class which for the first time in the history of humanity is the leader of the overwhelming majority of the population, of the whole mass of the toilers and exploited—our tasks become more complicated. It goes without saying that in view of the great importance and the great difficulty of the organizational tasks that confront us, when we have to organize on entirely new lines the very foundations of the human existence of hundreds of millions of people, it is not simple to arrange matters as is the proverb "meas-

ure your cloth seven times before you cut it." For, indeed, we are not in a position first to measure a thing innumerable times and then cut and fix what has been finally measured and fitted. We must build our economic edifice in the process of the work, trying out this or that institution, watching it work, testing it by the collective common experience of the toilers, and, above all, by the results of its work. We must do this in the very process of the work, and, moreover, in the midst of desperate struggles and the furious resistance of the exploiters, who become the more furious, the nearer we come to the time when we can pull the last decayed teeth of capitalist exploitation once and for all.

But if we abstract ourselves somewhat from the immediate unpleasantness of too frequent alteration of decrees, and if we look further and more deeply into the enormous world-historic task that the Russian proletariat has to carry out so far with its own inadequate forces, it will become immediately clear that even far more frequent alterations and experimental tests of various systems of administration and various forms of securing discipline are inevitable. In such a gigantic task, we could never claim, and no sensible socialist who has written on the prospects of the future has ever believed, that we could devise and establish at one stroke the forms of organization of the new society according to some premeditated pattern. All that we knew, all that the best experts on capitalist society, the best minds who foresaw the development of capitalist society, could tell us precisely was that this transformation would, with historical inevitability, proceed along a certain main line, that private ownership of the means of production had been doomed by history, that it would burst, that the exploiters would inevitably be expropriated. This was established with scientific precision; and we knew this when we grasped the banner of socialism, when we proclaimed ourselves socialists, when we formed socialist parties, when we set out to transform society. We knew this when we took power for the purpose of proceeding with socialist reorganization; but we could not know the form this transformation would take, or the rate of development of the concrete reorganization. Only collective experience, only the experience of millions can give us decisive guidance in this respect; because, for the purposes of our task, for

the purpose of building socialism, the experience of the hundreds and hundreds of thousands who constitute the upper strata which have made history up to

now both in landlord society and in capitalist society is insufficient. We cannot proceed in this way just because we rely on joint experience, on the experience of millions of toilers.



Above is a reproduction of a telegram sent by Lenin and Stalin to the Soviet peace delegation in Kursk, May 6, 1918, a few weeks before the speech reprinted here was written. Stalin, as head of the peace delegation in Kursk, had, on May 4, concluded an armistice with the Ukrainian Rada and had been summoned to Moscow to an urgent meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. The telegram, sent May 6 from Moscow, was written by Lenin and corrected by Stalin, in whose name it was sent. Its contents reflect the grim background against which the speech was written:

"As to the financial expert, we shall find one and send him to you. News: The government in the Ukraine has been overthrown; the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords has been fully restored. It is rumored that Rostov-on-Don has been captured by the Germans. This is still unconfirmed. The British are threatening an attack by themselves and the Japanese. The Germans are threatening an attack by themselves and the Japanese. The Germans are demanding the capture of Ino by the Finns and of the Murmansk Railroad as a measure against the British. All this is being discussed by us at a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. Your policy must be to do the utmost to expedite the conclusion of an armistice and peace, at the price, of course, even of new annexations.—Stalin."

THAT is why we know that the work of organization, which is the main and fundamental, the root task of the councils, will inevitably entail a vast number of experiments, a vast number of steps, a vast number of alterations, a vast number of difficulties, particularly in regard to the question of how to put people in the right places; because here we have no experience, here we have to devise every step ourselves. But grave as may be the mistakes we make in this attempt, the more the certainty grows that with every increase in the membership of the trade unions, with every additional thousand, with every additional hundred thousand that come over from the camp of the toilers and exploited, who have hitherto lived according to tradition and habit, into the camp of the builders of Soviet organizations, the number of people who answer to the requirements of the task and who will organize the work on proper lines will grow.

Take one of the secondary tasks that the national economic council, the Supreme Council of National Economy, particularly comes up against—the task of utilizing bourgeois experts. We all know, at least those who base themselves on science and socialism know, that our task can be fulfilled only when and to the extent that international capitalism has developed the material and technical prerequisites of labor organized on an enormous scale and based on the framework of science, and hence on the training of enormous cadres of scientifically educated experts. We know that without this socialism is impossible. If we peruse the works of those socialists who observed the development of capitalism during the last half century, and who again and again came to the conclusion that socialism is inevitable, we will find that all of them without exception pointed out that only socialism can liberate science from its bourgeois fetters, from its enslavement to capital, from its thralldom to the interests of sordid capitalist greed. Socialism alone will make possible a wide expansion of social production and distribution and their actual subordination to scientific considerations with a view to easing the lives of the working people and making it possible for them to live in prosper-



Lenin making a recording for the gramophone of a speech against Jew-baiting and pogroms early in 1919. Fifteen of Lenin's speeches were recorded for the gramophone.

ity. Socialism alone can achieve this. We know that it must achieve it, and in the understanding of this truth lie the whole difficulty of Marxism, and its strength.

We must achieve this while relying on elements which are hostile to it, because the bigger capital becomes, the more the bourgeoisie oppresses and represses the workers. Now that power is in the hands of the proletariat and the poor peasants, and the government is setting itself tasks with the support of these masses, we must achieve these socialist changes with the help of bourgeois experts, of experts who have been trained in bourgeois society, who know no other system and cannot conceive of any other social system; so that even when these people are absolutely sincere and loyal to their work they are imbued

with thousands of bourgeois prejudices, are connected by thousands of ties they themselves do not see with bourgeois society, which is dying and decaying and therefore putting up a furious resistance. We cannot conceal from ourselves the difficulties of the task and its achievement.

THE fact that we cannot do this all at once should not give rise to the slightest pessimism, because the task which we have set ourselves is one of world historic difficulty and significance. We do not shut our eyes to the fact that a single country, even if it were a much less backward country than Russia, even if we were living amid better conditions than those prevailing after four years of unprecedented, painful, severe and

ruinous war, we could not by our own efforts carry out the socialist revolution completely. He who turns away from the socialist revolution now taking place in Russia and points to the obvious inadequacy of forces is like the conservative "man in a muffler" who cannot see further than his nose, who forgets that there never was a historical change of any importance where the forces were not in many cases inadequate. Forces grow in the process of the struggle, with the growth of the revolution.

Now that the country has taken the path of profound changes it is to the credit of this country and of the party of the working class which has achieved victory in this country, that they have taken up in a practical manner tasks that were formerly treated abstractly, theoretically. This experience will not be forgotten. The experience of the workers who are now united in trade unions and local organizations and are tackling the practical work of organizing the whole of production on a national scale cannot be lost, no matter what may come, no matter what painful vicissitudes the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution may have to pass through. It has gone into history as a gain of socialism, and on it the future international revolution will erect its socialist edifice.

Permit me to mention another problem, perhaps the most difficult problem that the Supreme Council of National Economy has now to tackle practically, that is, the problem of labor discipline. Properly speaking in mentioning this problem, we ought to admit and emphasize with satisfaction that it was the trade unions—their largest organizations, namely, the Central Committee of the Metal Workers Union and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, the highest trade union bodies, uniting millions of toilers—which were the first to set to work independently to solve this problem; and it is a problem of world-historic importance.

In order to understand it, we must abstract ourselves from those partial minor failures, from the incredible difficulties which, if taken separately, seem to be insurmountable. We must rise to a higher level and survey the historical change of social economic systems. Only from this angle will it be possible to appreciate the immensity of the task which we have undertaken. Only then will it be possible to appreciate the enormous significance of the fact that on this occasion the most advanced representatives

(Continued on page 26)



Lenin making a recording for the gramophone of a speech against Jew-baiting and pogroms early in 1919. Fifteen of Lenin's speeches were recorded for the gramophone.



Soriano

Rankin: "And now a word from my sponsor. . . ."

Roosevelt is for capitalism—and so are the vast majority of the American people, including themselves. Mr. Roosevelt is in fact President of that country in which monopoly capitalism is most highly developed, and it will continue to be that way after the war. But to be for capitalism today no longer necessarily means to be for reaction. In fact, those capitalists who are most intelligently in favor of the maintenance and growth of the capitalist system in the United States are most heartily in favor of FDR's program and the Teheran outlook. And when the President suffered the heavy loss of Cordell Hull's retirement—a loss whose significance *PM* pointed out in a perceptive editorial by I. F. Stone—he made good that loss so far as was possible by choosing as Mr. Hull's successor Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., a man who, like him, enjoyed the confidence of conservative business circles and was at the same time a loyal supporter of the Roosevelt foreign policy. But that choice *PM* inconsistently attacked.

I don't want to rethresh the straw of the subsequent dispute over the State Department appointments, but since it reflected major confusions and pointed up dangers which still persist, I want to say something on the subject. Frankly, I don't think the appointments were the best that could have been made. But much of the liberal criticism was wide of the mark: it showed a failure to grasp the coalition implications of the war and the peace, nationally and internationally.

When Will Clayton's opposition to Roosevelt in 1936 is made to overshadow his support of him in 1944, when his pre-war labor policy outweighs his war and postwar foreign economic policy—which happens to be very much in line with the President's—and when the final crushing indictment against him is that he is "as articulate and intelligent a spokesman for capitalist conservatism as Henry Wallace is of capitalist liberalism," the whole issue is stood on its head. And it means an abandonment of the very criteria which *PM* used in deploring the loss of Cordell Hull. Offhand I can think of several men besides Henry Wallace—Earl Browder for one—who have more advanced ideas on foreign economic policy than Mr. Clayton. But none of them could do the job because their very names would alienate rather than win big business allegiance to the Roosevelt program. Doesn't it strike you as a bigoted and unrealistic conception that would deny to a spokesman for capitalist conservatism a part in carrying out policies which most assuredly will fail unless they have the support of at least a substantial section of capitalist conservatism?

In any such matter it also seems to me that one must weigh the consequences of opposing the President as against the consequences of resolving any reasonable doubt in his favor until his judgment is proved wrong—if it is. For if the country is to be thrown into turmoil over this kind of an issue, we cannot move very far or very fast on the Teheran road. I say this not because the President is above criticism, but because it is an elementary axiom in war and politics that the practical consequences of any action must not be the strengthening of the enemy. *PM* and its liberal allies either didn't weigh the consequences of their crusade or were prepared to accept them.

THE least of these practical consequences was that the most liberal of the six new appointees, Archibald MacLeish, narrowly escaped rejection by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, whereas the others were approved with many votes to spare. More important was the fact that arch-reactionaries seized the opportunity presented them by liberals to open up on our country's foreign policy in order to spread confusion, pessimism and that distrust toward our allies against which the President warned in his message to Congress the other day. Serious too was the fact that though the Greek crisis broke early in this campaign—a crisis whose ominous implications made our domestic feud seem like a kids' quarrel—our liberal friends were too busy practicing liberalism-as-usual to pay much attention. And they were so absorbed in expressing lack of confidence in the President and his Secretary of State that they did not bother about rallying support for the splendid statement issued by the State Department opposing reactionary intervention in Italy and the liberated countries.

No doubt men like Senators Pepper, Murray and Guffey misjudged the issue and failed to anticipate where it would lead them. They are good men and I believe the President ought to be able to count on their support in the future. I wish I could feel the same confidence about *PM's* future role. No newspaper in our time has had such opportunities for constructive leadership. But only sporadically and in a minor way have the men who direct its policies grasped those opportunities. Now there is a real question as to whether its activity is not going to be largely destructive. Apart from the Red-baiting which frequently blights its

fords, but of those that have supported the war and the essentials of the Roosevelt foreign policy (even when some of them imagined that the Dewey ersatz was just as good if not better)—will play ball with labor and government and with their opposite numbers in other countries, especially Britain, in working out those economic agreements at home and abroad which can assure 60,000,000 jobs, stable profits, and the internationalizing of prosperity—without which there can be no viable peace.

Thus far too many American businessmen are preoccupied with flexing their economic muscles and muttering loud enough for their British rivals to hear: "I can lick anybody in sight with one hand tied behind me." And that attitude is also reflected in Congress. As a result, the British are frightened about the future, and they act frightened: they go berserk in Greece, for example, they cling stubbornly to India. And even though our government says in effect: hands off Greece, the British keep on saying in their way: hands off the postwar markets we need in order to live. And you can be certain that they are not the only ones who find America as a sort of super-John L. Sullivan something less than fascinating company for building a workable peace. What so many of our businessmen haven't discovered as yet is that licking anybody in sight is the surest way of licking themselves—and all the rest of us.

As you see, one of President Roosevelt's most important jobs—and it is a job on which he needs a lot of help—is to persuade the majority of our big businessmen, who want what Teheran promises but who, because they act by rote and prejudice, are trying to get it in the wrong way, to change some of their habits and work in harmony with their own and the country's interests. This isn't easy, but the consequences of failure are infinitely tougher. It seems to me that none of us—least of all, anyone who calls himself a liberal or progressive—ought to be excused from helping the President do this indispensable and difficult job.

Now, it isn't enough to favor the general principles of our foreign policy; even its opponents manage to do that when it suits their convenience. What is needed is support for the specific political and economic measures that give the policy bone and muscle. From what I have said it is obvious that this is primarily a problem of enlisting the support of the uncertain member of our national coalition: the leading big business groups that are behind the war. This is not a question of yielding to the prejudices of these groups, but, on the contrary, of overcoming them sufficiently to get them to take their cue from such forward-looking members of the business community as Thomas W. Lamont, Henry Kaiser, and Charles E. Wilson of General Electric. This is where former Secretary of State Hull proved such a tower of strength to the President and the nation. He more than any man in public office commanded the respect and confidence of conservative business circles, and through him that confidence was transmitted to the Roosevelt foreign policy. I know there was a time when the role of the State Department was decidedly unsavory. In the period when the world was drifting to war, it failed to provide firm leadership for peace, failed to follow up President Roosevelt's quarantine-the-aggressors speech of 1937, failed to work with Russia which repeatedly urged collective security to stave off fascist aggression. Instead, where the State Department was not passively contemplating a burn-

ing world, it acted to impose an arms embargo against the democratic government of Spain and to appease fascist-militarist Japan with shipments of war materials.

The State Department was of course not solely to blame for this policy. Both houses of Congress were dominated by isolationists, most of them reactionaries but also including a few liberals. In the country as a whole isolationism, though losing ground, was still strong, and the quarantine-the-aggressors speech, as Mr. Roosevelt himself testified in the introduction to the 1939 volume of his public papers and addresses, "fell upon deaf ears—even hostile and resentful ears." And even the CIO in those days was not committed to collective security and on the whole tended to bypass questions of foreign policy. Yet it remains true that such men as former Assistant Secretary of State Berle and others of his stripe exercised an unhealthy influence on our foreign policy and at a time of developing crisis helped provide the wrong kind of leadership. Progressives became justly bitter about the State Department in those days.

I will not say that all that evil legacy is now *spurlos versenkt*. History never works in any such "pure" and simplicistic fashion. But here again we must distinguish between that which is passing away and that which is coming into being. I think that too many liberals are letting the Pavlov dog in all of us, with his conditioned reflexes, get the better of them. They continue to repeat old phrases and exacerbate old suspicions without realizing that at the Moscow and Teheran conferences the ambiguities in the *basic direction* of our foreign policy were resolved, and that this is a profound and fundamental change which determines all other issues. There still remain contradictory trends—for example, the policy toward Franco Spain, a harmful policy which outrages the very spirit of this war. But such trends must be seen for what they are: not the core of our foreign policy, as was the case in the past, but barnacles that impede its development without being capable of altering its basic direction. And I would say that the general trend in the State Department—a trend which has been speeded up by the recent reorganization—is toward the elimination of these contradictions. For example, our present policy toward France and toward Argentina.

THE other day I was having lunch with a well known liberal who has done invaluable work in many causes. "I don't believe in covering up the President's faults," he said. "There are lots of things he does that I don't like. These State Department appointments, for instance. Just the same I love him." This man knows the President personally—has known him for years. And he went on to relate an experience he had with FDR recently, an experience which, while personal, concerned a public matter. He told the story to show how the President, despite his gigantic burdens, will take the time to consider a problem which, relatively speaking, was of minor importance. In my friend's voice there was admiration and affection. But nevertheless he couldn't forget the State Department business. "No, I can't stomach those appointments. They're foul." "Why are they foul?" I asked. "Why, those fellows—those fellows are—for capitalism!" "And what about the President," I said, "isn't he for capitalism?" My liberal friend was taken aback, but he continued to shake his head.

I think that some of the liberals who caviled at the State Department appointments are likewise forgetting that Mr.

Where Do The Liberals Go From Here?

By A. B. Magil

DEAR MARY G—: In my letter two weeks ago I wrote you about a way of looking at the problems of our country and the world—a way which, I feel, keeps everything in balance and perspective and provides an intelligent guide to action. It is an approach flowing from the new cooperative relations among the leading powers which bind together the capitalist and socialist countries in history's greatest liberating war. Just think how tremendously important this collaboration or the lack of it between the democratic capitalist countries and the Soviet Union has been in shaping world history in the past twenty-five years. If one studies that period, examines its crimes and follies, it seems to me one cannot escape the fact that the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany and its bloody saturnalia of aggressions and wars were in large part the obverse of a coin on which was deeply engraved the hostility between capitalism and socialism. The whole policy of appeasement, for example, had as its mainspring the isolation, weakening and eventual destruction of the Soviet regime. I speak of this only to underline how momentous and precious is the opposite of that policy: the decision to work together in war and in peace, despite all differences, that was made at Teheran. This is mankind's anchor, and without it we drift to inevitable shipwreck.

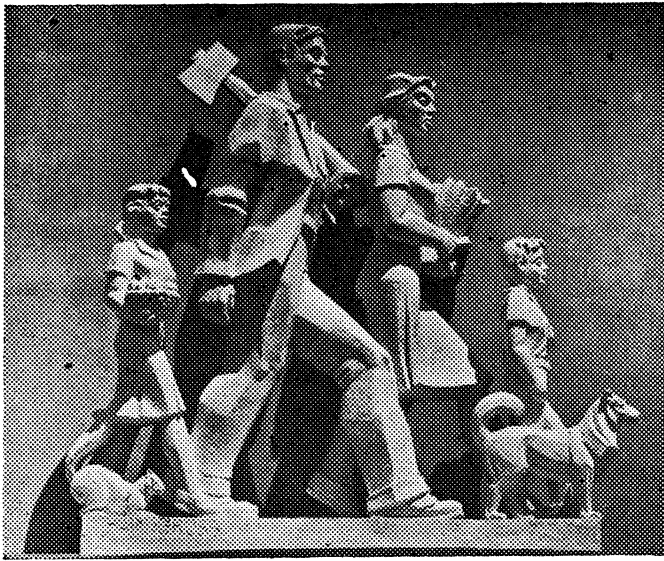
None of us fully understands as yet how much of a difference this makes in determining the kind of world being hammered out in this war. We of **NEW MASSES** are constantly trying to do just that, to keep our eyes on that which is new and decisive in world relationships, on that which is coming to birth even if its features bear some of the ugliness of the past. It isn't always easy to do that. This messy business in Greece, for example—some of our liberal friends just throw up their hands and conclude that Teheran is a mirage and the only reality is the ghost of Versailles. But in my last letter I spoke of not mistaking the bumps and ruts for the main road itself. We're going to get out of this particular ditch—the efforts of the gallant men and women of Greece and the attitude of the United States, Russia and the majority of the British people, including such conservatives as those for whom the *London Times* speaks, are assurance that we'll get out of it and back on the high road again. Whatever the difficulties and temporary setbacks, in the new Europe, born out of terrible suffering and struggle, there can be no repetition of the semi-fascist pattern that was

imposed on eastern Europe and the Balkans after the last war. The future will not be denied, for Teheran is real—the most powerful reality in the world today.

There is a nuclear concept in this reality and America's part in it. It is embraced in the word "coalition." In a coalition there are diverse elements, but there is also a common denominator which joins them together. Without this common denominator of interest there would be no United Nations. And without a similar common denominator we could have no national unity in our own country, a unity which consists of a coalition of classes and groups. Most people are quite ready to agree that continued cooperation in the postwar period between two different economic systems, the capitalist and the socialist, is reasonable and necessary. Yet many of these same people find the continued cooperation in the United States of two classes, capital and labor, both of whom by and large accept our existing economic system, not too reasonable and perhaps even unnecessary. The fact is, however, that national unity will be just as essential to win the peace as to win the war, and without it international unity cannot long endure. Let me explain what I mean.

AMONG the Big Three there is a big question mark in relation to the future: it is the United States. This is true not only because isolationist trends (I am thinking particularly of the reactionary variety) are stronger here than in Britain—in the Soviet Union they are non-existent—but more basically because no one can be certain as yet what the United States will do about the economic arrangements which must be the foundation of the stable and peaceful world order we hope to achieve. You see, what the United States does or does not do is crucial because we are economically the most powerful country in the world. It is we who will be in a position to provide the largest part of the goods, capital and credit to stoke the fires of industry in the devastated and backward lands and thereby lift our own and world economy to flourishing levels. Now just what is our economic policy going to be? The Bretton Woods monetary conference pointed one way, the Chicago aviation conference pointed another. The man who organized and presided over the aviation conference, Adolph Berle, has been kicked out of the State Department; the man who organized and presided over the Bretton Woods meeting, Secretary Morgenthau, continues to be one of President Roosevelt's closest advisors. But all this tells us—or, rather, hints—is the direction in which our government wants to move. It tells nothing about whether the government will be able to get the country to move in that direction. In fact, when one considers the aviation conference snarl, the frosty attitude of influential banking circles toward Bretton Woods, and the blocking of the Anglo-American oil agreement by the oil industrialists, our future economic direction—on which so much depends—fades into a fog of uncertainty.

We too have a Big Three at home: capital, labor (these are the decisive classes), and government, and we have a big question mark as well. It isn't labor, for labor—the CIO explicitly and the AFL membership implicitly—is overwhelmingly behind the President's foreign policy and the Teheran commitment. It isn't government—that is, not the executive branch—for on November 7 the people ended all serious question about its future course. What is in doubt is whether our major business groups—I am not thinking of the Sewell Averys or the Frederick C. Craw-



"Harvest," plaster model for architectural group
by Chaim Gross

pages, the paper's approach is so rooted in the era of liberal protest which has been left behind that its view of the problems of the new affirmative era we have entered is often badly out of focus. That is why lack of confidence in President Roosevelt is a persistent, if not consistent, mood of *PM* and of the man who bore the brunt of its campaign against the State Department appointees, I. F. Stone.

MR. STONE is a sincere and talented journalist who has done good work in the past, but in his role as journalistic gadfly he has lost the ability to distinguish friend from foe. Throughout the months before the President finally yielded to the demands that he run for a fourth term, Mr. Stone was blowing hot and cold, unable to make up his mind whether he was for him or against him—and leaving his readers suspended on the horns of his own dilemma. No sooner was the election over than he burgeoned forth with a piece in the *Nation* outlining what he called the twofold task for progressives: "One is to support the President; the other is to fight him. Both call for organized political action all the way down to the grass roots." This is more than a recipe for political schizophrenia. In Mr. Stone's attitude and in his warning to progressives to "keep away from White House influences, including the progressives in the President's own official entourage," it is evident that distrust of FDR and hostility toward his leadership has become for him a guiding policy. This appears also to be the guiding policy of those in command of *PM*. I judge this not only from the acrimonious nature of its fight on the State Department appointees, but from other indications since then. If one takes the course of "supporting and fighting" the President and of "keeping away from White House influences," one will inevitably find company on the way. I was a bit shocked when I read in *PM* of December 21 a leading editorial by Blair Bolles which echoed the reactionary attacks on the Soviet Union for its policy toward Poland and the Baltics—a policy which *PM* had previously defended. But such hostages to reaction are the price paid by a doctrinaire liberalism which refuses to grow with the times, which insists on running hard in order to stand still.

But, you may say, if something is wrong, shouldn't one

criticize? The question is not whether to criticize or not to criticize, but how, what, when, and where. There is no such thing as virtue in a vacuum: the perfectionist is also a nay-sayer. You have a valuable painting in your home that has a spot in one corner. You would like to remove the spot, but before you try doing it you first find out whether it will ruin the painting. Everything must be seen in its time and place and movement—the whole picture, not one corner of it. This ability to see the totality of life, to sense history's deeper flow beneath the surface eddies is as necessary as bread. Not all of us have it to the same degree—some don't have it at all. As a superlative example let me recommend President Roosevelt's recent message on the state of the Union.

And so in considering the President too we must see the totality of the part he plays. We are not dealing with ideal abstractions, but with the world as it is and as it is in process of becoming. President Roosevelt is not the head of a socialist republic, but of the most powerful capitalist country on earth. He owes his reelection not, as some think, to "the liberals," but to many groups, including a considerable number of conservatives—to a majority of the whole people. In this greatest crisis of our history he is confronted by diverse claims and counsels. But if his leadership is to be effective, his acts must be as broadly representative as possible, expressing maximum unity behind his objectives. The President must seek, in other words, a common denominator of both ends and means. For all this there is no simple formula and very few precedents in the past.

We must move on the Teheran road if we are to have freedom, peace and a decent world. But there are obstacles on that road and there are powerful forces trying to plant it with time-bombs and booby-traps. It is one thing to criticize in order to strengthen the President's leadership and help him blast through the obstacles and clean out the mines and booby-traps. It is another thing to criticize in the spirit of "supporting and fighting," to become a heckling opposition and thus almost imperceptibly turn into a road-block of progress. That is what happened with certain Radical Republicans in our Civil War, who after spurring the fight for emancipation, developed the habit of opposition to the point where in 1864 they attempted to split the pro-Union forces by nominating a candidate against Lincoln.

No, the progressive movement of America will not go that way. The "bickering" which distressed you so much should not be exaggerated, for the majority do not share the *PM* view. The CIO Political Action Committee has given new vitality and direction to the whole progressive movement, and PAC has taken its stand with the President and made his policies the fulcrum of its activity. And there are such liberals as Samuel Grafton and Johannes Steel who usually manage to steer a steady course.

We live in times when the confluence of the national and the democratic impulses in all the continents of the world is molding a new age of man. "Government must not be a parish clerk, a justice of the peace," wrote Emerson in summoning both government and people to the greatness demanded by the war to wipe out chattel slavery. Ours is a greater war and a more universal cause. On the shell-wracked battlefields of western Europe, in the wide wilderness of the Pacific, in the factories and farms and offices and homes of America I know there are Americans who are rising to the stature of these times.

YOUR POSTWAR HOUSE

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

CERTAINLY the first job of the National Housing Agency is a war job, and will be "so long as there are battlefronts," Administrator John B. Blandford, Jr., told the Senate Postwar Economic Policy and Planning subcommittee on housing last week. Understandably Mr. Blandford brought NHA's none too good record of providing homes for war workers up to date with the pleasantly vague euphemism, "War housing needs have generally been met in most areas." Then he proceeded to explain that there still are "extremely critical situations on the Pacific Coast and scattered throughout the rest of the country" and that in addition to 85,000 units under construction, at least 50,000 more are "badly needed" to meet the armed services' latest demand for stepped-up production in certain strategic materials.

But it will take no large amount of funds or manpower to gather together experience, resurvey machinery on hand, and to begin to prepare for postwar housing, Blandford said. Housing will have far more chance to make its contribution to postwar employment and unity if action is taken now. "The vast migration of war workers to centers of war industry, the dislocations of our economy, the problems of minority groups, the growing blight within our cities even before the war and the need for adequate programs of urban development, the need for new tools to reach our goal of decent homes for all American families, and to permit housing to contribute to full employment and investment—all these call for government cooperation with industry, labor and communities," he said.

IN ADDITION to what the Senators were told about the need of improvement in fiscal tools to enable private enterprise to reach lower in the income scale and serve a wider need, Blandford urged a program of technical research to help reduce housing costs. In pursuing these costs I ran across a little pamphlet over at NHA headquarters known as Bulletin 2 on Housing Costs. It was issued last month and is full of such breath-taking information as that your house has fourteen individual layers

in its exterior wall. Moreover, the building industry is so organized that even the largest companies deal with only a small fraction of the materials needed for the finished house. Even prefabricated houses have had walls of many layers and many individual pieces and parts. The industry has recognized a need for research for a material to allow mass production of monolithic self-supporting wall panels. But it has been too big a problem for any one or several firms or projects.

Building costs are something NHA is extremely gloomy about. The pamphlet seems to assume general prices will go up in the postwar period. But whatever they do, building prices will go higher, NHA reassures us. This is the nature of building costs, and copious statistics are produced to prove the point. And when there is a lot of building, they go up. And when there is no building, they go down, but not much—never as much as other prices go down. At the same time, investors don't like to invest large sums in housing, so that even with a full economy, if we achieve it, and high family income, it would be difficult to get anyone to finance housing privately at a sufficient pace to sustain housing activity.

The NHA says an average of 1,260,000 units of new housing for non-farm families a year is needed after the war. We have never had the new housing we have needed. And during the war

families have increased a lot. Mr. Blandford, without going into the intricacies of the birth rate or why it is that people go in for babies during these war years, testified drily: "More than one-half of this need for new construction is based upon the estimated increase in the number and undoubling of families." In addition to this stretching out and unlimbering which American families would like to do after the war, there are just as many families who would like to move out of substandard dwellings. Of these, among non-farm dwellings alone, there are 7,000,000 now, and by 1955 another 2,600,000 will be falling apart sufficiently to be scientifically tabulated "substandard."

A HOUSE, NHA says, should cost not more than twice a family's annual income. But it costs more—more than they can afford. In 1941, fifty-seven percent of all non-farm families in the US earned less than \$2,000. But only twenty-one percent of the houses insured by FHA were valued at less than \$4,000. Twenty-five percent earned less than \$1,000, but only one percent of FHA-insured houses were valued at less than \$2,000. (This affords some commentary, too, on whom FHA serves, as it is admitted that before the war FHA insured about thirty percent of all non-farm homes built but that it represented not low-cost houses so much as those "meeting present-day standards of quality and livability.")

Before anyone blames the high cost of housing on labor, he should read Bulletin No. 2, which makes it clear that annual earnings are "quite low" despite high hourly rates of building trades workers, because the work is so unstable. The industry has traditionally had an unstabilizing effect on our whole economy. If through technological improvements, better materials and methods, and more sensible organization of the industry, the violent fluctuations in employment could be removed and employment stabilized, labor would benefit from more regular and higher incomes, and as consumers, from lower rents and ownership costs.

Blandford estimates that in terms of 1943 prices, to fill postwar housing requirements an investment in residential



building is needed to the extent of about \$7,000,000,000. This is seen as conservative, even when compared with actual investments in 1939 in terms of 1943 prices of \$3,300,000,000, when it is realized that he is using as an arbitrary estimate of a postwar national income the figure of \$100,000,000,000, in terms of 1940 prices. This equals \$125,000,000,000 in 1944 prices. In other words, Blandford is setting mighty low sights for what he calls a full economy. For, as he says, the arbitrary national income he sets for postwar years involves a gross national product of about \$150,000,000,000 a year in 1944 prices, whereas the gross national product now is about \$190,000,000,000, and in terms of the same prices, was \$110,000,000,000 in 1939.

But certainly Blandford is talking about a full economy in the postwar years with more vision and realism than the Department of Commerce, which still sets \$7,000,000,000 (his figure) as a goal for foreign trade. US Treasury economists have called for triple that amount or more, and Earl Browder suggests some approximation of \$40,000,000,000 in foreign trade to maintain full production.

REP. WRIGHT PATMAN (D., Tex.) is conducting a one-man campaign in the House to expose the iniquitous move of the Frank Gannett-controlled Committee for Constitutional Government to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment permitting Congress to levy taxes. Patman has charged that the committee, which he freely describes as "this Republican, Nazi, fascist group," uses sneak methods to introduce resolutions into state legislatures, sixteen of which have memorialized Congress in virtually identical resolutions asking for repeal. The proposal would kill the Sixteenth Amendment and provide that Congress might levy taxes on incomes—individual and corporate—gifts and estates, but not to exceed twenty-five percent. If thirty-two states adopt the resolution, Congress must call a constitutional convention to submit it to the states, and if thirty-six adopt the proposed amendment it becomes a part of our Constitution.

My search to discover what had become of these resolutions in Washington certainly suggests that the secrecy which in general has surrounded the move is being continued here. Patman meanwhile is continuing his attack on the

measure in the new Congress. Apparently he is all the madder on the subject since the Committee for Constitutional Government organized a chapter in Texarkana, Tex., and openly supported two candidates opposing Patman, E. Harold Beck and Abe Mays.

"It should be noted that in every state this resolution is handled in a most undercover manner. In Kentucky, it was even omitted from the daily legislative digest. . . . The technique generally used is to slip it through in the closing days along with hundreds of other resolutions. I have never heard of public hearings being held in state legislatures on this resolution." This is from a letter introduced in the *Record* last May by Patman, from Pres. A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, which Whitney said was the first to expose the tax limitation move as long ago as September 1943.

In trying to track down the resolutions from the states, I was told by the office of the Clerk of the House that they were sent to the judiciary committees. The acting Clerk of the House Judiciary Committee told me she had gone to considerable work trying to find the resolutions, but except for four which had come to her in the last session she had been unable to find them, in either the House or Senate. I called the Bill Clerk at her suggestion, who said if I wanted to go through volumes of papers in the File Clerk's office looking for them I could. "But if thirty-six states should pass them, who would know about it?" I asked. Why, he said, the legislative branch of the State Department. The legislative branch investigated and reported they should have gone to Mr. Richard Patterson of the Division of Research and Publications. I called Mr. Patterson's office and was told, "We've never seen them," but that maybe Mr. Kerling, the legislative liaison officer, had. Mr. Kerling hadn't. As a last resort, I called the Senate Judiciary Committee. "Most of them go to the House Judiciary," a desultory voice said. "We got a couple of 'em in here last year. They're stuck around in some cubbyhole."

THE President's budget message, with its far from delicate hint that he is prepared to raise the ceiling on wages eventually, centers some attention, even in the midst of all-out concern with the need of stepping up production in critically needed war materials, on the ques-

tion of reconversion wages. He said that lowered wartime expenditures during the 1945-46 fiscal year would result in somewhat lower wartime incomes "even if wage ceilings are adjusted upward to avoid reduction in average hourly rates when overtime is curtailed."

THE War Labor Board is slated to consider reconversion wage policy in the near future, but only after the board as a whole considers the public members' proposals for a report on whether wages have kept up with prices, and after it considers substandards and the whole question of regional brackets and whether the bracket system is fair. However, the WLB must consider reconversion wages in fact, although not for issuance of a formal report, in the process of considering these other policies.

The AFL has taken the position before the board that hourly rates should be increased now because in practice they cannot be increased very well after V-E day when there will be a labor surplus. Although WLB spokesmen said the CIO had taken no position openly, it is assumed they are in agreement on this.

In general the CIO has approved a memorandum by Benjamin C. Sigal which was circulated among CIO unions after December 20. In it Sigal criticized suggestions by Carrol Daugherty, wage stabilization director of WLB, which, the memo pointed out, would mean reductions in earnings. Instead he suggests a rule that the rate which an employe receives after his assignment to a civilian production job shall enable him to earn at least as much per hour as he earned before. An alternative he suggests would be to consider the problem plantwise, the weighted average of the rates paid after reconversion to be no less than the weighted average of the rates paid prior to reconversion. Sigal also suggests that the board, when confronted with reconversion, will lend a more sympathetic ear to the question of ability to pay. This cannot be the approach if it maintains wage brackets, however. He suggests that ability to pay be restored to its "rightful place in collective bargaining," and points out the present highly favorable profit position of American industry in general. The bracket policy has permitted only a small number of increases and has disrupted collective bargaining practices.



GOEBBELS

WESTERN FRONT

EASTERN FRONT

630888

THE RED ARMY'S DANUBE MARCH

By WILLIAM BRANDT

THE battle of Budapest is a most important encounter in the general Allied offensive, a point of breakthrough toward Vienna and southern Germany. Some hostile commentators made dark hints about this offensive conducted by the Red Army as being politically motivated, as being a diversion from the main effort, not coordinated with the general war plan of the Allies, etc. All of which is so much balderdash, of course, and it is freely admitted now in responsible circles that this offensive, grandiose both in its conception and execution, is of inestimable value in the total Allied scheme of things.

True, the Russians have never lost sight of the political motivations of this war, which did play a very great role in this offensive. We have learned in Italy, Belgium and Greece that whenever military expediency—genuine or spurious—runs counter to the political motivations of the war, something is wrong and our war effort is blunted.

To be guided by political motivations is the foremost requirement and virtue of top war leadership. It results in creating military predicaments for the enemy; i.e., in our keeping the initiative. To forget about political motivations means to be delivered to, and to be ruled by, military expediency: i.e., losing the initiative.

Let us consider then, the political motivations of the Danube offensive. The idea, as stated openly by Marshal Stalin in his November 1944, anniversary speech, was to knock Hitler's Balkan satellites out of the war, and gain the liberated peoples of those countries as armed allies in the war against Germany. According to Molotov, "fascism must be defeated not only militarily, but politically and morally." To knock out the puppets is beating fascism militarily; to gain the liberated people as armed allies is beating fascism politically and morally.

This masterly synchronizing of the basic military and political conceptions made the offensive precisely the grand performance that evoked the admiration of the anti-Hitler world. Which renders, incidentally, the tasks of diplomacy ever so much easier, guards against pit-

falls, against groping in the dark, makes finding the real representatives of the people in the liberated countries almost a process of natural selection and the job of ferreting out the collaborationists and fifth columnists relatively simple. It promotes the natural growth of the resistance into the liberation.

The political objective of this offensive was to crush Hitler's "New Order" in southeastern Europe. The "New Order" in the Balkans had the structural defect that its puppets had to be the representatives of extreme chauvinism in every country, and yet these same puppets had to be harnessed to Pan-German conquest. Hitler had to make them forget about their own differences and unite in the common fascist crusade, while dangling before them the promise of booty from a beaten Russia. The moment that "beaten Russia—never to rise again" began to thrash the daylights out of the panicky Reichswehr, the puppets were bound to fall out among themselves. The spell was broken. The Red Army arrived at the right "psychological moment." So much for the "timing" of the offensive.

Hitler's psychological warfare proved a washout. The failure of the "New Order" opens the door to a new era of popular sovereignty, even as it was brought about by the assertion of popular sovereignty. This war is, to the peoples, an object lesson both of the curse of chauvinism and the concrete meaning of popular sovereignty. Legal experts may safely stop racking their brains about the definition of popular sovereignty: Hitlerism is its extreme negation, and resistance is its positive assertion. Consequently, you do not need a legal Diogenes' lamp in order to find those qualified to function as a provisional government. The provisional governments in liberated countries must be recruited from among those who have been leading in the resistance movements or are capable of mobilizing the people for resistance.

IN THESE respects, Tito's struggle and accomplishment represents, without any doubt, the highest level of Balkan development. Tito's titanic struggle and success antedated the Red Army's ar-

rival at the Yugoslav border. In fact, Tito's epoch-making, nation-building struggle prepared the ground, morally and politically, for the Russian offensive, by demonstrating the impossibility of the "New Order" and the possibility of a social, economic and political renaissance in the Balkans. The significance of this, both for war and for the peace, cannot be overrated.

A Greece in which popular sovereignty is trampled underfoot simply cannot cooperate with the new Yugoslavia. The attempt to crush popular sovereignty is the attempt to revive Balkan chauvinism. It is no accident by any means that General Plastiras, the new Greek premier, who cannot see "how we are going to solve the present problem without bloodshed," uses at the same time the Hitlerian terms of chauvinistic provocation and prates about "dark figures of internationalists and anarchists inspired from abroad." Without Greek-Yugoslav amity the rejuvenation of the Balkans becomes impossible. And without that, Anglo-Russian as well as Anglo-American cooperation is placed in jeopardy.

THE rights of small nations have, indeed, become of major importance. They cannot be simply "guaranteed" by the great powers. It is, rather, the other way around: the cooperation of the great powers is guaranteed by their respect for popular sovereignty. It is that respect for popular sovereignty that distinguishes the hoary "Concert of Powers" from the new United Nations. Mr. Churchill had occasion to learn this truth graphically. At first he pleaded for a new meeting of the Big Three: which would have been putting the cart before the horse and would not have settled anything. So before this he had to go to Athens and try to make some arrangement with regard to the popular sovereignty of those 7,000,000 "gangsters from the mountains."

The liberation of Hungary and the internal changes attendant upon it provide the final touch to the rejuvenation of the Balkans. "The Balkans" is no mere geographical expression: it is the epitome of backwardness—economic, social and political. Yugoslavia belongs

geographically to the Balkans, but in Tito's Yugoslavia "Balkan" backwardness has been overcome. Hungary does not belong to the Balkans geographically, but her feudal ruling caste was vitally interested in the conservation of Balkan backwardness, Balkan chauvinism, Balkan friction.

This was the role assigned to Hungary in the scheme of German imperialism: Hitler's purposes were served by Hungarian irredenta wedged into the Balkans. Trianon led to the Balkanization of Europe, not, as Magyar chauvinism made it appear, because some territories were taken away from Hungary and given to the successor states but because, at the same time, the feudal structure of Hungary was left untouched, or rather its restoration was permitted and even fomented by active intervention in the name of European stability.

Given a chance, the Hungarian people will prevent a repetition of that tragedy. And the chance was given by the historic march from the Volga to the Danube, from Stalingrad to Budapest.



READERS' FORUM

What Rules for Artists?

TO NEW MASSES: I am writing this letter because I am not at all convinced by the art theories put forth in Mr. Lowell Richards' letter in the December 19 issue of **NEW MASSES**. This letter disturbed me tremendously, since it seems to express ideas which can be inimical to the understanding of art and its role in society.

We know that there is art work done in primitive societies and in highly cultured ancient societies which is artistically comparable to, if not greater than, any masterpiece produced since the Renaissance. We have ancient Precolumbian sculpture, African sculpture, Chinese, Egyptian and Greek sculpture; we have prehistoric paintings on cave walls (miracles of draughtsmanship and skill); we have wonderful silk paintings—exquisite in design and feeling—handed down from generation to generation of Chinese. All these works express the lives of the people from the point of view of the *individual* with his background and environment.

It also seems to me that Mr. Richards has too glib a way of throwing around the word "esthetics." What does he mean by "esthetics"—any of the elements of composition, design, color, technique, etc? Or is it all the elements with the exception of so-called "social consciousness"?

The statement, "Great works in all arts have resulted from integration of a people's life and time with a resulting historical technical expression" is true—and yet Mr. Richards does not realize the full implication of what he is saying. If it is true then Matisse should certainly be acclaimed, and not only Matisse but every single artist after him of any type whatsoever who had any influence whatever on society. This includes the Bauhaus school, Klee, Kandinsky, Gropius, Miro, Mondrian, Helion, etc. We are too quick to deny these artists the honor they so richly deserve, if for nothing else than in helping through their formulation of modern art and design to build a more utilitarian and comfortable world. Surely *they* are the scientific ones—who is he that shall lay down the law as to how a man can best serve society? Our artistic problems will be solved in one way—by painting and learning more and more and not by being narrow.

As one cannot differentiate between art of different nations, one cannot differentiate between art of different classes. One cannot say: this is "bourgeois" art, and this "proletarian" art. Art is art, unfortunately, whether the

artist comes from the ranks of the workers or the bosses. It is true that sometimes an artist is limited. However, again unfortunately, the "proletarian artist" is not necessarily the "chosen of God." He too, can be lousy—limited by his physical responses or his psychological makeup. After all, an artist is a human being, moulded by forces; and these forces varying from a quarrel with his wife to the situation on the Western Front.

An artist should paint to the best of his ability anything that he has experienced or felt in his lifetime and not worry as to whether it's for the masses. It is his privilege to paint still lifes or any nebulous fancy which comes into his head. Its worth will be determined by society, eventually. As far as "painting for the masses"—from the propaganda point of view, posters do a far superior job. I hope that by "painting for the masses" Mr. Richards does not mean pretty landscapes, etc., which can be purchased in the average five-and-ten—or the war scenes, which can be very graphic in newspapers.

Regardless of all the arguments, however, the inexorable forces of time will have their way. Artists will paint from their backgrounds and minds and hearts as they wish, not observing any rules. I say let's not be prejudiced against any great artist because we suspect he was bourgeois: no matter what his politics, if he is a specialist in his field, a great deal may be gained from his work. New York. SOPHIA KORFF.

Our Economic Rights

TO NEW MASSES: Do you think we progressives have been paying sufficient attention to President Roosevelt's "Economic Bill of Rights"? I am not a historian, nor even a student, but as nearly as I can remember American history all our great national wars have left their imprints on our Constitution. The first Bill of Rights—Amendments I to X of our Constitution—was added after the Revolution, I believe, when experience proved its guarantees essential. The Civil War brought in its wake the Fourteenth and other amendments.

With an increased public pressure the Economic Bill of Rights can be the outgrowth of this war. The first step, of course, was electing Roosevelt in November. After this it is up to the people—up to us. The precedent exists in our history. JEANNE PASTOR. Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

WHAT VANDENBERG MEANS

EVEN a tory United States Senator can change his political opinions for worthier ones and we would be among the first to cheer such a convert. But has the gentleman from Michigan, Arthur Vandenberg, really altered his mind or the basic direction of his ideas simply by assuming an air of sweet reasonableness and by uttering a few cunning phrases? We believe not. It should be remembered that Mr. Vandenberg was one of the important architects of the Republican foreign policy plank. That plank was rejected last November and Mr. Vandenberg is adroit enough to know that he and his brethren in high Republican councils will have to change their tunes to sell their wares. If anything has changed in this Dewey colleague's approach to foreign policy it is his tactics. The fundamental conceptions remain: they are now being packaged differently. And it is sad to see that several otherwise perceptive people with public influence and standing are being misled into buying Vandenberg's stock of goods. They were vigilant when John Foster Dulles, Mr. Dewey's would-be Secretary of State, came forth with proposals similar to Vandenberg's last August and they rejected them without hesitation. Now that Vandenberg has refurbished the Dulles doctrine they swallow the whole of it, including the anti-British and anti-Soviet portions.

We can dismiss as hardly original with Vandenberg the idea of a great-powers treaty to keep Germany and Japan within the bounds of decency. No one will object to agreements that strengthen the grand alliance. Such arrangements in part have been made and are in the making, with the Anglo-Soviet and French-Soviet concordats pioneering the way. If the United States has not yet become a party to these treaties the blame is Mr. Vandenberg's and those of his friends in the House and Senate who have wielded a big stick against any written understanding of a treaty character. The President has had to buck them even to get such agreements as now exist. So strong has been their opposition to treaties that the Anglo-American oil proposals were

withdrawn from the Senate to keep them from being mauled into oblivion. Where was Mr. Vandenberg on this issue? The Dumbarton Oaks project involves an explicit understanding among all democratic states, with the major powers at the head, to prevent future aggression and there can be no doubt that it is the President's desire to have the executive right to use force against violators of the peace wherever and whenever necessary. If Senator Vandenberg was not merely preempting to himself a key point in the White House program for collective security, why did he not call for immediate Senate approval of the Dumbarton Oaks plan and pledge his word to support the President all the way down the line?

What is unmitigated quackery is Mr. Vandenberg's desire to amend the operations of a future world organization so that every political decision made by us and our Allies during the course of the war will be tentative and subject to revision after the war. These decisions involve the whole future of Europe, its democratic content and direction. They involve means and ways of uprooting fascism and its leadership once the Wehrmacht is reduced to impotence. Boundaries will have to be revised, reparations agreed upon, the war criminals punished. New governments will have to be recognized. All of this is agreeable

to Vandenberg provided the decisions taken now are later reviewed, changed and discarded according to his lights.

If anything is settled now Vandenberg would unsettle it later. He knows that because of America's preeminent financial and industrial position the countries of Europe and Asia will be counting on American assistance in their reconstruction programs. When they ask for our help he would use our delegates' veto power in an international organization against those changes and decisions that do not conform to the interests of American imperialists. Vandenberg's plan, therefore, is another version of the American Century dogma which calls for international collaboration as a weapon against the collaborators. It is meant to bring pressure on Mr. Roosevelt at a moment when he is preparing to leave for the second tri-power meeting, where the still-remaining differences over the Dumbarton Oaks proposals will be discussed and ironed out. By creating sentiment for a limited commitment to Dumbarton Oaks, Vandenberg hopes to tie the President's hands unless Great Britain and the USSR submit to the Vandenberg decree. On the eve of the Dumbarton Oaks meeting last summer, Mr. Dewey tried a similar stunt. It failed miserably. Mr. Vandenberg is trying now to succeed where Dewey could not. It should fool no one.

National Service

SINCERE and patriotic adherents of the all-out effort to win the war and win it speedily cannot consistently make reservations or exceptions to it. This applies to the President's proposal for a national wartime service act. It seems to us that at a time like this one ought to hesitate to set one's judgment on such a matter against the President's, to whom many facts are known which are not available to the general public. Our Commander-in-Chief, in consultation with his military and naval aides, has reached the conclusion that national service legislation is necessary. Our traditional democratic opposition to anything even resembling labor conscription is as-



|||||

LI

E. Miller

sociated with a period in the past when reactionary government forces sought to lower working and living standards and to destroy the labor movement. In the present period, when we are waging a progressive war to cleanse the world of fascism and the type of reactionary forces associated with predatory exploitation of labor, there are no grounds for such suspicions. Support for the President's proposals is merited not only by his consistently friendly attitude towards labor, but above all by the historic character of the war. This is labor's war and a people's war in the fullest sense.

We accept Mr. Roosevelt's judgment that a national service act is necessary for a planned and efficient distribution and utilization of the nation's manpower. In outlining its purpose in his message to Congress the President assured labor that seniority and retirement rights, benefits, wage standards and prevailing working conditions will be safeguarded. Furthermore, he proposed that the present voluntary and cooperative methods remain as the foundation of our approach to the manpower problem and that voluntary processes be supplemented with compulsion where necessary. Our allies have adopted this system from the beginning of the war and found that compulsion was rarely needed.

The specific provisions of the act will to a large extent be determined by the attitude of organized labor and the progressive forces toward it. Opposition to this measure in principle will only assist the reactionaries in and out of Congress to include provisions detrimental to labor. The dangers do not lie in the principles of national labor service, but rather in permitting by default the anti-labor elements to write the act. The CIO has acted constructively in urging War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes to call a conference of labor, management, agriculture and government to work out plans for increasing production and eliminating manpower shortages. The CIO has pledged to support the proposals of such a conference, including "any necessary legislation."

No Strike

AN EVENT of national—and international—significance is unfolding in Detroit and other strongholds of the automobile industry, but one would need a microscope to find adequate word on it in the commercial

press. We refer to the referendum currently being held by the United Automobile Workers-CIO on the no-strike pledge; one million and a quarter of America's key workers are involved, a fifth of them in uniform. But the issue is even bigger than that.

Involved is the structure of national unity, of relations between organized labor and our soldiers; in short, the war itself. Were it not for the fact that basic issues are obscured, the vote would be almost unanimous in favor of retention. For these reasons it is reprehensible that the commercial press has failed to apprise the nation of this crucial event; the little news that has appeared—as, for instance, the bare, Red-baiting report by *PM* last week, has harmed our national interest. All supporters of victory must understand the issues and aid those vigorously battling to retain the no-strike pledge.

We refer readers to the illuminating article from Detroit by James Keller, in *NM* of December 26. Later developments are these: the formation of a National Committee for Retention of the No-Strike Pledge, headed by such men as President R. J. Thomas and Secretary-Treasurer George F. Ades, and including the majority of the UAW's board and regional heads; a Red-baiting attack upon this committee by the only national leader who failed to join it, Vice President Walter Reuther; the mounting activity of those who support the no-strike pledge; and the final smoking-out of Reuther's

★

THE Town Hall Meeting of the Air, now taken over by "Reader's Digest," gave another example of its peculiar public forum standards in its debate last week on "Is Communism a Menace to America?" The two men assigned to the affirmative included one whose very appearance was an offense to the idea of democratic discussion, the notorious appeaser and defender of Franco, Henry J. Taylor, and that Hetman of the anti-Soviet freebooters, William Henry Chamberlain. The defense was assigned to those "friends" of Communism, Harry F. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, and Roger Baldwin, which is like assigning counsel who agree with the prosecution as to the defendant's guilt but have scruples against capital punishment. It is time for this shameful travesty of public discussion to be hissed off the air.

real objective—his desire to oust Mr. Thomas and capture the presidency of the union for himself.

The key to Reuther's behavior lies in his unbridled ambition, hence his desire to cooperate with every disruptive group within the union—particularly the Trotskyists and the Norman Thomas Socialists. Hence his nefarious doubletalk (he's "for" retention now, but not after V-E Day) and his active finagling with the most rabid opponents of the pledge.

Involved, too, is the plot of the Trotskyists and John L. Lewis' adherents to capture this giant union. They bank on the irritations of auto workers who have legitimate grievances—delays in War Labor Board decisions, etc. But they realize they are bucking up against the unalterable patriotism of the rank-and-file, whose last desire would be to let their brothers in uniform down. The Reuther line-up can win only by obfuscating the real issues involved.

For these reasons we urge our readers to support the National Committee for Retention of the No-Strike Pledge; the latter, representing the overwhelming majority of the union and the interests of our nation, can use funds for their campaign of enlightenment on the underlying issues. Their address is 15080 Strathmore, Detroit 27. Letters of endorsement, as well as funds, are helpful.

Spending Our Money

THE primary purpose of a nation's war budget is to make adequate financial provisions to win the war. And since this is the year when the war's end in Europe is in prospect, its purpose must also be to "begin plans to transform an all-out war economy into a full employment peace economy." These two purposes are the core of the President's budget message to Congress.

The *New York Times* is disturbed over the peacetime perspectives of the message, just as it was disturbed over the Murray War Contracts Subcommittee's bill for a national job and production budget. Its fear of "planned economy" leads it to suspect all planning aimed to stabilize our postwar existence and economic security. The President told Congress that "we owe it to those who give everything that we set our sights as high for peace as we set them for war." A prosperous economy, which benefits the entire nation, is an indispensable condition for a stable and

lasting peace. The \$450,000,000,000 cost of the war and the still more precious cost in lives and sacrifices must not be paid again. And toward this end the budget message is a worthy supplement to the masterful message on the State of the Union delivered a few days earlier.

The President's budget message illustrates his conception of that One World wherein our economy is an inseparable sector of the world economy and our own economic well-being is one of the conditions for a flourishing world economy. A central objective for the entire nation is therefore approximately 60,000,000 jobs. In FDR's words, "full employment in peacetime can be assured only when the reduction in the war demand is approximately offset by additional peacetime demand from millions of consumers, businessmen, farmers and federal, state and local governments."

To help bring this to pass he calls on Congress to provide additional aid to farmers, expansion of social insurance, enlargement of educational facilities, public works, increased income for federal employes, a permanent national employment service and the continuation of federal mediation of labor disputes. In order to forge adequate links between ours and the world economy he urges the adoption of the Bretton Woods monetary proposals, as well as the expansion of the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank. These are the first necessary steps towards a substantial increase of our foreign trade that is essential to enable our economy to work at full capacity. The President's budget for the completion of the war is at the same time a budget for reconversion to a stable peace.

Worldwide Labor Unity

THE immediate organization of a new world trade union federation, representing all organized labor in the freedom-loving nations, will be proposed by the CIO at the international labor conference to be held in London next month. This is the welcome news released by CIO President Philip Murray. The power of organized labor on a world scale will thus become a force in the speedier conclusion of the war, in the preservation of peace and in raising living standards. Before the war labor internationally was divided and could not effectively use its influence against the incipient fascist war menace.

The pre-war International Federation of Trade Unions represented a minority of world organized labor and displayed no interest in attaining labor unity. The impact of the war has brushed the IFTU off the stage of history, though some of its actors still insist on going through their routine back stage.

The urgent need for international labor unity has been manifested in the calling of the London conference. Mr. Murray reveals that about forty national trade union centers from upward of thirty nations will be represented at the conference. Its agenda will include means of furthering the war effort, labor's attitude toward peace settle-

★

WE ARE pleased to report that Frederick C. Crawford, former head of the National Association of Manufacturers, the man who saw good in Mussolini and Hitler and wisdom in Chamberlain and who now sees prosperity in Nazi occupation, has been properly spanked. After debunking Crawford's version of a France booming under the Nazis, Eugene Gentil, president of "France Forever" noted that what Crawford said of the Resistance is "exactly what Vichy and Goebbels said." The comment is all the more significant since M. Gentil is a noted industrialist, owner of the St. Gobain Glass and Chemical Works, the largest of its kind in France.

The Norwegian ambassador, W. Morgenstjerne, and Torolv Kandahl, director of the Norwegian Information Service, were even more caustic. "Goebbels and his henchmen," commented the latter, "have always referred to these people as Communists, but it was left for Mr. Crawford to label them ex-convicts." The noted French Catholic Jacques Maritain, writing in the New York "Herald Tribune," added his voice to the protest against Mr. Crawford's vilification of Europe's reviving democracy. The "Tribune" itself took Mr. Crawford, though too gently, to task, calling him a modern "innocent abroad," which is a little like explaining some of Moll Flanders' missteps on the ground of virginal naivete.

One thing, however, was lacking. Since Mr. Crawford is far from representing American industrialists, why haven't some of their progressive spokesmen publicly dissociated themselves from his views?

ments, the new world organization, and trade union demands for the postwar period and reconstruction. Mr. Murray explained that the AFL project of reviving the IFTU was impractical because it would entail a loss of valuable time and would automatically exclude the CIO, the Railway Brotherhoods and the Russian trade unions. Time is of the essence if world labor is to play a constructive role now.

The unfortunate element in this situation is the considered refusal of the AFL leadership to attend the London conference. However, local unions and central bodies in many parts of the country are passing resolutions demanding that the AFL send representatives to the London gathering. The latest to act on this question was the Delaware State Federation of Labor. In view of the shortness of time the local labor bodies should also concentrate on efforts to have their respective international unions send delegates, or at least observers, to the historic London conference. The Ohio state convention of the International Association of Machinists and the paper of New York Local 807 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have both made proposals along these lines.

Men of Good Will

THE great Negro weekly, the *Chicago Defender*, has chosen twenty-one "men of good will" for its Race Relations Honor Roll for 1944. Among the citations are Harry Cohn, president of Columbia pictures, "for producing the finest motion picture of the year in its approach to the Negro in *Sahara*"; W. E. B. DuBois, research director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for his fight for his own people everywhere; Roscoe Dunjee "for his intelligent campaign to bring wisdom and maturity to the conduct of Negro business"; General Eisenhower "for his fair-minded attitude to Negro troops under his command"; Howard Fast for his *Freedom Road*; Sidney Hillman as chairman of PAC "for leading the most intelligent election campaign among the Negro voters in all history and recognizing their special needs and problems in politics"; E. Franklin Frazier, professor of sociology at Howard University, "for his clear-headed and influential leadership in American sociology to place the Negro problem before the nation's conscience"; S. J. Novick, president of the Electronic Corporation

of America "for his wise employment policy in his New York plant where racial lines are completely discarded and Negro workers hold skilled jobs along with whites"; Joe Louis "for building a valuable reservoir of good will for the American Negro through his extensive tour of Army camps throughout the world." Such a roster should be evidence in itself to contradict the gloomy prophets who complain that we are making no gains for democracy at home. It is also a sobering reminder of how many more achievements like those for which the *Defender* gave its awards must become history before the promises of the Fourteenth Amendment are fulfilled.

Swiss "Neutrality"

LAST October the Soviet Union refused to sit at the international civil aviation conference because Portugal, Spain and Switzerland had also been invited. A good many people could understand the USSR's objections about the two Iberian countries but why, they asked, did Moscow pick on Berne? After all, went the argument, Switzerland is small but she is a great island of democracy in Europe. Her neutrality has been strict and favored neither of the belligerents. When we wrote that she was neither democratic nor neutral we based our opinion on some solid fact, now supplemented by a report in the *New York Herald Tribune* (January 3) to the effect that Washington "may soon take strong steps to convince Switzerland that she must call a halt to many actions that now help Germany or face economic retaliation by this country." Perhaps the pressure which the Foreign Economic Administration plans to exert on Berne through the State Department is designed to keep Switzerland from renewing her trade agreement with Berlin. Whatever the reason for choosing the present moment, the point is that at long last we are contemplating action against a country which has been a center of anti-Allied intrigue, whose armament firms have been supplying the Wehrmacht, and which rejected an Anglo-Soviet-American note warning neutrals not to grant asylum to Axis war criminals.

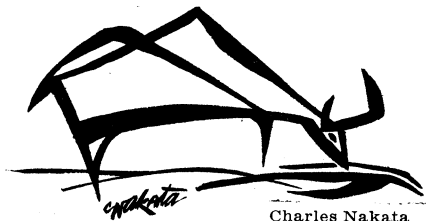
A Poland for Future Peace

A good deal is being said in the press about the Soviet Union's "reprehensible" act in recognizing the Lublin Provisional Government without the agreement of Washington and London. The whole tenor of the discussion is one of self-righteous indignation. In *Collier's* of January 6, George Creel writes as if Moscow is about to move into his backyard and collectivize his flowerbeds; the *New Republic* of January 8 solemnly disapproves the whole of Soviet policy because it does "business with bad characters like Mannerheim in Finland." The *New Republic* leaned over backwards to defend Mannerheim during the first Soviet-Finnish war. Now that Mannerheim has become a figurehead in a new Helsinki authority attempting to live in peace with the USSR, our editorial contemporaries find this relationship unforgivable.

All this, we maintain, is nonsense. It is not our concern to defend Moscow's conduct of its foreign affairs. Our major interest is to clear the atmosphere of the fog of damaging polemics which hurts America's interests in Europe and comforts no one but Hitler and von Rundstedt. The record is clear that the Soviet government's *de jure* recognition of Lublin came as the climax to a series of fruitless attempts to get the best elements among the Poles in London to join forces with the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PCNL) in establishing a provisional government. Both Washington and London were completely informed about these negotiations, with Mr. Churchill personally participating in the recent Moscow meeting along with former premier Mikolajczyk, Marshal Stalin, and representatives of the PCNL. Our Ambassador Harriman acted as an observer. When, on the request of Lublin, Moscow agreed to exchange ambassadors, both the State Department and the Foreign Office in London were informed. In other words, recognition came as a surprise to no one.

The question is not whether the USSR was justified in establishing formal diplomatic relations with the Polish Provisional Government, but whether that government deserves to be recognized. The answer to that question should determine the course of our own policy. It is the only real test of with whom we shall deal and with whom we shall not. It is a test we have applied in Argentina and it is a test we shall have to apply soon in Spain. In both cases we have found and are finding that it is injurious to our interests to deal with authorities harmful to the progress of the war and a definite menace to a stable peace. And of the two groups of Poles, in London and Lublin, which can contribute best to the war and help in securing a stable Europe? The London Poles are, without a doubt, pledged to an anti-Soviet policy which would keep the continent in continual upheaval. They would even befriend a defeated Germany for an eventual counterblow not only against the USSR but against all who insist on living in friendship with that country. America would be embroiled in no time.

The Lublin Poles, on the other hand, are our friends. They are our friends by virtue of the fact that their internal program of reform, of democratization of the land, of industrialization, makes necessary an external policy of good neighborliness and of close comradeship and mutually profitable trade relations with the democracies on which they count for material assistance in reconstruction. Poland wants and needs an enduring peace. And those who fight for an enduring peace in a prosperous world are automatically to be counted among our best allies. It is with this paramount principle in mind that we recognized the French Provisional Government, just as did the Soviet Union. The fact that the USSR recognized Lublin first is merely an act of alertness and war necessity. And alertness in the midst of military struggle is an asset of the highest order.



Charles Nakata

On the Offensive

By Colonel T.

THE first half of January 1945, saw the armed forces of the entire anti-fascist coalition go over to a general offensive—in Southern Poland, in Belgium and in the Philippines. The timing of the two major blows in Europe indicates that coalition strategy is working. This is definitely the squeeze play everybody has been waiting for.

The biggest blow is being delivered in the East where the army group under Marshal Konev started its long-awaited offensive from the trans-Vistula bridgehead west of Sandomir and at this writing has reached and crossed the Nida River. This is the last water barrier of any importance covering Cracow and Silesia. (The Nidzitz and the Shrenyava lie across the Red Army's path farther to the west, but as rivers go they are not much.) Although practically all military commentators and analysts speak of Cracow and Silesia as the primary Soviet objectives, it is entirely possible that Konev will strike not to the west, but to the northwest, across the Radom-Kielce-Olkusz trunk line, in order to isolate the German army groups in the bend of the Vistula from those in the Cracow and Silesia area. Such a move would create conditions favorable to the outflanking and possible encirclement of the German armies hanging on to Warsaw and would be indicated by the capture of Pinczov and Yendzheyev (Andreyev) rather than the capture of Scalbmerzh and Mikhov, which would indicate a move in the Cracow direction.

It is entirely possible, of course, that the Soviet High Command contemplates a fanwise operation aiming at outflanking both the Warsaw group and the Slovakia group of the Germans. A hint in that direction is given by the Germans who claim that the Russians have started another offensive northward from the Levice-Lucinec-Kascice line in southern Slovakia, i.e., in the direction of Silesia from the south.

The German Eastern Front on the eve of the present Soviet offensive presented the picture of three German bulges, all of which were about 150 miles at the base and 75 miles deep. There were the bulges of East Prussia, Central Poland and Slovakia. They were separated by two Soviet strategic salients—one in the Narev-Vistula (Warsaw area) and one in the Vistula-Visloka area, comprising the Sandomir bridgehead from which Marshal Konev has just jumped off. Thus, the configuration of the front suggests three encirclement areas, in East Prussia, Central Poland and Slovakia. All Soviet operations from now on will have to be viewed and evaluated in the light of this strategic situation.

The battle of Budapest, meanwhile, grinds toward a climax. The Germans have seemingly failed in their relief expedition and the surrounded garrison is prob-

ably living through its last days. The success of the entire Soviet operation around Budapest is due to a very great extent to the boldness and operational imaginativeness of Marshal Malinovsky who stabbed directly at the root of the German army group which rushed to the relief of Budapest by putting Komarno under artillery fire and cutting the flow of enemy supplies at the most crucial moment.

On the opposite side of the European theater of war, the German counteroffensive has ended in a fiasco and Allied troops are now biting hard at what is left of the German bulge. True, no large scale encirclement and annihilation of enemy troops is in the cards because Rundstedt is withdrawing eastward at a fast clip, sacrificing *Volksgrenadier* divisions as rearguards. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that much will remain of the German-created bulge in a few days and the situation will be restored to the *status quo* of mid-December.

There is little doubt that the Germans have lost more during the last month than we have. They cannot possibly have destroyed a really great quantity of our stores because they never reached Liege, Namur, Dinant and Arlon, which were army bases. Thus the balance of forces in the West will now be more favorable to us than it was on December 15 and a resumption of our offensive toward the Ruhr should be a matter of course. The Germans seem to realize this and are reported to be pulling some of their troops out of Norway to reinforce the crucial sectors of their fronts in Europe. Their idea is probably also to gird for a last stand on the Rhine-Alps-Morava-Oder line. What wouldn't they give to be able to withdraw their 20-25 divisions from Latvia and use them in East Prussia! But they cannot do it anymore—thanks to the brilliant operation carried out by General Bagramian in October, when he bottled up these divisions between Memel and Tukkums.

AMERICAN forces have landed on Luzon and are expanding their beachhead in the direction of Clark Field and Manila, encountering, at this writing, but scant Japanese resistance. The battle, then, for complete mastery of the Philippines is on and probably a quarter of a million men on each side will soon be involved. American task forces are roaming the China Sea and one of them has engaged and severely mauled a big Japanese convoy which was presumably steaming from Singapore toward Luzon. About thirty Japanese ships were sunk or damaged. American fliers are blasting Formosa, the coast of China and the Japanese home islands. Thus it may be said that what is happening in the Western Pacific is not only a battle for the Philippines, but the Battle of China in its preliminary stage.



THE SOUTH: OLD AND NEW

Some Recent Books Reviewed by Herbert Aptheker and Harold Preece

PITCHFORK BEN TILLMAN, by Francis B. Simkins. Louisiana State University Press, \$4.50.

JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET, by Rembert W. Patrick. Louisiana State University Press, \$3.75.

BEN TILLMAN was a raucous symbol of the putrefaction of Southern political life that in part caused and in part resulted from the criminal overthrow of Reconstruction governments.

A son of a wealthy mother who bought smuggled slaves and of a father who was a murderer, he did his progenitors proud. True, unlike his delightful brothers, George and James, he may not have been a murderer. Still, one can't be sure of this, for Ben Tillman was a successful gubernatorial candidate in South Carolina in 1894 when the issue was which candidate was justified in accusing his opponent of *never* having killed a Negro.

Tillman began his career as an ardent supporter of the "Shotgun" party of 1876, devoted to the forcible overthrow of the Negro-white Reconstruction government. As Tillman himself tells it, the leaders of this party "had agreed on the policy of terrorizing the Negroes at the first opportunity, by letting them provoke trouble and then having the whites demonstrate their superiority by killing as many of them as possible."

Tillman's work was to brake and channel the rising wrath of the masses against monopoly which elsewhere resulted in strong agrarian and labor movements. By terror, by chicanery, by fraud, by the whipping up of "racial" insanity, and by the institutionalizing of anti-democratic practices, Tillman succeeded in turning his homeland into an abyss of reaction.

Along with his insane anti-Negroism went a hatred of and contempt for humanity. He explained his inimitable demagogic technique by saying that without it, "the damn fools would not vote for me." Such was Tillman's opinion of the very restricted male electorate of South Carolina, and indeed of the still more restricted portion of that

electorate who did vote for him. In the Senate of the United States, which stank of this man's presence for a full generation, he rose year after year to support lynching, oppose compulsory education, favor contract labor, oppose an eight-hour law and child labor legislation, defame immigrants, denounce woman suffrage (he confessed to a sense of delicacy in shooting down Negro women), and to oppose the Civil Service. As governor of proud and lily-white South Carolina he had taken graft. As Senator he did not alter his habits.

Professor Simkins, himself a South Carolinian, tells the story, leaving little out; but he seems to have learned little from it. He sees in Tillman an "absence of fanaticism and bigotry"! He repeats, as if by rote, the incredible idea that this man "made South Carolina an interested democracy." "Intrepid" to him are the cowardly sadists who terrorized the Negro. More important, he insists on referring to the democratic mass-rule of Reconstruction as Negro rule. Never is the fact mentioned that while the Reconstruction government in South Carolina had eighty-eight Negro representatives, it had sixty-eight poor

whites—very nearly equivalent to the population make-up of the state.

Nevertheless he does tell the whole story, and Louisiana State University has published it. The tale is a tragic one. Yet, such stories must be told and must be understood. The Tillmans tend the trees that bear our strange fruit. He who would tear them up must know where and how their roots grow.

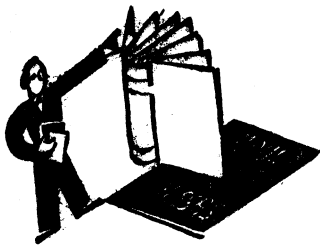
SPECIALISTS will find Patrick's *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet* useful since it assembles in convenient form the essential data on the administrative history of the Confederacy. But the work is aimed not so much at the specialist as at the general public, and it achieved the dubious honor of winning a considerable sum of money from admiring United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Professor Patrick says the Confederacy and the South were synonymous. He says it was a government representative of the majority of its people. He says the effort of the Confederacy was a great national revolutionary movement. And he says that, in terms of leadership, Jefferson Davis was not the equal, but the superior, of Abraham Lincoln!

The truth is the opposite. The Confederacy was an instrument of a small minority of the people of the South. It was established as the result of a terroristic, carefully planned *coup d'état*, and its leaders, like Edmund Ruffin, knew and privately admitted this conspiratorial, minority character of their instrument. Keen contemporaries, like Abraham Lincoln and Karl Marx, publicly exposed this fact.

Moreover, the truth is that this *coup d'état* had utterly reactionary motivation. One of its spiritual fathers, Bishop Elliot, publicly affirmed in Savannah in 1861, that the roots of the Confederacy were its denial of equality, majority rule, and man's right to pursue happiness on earth. Indeed, evidence on this point is so abundant that some of it seeps out in a quotation contained in the book





One Year of NEW MASSES

Reduction made from subscription rate
(regularly \$5 a year), not book list price

plus

MOSES SOYER

A MONOGRAPH by BERNARD SMITH
With 44 illustrations, 1 in full color
LIST PRICE \$1.50

Combination Offer
\$5.75

THE FIRST ROUND by Joseph Gaer	\$2.50	\$6.75
FREEDOM ROAD by Howard Fast	2.75	7.00
THE CROSS AND THE ARROW by Albert Maltz	2.75	7.00
TEMPERING OF RUSSIA by Ilya Ehrenburg	3.00	7.25
THE FOUR FEARS by Sen. Elbert D. Thomas	2.00	6.00
DEEP RIVER by Henrietta Buckmaster	3.00	7.25
WALT WHITMAN by Samuel Sillen	1.50	5.75
PREJUDICE by Carey McWilliams	3.00	7.25
THE PEOPLE OF INDIA By Kumar Goshal	3.00	7.00
TEHERAN by Earl Browder	.35	5.00
TRANSIT by Anna Seghers	2.50	7.00
RISE OF AMERICAN NATION by Francis Franklin	2.00	6.00
THE RAINBOW by Wanda Wasilewska	2.50	6.75
MARTIN DIES by William Gellerman	3.00	7.25
PRESIDENTIAL AGENT by Upton Sinclair	3.00	7.25
THE FIRING SQUAD by Franz Weiskopf	2.50	6.75
THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM by Herbert Morais	2.25	6.25
HARRIET TUBMAN by Earl Conrad	3.25	7.50

NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I wish to take advantage of your combination offer. Enclosed find \$.....

The book is desired is:

Please send it to:

Name

Address

City Zone.....

State

Add \$1 for Canadian and Foreign Postage

under discussion. For the organ of the slaveocratic stylists, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, in 1861 hailed the governmental mechanism of its masters as protecting them "from the despotism of agrarian mobs and lawless democracies." And, surely, he who compares the dour and sinister career and character of Jefferson Davis with the vital and inspired career and character of a world figure like Abraham Lincoln, and awards the palm to the former, has scaled the heights of absurdity.

Much is made here, as in many other works, of the sincerity and earnestness of the Confederate leaders. But these characteristics are not, in and of themselves, virtues. *For what* is one earnest, *towards what* is one sincere? These are the decisive questions. Jefferson Davis and his cohorts were unquestionably sincere and earnest in their attempt to perpetuate Negro slavery and castrate the most progressive and democratic republic then existent. Their sincerity and earnestness—in such a cause—condemn them.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

And the New

DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME, *By Jennings Perry. Lippincott. \$3.00.*

WHEN I was canvassing in the Tennessee hills for the PAC, last fall, one elderly person after the other told me: "Yep, I'm going to vote for Roosevelt because I've got old enough to vote." Which meant that he was past the fifty mark—the age at which one can cast a vote in Tennessee without paying for the right. In the mountain county where I live—one of the dozen or so poorest in the United States—the bulk of the vote is cast by old people who no longer have to choose between the vote and a sack of flour to run a family through a cold Cumberland winter.

Jennings Perry is the chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax and chief editorial writer for the South's most consistently liberal daily. The Nashville *Tennessean* played a distinguished role in the long fight which led to the repeal of the seventy-year-old poll tax by the state legislature in 1943. But the fruits of the people's victory were stolen by a decision of Memphis Boss Ed Crump's state supreme court declaring the repeal act "unconstitutional," and the fight goes on—one of the epic battles of the whole epic struggle for democracy in Dixie. Mr. Perry gives us a lively im-

pression of what happened in that fight, though his documentation omits some vital details.

It is good to see Southerners, as typical of their region as hominy in the washpot, writing such books. It shows that the South and Southerners are finally beginning to take some responsibility for democracy and to do some tall scrapping on their own part. To me, the outstanding feature of Mr. Perry's book is its description of how a poll tax machine, whose lifeline is a minority vote, functions. Mr. Perry takes the Crump machine apart, bolt by bolt, trick by trick, to show us that the semi-fascism of Dixie is of the same mold as the semi-fascism of Quebec and other places where democracy has been hobbled like a horse on one of Boss Crump's farms.

To that extent, the book is a valuable piece of Americana and a good omen. The author unfortunately underestimates forces like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the legislative committees of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods in the continuing fight against the poll tax. Somebody ought to hand the Nashville *Tennessean* a Pulitzer prize for its great campaign against the poll tax, but Mr. Perry is so fond of his newspaper that he tends to lose sight of its allies.

The author would also do well to make a serious study of the economic and social context of the Southern poll tax. His present limitations cause him to make a cheap jibe at the Communists who have fought to abolish it for years, and whose press has carried more slashing articles against this levy of shame than even the hard-plugging Nashville *Tennessean*.

Read Mr. Perry's book. But read it against the broader background presented by Katherine Lumpkin's work, *The South in Progress*, or Skaggs' classic indictment of Dixie's political and economic feudalism, *The Southern Oligarchy*.

HAROLD PREECE.

New Dress

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: January 1945. 120¢.

IN THE first World War, Lenin violently castigated those who would have declared a truce in the class war and who proposed and fostered collaboration with the capitalist class. In World War II the American Communists, who call themselves disciples of Lenin, are among the most loyal supporters of our war effort and its aims as expressed at Moscow, Teheran and Dumbarton

Oaks. To prevent any diversion of the nation's energies and any confusion of its aims, they advocate what is, in effect, collaboration with capitalism. And they expose and denounce all who would now put class interest above the common interest, who would continue the class war, whatever the high sounding pretext, in the midst of the common war against fascism.

Is not this a contradiction? And if American Communists are right, would it not be wise, at least for the duration, quietly to pass over the teachings of the "uncompromising Lenin"?

In his powerful and lucid article, "The Study of Lenin's Teachings," which opens the first issue of the magazine *Political Affairs*, successor to *The Communist*, Earl Browder finds the resolution of the apparent contradiction in the writings of Lenin himself. Significantly published as a commemorative piece, it calls for a continued and intensified study of these writings.

What emerges from this analysis is a fresh testimony to the flexible, the history-perceiving, the creative intelligence of Lenin. Here we have that rare interaction of theory and practice, that example of principle being fulfilled in the resistant terms of life that is the distinction of the masters of Marxism. The image of Lenin as "uncompromising" is accurate only to the extent that compromise was not characteristic of him. He resorted to compromise when it better suited the situation, when it offered the hope "of the peaceful advance of the whole revolution." Then he advocated it even though its chances were "one in a hundred."

Another misconception set straight by Mr. Browder is the notion that Com-

unist policy is directed at wrecking capitalism. A study of the teachings of Lenin, who himself, in the NEP period, promoted a development of capitalism as a precondition to the socialist development of the Five Year Plans, yields refutations of that superficiality. And refutations are to be found in the writings of Marx, Engels and Stalin, as well.

And Communist practice has been in accord with Communist theory. In backward countries where precapitalist forms of economy are in dissolution, Communists are setting up capitalist economic forms. China is a case in point. The Browder article, itself, is in the Leninist tradition. It is a brilliant example of the creative application of principle to problems. One leaves it with a refreshed and cleared mind.

There is no space to more than list the other contents of the magazine. They include: "The Crisis Is in Britain—Not Only in Greece!" by Eugene Dennis; "An Estimate of the Military Situation," by Robert Thompson; "China Needs Democracy and Unity," by Mao Tse-Tung; "Two Conventions of Labor," by Roy Hudson; "The CPA—Our Most Indispensable Weapon," by John Williamson; "The Constitution of the USSR—Guarantee of Democracy," by P. Tumanov; "Universal Military Training," by Carl Ross; "The People Won in Texas!" by David Carpenter.

A final word about the format. Our compliments to whoever is responsible for the typography and design of the magazine. The problem of providing a full, yet readable, page, and headings that contribute a typographical personality without costs in space, is met with great skill. ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.


PAC: CHAPTER ONE

THE FIRST ROUND, *the story of the CIO Political Action Committee*, by Joseph Gaer. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.50.

THROUGHOUT the long ascent from loose and amorphous associations of skilled craftsmen to huge internationals in the mass-production industries, the American labor movement has been restricted by an apolitical tradition stemming from a multitude of causes—tactical considerations in the early days of the American Federation of Labor, opportunism, faulty analyses of the needs of

the labor movement, and the theory that workers could not and should not act independently in the political arena. Only during the last twelve months has American labor finally thrown off such self-imposed limitations. Only with the founding of the Political Action Committee at the CIO convention in 1943 did American labor reach maturity. The test of the new PAC was, naturally, its effectiveness in the 1944 elections, and the test brought results beyond the most fervid expectations.

INVITATION TO RELAX
Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous country side, soaring fireplace, delicious food—and tea. Only 45 miles from New York. MAKE RESERVATIONS



plum point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel. Newburgh 4278



HAVE YOU SEEN OUR NEW LODGE ROOM?
complete with real log fireplace
IDEAL FOR YOUR WINTER WAR-TIME VACATION
Ice Skating on Private Lake
GAMES • RELAXATION
WEEKEND ENTERTAINMENT
Rates \$35 weekly — \$6 daily
Beacon, N. Y.
Tel. Beacon 731
(Only 55 Miles)
N. Y. Office: 207 Fourth Avenue
Tel. ST. 9-0624
Bronx Phone: OLinville 5-6900
M. HOROWITZ, Mgr.

Science & Society

Contents of the
WINTER ISSUE, Vol. IX, No. 1

RACE DISCRIMINATION AND THE LAW
Carey McWilliams

CARTELS AND THE SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY
V. J. McGill

PRODUCTIVITY AND EXPLOITATION UNDER GERMAN CAPITALISM
J. Kuczynski

PLANS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT
V. Gaev

SOCIOLOGICAL PATTERN OF STRANGE FRUIT
Edwin Berry Burgum

Carol Aronovici on *American Housing*;
Nathan Witt on *War and the Law*; Anna
Rechester on *T V A*; Eugene G. Holmes on
Origins of American Sociology; Vladimir D.
Kazakevich on *Readings in Business Cycle
Theory*; Benjamin Farrington on *Society and
Nature*.

★

Single Copies 35¢
Annual Subscription (4 issues): \$1.25

★

SCIENCE & SOCIETY
38 E. 20th ST. NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



Open
All Year;
Outdoor
Sport:
Skating
Skiing
Toboggan-
ing
Open
Fires
Record-
ings.

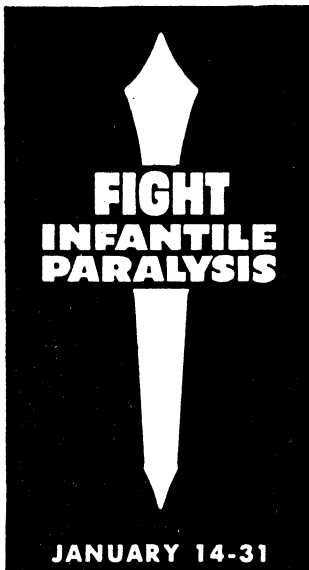
ARROWHEAD — Ellenville, N. Y.; Tel. 502

FOR WINTER
Week-end or extended vacation... fine accommodations, excellent cuisine, completely redecorated.
Hotel Monmouth 7th St. & Monmouth Avenue LAKEWOOD, N. J.
Phone Lakewood 705-706 N. Y. Office LA. 4-1707

Mamasasco Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN. TELEPHONE 820
A magnificent country estate fashioned into a vacation paradise. All seasonal sports including skating on mile long lake. Ping pong, bicycles, dancing, recordings. Fine library, open fireplaces, congenial atmosphere. Famous cuisine. Ask for booklet. Only 50 miles from New York.

HOTEL ROYALE
FORREST AVE. AND 4TH STREET
LAKEWOOD, N. J.
Beautiful Rooms with Bath
Bicycling, Ping-Pong, Entertainment, Thrifty Rates
SONIA GELBAUM, Prop. Tel. Lakewood 1146

OAKWOOD
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477
Delightful . . . ice skating on our private lake
Different . . . the colonial atmosphere
Delicious . . . our unexcelled cuisine
Diverting . . . recordings for listening & dancing
All this only 53 miles from New York City



In *The First Round*, Joseph Gaer tells the important story of the CIO-PAC from its inception. Mr. Gaer has accomplished several valuable functions: he has wisely reproduced the pamphlets published by PAC during the campaign, both to document the record and to preserve material which in a few years will be recognized for its immense historical import; he has reviewed the history of PAC's formation and consolidation with lucidity and directness, weighting the account with well-selected facts and statistics; he has written his story in a way that compels the reader's interest and attention, and at moments transforms his account into a gripping drama. Above all other merits, Mr. Gaer has insisted on PAC's most important aspect—its continuity, its promise of growth and increased effectiveness in the future—for "what has been won so far is just the first round." The most telling estimate of the success of *The First Round* is its importance in equipping labor for the future, its stress upon the need for PAC to sink roots ever more widely into other sections of the population—the unorganized, the farmers, the church, school, middle class, and professional organizations of all descriptions.

Of course, the price of a "quickie" book is the inevitable inadequacy of some sections that demand longer and more thoughtful consideration. Mr. Gaer has been surprisingly able in keeping these inadequacies to a minimum. But he skims over the place of PAC in the development of American labor history. His discussion of the developments and opportunities around the National Citizens' PAC remains insufficient; and his remarks on the PAC's accomplishments in winning joint or parallel action with the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods during the campaign are far too brief. The greatest weakness of *The First Round* reflects the weakness that characterized PAC throughout its formative period: a failure to face up squarely to disruptive and Nazi-inspired Red-baiting. Whereas Mr. Gaer is clear and decisive in his attacks on those who spread the filth of anti-Semitism and of those who raised anti-Negro and anti-Catholic prejudices in an attempt to destroy the PAC, in his references to the Red scare he limits himself to defensive denials that PAC is Communist. Of course, PAC isn't Communist, but there is need to recognize that Communists play a constructive role in the labor movement and are making a valuable contribution to American political life.

Despite these weaknesses *The First*

Round is an indispensable record, timely and perceptive, which should be given the widest possible circulation. Mr. Gaer has a sense of history in the making; he is master of a simple, convincing style. He has provided a handbook for all who understand that labor's coming of age politically is the most exciting and promising development in the fight to preserve and expand our nation's democratic heritage.

BRUCE MINTON.

Lenin

(Continued from page 8)

of society—the toiling and exploited masses—are, on their own initiative, taking upon themselves a job which hitherto, in feudal Russia, up to 1861, was performed by a handful of landlords who regarded it as their special function. At that time it was their function to create nationwide connections and discipline. We know how the feudal landlords imposed this discipline. It meant oppression, humiliation and incredible inhuman suffering for the majority of the people. Recall the transition from serfdom to bourgeois economy. From all that you have witnessed—although the majority of you could not have witnessed it—and from all that you have learned from the older generation, you know how comparatively easy, historically speaking, was the transition to the new bourgeois economy after 1861, the transition from the old feudal discipline of the rod, from the discipline of senseless, arrogant and brutal insult and violence against the person, to bourgeois discipline, to the discipline of starvation, of so-called free hire, which in fact was the discipline of capitalist slavery.

This was because mankind passed from one exploiter to another; because one minority of plunderers and exploiters of the labor of the people gave way to another minority who were also plunderers and exploiters of the labor of the people; because the landlords gave way to the capitalists, one minority gave way to another minority, while the broad mass of the toiling and exploited classes were oppressed. And even this change from one exploiter's discipline to another exploiter's discipline took years, if not decades, of effort. It took years, if not decades, of a transition period, during which the old feudal landlords quite sincerely believed that everything was going to rack and ruin, that it was impossible to run anything without serfdom, when the new capitalist master encoun-

tered practical difficulties at every step and gave up his enterprise in disgust, and when the material sign, one of the material evidences of the difficulties of this transition, was the fact that Russia imported machinery from abroad in order to employ the best equipment, and it turned out that there were neither the people to operate these machines, nor managers. And all over Russia one could see excellent machinery lying around unused, so difficult was the transition from the old feudal discipline to the new bourgeois capitalist discipline.

And so if you look at the matter from this angle, you will not allow yourselves to be misled by those people, by those classes, by the bourgeoisie and their hangers-on, whose sole task it is to sow panic and despondency, to cause complete despondency concerning all our work, to make it out to be hopeless, and who point to every individual case of indiscipline and demoralization and on that account turn away in disgust from the revolution—as if there was ever in the world, in history, a single really great revolution in which there was no demoralization, no loss of discipline, no painful trial steps when the masses were creating a new discipline. We must not forget that this is the first time this turning point in history has been reached, when a new discipline, a labor discipline, the discipline of comradely relations, Soviet discipline, is being created by millions of toilers and exploited. We do not claim, nor do we expect, quick successes in this field. We know that this task will take up a whole historic epoch. We have begun this historic epoch, an epoch in which we are breaking up the discipline of capitalist society in a country which is still bourgeois, and we are proud of the fact that all the class-conscious workers, absolutely all the toiling peasants are helping this destruction in every way; an epoch in which the masses, voluntarily, on their own initiative, are becoming imbued with the conviction that they must—not on instructions from above, but following the dictates of their own living experience—discard this discipline, based on the exploitation and slavery of the toilers, for the new discipline of united labor, the discipline of the united organized workers and toiling peasants of the whole of Russia, of a land with a population of tens and hundreds of millions. This is a task of enormous difficulty, but it is a thankful one, because only when we have fulfilled it in practice shall we have driven the last nail into the coffin of capitalist society which we are consigning to its tomb.

"WELL WORTH SEEING!"
—BARNES, Her. Trib.

"HAS A TREMENDOUS WALLOP!" —MOREHOUSE, Sun

TRIO

BELASCO THEA.
Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

CITY 14th ST.
NEAR 4th AVE.

Most unusual documentary films ever made

Inside Warsaw Today

Filmed under the very noses of the Nazis by the Polish Underground.

Also: John Steinbeck's 'LIFEBOAT'

"THE DYBBUCK"

Also Maxim Gorky's "MOTHER"

Plus Original DON COSSACK CHORUS at Reduced Prices. GR. 5-6975

IRVING PLACE

IRVING PL. AT 14th ST.

RUSSIAN SKAZKA

227 WEST 46th STREET AFTER THEATER FUN

- VODKA AND GOOD FOOD
- SKAZKA ORCHESTRA • ALYOSHA, RED ARMY ACCORDIONIST
- NO MIN. • NO COVER • NO 20% TAX

WINGS OF VICTORY

A soaring salute to the Red Air Force

"MOSCOW SKIES"

A glowing tribute to the dauntless defenders of a gallant city

Court. from 9 a.m. Late show every Sat.

STANLEY

7th Ave. bet. 41-42 Sts. WI. 7-9686

MUSIC LOVERS' RENDEZVOUS

FRED FASSLER and his Soloists
3 SHOWS NIGHTLY. No tax for dinner, dancing and show up to 9 P.M., except Saturday and Sunday

7-Course Dinner \$1.25 up
No cover. No minimum except Sat. and Sun.

VIENNA CAFE

50 West 77th Street TRa. 4-8961

★ BUY WAR BONDS ★

DON'T JUST KEEP IN STEP . . .

HELP SET THE PAGE!

Courses at the Jefferson School are designed to keep you out in front.

You'll feel at home here, where the view is forward-looking, and discussion is lively and free.

Registration begins Jan. 2nd.
Classes Jan. 15th.

127 courses in:

- The World Today and Post-War World • History • Labor and Trade Unionism • Economics and Politics • Science • Psychology
- Anthropology • Philosophy • Literature • Music • the Arts and Languages

For complete catalog, write or phone

The JEFFERSON SCHOOL

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ of Social Science

575 Sixth Avenue, N. Y. 11 • WA. 9-1602



BACK THE ATTACK WITH WAR BONDS



FILMS OF THE WEEK

By JOSEPH FOSTER

“KEYS TO THE KINGDOM,” at the Rivoli, is a long, long cinema trail a-winding from the fancy to the old age of Dr. Francis Chisholm. Instead of attempting to recapture the meaning of the original Cronin novel, RKO reproduces the book with a tedious fidelity to biographical detail, hoping thus to create substance out of sheer narration. As a result, the screen is filled with people rather than characters, with movement rather than meaning, with dialogue rather than relationships. By the dogged statement of intent, in one form or another, the cleric in pursuit of the Kingdom does, I suppose, achieve a sort of goodness and largeness of spirit. But because there is never any illumination of character in terms of conflicts or private quests, Dr. Chisholm's spare angular figure is never filled out by the substance of realism.

Followers of A. J. Cronin know that Francis Chisholm had a tough, orphaned life, but in the film his orphanage is a cushy existence with a well-to-do-family. He makes a bad churchman (by the rule) because he can't make up his mind between his secular appetite and his theological training. When his girl is seduced and dies in childbirth, he turns to the cloth. Here is where the film commits the first of its many bloopers. In a book it is possible to develop a character any way you like provided you take enough time and make your explanations plausible. But in a film, the visual impression is the lasting one, especially when nothing is done to counteract it. At one moment his Nora is a frank-faced woman, very much in love with him; and a few sequences later she runs amok, gets seduced, and passes on with sufficient speed and consideration to get him into the church and to China as a missionary.

As depicted by writers Nunnally Johnson and Joseph Mankiewicz, the Chinese scenes that follow constitute a retrogression from such films as *Dragon Seed* and *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*. In *Keys* the Chinese are presented as mere props to the clinical ministrations

of the missionary. Even the scenes of civil war (republican versus feudal armies) are presented only as a backdrop to the personal problems of the Chisholm circle (and probably also to increase the “production” value of the picture with fires, noise and additional extras).

Keys to the Kingdom could have been made into a decent film on the work of missionaries in China, a subject scarcely touched by Hollywood, and certainly a theme that can stand some filmic exploration. Were it ever to be done successfully, however, the emphasis would have to be on the work itself and on the Chinese people rather than the hero's worries. Gregory Peck, who looks and sounds like a younger Gary Cooper, plays a wooden Dr. Chisholm, never overcoming the limitations of his material. He is supported by Edmund Gwenn, Thomas Mitchell, Vincent Price and fifteen others, as well as by large numbers of supernumeraries in Chinese uniform.

G.C.F., the British film company that made *Dr. Emmanuel*, had one of the finest anti-Nazi films of the war in its grasp, but it muffed the chance badly. For the first half, it has all the qualities needed to make it an incomparable movie—suspense, theme, acting, direction, significance. It poses an elderly Jew, dignified, courageous, virtuous in the fullest antithetical sense to fascism, against the insensate society of Nazi Germany. In 1935, the English Dr. Emmanuel travels to Germany to ascertain the whereabouts of a young refugee's mother. The sequences dealing with his first days in Berlin are excellently done. The action is full of suspense. The stately Jew, profoundly indifferent to the menace that dogs his every step—because his passport “is signed by Anthony Eden himself”—stirs up venomous hatred with every inquiry he makes. You can see the gathering storm that must engulf him sooner or later. Herein lies the suspense.

It is after his imprisonment that the

film goes bad, degenerating from a skillful presentation of antagonistic types and their interaction to the silliest kind of adventure story. The benefactress working for his release is none other than the night club singer who is the reigning toast of Berlin. She is, of all things, a Jewess, daughter of an old friend from London. If you can accept that, you will also accept the fact that top ministers of the Third Reich pursue her like so many infatuated schoolboys. Even more incredible is the accidental role of benefactor thrust upon one such Nazi who, because he is hot about her, is willing to risk his job and his neck to get Emmanuel out of the country. Thus the enemy of the earlier scenes becomes a sympathetic character, since he is now on the side of the hero. The clashing symbols of two types of civilization become reduced to stock figures in a stale plot. Suspense is gone, because you know that Dr. Emmanuel will be rescued. There is no other ending possible to the kind of picture it has now become.

It is a pity that the movie makers lost control of their material. Had they respected the realistic demands of their original situation Dr. Emmanuel would have remained in prison, either until he was rescued by the British consulate, still powerful in Germany at that time, or until he met the same physical fate of other imprisoned Jews. The restraint and taste of the earlier half of the film could easily have been sustained had the action been based on the dignity and unbreakable will of Dr. Emmanuel.

Felix Aylmer plays the elderly Jew with a fullness that is rare in screen acting. Even when the plot gets out of hand, he maintains the plausibility of his character intact.

“MUSIC FOR THE MILLIONS” is distinguished by a display of some of the worst movie taste of 1944. In this film Margaret O'Brien's errors of commission are not only audible but visual as well. The film not only makes her sound like a little old lady; it dresses her up to look like one, umbrella and

all. If you want to hear a new low in artificial dialogue, listen in when she consoles her older sister whose husband is missing in the South Pacific. Another notable item of the picture is the camera-hogging of Jose Iturbi, of whom I counted twenty closeups before my arithmetic folded. Other items include Marsha Hunt, who is probably the most underrated actress in Hollywood, and Jimmy Durante, who is as ingratiating as ever. Snatches of classical and popular music throughout the film give the movie its title, and the finale, with Handel's *Messiah* sung and played by scores of musicians and singers, is impressive. I suspect that this last business was rigged up in response to the lingering symptoms of Hollywood giantism, but despite the odor of the super-duper extravaganza, its dimensions fit the quality of the music. The film has a plot of a kind, but it does not affect this brief catalogue of good and bad points either way.

“HERE COME THE WAVES” can well be retitled *Here Comes Bing Crosby*, since wherever and whenever he appears, the screen is filled with the shrilling call of his adolescent admirers. When he isn't dodging the fans,

he is in pursuit of Betty Hutton who in the film plays a double role, one for Bing, and one for Sonny Tufts, his sidekick. Incidentally La Hutton can split a welkin as neatly as the best of them, but the loud shouter, appearing as a quieter version of herself in a brown wig, is a welcome revelation of new abilities. Bing sings his usual quota of songs, one of them regrettably in blackface. The shenanigans that Crosby and Tufts are forced to pursue in the competition for Hutton are downright idiotic. However, if you are a Crosby fan, I am at this point merely making with the type-writer.

Notes on Music

THE manuscript of the eagerly awaited Prokofieff *Sonata in D Major* Opus 94, for violin and piano, has received its first treatment here at the loving hands of the great and musically progressive violinist, Joseph Szigeti. The audience sat spellbound during his unfolding of it. The music has a clear and spontaneous quality, with fresh melody in all the four movements. The *moderato* leaves an impression of extreme but purposeful economy in the develop-

ment of its melodic line. The *scherzo*, which follows, is boisterous but never grating; while, in direct contrast, the *andante* is soothing. The sonata culminates in the dancing majesty of the last movement. Heard apart from the other sections of the work, its tone might not seem as great. That it is so stirring, therefore, emphasizes the composer's sense of balance. The enthusiasm with which the sonata was received may lead violinists to rest some of the overplayed display pieces which have been weighing down our violin recitals, of late.

A short piece by Ernest Bacon entitled *Buncomb County, (N. C.)*, which Szigeti also played from manuscript, turned out to be a delightful bit of atmosphere. The folk-like mood is kept in clean outline, with no unnecessary frills to show off the violin.

THE Philharmonic, under Artur Rodzinski, and The New York City Symphony, led by Stokowski, both performed the *Symphony No. 6 in B Minor* (“*Pathetique*”) last month; and the attendance at both concerts lent proof that Tchaikowsky still packs them in. Rodzinski's rendering pays particu-

The Song of Liberation

Lyrics by
PAULA STONE

Music by
D. SHOSTAKOVICH
Adaptation by D. J. GRUNES

Forcefully

Piano

Voice

1. At last the day is near, We greet the dawn of
last the day is near, We greet the dawn of

free-dom. It is the hour to rise, and strike for lib-er-
free-dom. U-nit-ed Na-tions all, are fight-ing at our

ty. Then sing our migh-ty song, The Song of Lib-er-
side. Then sing our migh-ty song, The Song of Lib-er-

Copyright 1944, by Russian-American Music Publishers, Inc., New York, N. Y.
International Copyright Secured

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

a-tion. March on to vic-to-ry, Till all the world is
a-tion. March on to vic-to-ry, Till all the world is

free. Then sing our migh-ty song, The Song of Lib-er-
free. Then sing our migh-ty song, The Song of Lib-er-

a-tion. March on to vic-to-ry, Till all the world is
a-tion. March on to vic-to-ry, Till all the world is

1. free. 2. At free.

The Song of Liberation-2

The Russian-American Music Publishers present a new song by Dmitri Shostakovich.

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge \$1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line.

Deadline Fri., 4 p.m.

RoKo GALLERY

RoKo FRAMES

NEW EXHIBITION—Continuing thru January. New watercolors by leading artists. Also drawings, serigraphs, sculpture. \$3.00 to \$100.00.

WE SOLVE ALL FRAMING PROBLEMS. Original designs, original finishes. Prices low, quality high.

51 Greenwich Ave., N.Y.C. 11 CHelsea 2-7049

FRAMING—44th ST. BOOK FAIR GALLERY

WE'LL FRAME THAT ORIGINAL or reproduction to fit the interior you have in mind. Widest variety of moldings and texture finishes. Lowest prices. 133 West 44th Street.

A.C.A. GALLERY PUBLICATION

PICASSO—Elizabeth McCausland's critical appraisal of the artist; 36 pages—10 illustrations; 60¢ post paid. A.C.A. Gallery, 63 East 57th St., N. Y. 22.

APARTMENT WANTED

Man and wife, writers, want light apartment, furnished or unfurnished, two rooms with kitchen and bath; Village preferred. Box 1869, N.M.

GOING WEST?

Young lady would like to drive to Los Angeles with party leaving about February 4th. References exchanged. Phone GR. 3-8202, between 9 A.M. and noon.

FINE FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN with Showroom and Factory in Wholesale District offers you up to 30% Reduction on Ready-to-Wear and Made-to-Measure FURS. Extremely Low Rates on Remodeling, Repairing, Cleaning. ARMOND CHENE, 350 Seventh Ave. nr 30th St. LONgacre 5-1888.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—Insurance of every kind—whatever your needs—FREQUENT SAVINGS. 80 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. Tel. PENnsylvania 6-6788.

INSURANCE

LEON BENOFF—25 Years in Business and expects to run this ad another 25 years. For Insurance, See Mr. Benoff, 391 E. 149th St. ME 5-0984.

THE HEALTH REST

Delightful, Warm, Homelike. Progressive vegetarian resort. Moderate rates. For information Spring Valley, N. Y. Phone Nanuet 2316.

GYMNASIUM

WOMEN—Reduce—Keep fit. Open daily 'til 9:00 P.M. Individual Exercise—Massage—Bicycles—Steam Cabinets, etc. Complete trial visit \$2.25. Special budget exercise course \$12 monthly. Special Saturday corrective exercise courses for Children. GOODWIN'S GYMNASIUM, 1457 Broadway (42 St.). WISconsin 7-8250.

HOTEL ALLABEN

THE HOUSE OF ACTIVITY

501 MONMOUTH AVE., LAKEWOOD, N. J.

LAKEWOOD 819 OR 1222

JACK SCHWARTZ DIRECTOR

FOR WINTER VACATION

Ice Skating on Lake

Tel.: Lakewood 819 or 1222

JACK SCHWARTZ, Prop.

lar attention to the over-all structure by sharply outlining the contrasting relationships in mood among the movements, as well as within each movement itself. He is effective through restraint, something I prefer because I believe the work is dramatic enough to speak for itself.

Stokowski's conception, it is interesting to note, has changed in recent years, for he now instills direct pulse when the music demands it. In a Columbia recording, made some time ago with the All-American Youth Orchestra, the performance is so wailing and flattened out that it is difficult to hear when one movement ends and another begins. Mr. Stokowski still weeps a bit too much for me in the last movement, but after all, the title, *adagio lamentoso*, leaves room for such an interpretation.

That the *Pathetique* meets an enthusiastic reception in the concert halls does not alter the fact that, as with other popular symphonic works, some people have become fed up with it. For those, however, who have not closed their minds to it, different interpretive readings will enable them to react to it on new planes of understanding. It is a snob reaction that leads a small minority to boast of having outgrown the *Pathetique*—and for that matter, Tchaikovsky. To them Tchaikovsky's offense is in pleasing the majority. I have seen the extreme of this position in the little closet sheltering those whose apex of masochistic emotional delight would be reached in, let us say, a *Divertissement* for two piccolos, triangle and tuba. Tchaikovsky continues in the main stream because he is a great as well as accessible composer.

WITH the completion of its first set of six concerts, the New York City Symphony Orchestra under Stokowski has inaugurated a new series at the City Center, to take place on six Monday evenings at 8:30, beginning January 15, and six Tuesdays at 6:00, beginning January 16. The "Six O'Clock Symphonies" on Tuesdays are a useful innovation, for the convenience of servicemen who have other things to cram into their free evening, war workers, students with homework to do later on, and people who like to go to bed early. With performances of the Bach *St. Matthew Passion* and the premiere of Vladimir Dukelsky's oratorio *Lenin-grad* already scheduled, we can look forward to some more of the fine programming indicated in the first series.

THE American Peoples Chorus (renamed the Jefferson Chorus) organized in 1937 by Earl Robinson and renowned for its contribution to musical America, is now part of the cultural activities of the Jefferson School of Social Science, performing both for the school and for outside organizations.

JOHN KITTON.

On Broadway

BROADWAY has done it again: a war play with the war nicely expunged. Take a youngster with a pride-hard monosyllabic denial of all relationship, assail him with friendship so aggressive that it finally smashes through his embittered defense and reveals him as a human being lusting for acceptance and love, spike the whole by giving him only three weeks to live, and you have a story that is sure-fire in any time and any place. This is to say that the Lindsay-Crouse production of John Patrick's *The Hasty Heart* is at least as old in story as *The Ugly Duckling*—and for the most part, almost as irresistible.

The action takes place in a six-bed military hospital ward on the Burma front. There are five congenial convalescents: a Yank, an Aussie, a New Zealander, a Tommy, and a non-English speaking South American Negro. Enter the ugly duckling: a young Scot corroded by poverty and bastardy—and the only one besides the Basuto Negro who does not know that though his operation has been a success, he will die before the month is out. It is largely the nurse with whom he falls in love, and the Yank, and finally the Basuto, who recondition him.

Watching the unfolding play, I could not but remember how the Soviet playwright, Afinogenev, used the pathos of a soldier's impending death. The Red Army General in *Distant Point* becomes a symbolic focus of the Soviet people's unity, incorruptible optimism and determination.

But in Patrick's design, the doctor's verdict signifies nothing more than a playwright's tactic for achieving heightened emotional effect. Considering that the author wrote straight out of his own war experience, it is regrettable that he did not try for a larger horizon. His dialogue is good and occasionally laced with hard poetry and his people are both believable and likable. But the consequence of his having kept so close to the mechanics of individual character-

ization is a small, thin play with much hokum for filler, for all that its sentiment is shrewdly chosen and its dramatic curve well planned.

Central to the evening, of course, is Richard Basehart's performance as the Glasgow waif: bitter-sharp, suspicious, stubborn in maintaining his isolation. And though Anne Burr as the nurse has a great deal to do in helping him emerge into the real world, it is John Lund's Yank who actually keeps the play rolling to the last curtain. There are good performances by Douglas Chandler, John Campbell and Victor Chapin as the other white soldiers, and by J. Colville Dunn as the doctor. None of these, however, has as difficult a part as has Earl Jones playing the Basuto. Jones is on the stage most of the time, but though he has only a few native words to utter, he manages solidly to establish both the dignified friendliness and the separateness of the character. Bretaigne Windust was responsible for the staging and Raymond Sovey for the simple, effective set.

HARRY TAYLOR.

ART CALENDAR

Moses Soyser: Until January 20 at the ACA, 63 E. 57. To be reviewed next week.

Milton Avery: Gouaches—Rosenberg, 16 E. 57, through February 3. Oils—Durand Ruel, 12 E. 57, through February 3.

Jon Corbino: Kleeman, 65 E. 57, through January 31.

Nicholas Takis: Valentine, 55 E. 57, through January 20.

Edgar Degas: Buchholtz, 32 E. 57, through January 27.

RoKo: Group Exhibition, 51 Greenwich Avenue.



Announcing the Winner

of

NEW MASSES SUBSCRIPTION CONTEST

1st Prize —PAULINE GITNIK, New York—45 Subs

2nd Prize—CHARLES E. GLADSTONE, Los Angeles—26 Subs

3rd Prize—WILLIAM VULCAN, New York—20 Subs

Honorable Mention—JAMES W. JONES, New York—19 Subs

Two hundred and ten active participants have received prizes of books and prints.

Our Sincere Thanks

BUT DON'T STOP

Keep Right On Rolling Up the Circulation

NEW MASSES ANNOUNCES ITS ANNUAL MID-WINTER

WEEKEND

Three Glorious days in the Rip Van Winkle Country. Skiing, Tobogganing, Skating, Hiking, Fireplaces, Pingpong, Dancing, etc.

ENTERTAINMENT.

LECTURES ON CULTURAL-POLITICAL SUBJECTS.

\$8.50 PER DAY — \$25 FOR WEEKEND

**Feb. 10, 11, 12, Lincoln's Birthday Weekend
Three Full Days**

ARROWHEAD LODGE

Ellenville, N. Y.

Make Your Reservations Now

Fill in coupon below and mail to New Masses, 104 E. 9th St., New York 3, N. Y., or call GRamercy 3-5146

I wish to make reservations for..... people at \$25.00 per person for the three-day weekend of February 10, 11, 12 inclusive.

Remittance enclosed Deposit enclosed

MALE
 FEMALE
 COUPLE

Name

Address

Telephone

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED
TO JOIN NEW MASSES IN HONORING OUTSTANDING
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CULTURAL WORLD AT AN

AWARDS DINNER

Monday, January 22, 1945, at 6:45 p.m.

at the HOTEL COMMODORE

R.S.V.P. COUVERT \$5

AWARDS TO:

- Stephen Vincent Benet (posthumously)** Poetry
(To be accepted by Mrs. Stephen Vincent Benet)
- Howard Fast** The Novel
- Daniel Fitzpatrick** The Cartoon
- William Gropper** The Cartoon
- John Howard Lawson** The Scenario
- Lillian Hellman** Drama
(To be accepted by Mr. Herman Shumlin)
- Lena Horne** Films
(To be accepted by Miss Fredi Washington)
- Fredric March** The Theatre, Films
- F. O. Matthiessen** Literary Criticism
- Quentin Reynolds** War Reportage
- Carl Van Doren** Historical Biography
- Max Weber** Fine Art

Paul Robeson and Senator Elbert D. Thomas

CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE DINNER COMMITTEE

NEW MASSES DINNER COMMITTEE 104 East 9th Street New York 3, N. Y.	Gentlemen: Enclosed please find \$..... for..... reservations at \$5 per plate.
	Name.....
	Address.....
	City..... Zone..... State.....
	Telephone Number.....