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**NEW MASSES**

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**CRIME  
MUST NOT PAY**

**D. N. Pritt, MP, gives the facts on the War Crimes Commission**

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

**HAROLD L. ICKES, QUENTIN REYNOLDS, HOWARD FAST, ANNA LOUISE  
STRONG, LT. COM. CHARLES S. SEELY, ROGER BALDWIN, GEORGE  
MARSHALL, VIDA SCUDDER, CARL MURPHY, VIRGINIA GARDNER, JOSEPH  
NORTH, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, WILLIAM GROPPER.**

# BETWEEN OURSELVES

**D**EAR READER: This is the last communication I will make to you in the pages of NM for some time to come. I am leaving for London to cover the International Trade Union Conference that opens February 6. And this fact gives particular point to the reason for my writing.

If you are an old NM reader, you know that this time of the year we devote page after page of NM to our annual drive to make up the deficit, without which, unfortunately, an honest magazine like ours cannot operate. Well, this year we're trying like mad to avoid that kind of appeal and that kind of expenditure of space. *You*, we believe don't need such appeals.

Here are the facts:

1. We have never had more exciting editorial plans. Louis Aragon, the world-famous French writer, whose remarkable underground work is still unknown on this side of the Atlantic, will appear regularly in our pages. From Moscow will come more and more cables from Ehrenburg, Sholokhov and others. I will be sending first-hand reports of the world trade union congress. I also hope to go to the continent, but that depends on a number of factors, and, frankly, one of them is financial. At home Virginia Gardner, our Washington editor, will continue with her inimitable stuff. Marjorie DeArmand, one of our editors, now has her headquarters in Hollywood, and you can expect regular word of developments on the West Coast. Of Isidor Schneider's return to the fold, as literary editor, we have already written.

2. These ambitious undertakings, plus the utterly

(See page 32)

unavoidable rise in printing and engraving costs, mean that a magazine like ours, which cannot expect to obtain much revenue from advertising, must look elsewhere to remain alive.

3. One of our new expenditures is bearing rich dividends. I know you will join us in rejoicing that recent promotional endeavors have increased our subscription list *fifty percent in one year!*

4. The budget for 1945, which takes all the above into consideration, has a deficit of \$50,000. In the past we have devoted several months to raising what we need. This time we are going to have a quick, powerful drive—confined to the month of February. During that month we hope to raise a major portion of the \$50,000.

I am appealing to you to help this drive succeed by giving us your maximum support—and at maximum speed. I know I need say no more, particularly since NM belongs to you just as much as it belongs to us. Best wishes to you and I'll be giving your best wishes to all the fine people in and out of uniform I'll meet on my trip.

Sincerely,

*Joseph North*

P.S. I think you'll be interested to know that last year we raised \$46,000 in round figures. This was \$6,000 over the goal we set, but since there were unexpected increases in the cost of paper, printing, etc., the extra money just about covered them.

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\* On leave with the armed forces.

## Contents

Crime Must Not Pay D. N. Pritt .....	3	Reader's Forum .....	22
A Byrd's-Eye View of Jobs Virginia Gardner .....	7	Book Reviews: Cannery Row, by John Steinbeck; Isidor Schneider; Bread Upon the Waters, by Rose Pesotta; George Morris; Task No. 6: Henry Schubart; Brief Reviews: People of the USSR, by Anna Louise Strong; Evenings with Music, by Syd Skolsky; Target Island, by John Brophy; Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, by Raphael Lemkin .....	23
Gropper's Cartoon .....	9	Films of the Week Joseph Foster .....	27
Lincoln Is America Howard Fast .....	10	In the World of Art Moses Soyler .....	28
Should We Outlaw Anti-Semitism? A Symposium (II) .....	11	On Broadway Harry Taylor .....	30
Closeup of the New Poland Anna Louise Strong .....	13		
Culture of the War and Peace Quentin Reynolds, Joseph North .....	14		
Editorial Comment .....	17		
Closing In On Berlin Colonel T. ....	20		

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## CRIME MUST NOT PAY

By D. N. PRITT, M.P.

London (by mail).

The following article by Mr. Pritt, a distinguished British lawyer and a member of parliament, was written before Sir Cecil Hurst resigned from the chairmanship of the United Nations War Crimes Commission and before Mr. Herbert Pell, the American delegate, announced that he would not return to London to resume his functions. Mr. Pell was ostensibly released from his post because Congress had failed to provide the money necessary for him to carry on his work. He, however, has called that reason "just nonsense." He also dissociated the White House from any difficulties he had experienced in London. As chairman of the commission's Committee on Methods, Mr. Pell had insisted that the jurisdiction over crimes should be extended to cover acts by Hungarians and Germans against their own people, including such minorities as Jews. There has also been controversy over whether war criminals

should be tried by judicial process or be disposed of by political decision. In his article, Mr. Pritt indicates why some people prefer the latter to the former method. At any rate the work of the War Crimes Commission is at present stalemated and if the stalemate continues it can lead to the most serious consequences. The punishment of war criminals is part of the process of exterminating fascism root and branch, and must not be interfered with by hoary legalisms or by reactionaries both in England and the United States who dread the thought that their complicity in fascism's crimes will be thereby exposed. While Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew made it clear last week that Germans responsible for crimes against German nationals will be brought to account, the whole question of procedure was still under discussion by the countries belonging to the War Crimes Commission.—  
The Editors.

surely be attributed—and justly—to a fear lest full judicial investigation will teach the world too much of the pre-war links between fascism and its German industrial backers on the one side and those in Britain's ruling class on the other.

There is, unfortunately, widespread public anxiety, derived from various public statements and from the actions and inactions of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, as to whether the preparatory work for the trial of war criminals is being done with sufficient sincerity and sense of urgency, whether the cases of the arch-criminals are being dealt with on the same footing as those of the rank and file, whether, in short, the British government and certain other governments "mean business."

To judge what the true position is, we must begin by examining the recent history of the "war-crime" question.

One need not look further back than Oct. 7, 1942, when Lord Simon, on behalf of the British government, officially announced in the House of Lords that the British and American governments had decided—and had communicated their decision to the other United Nations directly concerned, including the USSR—to set up "with the least possible delay a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes," which should investigate war crimes—it will be noticed that no definition of a war crime was given—committed against nationals of the United Nations and record the testimony available, reporting from time to time the cases where it appeared that such crimes had been committed, and identifying whenever possible the persons responsible. The investigation was to cover offenders irrespective of rank, and criminals named and wanted for war crimes would be required to be handed over at the time, and as a condition, of the armistice.

In spite of the expressed—and obvious—urgency of the matter, the commission was not established until just

**T**HE question of the punishment of war criminals is clearly of crucial importance. For the satisfactory solution of the innumerable problems that will present themselves when military victory is actually won, nearly everything depends on the correct estimation and treatment of Germany; and the way in which the war criminals, high and low, are dealt with will have a great effect on the future of the world.

That war criminals—whoever they may prove to be—should be punished; that the arch-criminals—Hitler, Himmler, Hess, Goering, Goebbels and company—should take their rightful place among the punished; and that the punishment of all, including the arch-criminals or leading gangsters, should be awarded by a judicial tribunal after a trial in proper form of law; these are three separate propositions which commend themselves in varying degrees to general public opinion.

It is vital that all three of these points should be fully implemented. If there is no general punishment of war criminals, the public conscience in every country,

and above all in countries that have suffered Nazi occupation, will be outraged, tremendous bitterness will be aroused. Above all the surviving Nazi gangsters will be encouraged to continue working underground and to recruit new forces for another bid to dominate the world.

It is equally important that the arch-gangsters should be punished with the rest. It is on them that the eyes of the free world are fixed; their escape would shock and embitter public opinion. And it is equally important that they should be dealt with by judicial tribunals. If they are left to political punishment, we shall lose the great public feeling of a genuine cleansing that will come from a judicial investigation and proof of the true nature of their actions and motives and policy.

**T**HE sharpest test of the determination of the British government to resist appeasement and sabotage—wrapped up as the "natural kindness of the British people"—will come in its attitude on these three points, and particularly on the last of them. Any weakening will

over twelve months later, on Oct. 20, 1943, and even then the USSR was not represented on it.

On its establishment its title was changed to "United Nations War Crimes Commission," and it was composed of representatives of the governments of fifteen countries. Its functions and powers were, it was announced, those stated by Lord Simon in his speech of the previous year, quoted above, which it will be realized are somewhat restricted, for it was confined to crimes against nationals of the United Nations; but some little time after its creation its functions were enlarged to include that of making recommendations to the governments on the methods adopted to ensure surrender or capture of the persons wanted for trial as war criminals, and the tribunals by which they should be tried.

On Nov. 1, 1943, there came, of course, the most authoritative pronouncement of all, that of the Moscow Conference. The "Declaration on Atrocities," part of the Declaration made at the conclusion of the conference, contained the following: "At the time of the granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein. . . .

"The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical location and who will be punished by a joint decision of the governments of the Allies."

The work of the commission attracted little public notice until Aug. 30, 1944, when Sir Cecil Hurst, the chairman of this commission, stated that the primary purpose of the commission was the investigation of evidence and the drawing up of lists of those who, as a result of the examination of the evidence, are wanted as war criminals; and that the question what crimes, and what evidence relating to them, should be brought before the commission, was a matter simply for the governments, the commission having itself no machinery for collecting evidence. This announcement disturbed the public somewhat, not through any fault of Sir Cecil Hurst

or of the commission, but because many people, misled by the general and important-sounding revised title of the commission, had not realized that it was no more than a glorified version of a public prosecutor's investigation department.

But there were other and more serious disappointments. Sir Cecil enlarged on the practical difficulties which the governments who had to collect evidence would meet in making their investigations in wartime, and on the difficulties created by the differences between the legal systems and procedure of Britain and America on the one hand and the Continental countries on the other; and he hinted that the lists of war criminals would not be ready in time for the armistice.

More disquieting still, he disclosed that, in the view of the commission, the expression "war crimes," of which no official interpretation had been given, did not cover either the treasonable behavior of collaborators or quislings, or acts committed by the Axis powers on their own territories against their own nationals on account of their race, religion or political opinions. And this although statesmen of the United Nations had announced that such acts are to be punished.

Worse still, Sir Cecil made no reference to Hitler, except for a hint that if he escaped to a neutral country it would be impossible to secure his surrender to justice.

The public was at once convinced—quite rightly—that the lists so far prepared by the commission did not contain the names of Hitler or any other of the leading gangsters, which ought to have been among the first, and the suspicion also arose that none of the governments participating in the commission—which, it must be remembered, did not include the Soviet government—had even brought forward the names of these miscreants.

**T**HIS public criticism soon produced results of some significance.

The first result was that Sir Cecil Hurst shortly afterwards explained that if existing extradition machinery was inappropriate to the circumstances some new arrangement *might* be insisted on to secure surrender, and a little later, on September 26, Mr. Churchill, in the House of Commons, replying to a question, said that the remarks attributed to Sir Cecil in the press did not accurately represent what he had said, and wound up with the observation that "what Sir

Cecil Hurst says is compressed, superseded, and if necessary overridden, by what is said on behalf of His Majesty's Government."

Then followed some statements by Mr. Cordell Hull, which made it plain that the arch-criminals were not on the commission's list and implied that, although they would certainly be dealt with, they would not be judicially tried.

Then, on October 3, the matter was raised in the House of Lords, and Lord Simon assured the House that: "The public conscience would be outraged if we devoted ourselves to the punishment of those who perpetrated outrages as servants of the master criminals and did not concern ourselves with *appropriate steps* to be taken against the master criminals themselves."

It will be noticed that Lord Simon clearly avoids saying that the arch-criminals will be tried, still less that they are on any "list" which would put them in train for judicial rather than political punishment. He added, indeed: "I think I have observed in this House before, when we have debated this subject, that when you consider the supreme criminals their fate is quite as much a political as a judicial question."

It is pretty clear, I think, from Lord Simon's statement, that the British government does not want any judicial trial of the arch-gangsters, for reasons which anyone who has read *The Trial of Mussolini* can easily guess.

It seems beyond doubt that none of the arch-criminals' names are as yet on any list connected with the commission, for no one's name could find its way onto a list drawn up by the commission until the commission had received and examined evidence put before it by a government which was seeking to have him judicially tried, and of course none would even be put on a list prepared by a government for submission to the commission if that government did not want him judicially tried.

On the next day, the Prime Minister added a little obscurity by stating in the House of Commons that "so far as the British list is concerned, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Himmler are included. It should not be assumed that the procedure of trial will necessarily be adopted."

In the light of this assertion, it seems clearer than ever that the names of these criminals have not been submitted to the commission by any government, and that they are only on "the British list" in the sense that their names are on some list of criminals who are to be dealt with

somehow. It is good to have that much assurance, but it is extremely disquieting to know that no government at present affiliated to the commission has so far even submitted the names of any of these gangsters, nor any evidence relating to them, to the commission.

Public indignation on this point should, of course, be directed at the governments, not the commission. All that need be said in criticism of the commission is, firstly, that it has construed various of its functions somewhat narrowly, as I shall explain below, and, secondly, that those functions are, in any case, very limited. On this latter point, there is, of course, no difficulty whatever in enlarging its powers; the United Nations are masters in their own houses, and can empower the commission or any other body to do all or any part of their sovereign work. The serious aspect of the fact that the commission has not touched a great field of urgent work is that the work has not been done. And time is running against us.

VARIOUS questions of principle arise for consideration. The main questions are:

(1) What are war crimes? (2) What law is to be applied? (3) What procedure is to be employed? (4) Should an international (or United Nations) criminal court be set up? (5) Should the commission's functions be extended?

The first question—one on which the United Nations have expressed no clear view—divides up into several, as follows:

(a) Is the preparation and launching of the war in itself a "war crime"? (b) Are atrocities committed against nationals of one of the gangster states by their own government "war crimes"? (c) Are atrocities committed against persons—irrespective of their nationality—on account of their race, religion or politics "war crimes"?

It is not easy to discuss the first question: "What are war crimes?" without dealing at the same time to some extent with the question: "What law is to be applied?" which, in its turn, can be subdivided thus: (1) Is the phrase "war crime" to be confined to offenses against "the laws and customs of war"? (2) If not, is it to include also acts which are criminal according to the law of the country where the crime is committed, although not by, say, Nazi law? (3) Is it also to include actions which can be regarded as criminal because they offend against the general sense of humanity, or the *jus gentium*, or the common law of mankind, assuming that those three

conceptions, or any of them, have legal validity?

Let me take first the question (a) whether the preparation and launching of the war was itself a crime. I can conceive of orthodox lawyers arguing strongly against such a proposition, but I know too, that, if the matter be viewed, not abstractly but concretely, in relation to the systematic planning for years not merely of "total" war, but of the waging of war by criminal methods and with the purely criminal object of exterminating or enslaving whole nations, very



Eugene Karlin

Eugene Karlin.

strong arguments indeed can be advanced to prove that the mere preparation of such a war is criminal. And it would be a substantial reinforcement to the cleansing of Europe that this should be demonstrated.

Nevertheless, I think it would be unwise in practice for this thesis to be adopted. There is probably no individual liable to conviction on this head who will not also be guilty of innumerable other crimes for which he can be tried and convicted, and to attempt to make good this point would involve great labor and long argument—and consequently an employment of extra time that could ill be spared.

Subdivisions (b) and (c) of question (1) are simpler. It may be argued, firstly, that to torture one's own citizens cannot well be a *war-crime*, for it may be in no way connected with the war against other nations; and, secondly, with respect to atrocities based on race, religion or politics, that if they are not criminal by the law of the country where they are committed they should not be treated as crimes at all, at any rate when committed by nationals of that country.

To answer these questions, as I have said, involves the consideration of the law to be applied (subheads (1), (2) and (3) above). The actions I have just described are not offenses against "the laws and customs of war"; they

will often not be offenses against the law of the country where they are committed; but they will certainly be offenses against the law under subhead (3), if law it is.

The sense of justice and common-sense both demand, as does every practical consideration, that all these actions shall be justiciable by the courts of the various United Nations or by an international or United Nations court. To my mind it is clear that there does exist in the world's jurisprudence a capacity to move and grow with the times which is amply sufficient to make these novel crimes justiciable in this way. Law would be a sorry thing if this were not so. It is unnecessary to multiply arguments, but one may quote the preamble to The Hague Convention (IV) of 1907, which ran in part as follows: "Until a more complete code of the laws of war can be drawn up, the High Contracting Parties deem it expedient to declare that, in cases not covered by the rules adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and governance of the principles of the law of nations, derived from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity, and from the dictates of the public conscience."

It seems clear, then, that the law to be applied will in all normal cases be the law of the country where the crime is committed, if that country be not Germany or one of her accomplices; and that in cases where, by reason of the crime being committed in a country like Nazi Germany, which has no civilized law, or of the general or widespread location of the acts, or the complete novelty of their barbarity, or for any other reason, the law of no one state is available or applicable, the law of nations or the dictates of humanity should be applied.

I see no practical difficulty; and it must be remembered that the general doctrine of law that a principal is liable for the acts of his agent in the place where they are committed will, as I have already said, in the great majority of cases render the law of the United Nation involved juridically applicable to the situation. The English law of conspiracy, a highly flexible weapon beloved by our ruling class, may find itself, or its continental counterparts, doing an honest job at last, and making a few dozen high officers, who ordered from their offices in Berlin great massacres in half a dozen countries, liable for murder in any one of those countries.

The next question is as to procedure. This is a point which seems to have caused a little trouble on the commission, without, in my view, much justification. The main anxiety seems to be caused by the question what rules of evidence to apply. Now, while the English law of evidence is regarded by many English lawyers as something divine, continental courts get along and do their work quite well without anything of the sort. The courts before which war criminals will come will try them by the regular procedure of the court; and if an international court is set up it can make its own rules of procedure. Difficulties in actually finding proof in wartime there may be; they are, indeed, inevitable; but in difficulties of procedure I do not believe.

The next question is, whether an international (or rather United Nations) criminal court should be set up. The local courts of the country where the crime was actually committed will, of course, be able to deal with the vast majority of cases; but it is obvious that there will be some cases which cannot be localized in any particular country, and for these it is necessary to have a general court in which the jurisdiction of the courts of all the countries involved should be vested.

THE last question is, should the commission's powers be extended. The answer can be gauged to some extent from what I have already written. The commission's competence is so far much too narrow to cover some of the tasks which cry out to be fulfilled, which, indeed, the United Nations have promised to perform. It should be empowered to investigate all cases falling under the three subheads of "war crimes" indicated above, and to treat them as crimes if they are covered by the laws of any of the three subheads of law also mentioned above.

But it is much more important that the USSR should be represented on the commission, and no difficulty of balancing representation or anything else should be allowed to stand in the way.

And the United Nations should clear up doubts and allay public anxiety by issuing one clear and exhaustive declaration of their whole policy in relation to war crimes, stating, in particular, that the highest war criminals, as well as the lowest, shall be brought before judicial tribunals, and explaining the new competence and functions of the commission.

## Among The Guilty

IN THE town of Artemovsk in the Donetz, under the Nazi occupation the German Doctor Tuermer, head of "public health," forbade the townspeople to send food to prisoners of war dying of starvation in his hospital. He ordered the death of the Russian surgeon, Dr. Klaudia, and a number of other medical officers. He had the local medical institutions systematically plundered. And before the Germans finally retreated he ordered blown up the workers' clinics, the treatment centers, the local outpatient departments of eight medical centers, sanitary service stations, the medical school, the children's hospital, the children's tuberculosis sanatorium and ten nursery schools and infants' homes.

In Stalino, in the Ukraine, the Germans plundered and destroyed all medical schools and research institutions with the assistance of the German army surgeon and the principal medical officer. In like fashion medical institutions in Poltava, Kremenchug, Zaporozhye, Dniepropetrovsk and elsewhere were destroyed.

At Kremenchug thirty prisoners of war, of whom twenty-one were doctors, were shot on orders of the principal medical officer of the camp. Before the execution all prisoners were stripped to their underclothes and forced to dig their own grave. When the pit was finished, the German medical officer ordered it filled with filth from the latrines, then had the prisoners driven into the pit where they were shot. The same officer beat a Russian doctor, gouged out his eyes with a gun and broke his pelvis. He then ordered the Russian doctor shot, along with fourteen others, in the presence of the prisoners of war. Two other German doctors

were present at the execution. One of the witnesses survived to name those who were shot and to accuse their murderers.

It was the practice of German doctors to drain the blood of children and adolescents by force; the episodes were even grimmer than that of Lillian Hellman's *North Star*. In one village the German police seized forty children under the age of thirteen, took them to the nearest German Army hospital and pumped all the blood out of them. All forty died. It was a commonplace for German doctors to use Soviet citizens as guinea pigs for testing poisonous substances and dangerous operations. In the city of Orel a Soviet medical commission headed by the famous Soviet academician Burdenko established the fact that the Germans deliberately poisoned forty workers from a sheet metal shop and then put them in a hospital for detailed clinical and laboratory examination. The victims were frequently photographed and were exhibited to visiting German medical personnel to demonstrate the efficacy of new medicines.

THIS grim and well documented catalog of horrors forms the body of a declaration by the Soviet Scientists' Anti-Fascist Committee, signed by the most distinguished doctors and academicians of the USSR, including Burdenko and Priorov. It is a call for a "brand of shame" on those German army doctors who have so perverted their profession, and a demand that they too, along with the Himmlers, the Gestapo and their hirelings be added to the list of criminals who must be made to answer for their crimes.

*Details of a story printed in the "American Journal of Psychiatry."*

# A BYRD'S-EYE VIEW OF JOBS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

*"The real motive underlying these suggestions for stripping the Department of Commerce of its vast financial powers has, of course, nothing to do with my competence to administer these powers. The real issue is whether or not the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its giant subsidiaries are to be used only to help big business or whether these powers are also to be used to help little business and to help carry out the President's commitment of 60,000,000 jobs."*—From the testimony of Henry Wallace before the Senate Commerce Committee.

"I NEVER thought of the job of Secretary of Commerce as being one of giving away jobs," Sen. Harry F. Byrd, the gentleman from Virginia, told me with a flash of his very nice white teeth. His smile was one of modest pride at his *bon mot*. This was a few days before Wallace's supporters, including nine Republicans, blocked by a close vote the effort of Senate reactionaries to kill off the Wallace nomination immediately. Action on confirmation has now been postponed till March 1.

When I indicated to Senator Byrd that NEW MASSES readers might like to know if he thought the Secretary of Commerce had any responsibilities in carrying out the President's 60,000,000 job program, he looked me in the eye and said simply: "Yes. He should encourage private industry." I could see no disagreement there with Mr. Wallace's program, so I asked how should this be done? His answer was terse. "Reduce taxes."

No flashing smile here, as he spoke of taxes. Rather, the Senator's face shrank into its customary proportions, resembling somewhat one of his own apples grown on his Virginia estates, a rosy but somewhat shriveled and sour specimen.

"That certainly is one way," I said. "Have you any further points in a positive program for providing full employment?" "Yes," he said. "He should create a sympathetic atmosphere for private industry."

So this is Senator Byrd's program. I pointed out to this important leader of the Senate opposition to the confirmation of the President's appointment of Wallace, what Thomas Stokes, Scripps-Howard columnist had said on January

28: that various big industrialists had come out for a program of full employment and an expanding economy, and had not been called radical, yet Wallace was called radical for suggesting the same things.

"No, I don't think it's radical to say we need jobs," said the Senator, "but it's radical when we say the government should give the jobs. There's a clear distinction between jobs in private industry and jobs given by the government—except in public works. I think we should have a system of public works, and that will do a lot, of course. But I'm against providing jobs by competition with private industry by the government, which Henry Wallace is not averse to doing.

"I'm against the government borrowing money—because of course it doesn't have any—to give jobs to people. Of course everyone's for jobs. It's all very fine for everybody to have jobs. But as I understand Wallace's testimony, and I think he made it very clear, he proposes that when employment dropped below a certain level—and he fixes it at a higher level than we have ever known—then the government would step in and borrow money to provide jobs. I am against that kind of spending."

I looked up Mr. Wallace's exact words on this and found that he makes it specific that he envisions nothing but jobs in private industry. This, in fact, is what Sen. George D. Aiken (R., Vt.), who supported Wallace's nomination, liked most about his program. As he expressed it to me, he liked "Henry's program of non-humiliating jobs—none of the business we had under WPA of passing a group of men working in a park or on a highway with a big sign nearby, 'Employed by the US Government,' or words to that effect."

Here is what Wallace said:

"... we are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life. But it is inevitable, however, that an economy of free enterprise like ours will have some fluctuation in the number of jobs it can provide. Adjustments in employment are an essential part of an expanding free economy. . . . Whenever the number of gainfully employed in this country falls below 57,000,000, our government should take prompt steps to see that

new jobs are made available to keep the total from falling significantly below that figure. This is the floor below which we must not allow employment to fall.

"The basic function of your government in taking care of any such slack in jobs is to see to it that private enterprise is assisted until it can absorb this slack. . . . We must have a reservoir of planned and approved federal, state and local projects ready to be tapped. . . . Such useful and essential public works should not produce government or 'relief' jobs, however. No, they should produce private jobs. This is possible if we insist that this construction be done by private firms under contract with the government; private firms employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions."

STILL another leader in the fight against Wallace was Sen. Robert A. Taft, who refuses to talk to anyone from NEW MASSES. It was Taft's position which so riled Walter Lippmann that in his column on January 30 he said: "Senator Taft, who is a leader in the attempt to reject Wallace, has made it quite clear that he will fight the whole conception of full employment as a national obligation. Senator Taft is entitled to take this position if he likes. But he is not entitled to speak for the Republican Party when he takes it."

Maybe not. But Sen. Harlan J. Bushfield of South Dakota follows Taft in the Republican Senate steering committee. And Bushfield's silence on full employment was more eloquent than words.

I called on Bushfield, a lawyer who represents the defeatist section of big business, like Taft, and is a member of the Agriculture Committee of the Senate, and asked him if he had announced his position on Wallace's nomination.

"I have not," he replied, "but I will oppose it. After reading his statement before the Commerce Committee I do not think he represents the American philosophy of government."

"Do you mean he would not be acceptable to the farmers of your state?" he was asked. South Dakota is largely agricultural.

"No, he's not acceptable to the farmers." He brushed that aside. "But what

I mean is that he doesn't agree with my philosophy."

"You mean by that, the philosophy of your constituents?"

"No, I'm talking about my philosophy."

"What do you think about the 60,000,000 job program in general: are you in favor of it?" he was asked.

"I prefer just to let the statement stand. That is all I want to say."

"Well, Senator, let's put it this way: are you in favor of Mr. Wallace's general perspective, that of an expanding economy, with full production, an increased foreign trade, and so on?"

His long lean jaw clamped tightly shut. He pondered. Possibly some great inner struggle went on within that massive head with its covering of grey wiry hair. Possibly he held some spiritual colloquy with the du Ponts, Col. R. R. McCormick and the others who contributed so generously toward his election. At last he spoke: "I prefer not to say."

"Do you feel that you represent the farmers of your state, Senator?" I began a little timidly. He said he represented the people. "Or," I continued tentatively, "do you think of yourself as a corporation man—I was thinking of the quip some paper in your state is supposed to have made, that you were the third Senator from Delaware?"

"Oh, that," he said deprecatingly. "That was what my colleague, Sen. Joe Guffey of Pennsylvania, said, because some of his enemies, the Pews and others, had contributed to the campaign fund to elect the Republican ticket in 1942. I was just among those who benefitted."

For some reason his glumness displayed over Wallace had departed. He became expansive. He showed me, not his etchings, but his photos of Mt. Rushmore, South Dakota's pride, hung about the wall. He chatted. I learned a good deal about his philosophy. When I asked what South Dakotans thought about the postwar period, he said they didn't think about it. "Farmers want one thing in general, higher prices. Labor people in the cities want lower prices. That's the way it is."

Price control for an adjustment period after the war? No, indeed, he wasn't for it—or for price control at any time, even in war. He was angry about the May bill for limited national service. "Before the election, we had this rosy picture the war was going to end. After the election, we develop shortages." Labor and industry should

be just let alone, now and in the postwar, and things would work out all right. No restrictions, no controls.

He admitted that North and South Dakota were to his knowledge the only two states in the union which did not benefit from a single Defense Plant Corporation loan during the war. This absence of war plants did not bother Dakotans, he maintained. Asked if they wouldn't expect him to support Wallace if for no other reason than to protest their exclusion from Jesse Jones' loans, he replied he was not defending Jones (removed as Secretary of Commerce) in opposing Wallace. He was not critical of Jones for giving his home state of Texas a lion's share of the DPC loans—almost one-third of the \$4,000,000,000 which went to the South. (Of the \$16,000,000,000 spent on industrial plants in the entire country the South's proportion as a whole was in line with its share of the nation's population.) "Isn't that human nature?" he smiled.

"But what about national unity?" I ventured. "Don't you think all this fight against accepting Wallace's nomination hurts it?" He shook his head, still with his amiable smile. "No one man's big enough for that." What *did* he think of national unity? "Well, we have it on the war—on some other things, no."

"Henry Wallace and I," he summed up, "are at completely opposite ends of the pole as far as our beliefs go, but we're completely united on this war."

Actually, many speeches violently opposing the administration's foreign policy have been made by this member of the Republican steering committee, who was picked for the post while the GOP ignored the fellow-Senator from his state, Chan Gurney, who has supported the administration generally on foreign policy, and authored the controversial teen-age draft law.

**K**ANSAS' Sen. Arthur Capper (R.) objected to Wallace's nomination—before passage of the George bill—chiefly on grounds that control of the Reconstruction Finance Corp. "required the ablest businessmen of the country." Yet the Senator voted against the State Department appointment of businessman Will Clayton (and that of Archibald MacLeish).

Capper said he had a high regard for Wallace personally and for his father before him, who had been Secretary of Agriculture in Harding's cabinet. He pointed out on his walls a picture of the late former Secretary of Agriculture

taken on a visit to Kansas. "I don't attempt to speak for businessmen. There is no big business in Kansas," he said, though he laughingly admitted his farm papers were "about as big as there is." He spoke for the farmers, though; and they were not for Wallace's nomination, he said. Then, in reminiscing about Kansas history, he spoke of the strength of the Populist and Farmers-Alliance movements there. "But corn was ten cents a bushel then. Now it's over a dollar. There's nothing there now to encourage a protest against conditions. Kansas gave Tom Dewey his biggest majority—200,000. And farmers aren't like laboring men. I'm not saying anything against laboring men, you understand. They're all right. But they do like to spend money. Farmers don't."

Perhaps the misconceptions many farmers operate under, not helped by most farm journals—with due respect to Senator Capper's highly profitable ones—might be altered somewhat if the entire text of Wallace's testimony were put in their hands. Perhaps if they grasped the meaning of a full economy and the protection for farmers and security for the aged Wallace envisions, their inhibitions against "spending" would disappear.

"The greatest single thing that this war has demonstrated on the home front," Wallace said, "is that when the American worker and the American businessman and the American farmer work together as one team, there are no limits on what America can accomplish."

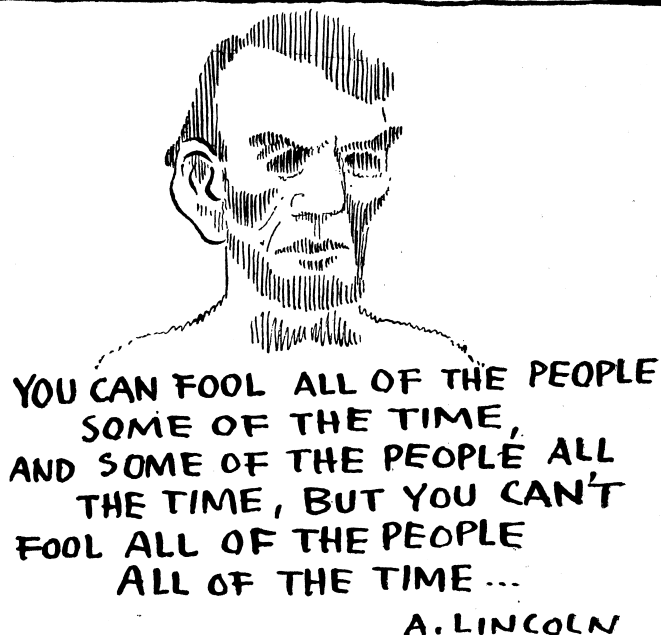
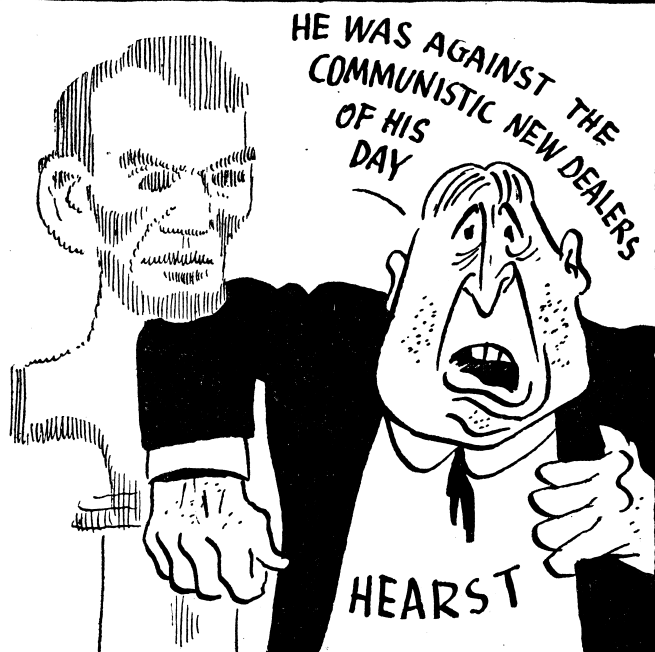
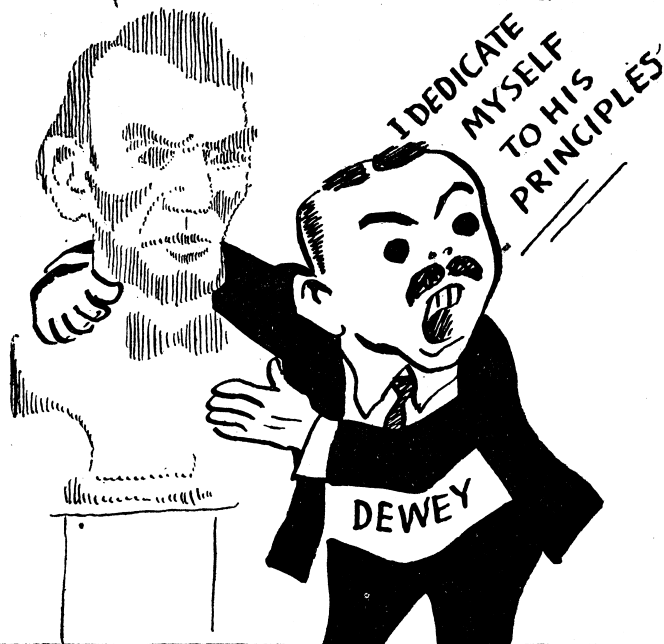
"We must assure the farmers that there will always be a market for all their output at good prices," he said in his so-called farm plank. And, "Our farm program must be one of expansion rather than curtailment." Higher standards of living for farmers, a comprehensive federal crop insurance program, a program of new and modernized homes and farm buildings, rural electrification, all were listed.

**I** CALLED upon another veteran of the Senate, Kenneth McKellar (D., Tenn.), a leader in the opposition to Wallace, who has served in the upper house for twenty-eight years. But, as on another occasion, I was confronted by his brother, Donald. "Now, you're just going to stir him all up," he protested. "All the amount of arguing you'd do wouldn't change his mind. He's one hundred percent against Wallace—not ninety-nine and three-fourths percent, but one hundred percent. He's said all he wants to say on it."



# THE MAN OF THE WEEK

BY  
GROPPER-



# LINCOLN IS AMERICA

By HOWARD FAST

IT is something to remember—and to be proud of—that we have never had, for a national hero, a bad man; and if you look at them, reaching back through our history, Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, even Black Daniel, and Abe Lincoln, Wilson and a hundred more, you can be reassured about the instinct of our people in choosing men to serve them. And if you were to pick from the group one whom the people loved more than any other, it would easily and naturally be Abe Lincoln, for reasons you know as well as I.

Along about this time of the year there is, in every periodical, a piece about Lincoln, the old stories retold, perhaps one or two new ones, dug up and published for the first time, the editorials rewritten for the forty-fourth time, the photographs, steel-engravings, and the statements from the so-few people left alive who knew him and spoke to him; and that is as it should be. The publishers bring out their Lincoln books—no year with fewer than a dozen—and there is, for them, the comfortable assurance that almost no book about Lincoln, no matter how bad, can prove a financial failure. In the radio studios, there's a sudden demand for character actors with hard, midwestern Rs, and there's hardly a pastor who wouldn't include at least a reference in a February sermon. And that too is as it should be, I think; the whole of it adding up to the incredible and wonderful "Lincoln legend," an ever-increasing national love for the man, who more than any other represented the people of this country.

Perhaps no man in all our history, not even Washington, has been so constantly and minutely chronicled as Abraham Lincoln. The effort has been made to recall every word he spoke, every day he lived, every action he took; no secret service, investigating a man, could compile a dossier as complete as the people's memory of Lincoln, and we are fortunate enough to have his photographs and his death mask, so that we know every line in his care-worn face, every fold of the flesh over the bony crags of his skull. And the amazing thing is that with all of this, there is no dread failing to make us ashamed. Learning about him, his faults as well as his virtues, we are as gently and understandingly brought to him as the average American is to his father.

Looking at it in another way, the "Lincoln legend" is a sure and firm rock, upon which we stand as solidly as our fathers did, and upon which our children will stand too. It is an old homily—yet a true one—that in a free state when the people need a leader they will find him, and that he will come from the people with the strength of the people behind him. How shameful and sickening are the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the Coughlins, the Peglers and all the rest of our native fascist scum—when measured against this man who became the lasting symbol for American leadership. Indeed, to speak of such measurement becomes almost blasphemous, and only a pathological blindness on the part of this infamous crew would lead them even to aspire to it.

If there is one failing in regard to the "Lincoln legend," I would say it is this—that we have lived with it for so long and so constantly that we have come to take it somewhat for granted. From the time our eyes could comprehend, there was on some wall, on some desk, a picture of that age-old, splendidly-ugly face; from the time we en-

tered school, Lincoln was in the classroom, stiff at first, cardboard of the professional patrioteers, but then, as the years passed, unbending, rounding out into three human dimensions. He became a part of our lives, present, reassuring, and integral. But the man is not to be taken for granted; he is an answer to too many questions, too many doubts.

Of late, it has become an unpleasant habit of many to generalize about this nation of a hundred and thirty-five millions, and very often the generalizations are as vicious and false as the people who make them. The poll-takers, the traveling Congressmen, the roaming reporters, and even a foreign visitor or two will, at the drop of a hat, tell us what this nation is, what it thinks, what it will do, what it won't do. That's a tall order, and just as no one has the right to speak for many millions of soldiers overseas, I think that no one, except possibly the elected leader, has the right to speak for our millions at home.

But, if sincerely a man wants to feel this land, its people, its way of thought and its hopes and dreams, he might do worse than to go to the "Lincoln legend." He might find in Lincoln as much of the American people as was ever gathered into one man, and he might find, too, in the "Lincoln legend," a warm indication of the direction this country will take in the future.

## Our Debt

Negro History Week is a good time to ponder how best we may repay the great debt our nation owes the Negro people. The vestiges of slavery are still abroad in the form of Jim Crowism in all its ugly forms. And these relics of degradation not only do violence to the human dignity of our black American brothers but also debase the soul and the democratic vision of all our people. Our historians have not yet recognized the essential contributions of the Negro people to the building of our nation. Lincoln's great Negro contemporary, Frederick Douglass, the fiftieth anniversary of whose death occurs this month, is still too little known by the general public.

The chief problem, however, is not to reform the historians, but to wipe out all the legal, material and moral discrimination still rampant in real life which written histories inevitably reflect. We welcome the contributions of progressive historians toward illuminating the problems and traditions of the Negro people. And there could be no more fitting prelude to Negro History Week than the action of the Georgia legislature in repealing the state poll tax. The elimination of the poll tax everywhere is an indispensable measure for raising the Negro—and millions of disfranchised whites—to the level of citizenship that is the common right of all Americans.

# SHOULD WE OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM?

## A SYMPOSIUM (II)

Of all forms of racial discrimination, anti-Semitism has been particularly used by the Nazis as a weapon in waging their barbarous war against Gentile as well as Jew—against the whole of mankind. The agents and dupes of Nazism within the United Nations are likewise using Jew-baiting propaganda to divide, confuse and weaken the fight against fascism. To help clarify this problem NEW MASSES invited a number of prominent Americans to participate in a symposium on the question. We asked the participants to reply to the following questions:

1. Do you favor federal and state legislation to outlaw organized anti-Semitism as part of the fight against the evil? Please state your reasons.

2. Should newspapers and periodicals with second-class mailing privileges be exempted from liability under such legislation?

3. Do you think such legislation would violate freedom of speech?

4. Do you feel such legislation would benefit other minority groups, as well as the American people as a whole?

5. Do you believe that the United States, as a leading member of the United Nations, should take the initiative in securing action against anti-Semitism by the United Nations?

In our January 30 issue we published the first replies to these questions. Additional replies appear below; others will follow in subsequent issues.

### Charles S. Seely

Lieutenant-Commander, USN (retired)

IN ANSWER to the first question, yes. With one notable exception, the "hate-Russia" propaganda of our reactionaries, anti-Semitism is now Hitler's strongest weapon in the United States. And since it is clear that as the Russians advance, "hate-Russia" propaganda becomes less effective, anti-Semitism probably will finally become Hitler's strongest weapon here. In any case anti-Semitism is now increasing, and this is understandable as those fascist-minded Americans who pinned their hopes on Hitler are becoming more and more disgruntled and frustrated as they see their idol totter. They are determined to injure those Ameri-

cans who, as a group, were the first to take a strong stand against Hitler. Anti-Semitism can easily be made the opening wedge for attacks on all minority groups. And it is my considered opinion that unless our government takes a hand against anti-Semitism a bloody wave of reaction—possibly reaching the proportions of civil war—aimed at all minority groups, will sweep the country during the period immediately following the war. Anti-Semitism is not simply a Jewish problem. It is a threat which menaces all believers in democracy, and is now too large to be effectively handled by private action. Several private organizations have, by educational means, tried hard to combat this evil, but little headway has been made.

2. No.

3. No. We have many precedents for such a law. Our libel and slander laws are good examples. But even if there were no such precedents we would be justified in making such a law at this time, for it is absurd to contend that freedom of expression is so sacred that it must be allowed even when it aids our mortal enemies, the Nazis. Our soldiers and sailors on the war front must not be "stabbed in the back" by a few revenge seekers on the home front. Our duty in this matter is clear. (In connection with this answer I should like to mention that I am now a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee which is now making a hard fight for freedom of speech and press.)

4. Yes.

5. Yes.\*

### Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior

I HAVE given considerable thought to the questions presented by your letter of Dec. 29, 1944. No true American will indulge in anti-Semitism, or, for that matter, in any action inimical to the interests of any minority. However, I do not believe that anti-Semitism or any like anti-democratic manifestation can be controlled or eradicated by a law. It requires, rather, education, goodwill and true Christianity.

Legislation which would bar the use of the mails to scurrilous matter affecting any minority, especially because of religion or race, might serve a useful purpose. However, its administration presents rather obvious diffi-

\* The opinions and assertions expressed above are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Dept. or the naval service at large.

culties. A requirement that sponsors of organized campaigns against minority groups of any kind should be identified in advertising matter using the mails would be a great deterrent since it would expose the sponsors to public view.

The United States should take the initiative in endeavoring to protect all religious and racial minorities. Probably this can best be done by suasions rather than international law. I regret that I have no sure cure to offer for the recurring ill which you discuss.

### Carl Murphy

President, Afro-American Newspapers

RUSSIA seems to have an admirable law against race prejudice and it works there. It should work here too.

I could go further and say that the existing federal statutes forbidding conspiracy to deprive citizens of their rights could also cover racial discrimination if they were enforced properly. Any legislation should cover all anti-racial or religious discrimination.

### Roger N. Baldwin

Director, American Civil Liberties Union

MY views represent the established position also of my associates in the American Civil Liberties Union, and of the great majority of the Union's membership as expressed on proposed legislation outlawing from the mails material promoting racial and religious intolerance.

1. No. No form of racial or religious prejudice can be outlawed. It might thus be driven underground; and the very attempt to make it criminal might extend it in forms more difficult to combat. To single out anti-Semitism among all the forms of prejudice, and to give Jews special protection not accorded to other minorities, would increase rather than allay feeling against them.

2. No. If anti-Semitism is to be made criminal, there should be no exceptions. The suggestion makes the whole proposal ridiculous: it's all right to be anti-Semitic at second-class rates but not at third!

3. Yes. It would cut off, if successfully enforced, all discussion of Jewish problems for fear of being interpreted as hostile or critical. And that goes for discussion of Jews by other Jews. Anti-Semitism is not confined to non-Jews.

4. No. It would work to the disadvantage of other minority groups to give the Jews special protection in law.

5. Yes, but not by a law making prejudicial matter criminal. Our government can do a far better job by opening its doors to Jewish refugees, bringing pressure to bear on the British government for a fair administration of Palestine, and setting a good example at home (a) by making permanent the Fair Employment Practices Committee, insuring against discrimination in jobs, (b) by strengthening the state civil rights laws penalizing discrimination against Jews and others in places of public accommodation, residence and in public advertising, and (c) by proceeding vigorously under the criminal law

## Speech to a Fascist

I wait at night while someone creeps,  
I feel his body coming;  
I hear the clatter of earth on his clothes,  
I hear the dying of crying twigs.

I wait at night while someone comes,  
his hands are probing sounds,  
his face is answers murmuring,  
his eyes are questions blind in the dark.

My fist holds up a hand grenade,  
a tongue with a waiting word,  
a sharp word he would understand,  
a whip word he would feel.

I shout one moment in the night,  
I make a roaring speech,  
and he is squelched by eloquence,  
and he is still in fright.

PVT. SEYMOUR KEIDAN.

*This is one of the last poems written by Seymour Keidan before his death in action on the Luxemburg front on December 29. Progressive everywhere honor his memory. Both in his poetry and in his actions—his fight on the battlelines was a continuation of work in progressive causes—he was dedicated to the advance of democracy.*

against any overt acts of violence to the persons or property of Jews.

## George Marshall

*Chairman, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*

ANTI-SEMITISM, and all other forms of hate propaganda, discrimination, terror or violence against any racial or religious minority, are inimical to democracy and freedom. They are major power techniques of fascism.

Determined enemies of our country, aided by citizens blinded by prejudice and ignorance, have been pouring race-hate literature in increasing volume throughout the country. This has already cost the nation dearly in deaths, injuries, man-hours lost and shaken morale. There is serious danger that the reconversion period will be similarly disrupted unless firm measures are taken.

Long-range education alone is inadequate in a crisis to meet a well-organized enemy. A vigorous, well-rounded program is urgent. Some important steps have already been taken. An essential part of an effective program would be to outlaw anti-Semitism and all other types of discrimination and hate propaganda against racial and religious minorities.

The passage of legislation along the lines of current proposals to bar anti-Semitic and racist literature from interstate commerce and the mails would be a major step in strengthening American democracy. Such legislation should cover newspapers and periodicals with second-class mailing privileges, as well as

other types of literature.

The fight to combat discrimination based on race, color, creed or national origin is indivisible. Although legislation to abolish anti-Semitism would be an important forward step, the most effective kind of legislation should protect the Negro people and other minorities as well as the Jewish people.

Those who have attacked this kind of legislation as interfering with freedom of speech overlook the fact that freedom of speech is not an absolute right regardless of its effect on the community as a whole. Shouting fire in a crowded theater, committing slander or libel, falsely labeling drugs, making false claims in certain types of advertising, coercing employees not to join a trade union, are among the kinds of expression already prohibited in the general public interest.

Policy concerning anti-Semitism and racist propaganda involves a choice between the liberty of the propagandist and the lives of many individuals; between freedom of speech and freedom from fear; between freedom of the press and freedom from anti-Semitism, Jim Crowism and the growth of fascism.

Anti-Semitism and racist propaganda are weapons of Nazi psychological warfare to disrupt the democracies, to promote a rule of terror, to destroy all genuine freedom. With the growth of fascism, statements and literature which were regarded in the past as mere expressions of opinion, now constitute "a clear and present danger."

The myopic perspective which views anti-Semitism and race hate propaganda as freedom of speech seriously endangers the physical

safety and rights of minorities and the very existence of democracy and freedom.

## Rep. Philip J. Philbin

*Massachusetts*

ANSWERING your recent questionnaire concerning anti-Semitism, please be advised that I am supporting and working for all legislation designed to eliminate the cause of anti-Semitism and every other movement based on intolerance and bigotry from our American life. As a free nation we cannot afford to permit such movements to take root in America.

## Vida D. Scudder

*Professor Emeritus of English,  
Wellesley College*

I AM afraid such proposed legislation is one of those indolent devices attempting to achieve justice, which act as a boomerang, and end like other totalitarian methods in furthering what they seek to destroy. Anti-Semitism might fester worse when driven underground. But I am not sure. The adjustment of balance between government enactment and the slow painful process of moral indoctrination in the effort to develop civic conscience is to my mind the most difficult problem which essential social planning for the future will be called on to face.

## Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher

*Professor of Practical Theology and Social Studies, Episcopal Theological School,  
Cambridge, Mass.*

YOU ask me five questions: I answer Yes to all of them. One retort to my point of view obviously to be expected is that we cannot legislate morals or proper attitudes, that statutory law (if it is to work) has to follow upon and not precede the formation of the people's convictions. I think we would all agree to this objection as sound enough. But as an objection it misses the real point of the issue as it is raised in a democratic society like America's. Evidently anti-Semitism is so typical of the majority attitude in countries that have been under fascist tutelage that any attempt to outlaw Jew-baiting would never work in those countries, even if the fascist oligarchs (absurd as it would be) were willing. This is not the case in America, in spite of the existence of anti-Semitic elements in both high and low places. The majority of our people are willing to play fair with Jews and protect them from defamation and discriminations.

Therefore, the real issue in our own land is whether the majority of us are willing to stand by and let a vicious minority flout the moral conviction which lies at the heart of our decency. In order to be true to itself the majority in America legislate against theft, murder, rape and mayhem; not as attitudes or sentiments of an undemocratic kind, but as overt acts against the common interest. Organized anti-Semitism belongs in the same class with these other things. It should be outlawed.

# CLOSEUP OF THE NEW POLAND

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Lublin (via Polpress).

**M**Y FIRST impression of Poland was the incredible chaos left by the Germans, the destruction of human life and of human rights. At the same time I was strongly impressed by the still more incredible ability and organizational talents of the people living and building in the chaos. In this chaos the Provisional Government of Poland is creating a new life. Schools and offices have been opened in the devastated towns.

The Polish Army is over 200,000 strong and it has more modern equipment than the army of pre-war Poland. Over a million acres of land have been divided up among the peasants. All this was done without any international support, practically without money and despite the repeated disturbances from the London emigres. It was done thanks to the extraordinary patriotism of the Polish people and their leaders. Something they passionately call democracy has given this people enormous vitality.

Here is a handful of details about the enthusiastic and self-sacrificing work of some Poles I happened to meet. There are professors who lecture from memory—all their books having been destroyed by the Germans. Despite the painful lack of paper, pencils, desks and textbooks, Minister Skrzyszewski has managed to organize schools for over a million Polish children. The vice minister of culture personally collects books for public libraries from the ruins of private homes.

The famous priest, Borowiec, formerly underground Peasant Party leader and now government administrator in Rzeszow, went from village to village helping to organize peasant committees to carry through the land reforms.

Jerzy Sztachelski, administrator in Bialystok, has done tremendous work in organizing industry in this completely ruined town. Because of his extremely efficient and self-sacrificing work, Edward Bertold, a village school teacher, became minister of agriculture. Dr. Jerzy Morzycki secretly prepared vaccines against typhoid during the German occupation. Later he was a surgeon in partisan detachments and now he has organized hospitals accommodating 1,200 beds. According to him, seven

million Poles perished in the course of the war. Helen Jaworska is the youngest deputy in the National Council of Poland. She is only twenty-two, is chairman of the Interparty Youth Committee and wears the uniform of a Polish Army captain. She told me how she organized the youth into the underground and how she managed to bring information of the Warsaw uprising to the Red Army.

**I**T is in Warsaw that you feel the hunger and cold and that you know that you are in the capital of the country. I was at the first trade union meeting in the Wedel candy factory in Praga, a suburb of Warsaw. No one paid any attention to the shelling that was going on.

I asked women workers what was worst in the war and one of them answered: "Worst was that our husbands were taken away." Shortly before the coming of the Red Army, the Germans surrounded and searched every house and deported about ninety percent of the men, depriving Praga of workers.

I went to a concert of the new Warsaw Symphony Orchestra in the City Hall of Praga—a former high school. The walls were supported with four telephone poles. The orchestra had forty women and middle-aged men who sat there in their winter coats. Although they had no scores to play from, and the conductor led from memory, I witnessed a concert that I am never going to forget. The lights went out and they

played and sang several times, "Sto Lat" (A Hundred Years). And although the concert was given in honor of Wincenty Rzymowski, the minister of culture, one felt that those cheers were not so much for Rzymowski as in honor of everlasting Polish culture and art.

I was at the birth of the new government. I saw enthusiasm in Lublin despite the lack of fuel, clothing, medicines. The Peasant Congress cheered the new government. It cheered Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. There is no question that this government will last. The government has managed to win the confidence of the people. It has extremely able members who would compare favorably with any members of any government.

**T**HAT the government has the confidence of the people is proved by the fact that the peasants handed food over to it without any military pressure. Peasants have received their title deeds to their land. Young men are joining the Polish army. I was deeply impressed by the government calmly ruling and growing at a time when the London emigres were maneuvering in a vacuum with no territory and no people.

When I met some of the London Poles in Moscow I got the impression that they were clever diplomats. But while speaking with President Boleslaw Bierut and Premier Edward Osubka-Morawski of the new Provisional Government, I felt that they had not been trained to become diplomats and that they had nothing to conceal. Osubka-Morawski is an informal and charming man, passionately devoted to his people. He is everywhere. Bierut is a serious, calm and reserved man. I got the impression that he always knew what to do and why and that he had experienced all that that one may experience. People like Bierut and Osubka-Morawski made me love Poland. And I must stress that before I went to Poland all that I knew about the country was that it was always making trouble for its neighbors. But after staying there I became much more interested in Poland's internal and international affairs and after being warmed by the friendliness of Poles I felt that humanity is richer because the Polish people exist.



Honore Sharrer

# CULTURE OF THE WAR AND PEACE

NEW MASSES' cultural awards dinner, held January 22, was a memorable event. The recipients of the awards, men and women who have held high two important values, the worth of culture and the worth of American democracy, made a rich contribution to the understanding of the role of culture in the fight for a free world. Last week NM published the speeches of Howard Fast, Daniel Fitzpatrick, Max Weber and John Howard Lawson. We present below the speeches of Quentin Reynolds and Editor Joseph North. Those of Carl Van Doren, F. O. Matthiessen and others will appear in a later issue.

## Quentin Reynolds

**E**VEN the most efficient banquet committees sometimes make mistakes. I noticed when I sat down here tonight that there was an empty seat next to me. As course followed course, no one appeared and I wondered why this seat was vacant—this place of honor. Were I Frank Fay in the play *Harvey* I could have sat my rabbit there. But I did not bring my rabbit tonight. The chair continued to be vacant. I thought this was all-too-important a chair to remain vacant. I put someone in it that you would all love to have here—someone who would love to be here. I ordered two drinks for us. Of course, I had to drink them both and during the course of our dinner I kept up an imaginary conversation with this absent guest and I don't think you will mind if I took up so much time talking to him—he is your friend and mine, Paul Robeson.

When I was at school—that was Manual Training School in Brooklyn—the word “culture” was a very forbidding word. It meant the arts of antiquity and embraced everything that was esoteric. It was a frightening word. Yet here tonight we are all engaged in every-day activities and trades and we all here assembled know that word. But I guess it was because someone finally took the trouble, after hundreds of years, to look the word up in the dictionary. And we find that it means the improvement and refinement of mind, morals and tastes, the enlightenment of civilization. And so this word which we have finally brought out of the college classroom, university and library can embrace such relatively new trades—if you will—as the cartoon, the picture scenario and even the war correspondent.

Before the war, we foreign correspondents had done a very bad job. We were a very sorry failure. Back in 1933, '34 and '35, I worked in Berlin with a lot of other foreign correspondents—Knickerbocker, Shirer, Schultz, Norman Ebbett of the *New York Times*, and all of us saw the rise of National Socialism and all of us knew what was happening. On Sunday morning we saw kids not going to Sunday school as they had been for ten generations but going to the country with wooden staves over their arms to be indoctrinated. We wrote stories about it back home here. So contemptuous were the Nazis of our influence that they never even subjected our stories to censorship. Then we

would come home periodically from Germany and we would raise our voices and cry out against what we knew was going to happen, but nobody listened to us. We yelled and we wrote and we were talking to ourselves. And the years rolled by and then in '36 the first shots in this world war were fired by Franco when he revolted against the Spanish government. We cried out, “We told you so.” But no one listened to us. Other voices joined ours. Nobody listened or cared, least of all our Congress, which listened only to its constituents.

Here at home people were smug. They mistook our great size for great strength and thought that we were warmongers, hysterical fools. We were complete failures—we foreign correspondents.

And in those days Bill Gropper and Fitzpatrick in a different medium were trying to do the same thing we were trying to do. They too failed, except for the small minority that listened to them, but it was not enough.

And so war came and we as a country were totally unprepared. We as foreign correspondents were complete failures. Then overnight we became war correspondents. It was a much easier job, because now the people were willing to listen. But it was complicated by new things. For the first time we really had a stricter censorship to cope with and that has always been difficult, especially since the war began.

I began with the French army in 1940. We all knew then that the French army was gradually disintegrating and that France was dying. Yet we could not write a word of this. The French censorship cut out everything we wrote of this so that when France finally fell it was apparently to the complete amazement of everyone here at home. The French censorship had completely kept us from telling the truth. We left France all of us a few steps ahead of the Germans and got to Britain and there to our amazement we found that the same smothering pall of censorship held over. During the first six months of the battle of Britain, the censorship we were subjected to was entirely unintelligent and horrible and did not allow us to tell the gallant truth.

I remember at that time there was a new drug, sulfathiazole. Doctors in Britain discovered that in powdered form it could be sprinkled on wounds and kill infections. I wrote that story and I sent it and the censors carefully cut it. I asked them why. They replied, “Trying to slip in a code word like ‘sulfathiazole.’” However, it did not last long. After six months, the British smartened up and since then their censorship has been liberal, intelligent and very pleasant to work under. But always we war correspondents had to work under this terrific censorship.

I remember in '40 again, right after Dunkirk we ran over to Ireland. We heard a story that the Germans might invade by way of Ireland. We went there and were aghast to find ourselves transported completely into the Dark Ages. No New York papers were allowed because they mentioned the war. The papers in Dublin never mentioned the war and never mentioned the fact that 150,000 Irishmen had enlisted in the army and navy. A popular figure in sports in Ireland, Burton O'Rourke, went down on the Prince of Wales. The Dublin newspapers merely printed his picture on page one with the caption: “Died in boating accident.” That is the kind of censorship we have been subjected to ever since the war began in Ireland.

Strangely enough (because we are always reluctant to admit that the best things happen to us here at home and because our Army had little experience in censorship) the

most liberal, decent and intelligent censorship is that of the American Army. Now and then there are exceptions, like the political censorship we had to obey when we first landed in North Africa. We have one great advantage which we do not have in Moscow, London, France or any other place. We are allowed to go to the head man with our complaints and any time we can get to General Eisenhower we are assured of a decent, intelligent audience. In this, not once, as far as I know, has General Eisenhower failed us.

I have been to Russia twice—each time for five months and I don't think there is any doubt in the minds of those here about my friendship for Russia. I have proved that over a period of four years. But to me the first requisite of friendship is the privilege of criticizing your friends and I must say the censorship in Moscow, from our point of view, is archaic, stupid and entirely out of date in view of the fact that all of us who came there, came there of our free choice, came there only to present a better and more helpful picture of Russia to our countrymen. You know when you come to Russia you have a responsibility because, after all, for about twenty years the people of our country have gotten a completely cockeyed picture of Russia. For almost that many years, fascist propaganda has fed our country lies about Russia. Such un-American organizations as the Dies Committee and numerous others have purposely fed poison to our people and it is hard to blame them for the complete ignorance they have had in regard to this great ally of ours. And we come to Moscow hoping to present Russia in its true colors, present the people as they are so that America will learn more about this country. Yet the censorship there is just as stupid and bad as the censorship in Southern Ireland. I can go no further than that. Even I am puzzled about this because Russia is so progressive in other things. You cannot rationalize why this should be allowed.

Whenever I am puzzled to the point of madness, I come back to something I read about Russia written about 1802 by Tucheve who explained Russia much better than anyone who has ever written about the country. He wrote of his country: "You cannot measure Russia with a yardstick. You

cannot understand Russia with your reason. You can only believe in Russia."

As far as I am concerned despite the horrible censorship, despite the annoyances of our trade in dealing with governmental agencies, I completely agree with Tucheve when he said you can only believe in Russia.

## Joseph North

LISTENING to the men and women honored here tonight, a phrase of Marcel Cachin's comes to my mind: "They are among the people who need not wait for daybreak to believe in the light." These people believe in light. They are men and women of various religious and political affiliations, they are Negro and white, and they have one bond in common: they hate fascism, they are patriots, and they labor for a better world. When the awards committee considered them, the members did not ask what ticket they voted; they were judged on their record—their record as champions of mankind.

I thought of that when I picked up the copy of the *World Telegram* on the way here and read Frederick Woltman's hackneyed tirade. It made me think of the phrase attributed to Doctor Goebbels: "When I hear the word 'culture,' I reach for my Mauser." Here in America when a fascist hears the word "culture" he reaches for the *World Telegram*—or the *Journal-American*.

Why was Roy Howard's Woltman so disturbed about this cultural affair? Because he is an enemy of those who believe in the light; because he fears to see Americans united, because he abhors the fact that men and women of various origins, colors and political persuasions stand together, united in their love for America. Mr. Howard cannot bear the sight of such a phenomenon. Hence, Mr. Woltman.

All I wanted to say is this: in the greatest sense of the word, the culture of America is being defended on the battle-lines of the world today. Men are dying for it who come from the backwoods as well as from the colleges; it is being defended by lads who didn't finish public school as well as by college graduates. These lads are facing the rockbottom reality of our life today—war. And from them will come the culture of tomorrow; today's men of the gun are tomorrow's men of the arts. And as they face all that the devilish enemy can throw at them, they fight with a dream in their hearts. It is a dream of a happy America, a happy world. It is a dream of a lasting peace. It is a dream of a world of brothers, living in understanding and fraternity, enjoying the fruits of their labors.

That dream will be the culture of tomorrow. From it will come a renaissance of America's culture. One need not be a seer to foretell a flowering of our arts such as our country has never before witnessed.

Many men share that dream today; men and women who have fought for it in their own various ways. Those who fought with pen and with brush are being honored here tonight. They are among the foremost who have shown their mettle in the course of this war and in the tragic years before it. They stand among the leaders of that great group of artists who fought for the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the recent campaign. They stand with the overwhelming majority of our people. These men and women are the harbingers of tomorrow.

For these reasons I feel we stand on the threshold of a great renaissance of culture in America. The first glow of



Edith Glaser

"Ariel," by Edith Glaser.



"The New Gulliver," by Joseph Konzal.

its light is already visible. You have seen it in the movies in such pictures as *Edge of Darkness*, written by our master of ceremonies, Bob Rossen. You have seen it in those splendid pictures of Jack Lawson, *Sahara* and *Action in the North Atlantic*. And in the many others too numerous to name—*Wilson*, *The Seventh Cross*, the whole host of fine war pictures, and before them, in such movieplays as *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, *The Great Dictator*, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, and the long list you remember.

You have seen it on the stage in plays like Lillian Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*, *The Little Foxes*; in Eddie Chodorov's stirring work, *Decision*.

You have seen it in war books like those of Quentin Reynolds, and Ernie Pyle and John Hersey and the other fine correspondents whose war reporting has brought us close to the fronts. You have seen it in the deeds of these men themselves. Their self-sacrifice has equalled that of our soldiers and sailors, and indeed their casualty list is at a higher rate than that of the Army.

You have seen the rays of tomorrow in such novels as Howard Fast's *Freedom Road* and *Citizen Tom Paine* and the *Unvanquished*; in the novels of Albert Maltz and Lillian Smith.

You have seen it in the recognition of the Negro's contribution to America, in Paul Robeson's *Othello*, and Canada Lee's performance in *Native Son*. You have seen it in the refusal of Negroes to play Uncle Tom parts in the movies. You have seen it in the way America has come to honor such Negro artists as Lena Horne and Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson and Canada Lee and Duke Ellington and Fats Waller.

You have seen it in the hunger for learning and culture

in the working-class of this country. I believe one of the most telling manifestations of this is the creation of a Book of the Month Club by the largest union in the world—the United Automobile Workers, a million and a half strong, whose first choice was, I believe, Albert Maltz' *The Cross and the Arrow*.

All these are rays of tomorrow, and if you have been fortunate enough to get a look at the publication of our fighting men—the magazine *Yank*—you know of the splendid job the soldiers are doing, pen in hand. Yes, all these are harbingers of tomorrow.

But let us not delude ourselves. Before the dawn comes, and even afterward, we will have hard fighting on the home front, on the front of culture. The enemy within seeks to corrupt our culture for his own ends. He seeks to make Horst Wessel our symbol, rather than Walt Whitman. Let me read from a column by Westbrook Pegler. Several weeks ago, sadly cogitating upon the election campaign, he came to some conclusions. Roosevelt had the men of the arts on his side; now suppose his, Pegler's, breed should "swipe the book" from the President's supporters and "organize along the same lines."

"We would want to get hold of some good cartoonists," he writes, "and blow up a lot of nasty caricatures of Sidney Hillman with his arm around Browder, with the American home and flag trampled underfoot and little figures of American people in chains around their feet.

"We would want some clever, corny songs, too. . . . We have plenty of good, corny writers on our side and for music we could swipe the old hillbilly and cowboy things.

"Our writers should whip up some plays, too, depicting the conquest of our country by the Communist, with the most hideous characters bossing us around and the people all ragged and hungry. These plays needn't be very good.

"All of theirs were trash, but we didn't have any plays at all. . . ."

Well, this gives you an idea of Pegler's dream. But Westbrook Pegler will never recruit America's men of the arts in his indigenous brownshirt armies. The writers and artists will continue their march with the people. They always have: Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson on through the years—Emerson and Thoreau and Whitman and Dreiser, and all the other men of great talents. They will march through the night to that dawn, to that "singing tomorrow" that Louis Aragon wrote of in our magazine last week.

It is in this belief and in this spirit that NEW MASSES was proud to hold this meeting tonight. It was held in the belief that America and her allies can create a world of blessings, as great in good as it is in woe today.

It was in the belief that tomorrow can see a world of peace, of happiness, of prosperity, of good men living at peace with one another on all the continents of the world.

It is this that gives us of NEW MASSES the confidence that we are on the eve of the greatest times of our history, and hence, a culture such as only a Walt Whitman could foresee.

Let us work together for it—for we know it will not come automatically. We, the people, are the molders of the future, and it is our responsibility. Posterity will hold us responsible for their times.

Yes, we must work *together*—despite the counsels and plottings of the men of evil. All of us who believe in the democratic principles—whatever our color, our creed, our political affiliation—must stand together in the great days to come and never lose courage. And thus we will come to the singing tomorrows that are the birthright of our children.



# NM SPOTLIGHT

## The Big Three

PROBABLY not long after this issue of NM reaches its readers, there will be a joint statement from the conference of the three Allied chiefs of state. We leave it to the typewriter prophets to foresee what will be said. All we know is what we read and we are patient enough to wait for the official release. The problems the three face are knotty and it will take an overriding concern with the common interest to unravel them. What the American attitude is can be measured generally by using the President's message to Congress as the yardstick. It was clear from the message that many decisions which were delayed for one reason or another will now be made. It was also clear from his inaugural address that we would cooperate to the fullest in fashioning the peace and in the settlement of Europe. Several French and British commentators have expressed doubts whether the United States could be expected to participate in European affairs. It was absurd of them to think otherwise and they may have been too attentive to the outbursts of isolationists instead of to the work of the State Department and the White House.

The idea of nonparticipation becomes even more ridiculous in view of Harry Hopkins' trips to London, Paris and Rome. As the President's close friend, Mr. Hopkins has enormous prestige and whatever his specific functions, he certainly did not talk merely to pass the time of day. On Germany, the knottiest of all issues facing the Allies on the continent, Mr. Hopkins indicated that there was agreement between the United States and Great Britain and that so far as the USSR is concerned, there was no obstacle that could not be removed. If Mr. Hopkins' opinions on Italy are reported correctly, he was critical of the continued collaboration with fascists. One may take that criticism as applying to Allied policy on the peninsula as well. Most significant was Mr. Hopkins' endorsement of new governments in Europe even if they could be described as moving to the left. He considered such leftward trends in the American interest provided they did not go to extremes. While Mr. Hopkins is not a maker of foreign policy, the drift of his conversations indicates what the

policy makers are thinking about. But we shall have to wait for more news to see what they have decided.

### Goetterdaemmerung

HITLER's speech on January 30 is certainly his last on the anniversary of his assumption of power. Never again will this Nazi holiday offer him an opportunity to sputter the enormous falsehoods by which he has lived. Yet his wearisome words gauge the deterioration of the Nazi state. The home front has run amok, with refugees streaming over the roads, battling for places on trains, trying to escape what is inescapable. Except for the most fanatic, all his exhortations are in vain. The sheep are stampeding and their leader must bid them to act like lions when after years of servility to his will they can only behave like sheep. But among them there must be some with a grain of independence, for Hitler threatened his internal opponents with "an ignominious death." What these opponents have managed thus far is hard to say, nor does anyone know the extent of their influence. As for himself, Hitler continues posing as a god, untouchable and irresistible midst the wreckage. Not so strange is this desperate resort to the mystical. It must soothe his deranged mind to think that he has superhuman powers and that his "mission" is ordained by supernatural forces. But for a people about to be driven over the precipice into total defeat, the pose is a hollow one. It could succeed only in the atmosphere of successful blitzkrieg. Now it is everyone for himself with the industrial barons rushing out to "neutral" countries, while I. G. Farben transfers its patents to Sweden for safekeeping.

Thus the drama is being played out. The gods scream as night descends on them, the bankers who invented the gods are shipping their loot away, and the fanatic worshipers are busy burrowing



into the ground to hide and to wait. In what amounts to his swansong, Hitler warns the capitalist democracies that they will be crushed by the Bolsheviks as he is being crushed. If they will not help him now, they must be prepared to reckon with the Red Army later. His words undoubtedly will leave their impress on the corrupt everywhere. Not every Nazi is in Germany. And Hitler's promise that no matter what happens now, in the end he will be victorious, is sufficient to prove how thorough the extermination of the Hitlerites must be and how unconditional our victory over them.

### Filipino Guerrillas

WE KNOW now that the surrender of Corregidor in 1942 did not end resistance in the Philippines. On the contrary, it marked the beginning of a strong guerrilla movement led and manned by Filipinos, with many Americans among them. Somehow they maintained contact with General MacArthur's headquarters. We did not know the extent of this guerrilla activity until our soldiers landed on Leyte, but from that day on story after story of these guerrilla exploits have become known. The American Raiders, for example, who rescued American prisoners from under the very noses of the Japanese, were aided by a guerrilla force and served by their intelligence apparatus. Before that we had learned of a very large guerrilla force, described as Filipino Communists, who had been cooperating with the invasion troops.

The Filipino people have played a great role in fighting for their liberation and in destroying the Japanese. The moral is that the Filipinos, whose freedom and national independence has been assured by Congress and the President, had an incentive denied all others in that part of the colonial world. A democratic political policy in the Philippines has paid military dividends. It would be helpful if those of our Allies who also possess colonies in that area would see the point.

### Return to Manila

THIRTY-SEVEN months after its heart-breaking fall we are back in the capital city of the Philippines. MacArthur has made good his promise and the Fili-

pino people have given us a scintillant demonstration of faith and arms. The news will pound down on the Japanese wherever they are in the Pacific and once again show them how relentless are our troops and how we mean to pay back Tokyo's treachery. Spectacular as the Philippine campaign has been, it is far from over. Our job is to take control of Manila Bay, and for that we must have Cavite and Corregidor. But the liberation of Manila is a rich symbol, as glorious an event as was the liberation of Paris. All our enemies will read its significance and know that their doom is rapidly in the making.

## Czechs and Poles

NATURALLY the Poles in London describe Czechoslovakia's recognition of the Warsaw Provisional Government as having occurred under pressure from Moscow. They are so impervious to the new democratic currents in Europe that they label every fresh development as Soviet inspired. That has been the Nazi fashion, too. The Czechoslovaks have good reason to collaborate with the new Warsaw authorities, for such collaboration benefits their national interests and implements their state security. At least they know that the Warsaw government will return Teschen, a territory torn away from Czechoslovakia by the Poles during the general Munich grab. The London Poles still consider that area their own. Then again the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of 1943 has a protocol that provides for Poland's adherence. It would be utterly insane to add to that regional agreement a group as anti-Soviet as the London Poles.

Sentiment in this country for friendly relations with the Polish Provisional Government is increasing. The American-Polish Labor Council, headed by Leo Krzycki, has gone on record for such relations and the Greater New York CIO Council has informed Secretary of State Stettinius that it hopes our government will find a way to close cooperation with Warsaw. One obstructive factor in the path of recognition is the influence of reactionary Vatican opinion. It is no secret that Vatican circles are behind the project for an inter-Allied agency to administer Poland. Any such device, apart from its insult to the Polish nation, is bound to result in friction among the Allies because neither the Soviet Union nor Czechoslovakia will become a party to it.

Interestingly enough, Catholic lead-

## Biddle and Bridges

Recently we were reviewing the facts in the Harry Bridges case because Bridges is closer to deportation now than he has been at any time since the government started investigating him almost nine years ago. . . .

On Jan. 3, 1942, a four-man board of immigration appeals unanimously overruled the findings of Presiding Inspector Charles B. Sears, who had sustained a warrant for deporting Bridges.

The appeals board rejected Sears' recommendation largely because the quality of witnesses offered by the government against Bridges was astonishingly low. Sears himself had been compelled to reject the testimony of fourteen witnesses, accepting that of only two. On May 28, 1942, Attorney General Biddle overruled the appeals board's decision. This was the first time an attorney general had ever reversed his board of appeals. . . .

Bridges faces deportation within a few weeks if his last remaining legal move fails—a petition to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari. [The Supreme Court has agreed to review the 'Bridges case.]

Public officials and industrialists on the West Coast are alarmed. Attorney General Robert W. Kenny of California wrote Biddle and President Roosevelt on January 16 appealing for dismissal of the Bridges proceedings.

Labor-management relations on the West Coast since Pearl Harbor have been remarkably good. Harry Bridges and his unions, according to California's Attorney General, have given "concrete demonstration on the waterfront as well as in every industrial plant of a profound understanding of the need to bury differences, to constitute a unified team with their employers and their government." Last year the Assembly of the California legislature passed a resolution praising the contribution of Bridges' union to the war effort. This resolution cited similar praise by the Maritime Commission and the Military Affairs Committee of the US Senate.

Attorney General Biddle has rejected the legal arguments in behalf of Bridges. But he cannot ignore pleas based on unity between labor and management for winning the war. On that ground alone he must reverse himself.—From an editorial in the New York "Post," January 29.

ers in Poland have endorsed the Provisional Government despite the Vatican's position. That is apparent from a letter written by Rev. Dr. J. Kruszyński of the Lublin diocese to the Polish-American community. Father Kruszyński makes clear that the Polish clergy support loyal relations with the new government and that the authorities have not interfered with the Church. In the land distribution program, the government, for example, has not touched Church property. And equally interesting is the fact that a country as overwhelming Catholic in religious conviction as Czechoslovakia was among the first two states to accord diplomatic recognition to President Bierut's government.

## Protecting the Peace

THE number of resolutions and public letters against the proposed compulsory peacetime military training requested by President Roosevelt and his Chiefs of Staff reveal a deep-going confusion on a matter intricately bound up in the future of international security. The latest of these is an open letter to the White House signed by the presidents of twelve top-ranking American universities, including Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, the University of California, Stanford, the University of Chicago, Brown and Tulane, strongly asserting that such a measure would turn our democratic and peaceloving country into an "armed camp," and calling for a postponement of such legislation until the war is over. The twelve signers represent a critical body of opinion and include men who have effectively reorganized their institutions to train parts of the citizen army of which we are now so proud. When such leading figures as these fail to see the necessities which face us, it is time for thorough and widespread public discussion of the issues at stake. The Dumbarton Oaks security deliberations made it clear that the primary guarantee against any future attack on the free peoples of the world is the alert and armed strength of the United Nations. We will, moreover, have to commit ourselves to supply our share of the military force required to provide that strength. It would be as fantastic to wait on the end of the war for the plans for training this force as to wait until reconversion is on us to plan for that. It would also be a rank underestimation of the enemy and his intentions.

We will need a citizenry who can handle guns and the complicated weap-

ons of modern war ready to act quickly if the need arises. Such preparedness may save many thousands of human lives. As for turning America into an "armed camp"—the logic that now requires us to fight hard and bitterly over the whole globe surely carries over into a future vigilance to preserve the very things for which we fight.

Nazi Germany was a camp armed to fight for slavery. A camp armed to preserve our liberty is quite another thing. And we shall need it until the last vestige of a possibility that the Nazi idea can resurrect itself has wholly disappeared. Granting the necessity of keeping our guns oiled for some time to come, it is better that these responsibilities belong to the people and not be limited to a standing professional army.

### Dewey or No Dewey

**A** BIPARTISAN bill to outlaw discrimination in industry and to set up a five-man permanent enforcement commission has been introduced into both houses of the New York State Legislature. The bill follows the recommendations of the temporary State Commission Against Discrimination set up last year after Governor Dewey had sabotaged a similar measure in his unscrupulous drive for the presidency. Voters as well as legislators of New York State must this time see to it that the bill is made into law, Dewey or no Dewey.

The new bill, which has been introduced in the Assembly by Majority Leader Ives and in the Senate by Minority Leader Quinn, provides for a permanent commission which will, whenever possible, seek to end discriminatory practices by methods of conciliation, arbitration and administrative order. The commission would, however, be empowered to prosecute those who refused to obey its orders or attempted to obstruct its work. Assemblyman Ives has also announced his intention to introduce supplementary measures empowering the Attorney General to go over the heads of local district attorneys in prosecuting violations of the anti-discrimination laws and providing for a recodification of all laws and regulations pertaining to this subject.

It is noteworthy that in the commission's report it was pointed out that since 1941 discriminatory practices have in fact been illegal in New York State. The weakness of the present situation, failure to enforce the statutes, will be overcome if the new proposed bill is enacted. Its opponents can be defeated if sufficient public interest and pressure



"Japanese can do honorable island-hopping, same as American."

is immediately brought to bear upon Albany. New York State now has the opportunity to enact legislation which will serve as a model not only for other states, but for the federal government as well.

### Medicine Men

**I**T IS shocking to learn that at the very moment when Hitlerism is suffering shattering defeat in Europe, it is on the offensive in certain of the schools and professions of the United States. In a series of articles in *PM* Albert Deutsch reveals that the American Dental Association's Council on Dental Education has submitted a report to Columbia University which states that "It is unfortunate for dental education and dental practice generally that Columbia's dental school is largely restricted to two racial groups." The report urges steps to limit the number of students from

those groups. The "two racial groups" referred to are Jews and Italians.

A report in a similar spirit was recently submitted by the ADA's Council to the House Education Committee. This report, discussing the situation nationally, found that "So far as they [the students] are confined to one racial group they claim admission to dental study far in excess of the ratio of the entire population of this group to the population of the nation. . . ."

Mr. Deutsch charges the Columbia authorities are apparently accepting the ADA Council's racist recommendations. It is common knowledge that most medical and dental schools already have quotas for Jews and bar Negroes entirely except for an occasional token student. The ADA Council evidently wants to make the practice universal and official.

It is true that Jews do seek admission to medical and dental schools in larger

numbers than their ratio in the population. What of it? There are more Jewish violinists, more Italian barbers, more Polish coal miners—and, incidentally, more Negroes in menial jobs—than their respective ratios in the population. Shall America deny itself the best doctors and dentists our schools can produce, irre-

spective of race, creed or national origin, and embrace the nonsensical blood-myths that have led Germany to disaster?

Strong protests against the two reports have come from the New York State Dental Society, the Northern Dental Society and other dental groups.

The recent introduction into the state legislature of a bill, sponsored by Sen. Louis L. Friedman and Assemblyman Frank Pino, which would bar from tax-exemption privileges nonsectarian schools that institute a racial or religious quota system, also points to a possible legal weapon against these shameful practices.



## FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

# CLOSING IN ON BERLIN

**T**HE battle for Berlin as a tactical objective has not been joined at this writing (February 4) because Marshal Zhukov is some forty-five miles away from the city, has not yet crossed the Oder and his further intentions in regard to the capital of the Third Reich are still not clear. He will hardly attack it with the spearhead of his east-west wedge and will probably stage a single or double outflanking maneuver against the entire Berlin fortified area, either from the south or north or from both south and north. Berlin, with its 300-odd square miles of city area, with a radius of ten miles, is a tactical objective. The Berlin fortified area with its 6,500 square miles and a radius of about fifty miles is a strategic objective. It may be said that with Marshal Zhukov's guns bombarding the fortresses of Kuestrin and Frankfort-on-the-Oder the battle of Berlin as a strategic objective has been joined.

At this point it is advisable to quit counting the miles separating Zhukov's tank vanguards from Dahlewitz, Berlin's eastern suburb, expecting them to melt with every hour. The Battle of Berlin will not take the form of a race by a tank corps for the suburbs of Ahrensfelde, Mehrov, Hoenhof, Dahlewitz or Friedrichshagen. The Battle of Berlin will develop into a very complex operation, painstaking and slow because the prize is not only great but decisive.

First, Berlin (and in this analysis, by Berlin I mean the Berlin fortified area, roughly bounded by Kuestrin, Frankfurt, Fuerstenberg, Guben, Kottbus, Juterbog, Wittenberg, Magdeburg, Rathenow, Neu-Ruppin and Angermuende) is the center of the entire German railway system, the nexus of eleven main lines and many secondary ones. Its capture or blockade would completely dis-

rupt all German troop movements north of the Breslau-Dresden-Leipzig-Cassel-Cologne line. The operational link between the Eastern and Western fronts would be torn to shreds. In fact it would mean the complete paralysis of the defense of Prussia and the North German Plain.

Second, Berlin is the central fortress guarding the gap between the Carpathian mountains and the Baltic Sea. The gap between Angermuende and the estuary of the Oder at Stettin is only fifty miles wide. The gap between Juterbog and the Erz Gebirge (the northern border of Czechoslovakia) is only sixty miles wide. With Berlin captured, whoever holds it controls everything between the Rhine and the Oder, north of the Sauerland, Harz, Erz and Sudeten Mountains. Automatically, Norway,

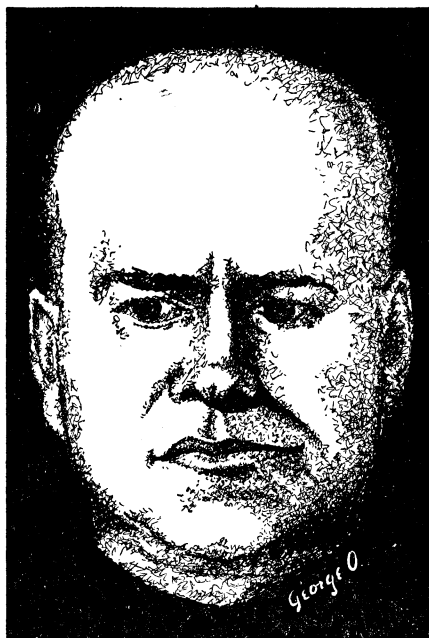
Denmark and Holland became traps almost as hopeless as the ones in Latvia and East Prussia. In fact, the entire Baltic area, from Cape Kolka in Latvia down to the estuary of the Rhine, becomes a huge, monstrously long trap. The trap would be 900 miles long, with an exit only about 200 miles wide, between Cologne and Magdeburg.

Third, Berlin is the center of a crucial industrial area, which includes Magdeburg, Leipzig, Halle, Leuna, Hamburg, Hanover and many other production centers. With Berlin gone, these centers cannot be held long.

Fourth, Berlin is not only the "spiritual" center of Nazism, but the symbol of old-line German caste militarism. While Nazis can look to the Munich "Brownhouse" for a modicum of comfort, the German generals and officers will become "spiritual waifs" after the fall of Berlin. They will simply have nothing left to fight for.

Such is the strategic, economic and political portent of the capture of the Berlin fortified area whose eastern fringe Marshal Zhukov's tank corps are now gnawing in the Warta-Oder arc.

The defenses of the Berlin fortified zone are primarily based on the line of the Oder, reinforced by powerful fortifications whose building started in 1937. The keystone of this defense lay in the Kuestrin-Schwerin-Kreutz-Zuellichau-Fuertstenberg-Frankfurt trapezium ensconced between the Warta, Oder and the lakes and marshes of the Obra River. This trapezium was intended as a central fulcrum around which highly mobile armies would operate in Pomerania and Silesia. This is why the flanks of this central fortified area were not extended in the same strength toward Stettin in the north and Goerlitz in the south. Marshal Zhukov had by February 4, bit-



Zhukov

## In This Corner

With the Red Army past  
The Vistula bend  
The Eastern front looks  
Like Hitler's end.

\* \* \*

Vandenberg's peace proposals  
Turn out to be a hoax  
To make small acorns out of  
Mighty Dumbarton Oaks.

\* \* \*

"Oh, can you tell me,  
Mother my dear,  
What is it the foes  
Of Wallace fear?"

"I'll whisper, my child,  
If you come near,  
The fearful thing  
For which they fear:

They fear that the day  
May follow night,  
That tomorrow's sun  
May shine so bright

That all will have jobs  
And be able to buy  
Of the market wares  
They so loudly cry!"

\* \* \*

Oh, my name is Johnny Rankin and  
I've got a little list,  
And everybody on it is—shh—a  
Communist;  
Roosevelt, Wallace—I'll dare to  
speak louder—  
Next week I'm adding the name of  
Earl Browder!

N. M.

★

words, that the Battle of Berlin will take the form not of a frontal attack along the shortest line, but of a classical pincers maneuver with the final attack on Berlin itself coming not from the east, but from the north or south, or even from the west—just as Kiev, Warsaw and Budapest were stormed.

Now, what about the Berlin fortified area and Berlin itself as a tactical objective. The entire area around Berlin is studded with innumerable lakes, which in case of a thaw would present very serious obstacles to mechanized equipment. (In this connection it is important to note that the mean temperature in Berlin in February is about thirty-six de-

grees.) The area is traversed from north-northwest to southeast by the Havel and Spree Rivers on which many lakes are strung like beads. The area also includes dozens of large cities and an enormous number of towns and villages, this being one of the most thickly populated areas of Europe. Each one of these inhabited localities will, if defended at all, be converted into strong-points, fortresses and hedgehogs.

I do not agree with those who insist that an immediate threat to Berlin will break the will of the Nazi command to defend it, simply because its defense would permit the top-flight Nazi leadership and the super-nazified part of the German Army to retreat into the Valhalla of Southern Germany, an operation which will be well-nigh impossible if the Berlin *place d'armes* falls quickly. The Berlin fortified area will be defended very stubbornly. Of this I feel very sure.

Berlin itself is easily defensible, mainly because of its great stone piles, which may be architectural monstrosities but which make very good fortresses. Just pick up the volume of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* which includes the article "Berlin" and look at those buildings. You will immediately see what terrible street fighting can be staged in this most repulsive capital of Europe. Truly, the Den of the Forty Robbers.

Berlin's interior communications are excellent. The *Ringbahn* or circular railway accommodates armored trains and railway artillery, and the *Stadtbahn*, an east-west railroad, acts as a diameter for the circular *Ringbahn*. The *Untergrund* or subway will also help to shuttle troops from one sector to the other, remaining immune to aerial and artillery attack. The east-west communications in the city itself are the best; consequently it would seem that an attack from north and/or south would be the most likely. Berlin is best covered from the west by a chain of rather broad lakes—the Havel See, Wansee, Tegeler See—separating the industrial suburb of Spandau from Berlin itself. This chain of lakes is about twelve miles long from north to south and about a mile wide in some places.

All the foregoing serves to point to the fact that it would be sheer frivolity to expect Marshal Zhukov to sail into Berlin after a few days of tank battles between the Oder and the Spree. Don't forget that the Battle of Berlin and for Berlin will be the crowning act of the last "regular" phase of the war. After that—Valhalla-in-the-Alps and *Goetter-daemmerung!*

ten through more than half the depth of the trapezium and ripped it to pieces. The German High Command no longer has enough first-class, highly-mobile troops to maneuver within Pomerania and Silesia; consequently, the whole strategic-operational scheme of the defense of Berlin from the east becomes null and void for lack of necessary means to carry it out. Thus the defense of the Berlin fortified area in its eastern sector must rely for a static defense of the Oder line on a few good troops, with a lavish admixture of *Volkssturm*, who are obviously good only as cannon fodder. The same can be said of the two gaps north and south of the Berlin fortified area: here, too, it's *Oder, Oder und wieder Oder* and a static defense along it.

IT is entirely possible that Marshal Zhukov will wage the Battle of Berlin according to one of his classical patterns: he may pretend to push against Berlin frontally, attracting all available German reserves to the Kuestrin-Frankfurt-Fuerstenberg sector. This he has been doing with his push to within five to ten miles of the Oder between Kuestrin and Frankfurt. Then, having attracted, like a great magnet, all the "steel-filings" of the German reserves to this area, he may strike north and/or south, through the gaps separating the Berlin fortified area from the Baltic and from the Erz Mountains.

In this connection, it is most interesting to note that Zhukov's right is spreading in the direction of Stettin and is approaching Stargard, while his left, in cooperation with Marshal Konev's right, is clearing the Germans from their bridgehead on the east bank of the Oder between Glogau and Zuellichau: that is, in the direction of the Kottbus-Goerlitz gap.

As a result of these twin operations, developing concurrently with the frontal push through the Oder-Warta trapezium, Marshals Zhukov and Konev may soon have a continuous front along the Oder from Stettin to Ratibor (a total length of 350 miles) which would be an excellent prerequisite for the forcing of a crossing of the Oder at one or several points.

This is why I have a feeling that Stettin and Greiffenhagen in the north, and Glogau, Ohlau and Brieg in the south, may be reached before Kuestrin and Frankfurt. More than that: it is entirely possible that Prenzlau and Neu-Strelitz north of Berlin and Sagan, Kottbus and Torgau southeast and south of it may be reached before Berlin itself. In other

# READERS' FORUM

## What "Wog" Means

**T**O NEW MASSES: I am an old reader of NEW MASSES, and a devoted reader. Therefore, I was disturbed at reading in your magazine a word which I consider to be vilely chauvinistic.

In NM of Nov. 28, 1944, appears a short story, "Tonnage," by David Foote. It's a good story with a good political theme. But I am shocked to find the writer using the word "wogs" to refer to colonial workers.

This word "wog" is used by "master race" minded white people to refer to the people who live in the colonial countries, who of course have dark skins. It is an utterly contemptuous term, quite on a par with the slanderous names used by fascists to refer to our various national groups in America. In the South of the United States, the white-supremacy klansmen have a specially odious word to refer to Negro people. In all of Asia and Africa, imperialism is entrenched (except, of course, in the USSR) and the white supremacy forces here have coined the word "wog."

Do you want to hear its origin? The story told to me is that when some students arrived at Oxford University from some of the colonial countries, they were contemptuously called "Westernized Oriental Gentlemen"—or "WOG," for short. Can imperialist arrogance be more disgusting?

Probably what I am writing is quite new to you; the word itself was unknown to me until I arrived in India. Then I quickly learned that Egyptians, Arabs and Indians (and people of colonial countries in general) are referred to by the word "wog." I must admit that our soldiers use this word most commonly. They do this for two reasons: the first is ignorance, the second is far worse—ideological corruption. *Yank*, the Army weekly, had an editorial on the deplorable development of a feeling of superiority in our soldiers towards people who have less material comforts than we, and are temporarily downtrodden. Palme Dutt expressed it well when he warned against "... assumptions of superiority, which are in fact only a mental reflection of a temporary relationship of domination." I can understand how you could be ignorant of the true significance of the word, but I cannot see how the author of the story could fail to know its true meaning.

Please allow me to express my hearty approval of the splendid magazine you publish. It is because yours is such a loud and clear

voice for fraternity between the peoples of the world that I bring to your attention this error.

(SGT.) NORMAN A. PLOTKIN.  
Somewhere in India.

**N**EW MASSES was not aware of the origin of the word "wog," nor that it is a term of contempt applied to the subject peoples of

## Latin America

Next week, on the eve of the conference of hemisphere foreign ministers in Mexico City, NEW MASSES will devote most of its issue to Latin America. The conference, dealing with Dumbarton Oaks, postwar economic problems and the political issues revolving around them, will be carefully followed by all those desiring to build the family of United Nations. It will be watched, of course, by the enemies of the United Nations. A successful Mexico City meeting will have its effects in Buenos Aires, in Madrid, and wherever the fascists are holding on in their last outposts. Two of the features in this special Latin American number will be articles on Brazil and Argentina written by experts who have lived in both countries and know their internal affairs intimately: Leonidas Labanca and Figueira Campos. Frederick V. Field will deal with United States foreign policy and Latin America; Marion Bachrach will discuss the Latin American labor movement; James S. Allen will write on the need for an industrialization program and Samuel Putnam will examine inter-American cultural relations.

Asia and Africa. We feel certain that the author of the story, David Foote, did not intend it to convey that meaning. On the contrary, the laborers in the story and their contributions to our struggle are treated with the utmost sympathy. We regret that the use of the term "wog" without any qualification has led to the possibility of misunderstanding.

—The Editors.

## Social Surrealism?

**T**O NEW MASSES: In NM of January 9 my old dear friend Moses Soyer writes about surrealism. He brings out some good points and I agree with his sentiments, but I would like to take issue with the way he expresses these sentiments for fear that there may be misunderstanding on this important question.

To say that certain social painters have some of the good qualities of surrealism in their work (which was about what Moses said) is as confusing as it would be to say that the Russian people have some of the fine organizational qualities of the Nazis. It puts the cart before the horse (to put it mildly!).

All great people's artists, like Breughel, painted a world of their own imagination while looking keenly at the real world around them.

They were sensitive intellectuals and practical ones too, who knew that the first requisite of an artist is an ability to stir people's imaginations, to intrigue the mind and excite the senses by bringing the richness of their thoughts and dreams to others, expressed with the worldly symbols at hand—the only ones available to people of this world.

The word "surrealism" must be judged by the work of the adherents and exponents of this cult. We see that it spells decadence because it plainly leads down a blind alley to the mirror of Narcissus. The word "surrealism" was concocted by this group of painters of a certain fibre, those whose mental attitude expressed fear of living and consequently a contempt for life. Their work is an expression of inward retreat and results in the glorification of the occult and in a representation of the living world as decay.

One is either for or against life just as one is either for or against the people.

My suggestion therefore is that a new word must be invented (perhaps Inner-realism, Dreamworld-realism, Mysteries-of-nature painting, or Inner-life painting)—anything that would separate the two in people's minds and which would express the artistic manifestation of man's inner self, experiments in the weirder qualities of man's imagination when they are used in a constructive or healthy way. In other words, when they are the inner expressions of healthy individuals like Bosch, Breughel, Rowlandson, Ensor, who love humanity and whose robust attitude towards life qualifies their excursions into the world of the imagination.

PHILIP EVERGOOD.

New York.



## OF FROGS AND MEN

John Steinbeck's "Cannery Row" Reviewed by Isidor Schneider

"CANNERY ROW," like *The Moon Is Down* and *Bombs Away*, is issued with publicity boasts about the speed with which it was written.\* It shows it in jerry-built literary structure and in loose thinking.

The publishers, of course, can be expected to be proud of the champion who turns out best sellers in six weeks or less. But does Steinbeck share their feeling? If so he has fallen into dangerous cynicism or naivete. There was the excuse of wartime urgency for haste with *The Moon Is Down* and *Bombs Away*. But what excuse is there for haste on *Cannery Row*? Does Steinbeck consider it as urgent now to help people forget the war?

A preface to a novel suggests doubt or a prick of literary conscience. Steinbeck's preface is an obvious attempt at rationalization. He writes: "When you collect marine animals there are certain flat worms so delicate that they are almost impossible to capture whole, for they break and tatter under the touch. You must let them ooze and crawl of their own will onto a knife blade and then lift them gently into your bottle of sea water. And perhaps that might be the way to write this book—to open the page and to let the stories crawl in by themselves."

This seems to be intended to justify the artistic shapelessness of the book. Another paragraph seems to be intended to justify its moral shapelessness. "Cannery Row in Monterey in California is a poem, a stink, a grating noise, a quality of light, a tone, a habit, a nostalgia, a dream. Cannery Row is the gathered and scattered, tin and iron and rust and splintered wood, chipped pavement and weedy lots and junk heaps, sardine canneries of corrugated iron, honky tonks, restaurants and whore houses, and little crowded groceries, and laboratories and flophouses. Its inhabitants are, as the man once said, 'Whores, pimps, gamblers, and sons of bitches,' by which he meant Everybody. Had the man looked through another peephole he might have

said, 'Saints and angels and martyrs and holy men,' and he would have meant the same thing."

Who is "the man" who "once said"? And what is the other "peephole?" The evasive vagueness of the preface leaves many questions in the air. Yet Steinbeck is so skillful, his gift is so rich, that in a number of passages the reader is enchanted and the critic recognizes the craftsman's hand. The passages do not, however, add up to a first-rate book and sometimes a gained effect is offset by an ineptness in the same passage. Throughout one feels the effects of haste.

For example, there is the scene where "Doc" (a marine biologist who earns his living collecting specimens for laboratories) while searching in a lagoon for young octopi, comes upon the body of a drowned girl. The episode is given in effective straight narrative up to the point where Steinbeck tries to describe the emotional shock. His means is a trick—following strains of music as they pass through Doc's mind. Their surge and ebb are intended to equate to the emotion. All it comes to is a purple passage. Rereading the episode with the musical equation omitted, it recovers its power.

Certainly it would be well to give Doc's emotional reaction—but that calls for more than a virtuoso flourish. Just a little more time and scruple might have led Steinbeck to omit the passage and save the episode at least from phoniness; still more time and scruple might have made the emotional description a success.

For the thinking in *Cannery Row* there is even less to be said than for the literary structure. For there is thinking in the book, though most reviewers have ignored it, seeing *Cannery Row* only as an escape novel. According to one reviewer Steinbeck wrote it to work the war out of his system after an overdose of it as a correspondent. But *Cannery Row* follows a line that can be traced through all of Steinbeck's books, even *Grapes of Wrath*. In that remarkable book, during the writing of which he is said to have been influenced by Carey McWilliams, and in *In Dubious Battle*, in which he is said to have been influenced by a union organizer, the attitude is controlled by a vision of the dignity of men in collective action.

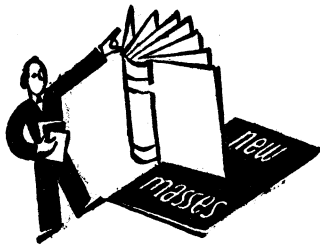
The vision seems to have faded out for Steinbeck after the dark days of the defeat of democracy in Spain, as it faded for other writers. For many of them there was a turn to mysticism accompanied, in some cases, by outright religious conversion. Steinbeck's turn is the strangest of all. He seems to have come to his mysticism by way of "science," a mechanistic science dangerously like that of the late Alexis Carrel, whose pro-fascist leanings in his writings were confirmed by his collaborationist activity during the German occupation of France.

The turn was announced in *Sea of Cortez*, describing and reflecting upon a marine biological expedition in which Steinbeck participated. The book is full of banal "discoveries," announced with all the dither of the tyro who thinks he has come upon the secret of life. The secret is that life is all mechanism; life is the subject of conditioning and chance which is, itself, a kind of conditioning. Man is only one of the more complicated of the life mechanisms, with the elements of chance more subtly con-



Alzira.

\* CANNERY ROW, by John Steinbeck. Viking. \$2.



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cealed. If man surrenders to his instincts, that is, if he lets himself fall into harmony with the conditioning process, he can count on a smooth running of the mechanism.

Steinbeck's satisfaction in such "discoveries" is understandable. They justify what has been his oldest way of seeing men—as weak and safe only when they float like jellyfish on the tide of instinct. The attitude was there in *Tortilla Flat* and in *Mice and Men* and even to some degree in *In Dubious Battle* and *Grapes of Wrath*. In contrast, his women are harder and more sure of themselves.

In *Cannery Row* this is not merely implied, it is explicitly stated. It is stated by Steinbeck himself as author, and again in the words of Doc, his main character so far as there is any "character" in the book. Bearing this in mind, we can see that Steinbeck writing about a frog or a gopher in the same terms as his human beings is not just being quaint. The alert reader will notice that he writes about human beings as if they were frogs or gophers, and, more significantly, that he writes about both as mechanisms.

In any adult sense Steinbeck presents no human beings at all. There are drunks and whores, a Chinese storekeeper who is an excellently drawn *type*, and Doc, who stands outside and above Cannery Row like personified "science." Doc is the central figure, and I have seldom read a phonier. Doc's "mechanism" requires Gregorian chants and hamburgers, abstruse poetry and beer and casual girls who don't object to lovemaking to music. Conceptions like these, and in fact the whole atmosphere of the book, read like the daydreams of an adolescent.

It is not surprising that, in a generally disappointed critical response to *Cannery Row*, its advocates have mainly been reactionaries. They would naturally find attractive a view that reduces man to a mechanism, that puts contentment at animal levels, that flashes danger signals at any movement out of the hog wallow.

The increasingly reactionary Joseph Wood Krutch compared *Cannery Row* approvingly with *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*. The comparison is discerning. In their different milieus Cannery Row and the Cabbage Patch are both swamps of resignation, of idealized stagnation. Krutch went on to suggest that the book was a hopeful sign of growing tolerance toward the unproductive. The inference was that if Steinbeck could persuade us to be indulgent

to the swinishness of the *lumpen*, we might proceed to indulgence toward the swinishness of the rich.

## ILG "History"

BREAD UPON THE WATERS, by Rose Pesotta.  
Edited by John Nicholas Bffel. Dodd, Mead.  
\$3.00.

A DRESSMAKER of Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Miss Pesotta was assigned by President David Dubinsky as an organizer for Los Angeles in the months when the NRA opened the floodgates of new membership possibilities for unions. Her assignments took her to Los Angeles, Seattle, Puerto Rico, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Montreal, Akron, Detroit, Boston and other towns. Of chief interest is her description of the union's rapid expansion among Mexicans in Los Angeles, Chinese in San Francisco, French-Canadians, Puerto Ricans and native born Americans, and the rapid rise of initiative and leadership among these tens of thousands of hitherto untouched workers.

Her elevation to a vice-presidency, the only such post in the union Executive to be held by a woman, came in 1934 when Dubinsky made some gestures to broaden ILGWU leadership. For some years she was a "rank and file face" for the union's officialdom. Her book, which is overlong for its substance, is also peppered with anti-Communist sniping and distortions of labor history. Long associated with an anarcho-syndicalist group in the ILGWU, her hatred of the Soviet Union runs, as she herself admits, as far back as the 1922 convention of the union. Her relation with CIO campaigns was negligible, and this is reflected in her lack of knowledge and her bias. While she drags Norman Thomas' Socialists in by the hair to give an impression that they led the CIO campaigns, she omits or passes off with a bare mention those who actually led the movements. This applies to men like Wyndham Mortimer, who organized Flint and headed the strike; Robert Traves, who was his associate, and others known as Communists or foes of Red-baiters. And in her page and a half on the San Francisco general strike, she doesn't even mention Harry Bridges.

Of special significance is what she reveals of the ILGWU leadership. The best she has to say of Dubinsky is that he "was and is an ordinary mortal, who happens to be living in a period favorable to his type of leadership. And clearly he is not infallible." Comparing Du-



binsky to two previous ILGWU presidents she knew she says that "to my mind he is the luckiest of the three." Rather reluctantly she reveals that all didn't go well between her and "D.D." Miss Pesotta obviously feels that Dubinsky falsely takes much credit for the "Blue Eagle" and for the work of others. Second, the conclusion is obvious from her picture of the union's growth that the small clique of controlling ILGWU officers who have feathered their nests there for decades hardly reflects the new composition of the union, which now includes a majority of native-born and other "unorganizable" workers. Thirdly, Miss Pesotta closes the door with a bang as she quits the vice-presidency of the ILGWU. "Ten years in office," she writes, "had made it clear to me that a lone woman vice-president could not adequately represent the women who now make up eighty-five percent of the International's membership of 305,000." Thus from one of Dubinsky's own associates we have a sharp indictment of the tight clique control.

Finally, the book deals with the very short period when the ILGWU drifted from the "House of Labor" and contributed to the founding and financing of the CIO. In these days, when Dubinsky has entered into an alliance with the most reactionary circles within the AFL—the very group that rejects even collaboration with the CIO on specific issues—it must be embarrassing to have that period recalled.

The author's mood, as might be expected from her bias, is gloomy. She sees little difference between this war and the last. When Pearl Harbor was bombed, she concluded that "my job was no longer important" and went back to the shop. The Union from then on would be fortunate if it could "hold its ranks solid and safeguard its gains." Several pages are devoted to a defense of John L. Lewis and his strikes. No wonder Norman Thomas' *Call* received the book so joyfully. GEORGE MORRIS.

## Planning Our Houses

TASK: Number 6. West Coast Issue. Published at 211 E. 49th St., New York. 50¢.

CONCEIVED only three years ago, *Task* has gone far toward achieving its aims. As a professional magazine devoted to the cause of housing and planning it goes beyond the simple exposition of technical facts and relates them to urgent problems of human welfare, and makes clear the bond between

techniques and the people. This latest issue helps to explode the conception that planning is "beyond" the people.

In its lead editorial *Task* takes us behind the scenes and analyzes the political and economic factors resulting from a recent population increase in the industrially developing West of twenty percent and the employment of almost a million people in the expanding shipbuilding and aircraft industries alone. This analysis covers the organizations that have developed out of this wartime industrialization. The trade unions are hard at work with local and regional planning groups. Their efforts will undoubtedly prevent repetition of the disastrous upheavals and unemployment that occurred after the last war.

In an especially fine article, "Ghettos, USA," the problems, and results, of community segregation are fully explored. For the combination of mass migration and over-crowded war centers have introduced or intensified racial tensions in the West, adding a major problem of Negro segregation to the list of "must" jobs that face the planners.

The continued existence of the ghetto, well defined as "... a limited space for an unlimited number of people," is carefully weighed against the ultimate aims of good planning for a democratic future. Their incompatibility brings forth the ringing declaration that "... A war against fascism decrees that those ghetto walls shall not be built ... that the existing walls shall be torn down."

In the light of such projected regional developments as the St. Lawrence Seaway and the Missouri Valley Authority, the articles dealing with California's Central Valley Project and the Columbia River Basin are important reading. They point up the need for over-all national planning and a thorough integration of all future activity concerned with development of our natural resources.

Other material on housing and planning, and a critique of Russian architecture by the librarian of the Royal Institute of British Architects, makes *Task* Number Six a valuable contribution toward the understanding of progressive planning for the future.

HENRY SCHUBART.

## Brief Reviews

PEOPLE OF THE USSR, by Anna Louise Strong. Illustrated with photographs and maps. Macmillan. \$2.50.

THIS should be compulsory reading for those who raise doubts about the Soviet capacity to live in amity in any

"We must be on the alert for the flank attacks of masked enemies of national unity and of the United Nations; these will be more dangerous than the open assaults from now on," says EARL BROWDER.

"The issue of punishment of Axis war criminals is a vital part of the entire purpose of the United Nations to destroy fascism, decisively and irrevocably. It is part of the war we are waging," says V. J. JEROME.

"The magnificent reality of Polish freedom springs to life under the mighty tread of the Red Armies and the patriot Polish troops fighting by their side ... the army of the new Poland symbolized by the people's Provisional Government," says MARCIA T. SCOTT.

They Say It In—

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The President Alerts the Nation...	Adam Lavin
Browder on National Service.....	Earl Browder
A New Poland Is Born.....	Marcia T. Scott
What of the War Criminals?.....	V. J. Jerome
Marx and Engels on Lincoln and the Civil War.....	Samuel Sillen
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future world federation of peoples. To others it will be rewarding voluntary reading. Though written for older children, adults as well will enjoy its full and fascinating survey of the largest *functioning* society of nations yet achieved in human history. It is written with the clarity and vigor characteristic of Anna Louise Strong. Included is interesting material on the new Soviet nationalities, the Baltic peoples, the Kar-elians and the Moldavians.

TARGET ISLAND, *by John Brophy. Harper. \$2.*

**T**HIS is a story of frustrated love relationships against the setting of the last big Luftwaffe offensive on Malta in 1942. Sensitively drawn in terms of its own character development, it produces, nonetheless, a curiously remote effect. This stems from its concentration on private worlds, to the exclusion of the broader conflict of the time when the Islanders were fighting a battle for life which helped to determine the fate of the rest of the world.

EVENINGS WITH MUSIC, *by Syd Skolsky. Dutton. \$3.00.*

**S**TARTING with a discussion of the various instruments and sections of the symphony orchestra, Mrs. Skolsky elucidates musical forms and terms, her main concern, and analyzes the contribution of great composers to these forms. Though clear in detail, the book suffers because of poor arrangement of biographical and background data. Another hitch is that the author's text is based on only the Columbia recordings.

AXIS RULE IN OCCUPIED EUROPE, *by Raphael Lemkin. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Distributed by Columbia University Press. \$7.50.*

**D**R. LEMKIN's book is sweeping in scope. A large part of it deals with the decrees and laws by which the Axis powers and their quislings have held Europe in submission. It makes terrifying reading and once again shows how gigantic is the task of rehabilitation facing the Allies. Not only must there be military annihilation of the enemy, but the uprooting of the entire legal structure by which he held peoples in submission. Another section of Dr. Lemkin's work discusses proposals for redress. It is admittedly incomplete but this collection of documents, organized according to country, should be of the greatest assistance to those with the responsibility for restoring justice and human rights.



## FILMS OF THE WEEK

By JOSEPH FOSTER

None of the new creeper films, all a good cut above the average, possesses half the suspense and excitement that you will find in *Objective Burma*, the war picture at the Strand. Based on an original story by Alvah Bessie, the movie limns the exploits of a paratrooper platoon sent out to destroy a radar station behind the Japanese lines, and their embattled efforts to get back home. As a dramatic depiction of the physical effort required by jungle warfare and its effect upon the soldier, it is probably as good a battle film as Hollywood has turned out. To its everlasting credit is the fact that throughout its length the characters behave like human beings. They do not become entangled in skeins of dialogue meant to contrast their mood with the danger that surrounds them. Nor do they make brave speeches intended to hide a gnawing fear. When they are frightened, either when jumping from the plane or stumbling through the jungle, they show it. They are courageous, discouraged, frightened, weary, determined, by turn; and it is this honest treatment that makes their adventures and hardships so acceptable.

The sequences that preface the destruction of the radar station and those dealing with the night attack upon the foxholes of the remaining GI's are full of that wonderful breathlessness that just precedes the explosion. But the actual battles themselves are in each case reduced to the penny-dreadful concept of warfare. Each American is the equal of twenty-five of the enemy—a situation brought about by the puzzling cooperation of the Japanese, who with dogged persistence hurl themselves by the score into the path of American bullets, or conveniently arrange themselves as bowling pins for our machinegun crews.

I suspect that such cowboy-and-Indian technique is the work of Raoul Walsh, the director, and is to be regretted in view of the excellent job he does otherwise in the film. The action pattern and the air of reality in the picture is helped not a little by the superb photography of James Wong Howe, and by screen-

writers Lester Cole and Ronald MacDonald.

“A SONG TO REMEMBER,” at Radio City Music Hall, has been the subject of much critical controversy. It has been praised for its excellent musical score, damned for its distortion of the lives of Chopin, George Sand and others. To my mind, the very nub of the film, the question of the place of the artist in society, has been completely overlooked or avoided. It is true that if your total knowledge of either Sand or Chopin came from this film, you would be a sadsack of misinformation, but *Song to Remember* is not, and was never intended to be, a biographical study of the tragic composer.

Like *Objective Burma*, this picture has a timeliness born of the coincidence of its release with the current headlines. As a youngster, Chopin had some knowledge of the underground movement for Polish liberation. In the film the struggle against the Czar is part of his motivation in going to Paris; it is one of the factors that determine his plans and those of his teacher, Joseph Elsner. Freedom, like art, says the latter, belongs to all the people of all countries, and one is inseparable from the other. In Paris he will be able to aid the one through his practice of the other. Many a person will now come forward and say that Chopin was no revolutionary, that the *Polonaise* was more nationalistic than patriotic, that he went to Paris as a young boy of eleven rather than as a man of twenty-odd, that he was guilty of all the prejudices and chauvinisms of his time, and so on. Even if all that were true, it would still be worth less than a copy of the *New Leader*. The fact is that he did raise money for his friends in Poland as one of the last acts of his short career, between the beginning and end of which, it is true, there is a long period of aloofness from the ugly facts of life. This period writer-producer Sidney Buchman utilizes to raise a very valid question. What are the obligations that face a man of talent? Any person—in the film George Sand—can attempt to justify the ivory tower

for the artist on the ground that he owes his first duty to his art. A genius comes along once in a long while; he is the delicate vessel in which must be nurtured the fragile plant of his rare ability. What business his the sweat, the futile uprisings, the meager life of “causes”? Equally, any person—in the film, his teacher, Elsner—can answer such arguments by pointing out that an artist cut off from his people, is like a cut flower that will perfume the air for a bit and wither. As to causes and the like—a genuine artist is a man of the people, draws his strength from them, and in times of stress must help them with his talent. It is a novel argument for the films, and a refreshing one. I would not defend the picture on this aspect alone, had it been dragged in to sweeten an otherwise unpalatable dish. But since this issue more than anything else makes for the basic structure of the film, it must be considered in assessing the picture's worth.

Jose Iturbi is said to have played the piano score. He provides a brilliant musical background, which for large stretches of the film becomes the main interest. This incidental concert alone is worth the price of admission. Paul Muni, who occupies most of the footage, plays Joseph Elsner broadly, almost to the point of caricature. Merle Oberon is a stern, flint-hearted George Sand, and Cornel Wilde a handsome but rather stiff Chopin.

MURDER screenplays are of two kinds. In the first, the murderer is known and attention rests upon suspense generated by the attempts of the killer to escape detection or to practice further his homicidal craft. In this group we have such films as *Double Indemnity*, *Phantom Lady*, *Laura* and two new ones, *Woman in the Window* (Palace) and *The Suspect* (Criterion). The second group keeps the murderer's identity a secret and, from the clues uncovered, the audience is supposed to guess who he is. In this kind of film the murderer is always a rat. *Thin Man Goes Home* (Capitol) belongs to this category.

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Both *Woman in the Window* and *The Suspect* are well acted and directed. Both have as their murdering protagonists middle-aged, well-meaning good men, who become involved in a profession unsuited to their talents or their temperaments. In each case a blackmailer threatens to land our kind-hearted death-dealer in the chair, and each seeks to lose his tormentor by saturating him with a copious slug of sleeping powders. The first is the better of the two, has more creep and chill and a better pace. Its ending is a trick that you will never suspect, but is definitely unsporting. Because of it the film manages to drag in a number of improbable situations, violate many rules of sound detective story procedure and still get you to accept it. At its conclusion the film asks you to invite your friends to see it but to tell them nothing about the ending. I dutifully comply. *Woman in the Window* has Edward G. Robinson and Joan Bennett in the lead parts; *The Suspect*, Charles Laughton and Ella Raines.

*The Thin Man Goes Home* is as far removed from the original of the series as the corn husk is from the kernel. All the characters are present: Nick Charles, his friends, Cora, Asta the dog and the rest. All that's missing is Dashiell Hammett and his ability to spin an intriguing mystery yarn. As for fulfilling its obligation to supply enough clues to lead to the murderer, the film flunks inexcusably. The denouement introduces a brand new set of factors to explain the killing and I and my faithful friends of the mystery film jeer loudly at such tricks.

If you like the Powell-Myrna Loy model, there is enough slick dialogue and sophisticated whimsy here to provide you with a pleasant evening.

IF Moscow was relatively undamaged by air attack, it was due to the brilliant work of the air raid wardens and fire fighters and the tireless airmen assigned to guard the air approaches of the Soviet capital. *Moscow Skies*, the Stan-

ley's latest Soviet film, concerns itself with a group of these airmen. During those crisis days so blessedly past, the fliers spent more time aloft than they did on the ground. They flew every type of plane available, from the most streamlined models to the antiquated practice ships. The film personalizes these fliers in the characteristic manner of Soviet films, blending their political, professional and personal interests into one unified impulse. *Moscow Skies* contains many library shots of Moscow streets after air raids. Each camera shot is a caress. This is the city we love, it says, and we will let no harm come to it.

The film contains the first process shots that I can remember seeing in a Soviet movie and some beautiful sequences of aerial combat, including a honey of a one in which a Soviet flier brings down his quarry by ramming.

"FIGHTING LADY," the Navy documentary of a flattop in action, deserves to be placed alongside *Memphis Belle* as one of the most thrilling combat records of the war. This particular flattop is part of every action from the Marcus Island campaign to the Philippine landings, and at the conclusion of the film you are left with a fair idea of what is involved in the process of "island hopping."

The spectator sits with the pilot as the plane levels off for the target, and watches the pink flak float up to meet him. The camera is so located that it takes pictures in synchronization with the firing of the guns, much as the guns fire in synchronization with the propeller. Thus the spectator is in on every action. Between battles *Fighting Lady* reviews the technique of getting planes on and off deck, the preparations for flight and the composition of the ship. From this and preceding films on the life aboard a flattop the subject is becoming so familiar that landlubbers like myself could take any job on the ship from repairman to flight deck commander.

## IN THE WORLD OF ART

BEFORE I go on to the current exhibitions of living artists I would like to review somewhat cursorily the recent exhibitions of Degas at the Buchholz Gallery and Hartley at the Museum of Modern Art, Rosenberg and Knoedler Galleries. I hope that serious art students and artists alike visited

these exhibitions, not once, but several times. The Degas exhibition was particularly beautiful. It consisted of drawings, several pastels, and bronze casts of the studies in plaster that were found in the studio after his death. His exhibition was yet another demonstration of a great artist's unswerving pursuit of an ideal.

Degas was one of the most self-critical of artists; he drew and redrew dozens of times one movement in order to arrive at perfect balance. Paul Valery says aptly, "Degas rejected facility just as he rejected everything that was not the sole object of his thoughts. He desired only his own approval, that is to say, to satisfy the most exigent, the harshest and most incorruptible of judges."

In this day when artists in search of new styles move further and further away from life, a sober drawing by Degas of a woman washing her hair or a dancer balancing on her toes jolts one into a sudden realization that art must be bound up with life and nature, and that unless it speaks a universal language, style and esthetics have little meaning.

What I say above about painting and drawing applies also and perhaps even more to the sculpture of today. The sculptors, too, tend to move away from life. Michelangelo once said that a sculptor, after he completes his figure, should roll it downhill, and the part that remains is the completed work of art. While there is a great deal of truth in this, I feel that Michelangelo said it with his tongue in his cheek. The modern sculptor takes this adage literally in his over-simplification of forms. To the creative sculptor, every piece of marble and every block of wood contains a form that struggles for liberation, and the sculptor, in his terrific respect for material, chisels and carves so gingerly that the result is often chunky, bulbous, and lacking in lifelike qualities. Degas, being a painter, modelled his figures in pastel-line as preliminary studies to his paintings. For this reason, the sculptors are apt to wave away his efforts as being merely a painter's excursion in sculpture, ignoring the wonderful living qualities contained in these miraculous and profound studies in movement and balance.

MANY admirers and friends of Marsden Hartley were profoundly shocked last year at the news of his sudden death. He was of a retiring nature, shy, and frugal in his living. When moved, he could speak beautifully about art and literature, and though he would seldom let it be known, one felt that he was profoundly hurt by the neglect and the lack of appreciation from which he suffered throughout most of his life. One can say about Hartley, as about Degas and about any serious artist, that his life was dedicated to the working-out, in his own terms, of his philosophy of life. He has been accused

of many artistic influences such as: the Greeks, the primitives, Giotto, Cezanne, the Coptics, and among the Americans, Ryder and Walt Whitman. He was altogether loyal to these various sources at the periods of their influences on him. This is why his early work is so uneven and varied and yet, throughout it all, a discerning critic could have divined his final emergence as a highly original and significant American artist. His greatest work was done during the latter part of his life when he isolated himself from artistic community life, and went to live with fisher-folk in Maine. He was the type of modern artist who sought freedom from subject matter in art, but was never entirely divorced from it. This gave his work a severe, semi-abstract quality. He expresses well the majesty of the Maine landscape in many of its moods, its grim coast-line, its mountains and pine forests, particularly rocky, baldheaded Mount Katahdin. In a special group of his work belong the many paintings of the fishermen and women whom he loved for their simple life and dignity. He painted them with sympathy and endowed them with a religious quality as in "The Fisherman's Last Supper," "The Lost Felice," and others.

Hartley is an artist of genuinely democratic spirit. Henry W. Wells says, "In Hartley's painting and poetry we find a vigor and humanity more akin to the life of a rising people, as the Russians of the mid-twentieth century, than to the life of a declining intellectual democracy such as that of the capitalist countries in general, and France in particular, during the third and fourth decades of our present cycle." Let me close with an excerpt from one of Hartley's poems, "This Crusty Fragment," which expressed his love and understanding of nature:

*This crusty fragment  
Of windswept island. . . .  
Its mold-hued face.  
I like it near me;  
I do not fear me  
To kiss its jagged cheek  
Because I am meek  
With love of home place.*

FOR many years Milton Avery has been painting in obscurity, known only to intimate friends and a small group of artists who admired and followed him. Like all artists who have something unusual to say, Avery had as many detractors as admirers. While the latter elevated him to heights that Avery in his humility would never admit hav-

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CARNEGIE HALL

ing aspired to, his detractors as vehemently dismissed him as nothing but a small-town Matisse. As is usual in such cases, they were all wrong, for Avery is without question an original and able artist. One could study his work in his two recent exhibitions of his oils and gouaches. What struck me most was his inventiveness as to pattern, and his "rightness" as to his color, which he often juxtaposes in a most surprising and unorthodox manner. He unquestionably stems from Matisse, but he is not a mere imitator, and his pictures of the undulating New Jersey landscape are very American in spite of the fact that to the uninitiated they may at first glance seem to be products of the school of Paris. It is a great tragedy that artists—especially Americans—who do not fall into prevailing modes of taste are so neglected during their lifetimes (Eakins, Eilsheimius and Hartley, to mention but a few). It is therefore pleasant indeed to see a man of originality like Avery being taken up by fashionable art galleries and collectors who but yesterday would disdain his type of work because of inability to understand it.

However, in fashionable success lies the danger that the artist becomes unable to resist the demands of dealers, patrons and critics. Studying Avery's work I have, I must honestly say, found symptoms of this desire to please. It is especially true of his oil paintings, which are becoming flatter and more abstract. The featureless portrait of his lanky daughter March is almost a pattern and has little of his old charm of color. It is harsh and flat, and the colors have hardly any relation to one another. I am sure, knowing Avery, that this is a passing phase. One hears collectors say to one another, "I have an Avery—have you an Avery?" Well, I too have an Avery. It was painted three or four years ago in the mountains of New Hampshire. It is more severe and more profound than the Averages of today.

ONE could hardly imagine a greater contrast than that which exists between the work of Milton Avery and Mervin Jules, whose recent paintings are currently exhibited at the ACA Gallery. Jules has always been occupied with social problems and his paintings deal with trials, troubles and hopes of plain people. He paints these people with sympathy and understanding, and with knowledge of human experience. He is something of a cerebral artist and one feels that he paints more through introspection than from actual observation

and contact with reality. His composition is often ingenious and well-planned and some of his paintings, like the grey and bleak "Return," "War Bulletin," and "The Partisans" are compelling and touching. Among his best paintings are his portrayals of children, notably "Young Artist" and "Conversation." His work at times is still too reminiscent of Daumier without Daumier's opulence of paint quality and profound insight into humanity. Jules' drawing, although expressive, is sometimes too angular and sharp. Combined with a certain brittleness in the brush stroke, these are, if you wish, qualities or faults which distinguish him from other artists working along the same lines. It is a good exhibition, thoughtful and serious, but remembering his exhibition of some two years ago in the same gallery, it shows not as great a development as one might have expected from a man of Jules' talent.

BECAUSE of lack of space, I can only mention other worthwhile exhibitions: George Constant at Ferargil, showing serene lovers, pleasant, plump girls in listless attitudes, cool quarries, huge sea-gulls against rocky backgrounds and well-composed still-lives, which all together constitute a most beautiful show.

"Our New York" at Artists' Associates: a group exhibition of pictures depicting the city. Outstanding are Chuzo Tomatzu's "New York by Night," Charles Keller's "Subway Workers," Sarah Berman-Beach's "North South Street," Herb Kruckman's "Front Stoop," and pictures by Mandelman, Hecht, Ratkai, Dauthion, and a portfolio of capable if somewhat conventional woodcuts by Albert Abramowitz.

Roko Gallery's exhibition of serigraphs and paintings by Nathaniel Kauffman, Vincent Drennan, Maurice Becker, Maxwell Gordon, Ishigaki, Reisman, Sol Wilson, and a newcomer; Magnus Gjertsen, also drawings by Delaney, Tromka, Levine, and sculpture by Mocharniuk and Tina Rabner is worthy of note.

MOSES SOYER.

### Brave New World

"THE TEMPEST," at the Alvin Theater, is gay, vibrant and beautiful, and Miss Webster has employed the whole recipe of theater: dialogue, pantomime, dance, architecture and painting, music and lighting, in marvelous balance.

Since *The Tempest* is Shakespeare's last important creation, it has been easy to regard it in the nature of a last good-

humored bow. It is as if Shakespeare, in his mature wisdom, had foresworn revenge for wrongs and abuses and now wished only for their correction in simple justice. Though his stage holds more fools and knaves than philosophers, still he can say, "How beauteous mankind is! Oh, brave new world that has such people in it."

Arnold Moss as Prospero is so close to the popular portrait of the poet that he gives the illusion of the living presence of Shakespeare. The resemblance is so striking that in the epilogue it seems not so much Prospero as Shakespeare himself who disperses the spirits, monsters and pageantry and in austere dignity bids us farewell.

I must confess that I approached the presentation with misgivings. Caliban was not written with any designation of color, but the part had never been played by a Negro. I could not but wonder how seemly it would be for a member of that maligned people to thereby be identified in the role with the villainies and cloddishness of Caliban. But long before the end of the evening Canada Lee's performance had so seized me that I forgot to think of him as anything but a rugged, clownishly impotent monster whose color was a matter of indifference. Some day we should see a black Ariel, a black Prospero and a white Caliban—though that may be a long time after the Hitlers and the Bilbos are swept into the dustbin of history.

I think that what most made me lose awareness of Caliban's color is that so much of the time he is in the company of the two clowns. Miss Webster's genius for showmanship and casting is shown in making a team of Lee and the two famous Czech comedians, George Voscovek (as the jester), and Jan Werich (as Stephano, the butler). The choice of the dancer, Vera Zorina (as Ariel), was, however, more showmanship than genius. Not that she fails Ariel completely. She is graceful and often speaks her lines well, but is physically too large for the mercurial sprite—and since she does not actually dance, there is little virtue in her being a dancer.

Francis Heflin plays Prospero's daughter with such charm of voice and manner that what seemed vapid in the lines becomes delicate and beguiling. Even the part of Ferdinand, her lover, is so played by Vito Christy as to seem naive only by reason of his youthfulness. Other good performances are those by Berry Kroeger as the brother who ousted Prospero from the dukedom of Milan and by Eugene Stuckman as Sebastian, the brother of the King of Naples whom he

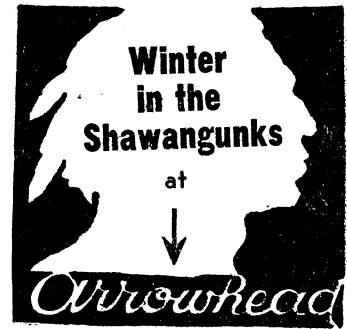
seeks to supplant by a small slitting of the throat. Philip Huston is a slightly King of Naples. Gonzalo, his loyal minister, is played by Paul Leyssac in an amusing style that makes him out to be part wise, part simple, both a good servitor and an anarchist: the embodiment of adjustments.

The most impressive performance, however, is that of Arnold Moss as Prospero. Moss has the commanding presence for the part, which calls for a combination of magic and human wisdom. He raises his wand and the tempest blows, every man is in jeopardy and yet every man is safe. When as Prospero he threatens Ariel or Caliban, it is in the capacity of the father. And when he decides to break his magic wand, we share his conviction that he breaks nothing, for reason and experience are all the magic he will need.

It should be added that the settings, costumings, lighting and David Diamond's music all contributed to a notable production.

**B**ILL TWEED, New York City's most fearless political looter, is once more pursued by his implacable nemesis, the cartoonist Thomas Nast, and his friend the muck-raking journalist in Michael Todd's super-colossal carousel, *Up In Central Park*. As happens on a carousel, the music begins by being good and ends by being monotonous, and the prancing ensemble which at first seems to be going somewhere remains singularly static. It is apparent why Herbert and Dorothy Fields were attracted by the period of the 1870's and most particularly by the fabulous rascality of the Tweed Ring. Unfortunately, they seem to have become so immersed in indignation at Tweed's gigantic thefts that they forgot to look for satire and comedy in the situation. They present Boss Tweed as a huge, stodgy, humorless fat-pants. But it is a little late to feel seriously disturbed about Tweed's speculations.

*Up In Central Park* has pleasant voices in Wilbur Evans and Maureen Cannon; a lively singing, dancing comedienne in Betty Bruce; not enough of Helen Tamiris' group choreography for a good dancing troupe; a few nice songs by Sigmund Romberg which you will probably be hearing on your radio; a well-caparisoned, hard-working cast in rather uncreative but colorful period sets by Howard Bay. Noah Beery as Boss Tweed is more spectacular than entertaining. The proceedings drag and the suggestion of a research product, which may not greatly injure a drama, proves fatal in a musical. HARRY TAYLOR.



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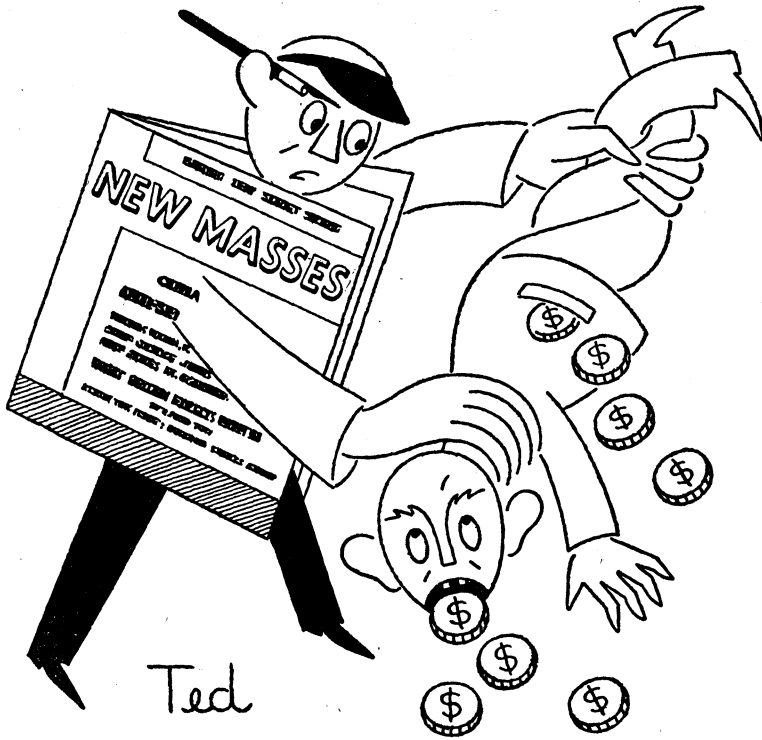
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