

YALTA: HISTORY'S LONG STRIDE by JOHN STUART

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NEW MASSES

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LABOR'S NEW WORLD

***Cable from London. A first-hand report
on the International Labor Conference
by***

Joseph North

Also in this issue: WHO WAS TOM PAINE? by Howard Fast; JOHN L'S FOOL'S GOLD, by Lewis Merrill; THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CANDLE, by Capt. Sergei Kournakoff; CRIMEA POSTSCRIPT, by Virginia Gardner; FROM THALES TO WASHINGTON, by Francis Franklin.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

MARY GARRISON, author of "Next Time," the short story published in last week's NM, is a native St. Louisian now residing in New York. Miss Garrison, attractive as she is talented, spent a number of years in China, and was in Shanghai during the period in which the story is placed. Her next two stories, to be published in forthcoming issues, are definitely worth waiting for. We are glad indeed to have discovered Miss Garrison and to have been discovered by her. She has been published by *Collier's* and other national magazines, but is a relative newcomer to the NEW MASSES orbit, both as reader and contributor.

AS MANY of you have noted in our back cover appeal ads, one of our goals for 1945 is 10,000 new subscribers. This is not an impossible achievement in view of the large numbers of people who are beginning to read us for the first time, and the increasing curiosity about our point of view. One of the officials of a bank, where we formerly did business, had always asked us questions concerning the nature of our magazine. Whenever we countered by offering him a copy, he said he had no time to read. Two months ago we encountered him on the street. He asked us to send him a sample copy. Evidently he had found some time for reading. Last week he sent us five dollars for a subscription, with a short note saying in effect that as one businessman to another he could not continue to ask for free samples, and that he was interested in reading more of NEW MASSES. This example of how one new reader came into being is, of course, proof of nothing at all, except that it indicates, as we have found in general, a lessened resistance to reading what was once regarded as a *bete noir* in American journalism. We can achieve 10,000 new readers, but not without your help. Get a friend or two to fill out the sub form on page 28.

LETTER from Herbert Goldfrank, our former business manager, arrived the other day. He writes:

"Dear Joe [North]: It has been some time since I have written, but life has been sort of difficult of late. We are now at a so-called 'permanent' location in toward the front somewhere in France, but it was a real rugged expedition to reach here. You have heard the whole story before—landing on the beach—snow and ice—cold—no hot food but rather the army C & K rations—travel in the usual '40 & 80,' straw beds, etc. At that, it's just as tough for my unit as for those in the foxholes in the sub-zero weather. En route and up here, I have seen more than convincing evidence of the terrific, almost unbelievable cost of the fight against fascism—

the wounded (not to speak of those who have given their lives), the shattered homes, the civilian lack of food and fuel—those sights and many others are mute evidence of how great the cost of victory will be. Frankly, Joe, even though one experiences great pangs of loneliness for one's family, home and friends—even though one undergoes comparatively great hardships for those who fully know what victory over fascism will mean—this price is indeed small. I write this to you, and the rest of the staff, to assure you that the job our magazine performs is essential—the battle of words to make clear what kind of a peace we are fighting for. Our NM from week to week has, through its great clarity, made my small role in this war comparatively easy—and I am sure it has done the same for countless others on all the fronts—including those at home."

HERB GOLDFRANK.

MARTHA STRUMPF, a charter member, so to speak, of the weekly NEW MASSES, died last week after a lingering

illness. NEW MASSES, and the thousands of readers who knew her, will miss her. She was an unwavering supporter of progressive causes, a crusading anti-Nazi, at a time when to be so required courage, intellectual vigor and political perception. Martha came to our office from the *Nation* on the very day we changed from a monthly to a weekly publication, better than eleven years ago. She took charge of the circulation and subscription department and remained at this job for nine years. She left NEW MASSES to do similar work for *Free World*. Many a reader will recall her letters persuading or nudging him back into renewal after his subscription ran out. It was a job requiring patience and friendliness, qualities that Martha possessed to a generous degree. We have lost, in her passing, an invaluable friend.

THE column in the current issue by Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers-CIO, is the first by the three columnists announced in last week's "Between Ourselves." In next week's issue there will be one by Rev. William Howard Melish. The third of the columnists, who will appear every four weeks, will be Earl Browder. J. F.

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LABOR'S NEW WORLD

By JOSEPH NORTH

London (by cable).

NEVER will I forget that scene: ships in convoy stretching from horizon to horizon somewhere on the stormy North Atlantic; members of the crew off duty, still in their dungarees, huddling about the radio carrying news from London; the broadcaster telling the world about the World Trade Union Congress in session in the city hall of Britain's capital. The announcer had just described differences that had arisen in the conference. I remember the worried faces of the crew, many of whom were survivors of one, two or three torpedoings. The ship's delegate, an alert dark-eyed junior engineer, spoke up after the broadcast: "Of course, they'll have differences. Who said they wouldn't? But they'll override them. You'll see." And afterward the letter they laboriously wrote to Joe Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, wishing the conference success, endorsing its aspirations. Every seaman signed that letter and the eager young junior engineer thumbed the pages of the *Pilot*, the NMU's union paper, to find the address of the congress. "We, the ship's crew of the SS — wish you every success in the world. We want world labor unity."

I thought as I read the letter how many millions throughout the world were following the deliberations in London's city hall with the same breathless attention of this crew on dangerous seas, and with the same emotion. When, due to hazards of wartime travel, I arrived at the congress some days after it had convened, I discovered how profoundly true the junior engineer's reaction had been. And I felt the universality of the conference; practically every race, religion, nationality and country of the world were represented: Christian, Mohammedan, Hindu, Jew, European, Asiatic, African, American; and in many millions of homes, I was certain—on every continent—workingmen were glued to their radios, following every word that spanned the air waves telling of the meeting. "We want world labor unity."

London's city hall is an imposing granite structure on the Thames, and the auditorium in which Greater London's Council meets would make Fiorello LaGuardia green with envy. There the delegates met. Looking down from the press gallery I could see the faces of workingmen from nearly every country under the sun. You would never forget it. Arabs in maroon fezzes; a Gambian Negro, tall, stately in his light blue ceremonial robe; the dark faces of Palestinian Jews; Latin Americans led by Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, his serious face unrelaxed; familiar faces of Americans—Sidney Hillman, Reid Robinson, Joseph Curran, A. J. Fitzgerald, R. J. Thomas, Allan Haywood and others; the British led by imperturbable, silvery-haired Sir Walter Citrine; a Negro from Sierra Leone; scrappy New Zealanders; an imposing Soviet delegation of thirty-five with nine advisers and interpreters, many of them veterans of Stalingrad and the battle of Moscow, some of them limping to their places with canes; Yugoslavs in uniform, one proudly wearing the Order of the Partisans on his chest—lean dark men; the French led by the veteran of the underground, Franchon; the Chinese; the blond-bearded representative of the Christian trade unions of France and his associates; a stocky Pole; a northern Rhodesian; an Irishman who represented the unions of both Eire and the northern counties; brawny Canadians; Spaniards who had managed to survive Franco's

terror—who could ever forget that sight? Here were the outstanding spokesmen of the world's workingmen. Representatives of 50,000,000 organized unionists. Men and women of a tortured world in search of a formula for happiness, prosperity, peace. Here they were in ancient London, scarred by the scientifically inhuman depredations of the Nazi, London going its customary way, unperturbed, heroic. It was fitting for this unparalleled assemblage to meet here on the eve of Hitler's debacle within earshot of the Fuehrer's *Goetterdaemmerung*.

The conference, after two grueling weeks of discussion, ended at dusk Saturday evening, February 24. George Isaacs, M.P., chairman of the final session, a leading figure in British labor, bade the delegates Godspeed and success in moving, poetic words pronounced in his Cockney accent. "And now we close our historic deliberations. Outside it is growing dusk, and in the words of our English hymn, the shadows race across the skies. But actually, brothers, inside here it is dawn, the dawn of a beautiful day for labor and for the world. What we have done here is history. It marks a turning point in the annals of labor. You will remember this years hence. What difference we have had here merely emphasizes the great degree of unity we have achieved. Bring, my brothers, the good wishes of British labor to your valiant countrymen in the many corners of the world from whence you have come. Victory is near and what we have accomplished here will guarantee that it shall remain with us forever."

The ovation he received came from the heart. The delegates clearly feel the same way; they know they've made history. They have bypassed many stumbling blocks, but they leave with confidence that they will reach their goal. One may share that confidence, I believe. There is a sense that mankind is coming into a new era; that differences will be reconciled among all democratic and freedom-loving men regardless of politics, religion or color. They have



Alzira.

charted their course as workingmen to achieve the summit of mankind's aspirations: freedom, prosperity, peace.

The degree of unity achieved here was remarkable in the light of the heterogeneity of the delegates, with their diverse experience and their varied political and economic backgrounds. One thing they had in common: an overwhelming drive for banding together, for acting as one. They had learned the tragic lesson of yesterday. Sidney Hillman put it this way: "History, that harsh teacher, has taught us a costly lesson in the last tragic, bloody decade, the lesson that unity among all the democratic forces of the world is the one condition without which peace and progress are impossible." That was the common denominator and that factor dominated everything here.

The agreement at Teheran had stimulated the preparation of this conference. It was fitting that the decisions of Crimea shaped its conclusion. The unanimously adopted telegram sent to the three world leaders at Yalta represented a community of views here. As Kuznetsov, the leader of the Soviet delegation, put it (how remarkably like Wendell Willkie he looks!): "If the governments of the United Nations could agree at the historic Crimea conference on a common policy on international security, it should not be difficult for workers to reach a common policy." There was no reply to that argument: there could be none. And who could deny the validity of Lombardo Toledano's argument that among the mass of trade unionists, there is no doubt about a desire to achieve unity. The question was whether they, the leaders, really wanted unity. "It is upon us that the decision rests as to whether unity shall be achieved," he said.

The reply was in the affirmative. That affirmation shall go down as a turning point in labor's history. As the Partisan hero from Yugoslavia told me some days before the decisions were adopted, "We shall find harmony here. We did not fight this war to end in strife. Too much blood went into the thinking that is represented here." In many respects his story synthesized the experience of the body as a whole. It is hard to forget that lean, intense face and the burning eyes of this workingman (he had been a stone mason) as he stood there in uniform, the Medal of Honor over his heart: "Our workers in Yugoslavia had before the war been divided among Social-Democrat, Christian and Nationalist trade unions." They had sought to rec-

oncile their differences, but had failed. Repression taught them many tragic lessons. "Instead of being broken, the working class of Yugoslavia is ready to take on its shoulders the great burden of national struggle. It was the working people who first raised the banner of resistance." Tens of thousands of trade unionists were lost, he said, many of them leaders; but their sacrifices were not vain. They had brought about the unity of working-class Socialists, Communists, Christians and Nationalists, who were now in a new united trade union movement. "We are proud to be in the front ranks of the world's free people." As a Christian trade unionist he appealed to Christian trade unionists everywhere to "close ranks and form single trade union movements within their lands."

"World peace," he concluded, "is largely dependent upon the existence of a strong, united labor organization." That idea I found was common among the delegates: the decisions of Crimea would quicken into reality through the creation of world unity, and the substructure to that was an enlightened, unified working class. They would permit nothing to stand in the way of achieving that aim. As Will Lawther, the doughty British miners' leader here, told me, "We cannot allow any organization to regard itself as the holy of holies and obstruct the advance of trade union unity." That, he said, was the feeling of the hundreds of thousands he represented in the miners international.

LET us examine specifically what was achieved here. First of all, unanimity of principle: a unanimity forged in the dreadful fires of the war kindled by fascism. That unanimity represented the will of the overwhelming majority of mankind today. As the preamble to the conference statement on "The Basis for World Trade Union Federation" declares, that body had achieved total agreement for "speedy and uncompromising victory over our enemies; an enduring peace; the eradication of fascism in all its forms; international collaboration in the economic sphere which will utilize the rich resources of the world for the benefit of its people, yielding employment with rising standards of living and a real security to men and women of all nations; and a democratic society which will assure political and civil equality and full cultural opportunity for all the people of the earth."

These are the objectives. But this conference of workingclass leaders and experienced men knew the frailty of good

resolutions not backed by rock-bottom organizations. The international labor movement cannot attain these objectives "unless it is organized for that purpose." Hence their decision that world labor must unite "in one world federation the trade union bodies of freedom-loving nations, irrespective of race, creed or political, religious or philosophical distinctions."

They therefore decided to work together "to create a powerful democratic world union federation at the earliest practicable date," sometime before this year is out. Meanwhile, they established a vitally significant continuations committee of some fifty delegates "fully representative of the composition of the conference." It began work immediately after the close of the gathering and it will act as the authority until the World Trade Union Conference is reconvened this year. The continuations committee is empowered to act as the agent of this conference to ensure trade union representation at the coming peace conference "and at all preparatory commissions." It is to prepare a draft constitution to submit to the constituent bodies for approval, affording the latter opportunity to submit amendments; it may appoint such subcommittees as it may deem necessary, choose an administrative committee authorized to exercise all the powers of a full committee between meetings, and it may convene an emergency world conference if in its opinion world developments make that necessary. Its headquarters will be Paris. The question of a full-time secretariat was referred to the continuations committee meeting in the course of this week in London.

These briefly are the achievements. In the light of the past, they are indeed portentous. They weren't secured easily: much of the past had to be cleared away (some still remains) and the conciliation of varying viewpoints was a delicate and complex process. If I cite differences here it is for the purpose, as Mr. Isaacs said, of emphasizing the great area of agreement. These differences, happily straightened out for the most part, arose from the conditioning of the past, from the sad decades in which various labor bodies went their various ways.

One of the first differences that arose was the question of inviting representatives from ex-enemy countries. You probably read dispatches from the first week of the conference which indicated that this issue might dynamite the proceedings. Sir Walter Citrine, speaking in behalf of the British Trades Union Committee, opposed the invitations. After de-

liberations and discussions agreement was reached and delegates from Bulgaria, Rumania, Italy and Finland were invited. There was a dramatic moment when the Finns arrived, on the last day of the conference. When the chairman announced they had arrived the delegates applauded, and one of the Finnish delegates stepped to the rostrum bringing greetings from his countrymen. It was a moving moment when the Soviet representatives applauded his words and the Finn bowed with dignity in response.

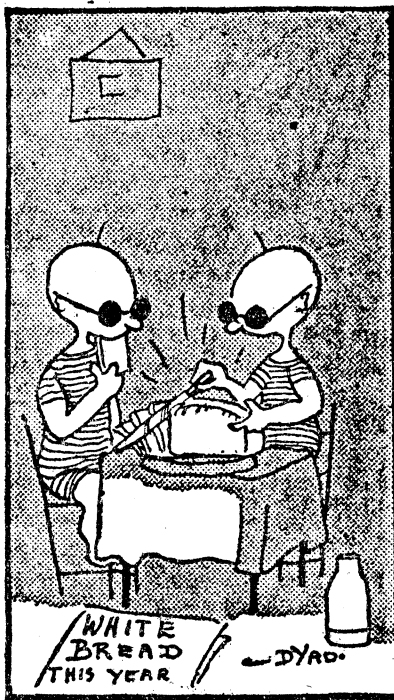
The principal difference arose over the International Federation of Trade Unions, known as the "Amsterdam International." Sir Walter Citrine is the president of this body and it was his wish prior to the convention that the new world body take the form of an altered and expanded version of the IFTU. This setup, founded in 1919, never admitted the Soviet Trade Unions, and the CIO was excluded by virtue of the American Federation of Labor's intractable stand. The IFTU's record was one that led the majority of the delegates to feel that the new world organization was preferable to the refurbished old. The CIO had gone on record to that effect at its Chicago convention; the majority of the workingmen on the Continent favored a new federation; similarly the Latin-American Confederation of Labor.

Convinced by the AFL, particularly in its recent utterances, that it would be next to impossible to reconcile the contradictions within the IFTU, the delegates arrived at a unanimous decision to work for a new world setup including the IFTU along with other constituent bodies. This is a compromise of prime importance: it liberated the new body from the domination of Social-Democratic ideology and will further unity in countries where unions are still divided along political or religious lines.

Needless to say, this phase of the conference was a markedly difficult one and only the overwhelming desire of all concerned to achieve harmony of a single world federation enabled them to surmount the obstacles.

There were other differences. For instance, that on the conference's procedure. The preliminary committee which planned the agenda had agreed that the sessions would be "exploratory" and would represent an "exchange of views" on the question of founding a new organization. When the delegates arrived and rolled up their sleeves, they quickly discovered that words would not

War Babies



London Daily Worker.

"Wish they'd put some anti-glare on this new bread!"

be enough; that this body would have to take action. History was moving rapidly and would not wait. Organized labor wanted a seat at the peace conference. "Peace conferences" were already taking place in Teheran, the Crimea and would take place next April in San Francisco. As Mr. Hillman, speaking for the CIO delegation, put it, "Labor is not exerting the influence of which it is capable in shaping policies which are now being made, or in the work of the agencies now being established for their administration." He cited the fact that labor was not represented at Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods or at the international food and aviation conferences. "This is not because labor in many of our countries was not well organized and influential in its own right." The reason, he said, was that "it lacked a powerful international organ which could speak with authority in support of its common objectives." Further delay, he warned, may make it impossible for labor to aid in molding postwar policy which will "determine the course of history for generations to come."

These arguments were unanswerable; their logic impressed everybody and the results are as you have read.

There is much more to be said. I will, for reasons of space, merely summarize some of the most significant actions. There was agreement on the treatment of Germany and the punishment of war

criminals, agreement too on the issue of reparations. The delegates turned down the notion that reparations would disrupt the economic life of the countries receiving them. They agreed unanimously that the conditions of German labor engaged in the reconstruction of lands they had devastated should be fixed by some international organ in which the international trade union movement should be represented. This should be a sufficient reply, if a reply be needed, to the raucous cries of William Green about "slave labor."

Another mandate was the proposal to petition their various governments to break relations with Spain, Argentina and Portugal as the countries where the incubus of fascism still exists. The conference felt that not only must fascist strength and fascist philosophy be wiped out root and branch in Germany, but everywhere throughout the world.

I cannot close without a reference to the splendid statements which the various commissions adopted: those on furthering the war effort, of which Reid Robinson, president of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union-CIO, was the reporter; trade union attitudes towards the peace settlement, trade union demands for the immediate postwar period, problems of reconstruction, and the fundamentals of social security and full employment. These are summarized in a preamble cited above, but generally speaking, they are extensions of the conclusions reached at Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods, at Teheran and at Yalta.

IN BRIEF, then, this was a world conference of labor. It will have reverberations in every land of the world, even though, regrettably, certain unions were not here—chiefly the American Federation of Labor. The actions of the AFL will inevitably affect its rank and file, for the logic of history is with the world conference, and sooner or later, probably sooner, the AFL rank and file will recognize that and they too will move forward irresistibly to join the world body. It was good to see how the delegates here got on together: Russians and Anglo-Saxons, Negroes, whites, Indians. For the password of our time is "unity"; anybody ignoring that reality proceeds at his own risk. He will, as Philip Murray said at the last CIO convention, be bypassed by history.

This is the first of two articles by Mr. North on the London Labor Conference.

FROM THALES TO WASHINGTON

By FRANCIS FRANKLIN

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT in his recent message on the State of the Union pointed to the parallel between the problems confronting the United Nations today and those confronting the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War, when threats arose from various separatist movements.

During that war, the United States constituted a mere military alliance. Because of the many conflicts among the states, Washington and other leaders realized that full coalition war by all the states was impossible without a perspective of lasting national union. No leader in America manifested more political astuteness than did George Washington in his insistence on this program. No military leader ever showed keener understanding of the deep connection between war and politics. For this reason he deserves, far more than most students have ever realized, his title of "Father of his Country." As a result of the growing demand for a perspective of lasting national union, the draft of a permanent Confederation was drawn up early in the war. The articles of Confederation served as a rallying program for unity throughout the war, even though they were not adopted until 1781. Before that time, compromises had to be made for the sake of unity. The main difficulty was the unequal ownership of western land by the states, mainly the huge domain claimed by Virginia, which extended to the Great Lakes. Not until the democratic forces put forward the demand for the cession of that western land to the United States—with sufficient strength to make that cession inevitable—did the little states agree to ratify the Articles of Confederation.

The Confederation was a step forward, but it was not enough. Effective programs involving compromises are never secured all at once. The Confederation was not a national state. Each of the thirteen states remained "sovereign and independent." The danger of reconquest by Britain or of dismemberment by Spain continued. Secessionist movements were organized by Spain in Kentucky and Tennessee. Therefore, from 1781 to 1789 demands were made for a new constitution providing for a strong national government. The earliest demands were made most strongly

by anti-democratic merchants. They demanded the destruction of the existing state governments, which were all democratic. The democratic forces, therefore, inevitably rallied around a program of states rights. The result was that no national government could be erected until a new compromise was achieved. That compromise, worked out in the Constitutional Convention, was *federalism*. The states agreed to surrender certain necessary and specified powers to a national government, while retaining all others. The result was, not the destruction of the thirteen states, but their incorporation into a *federal* union under a *federal* government. As Thomas Jefferson expressed it, the states remained as the bulwarks of republicanism at home, while the general government became the sheet anchor of our freedom abroad.

This great compromise to effect a national union for the sake of the mutual safety of each of the federating states can serve as an example of how nations today, in spite of numerous differences, can unite in a lasting coalition for common aims.

History also affords examples of tragic failures to unite, and it is instructive to contemplate the fruits of failure as well as of success. At the dawn of European history the ancient Greek states, marvelously advanced for their day, failed to achieve such unity as the United States established at the dawn of the modern period of history. We can learn equally from the ancient failure of Greece and the modern success of America.

When the first Greek states commenced their heroic war for survival against Persian despotism, Thales, the father of philosophy, is said to have proposed a federal union of all the Greek states of Ionia. During the great war of liberation against Persia waged by the states of the European peninsula, which we now call Greece proper, a military alliance was formed. The priceless heritage of democracy which Greece left to the world was then being created; and democracy in Athens and elsewhere grew and consolidated its gains right in the midst of this great war for freedom. The greatest art of Athens, including the glorious tragic drama, were the fruits of that inspiring war for democracy.

If there was slavery in Greece, so was there slavery (even though in a weaker form) in America in 1776 and afterwards. Greek democracy at its peak was far more radical than that in any single American southern state in 1789. In the democratic states of Greece, there was universal suffrage for all freemen (including propertyless workers, of whom there were many), pay for performance of civil rights, such as attendance at the assembly and jury service, heavy income taxes on the rich, public works projects, free theaters maintained at state expense through taxation on the rich, and occasional redivisions of land. Slavery was attacked, though not abolished; women's rights were championed; and socialistic programs (of a Utopian variety, though not of the reactionary Platonic type) were aired. Old Thales' program for a federal union of Greek states continued to be voiced.

Had such a federal union of Greek states, many of them democratic, been formed, a *national democratic Greek state* would undoubtedly have arisen in the fifth century before Christ. Such a democratic national state could have been invincible before the armies of Macedonia and Rome, as the Greek Confederation had been before Persia. The priceless heritage of Greek democracy, science, art, and philosophy might then have continued to grow with an unbroken tradition. *But it was not formed.* Instead, war broke out between the Greek states, taking the form of civil war within each state. Weakened by internal strife, Greece fell victim to Alexander the Great, then to Rome. Democracy, natural science, and independent philosophy were snuffed out as growing, dynamic forces for over *two thousand* years.

THE reason for Greece's failure to achieve a national democratic federal republic is not hard to find. The achievement of democracy was uneven. In no single Greek state did the democracy abolish slavery. The result was that Greek commerce did not advance, as did mercantilism in modern history, to the point where there could be established the true capitalist mode of production, modern industry based on wage labor. Slavery remained as the basic (though



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not the only) mode of production. Side by side with the radical democracies flourished despotic reactionary states like Sparta (which has left us no artistic, literary, or scientific heritage of any importance). It was impossible for Athens and Sparta to unite. In fact, practically all the aristocratic families of Athens were united in treasonable support of Sparta, which launched a war for the extermination of Athenian democracy. The bitter enemy of democracy, the Athenian Aristophanes, openly called for negotiated peace with the enemy of his state in his violently reactionary comedies. Finally, traitors surrendered Athens to Spartan armies, who inaugurated the quisling regime of the Thirty Tyrants, which, however, was subsequently overthrown. Fundamentally, it was *slavery* which prevented the national unification of Greek democracy, for even in the democratic states it was the *slaveholders* who formed the Spartan fifth column. It was their disruption which in the end lost for all Greece its independence and brought its great philosophy to an inglorious end in pessimistic mysticism.

WHAT Greece failed to accomplish in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the United States of America did accomplish in 1789. In the United States, for the first time in all history, the old Greek dream of a national democratic federal state was realized. What a long gap lay between! That our forefathers were not unconscious that, despite the vastly different historical circumstances, they were in a sense picking up the threads of history where they had been severed in antiquity is proved by the fact that all the democratic intellectual leaders of the American Revolution were deep students of Greek history and Greek politics. It was no accident that from the time of the Renaissance on, the modern bourgeoisie went to school to the Greeks. Before James Madison left for the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, he carefully prepared notes on the constitutions of Greek states and on their Confederations, and he used them in his role of "Father of the American Constitution."

Why did America succeed when Greece, with all its artistic and intellectual glory, had failed? Even though in America the ancient Greek curse of slavery was revived, its revival occurred in an age when in general not only slavery, but also serfdom, was definitely

on the way out in the face of the rise of modern industry. The American states established unity whereas the Greek states fell into war amongst themselves. And this unity was made possible by the fact that in America democracy was established in *each* of the thirteen states. There was no Sparta in America. Furthermore, slavery was not universal in the American states. It was abolished in every state north of Maryland and Delaware either during or immediately after the Revolution. Thus there was no strong united party of slaveholder reaction functioning throughout all the American states like that represented by Aristophanes in Athens. That democracy was the only basis for American union was proved by the crushing defeat suffered by all anti-democratic proposals for a monarchic or oligarchical national state.

The preservation of the American Union was not automatically guaranteed by the adoption of the federal Constitution. For years thereafter, an oligarchical party in sympathy with Britain, America's major foe, calling itself with brazen hypocrisy the "Federalist" Party, threatened the disruption of the Union. That disaster was averted by the triumph of the Democratic Party under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson. The oligarchs ("Federalists") then launched desperate conspiracies under Aaron Burr to dismember the Union, and finally attempted to betray the Union to the foreign foe during the War of 1812. But the democracy triumphed.

No sooner had the oligarchical foes of national union in the North been defeated than a slaveholder party from the South began even more seriously to undermine the Union. This party finally succeeded in securing temporary dismemberment of the democratic national Union, plunging the country into a "war between the states" which became simultaneously a civil war within each state.

The tragedy of ancient Greece threatened to repeat itself in America. So long as slavery existed, no lasting democratic federal Union was possible. In its war to crush the slaveholder rebellion, the United States government carried out, however, one of the most amazing acts in history. It crushed the rebellion by organizing and leading a revolution against the rebels. People generally think of revolutions as insurrections against organized government. This has been true under despotic monarchist or oligarchical governments, but not so in the history

of the United States. The only revolution in our history since the formation of the government of the United States was carried out, with organized, conscious support from the people, by the government of the United States.

THERE were timid souls among the democrats in America in 1789 who did not believe a national democratic federal government could succeed. They were too impressed by the past. They were students of Greek history who learned by rote. They cried, "It failed in Greece. It never has succeeded. It cannot succeed in America now." But the bold leaders like Washington, Jefferson and Madison did not believe that "There is nothing new under the sun." They grasped the new features in American life, boldly went ahead, and accomplished the unprecedented. Our whole history proves the correctness of their realistic vision, and makes the cynics and the timid souls appear ludicrous as we read their heavy pronouncements, based on "worldly experience," today.

Our problem today is not to establish a democratic national union. That aim we have accomplished, though this remains a problem for China, for India, for many other lands—even for Greece, now at this late date. Our aim is to *preserve* our national union. Victory over Persia did not assure Greek democracy salvation from Macedonia and Rome. Neither does our military victory alone now guarantee our survival should we permit a new fascist war of conquest a generation hence. The well known preparations of fascists for a third world war—schemes now being made—prove that the preservation of our national existence in the future cannot be guaranteed without a world coalition of nations, the continuance of the United Nations in lasting form, to prevent new fascist aggression. The United States will need the United Nations in the postwar world as much as Athens needed, but did not have, a Greek federation in the fourth century before Christ, as much as Massachusetts, New York or Virginia needed the United States in 1776, in 1789, in 1812, and (including Virginia) in 1861. Without the United Nations, our country might a generation hence suffer a fate worse than that of ancient Athens. With such a coalition, America and all other nations can go forward to new achievements of prosperity and reach new heights of science, art and philosophy.

(Continued on page 21)

YALTA: HISTORY'S LONG STRIDE

By JOHN STUART

NO ONE with a sense of the forward rush of history could have read the magnificent Crimean document without feeling the deepest elation. It is what mankind has dreamed of for so many struggle-ridden decades, and all the adjectives already heaped on the Yalta meeting cannot honor it enough. Pioneered by Teheran, a new era in the history of the world has begun and all of us can say that we were there at its making.

This is the climactic phase of the war in Europe. Yalta heightened that climax by demonstrating the enormous power inherent in the unity of the leading Allies. It is the harvest of countless sacrifices through years of heartbreaking reverses. The tombstones that stipple the plains of Europe and Asia bear witness to what it has cost to bring Washington and Moscow and London together to end the blackest tyranny that ever scorched the earth. Here is the largest meaning of the Crimean charter.

With equal impact, it seems to me, this new charter spells the death of the inadequate dogmas of the past; it reaffirms and broadens the Teheran principle that cooperation between different but basically democratic systems is the only way for the world to spin over its course. This is completely the reverse of what we have known during the ominous inter-war years and marks the essential new character of present world relations. When powers which at very best considered each other friendly enemies only six or seven years ago now consent to a common course in cutting political Gordian knots, we have reached a stage in civilization worthy of the science and culture by which mankind lives. Here is the revolution of our time.

After Yalta, coalition on an international scale and beyond the war is assured for years to come. All the rifts which menaced Teheran and therefore threatened to rip the fabric of grand alliance have been subjected to compromise resulting in fundamental agreement. This is not the end of problems, for problems are the parents of other problems. But no matter what serious differences emerge in the months to come there is a basic guide and machinery for their solution. It may be a special commission, or a meeting of foreign ministers, or another gathering of the

three Allied chiefs of state. Yet overshadowing any machinery is the willingness to agree, the willingness to stand by each other no matter how severe the storm. This is the new way history is being made.

The Crimean agreement embraces all people everywhere. It says in effect that if the three great powers with their diversity of tradition, economy and political systems can work in unison then every nation with its internal diversity of classes and economic interests can also work in harmony. That concept is symbolized in the Crimean statement's "Declaration on Liberated Europe." There the fundamental rule is laid down that all interim governments must be representative of all democratic elements in the population. Had this rule come earlier, the Belgian and Greek fiascos would never have taken place. Where it has been applied even before the Yalta meeting, particularly in those former satellite states where the Red Army has operated, and where the three powers jointly signed armistice agreements, the world has seen little or no strife.

And it is also the statement on liberated Europe that tears to tatters all the dyspeptic apprehensions about a new balance of power, of power politics, and new spheres of influence. The Big Three take collective responsibility, inviting France to join them, for all that is to happen in Europe during a long transition. No one will be able to charge the USSR with setting up "puppet governments," nor will the hidebound Tories of Britain be able to set up such regimes without having to account to the other signers of the pact. Reactionary power politics has always come from a division

of purpose, an absence of common objectives, the abuse of power for selfish interests. The only power politics that will exist now will be the coalition's power against the coalition's enemies. Goodbye to the geopoliticians' Atlantic Communities, their heartlands and their orbits.

The heavy hand of the past may still make its influence felt, may try to cut spheres where its corrupt ideology will prevail. But that will be a recessive trend running against the great tide of joint responsibility and joint action, against the new-born unity of the democratic forces from the Arctic down to the coast of Africa.

THE Crimean document also gives us a fresh perspective on Germany. It holds firm to unconditional surrender as it holds firm to the first task of the United Nations—the total defeat of Germany. But it also clarified in very general terms the future Germany would have under unconditional surrender. While all Nazi institutions will be extirpated, and the source of Nazi military power and leadership destroyed, it is not the Allies' purpose "to destroy the people of Germany." If there is a grain of independence and democracy left among the Germans, the Allied declaration will hasten its emergence. But no one can count on that, even though Hitler in his speech of January 30 hinted that an opposition exists by threatening it with "an ignominious death." Whatever the opposition does, however, it cannot be treated on the same level as the opposition groups in France before her liberation. They will not have been the spearhead of Hitler's defeat. Only the Allies will have brought that defeat.

It is also clear that even when Nazism is vanquished militarily it will not disappear from the German scene. The fanatic Hitler worshippers are already burrowing underground to hide and to wait. Even were an opposition to come above ground, it will be much too weak to rule the country. And it is this in part which makes necessary a joint occupation of that country to guarantee that not only will the German war machine be rooted out but that the Nazi criminals will be hunted down and punished along with their secret underground operators.



Grunbaum.

The Crimean document also introduces for the first time the issue of reparations. Germany will "be obliged to make compensation" in kind for the damage it has caused others in the course of its ruthless conquest. This whole issue of reparations is worth more public discussion than it has until now received. It is not only a matter of the most elementary justice, but it is one way of making sure that the German industrial barons who created the fascist monster will not profit from their thievery and that their power will be undermined. In the United States, which has not experienced the destruction of factory and countryside, there is perhaps a tendency to forget about reparations. But for the Soviet Union, for Poland, for Yugoslavia, for France, reparations are as vital a matter as the reconstruction of their own economies.

No one can know now what the figure for reparations will be. I have seen estimates at \$20,000,000,000 or its equivalent for the first five or six years. Money or gold will hardly be satisfactory to the plundered countries, for it is materials and labor that they will need. The Germans will be called on to deliver each year fixed amounts of capital and consumer goods. The armistice agreements with Hitler's former satellites already indicate the nature of these goods.

One must be vigilant about industrialists and others in the Allied countries who may argue against full reparations from Germany on the ground that German production will compete with the output of their own plants. At the close of the last war, for example, the British coal industry complained about the German shipment of coal to France as part of reparations. However, we may expect that many German factories will be transplanted to the soil of the injured states and will not actually represent German production. Furthermore, in an expanding world economy German reparations payments will not in the least compete with Allied private business, for at present there is not enough industrial capacity in Germany to eliminate the recipients of German reparations as potential markets. An orderly development of world industrialization can keep all Allied factories busy day and night for several decades, at least.

There has already been protest from some, among them the AFL's William Green, against the use of German labor to rebuild the devastated countries. These objectors still call it slave labor although the delegates at the World

Trade Union Conference in London approved it. Ironically, these protestants object when German manpower is employed for constructive instead of destructive purposes. German labor used to rebuild Europe will not be slave labor. It will be controlled and regulated by Allied agreements with the assistance of the trade unions, and wages will be paid by Germany as part of reparations. The attitude which Germany and Germans take toward reparations will be the measure of whether they have turned over a new leaf and have understood the havoc they caused. We will not take the word of Germans that they understand their monstrous guilt; it will be their deeds that will count. Nothing else.

It is true, of course, that the Crimean Conference declaration on Germany does not represent a final settlement. In my opinion that settlement will take long to arrange. In fact, the unconditional surrender terms will not become known until Germany's defeat. But in the preliminary Allied agreement as brought forth at Yalta there are the essential beginnings of a settlement. Germany is not only the hardest of the whole Axis constellation to crack militarily but it has been the one which could have caused serious disputes among the Allies. Agreement on the German settlement is and has been as decisive as the agreement to defeat Germany. Walter Lippmann may be overstressing the point, but strikes at the core of the truth when he writes in the *New York Herald Tribune* (February 10) that Allied "agreement about Germany is . . . the fundamental condition of a world peace. It is by their success in proving to one another that their aims in Germany are essentially the same that the Allies can learn to trust one another and so to collaborate on the other questions. . . . The determination not to let Germany divide us is not in itself a map of the intricate road we shall have to travel. But it is the fixed star by which we can tell whether or not we are headed in the right direction."

The Allied unity on Germany is a tremendous achievement and puts other questions in proper scale. A unity has been forged against the aggressor which coincides with the unity necessary against future aggressors.

That is why the question of voting procedure in the security council of the Dumbarton Oaks plan seems to me largely a formal one. It was not a difficult question to solve even though there were those who thought (and perhaps

hoped) that the Yalta meeting would founder on it. The whole point of the matter, which the President helped settle, is that with fundamental, overriding agreement on collective security among the three great powers, plus France and China, on every decisive issue, aggression can be curbed or halted. Votes would merely be a formal expression of the degree of agreement. Unanimity to maintain the peace is pivotal. Should the Big Three enter into conflict, no device or machinery could save the peace. The central issue therefore is long-range cooperation.

OF EQUAL concern in the whole project of a new collective security are the internal regimes of the leading Allies and of the medium and small states. For their domestic policies will affect the conduct of their foreign affairs. Can anyone imagine that a Poland ruled by the men in London, who have now gone into permanent exile, would be anything but a thorn in the side of a security organization? It would be absurd to think the final resolution of the Polish issue to be simply one of concessions won by Washington. Assuredly there was give and take at the Yalta meeting, but the substance of the exchange was the establishment of the principle that those who fought Hitler, those who are not guilty of collaboration, shall govern their countries. Such democratic authorities are the best protectors of the peace and of their own state security. Governments genuinely representative of their people will not engage in the game of reactionary power politics or fall into orbits that restrict their sovereignties. An undemocratic regime is a source of infection that spreads its toxins far and wide.

In another respect the Crimean statement's declaration on a general international organization is also significant. "We believe," it says, "that this [an international organization] is essential both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuous collaboration of all peace-loving peoples." The reference to the economic is of singular importance. It is the backward and underdeveloped countries that are the easiest prey of aggressors for the simple reason that they do not have the means with which to protect themselves. The whole Balkan area is a case in point. Were these former Axis satellites highly industrialized, as they will become in the next several generations, with a concomitant development of democracy, Hitler would never have taken them over at

Three Men Met With History

Three men met with history in their hands.

The future waited,
Crouched under cover of darkness,
Afraid of the smallest sound.

Three men met with history in their hands.
Shook hands, sat down together,
Sat down to talk things over.

It was done.
The document was drawn.
The dream was daylight now.

And the future rose,
Singing into the sun,
Tall and tomorrow proud:

"I sing of men not angels,
I sing of mistakes and doubt,
I sing of men working together,
Working things out.

"I sing of tired of traveling,
Of stones along the way,
Of lost and found together,
Together finding the way.

"I sing a winter crossing,
I sing no Promised Land,
But the promise across the water,
And the springtime look of the land."

EVE MERRIAM.

such small cost. Once Hitler brought them under his heel, he attempted to destroy what little industry they had in order to keep them weak and dependent on German economy. France was an exception, but there too Hitler started to de-industrialize in an effort to prevent France's resurrection as an independent state in the fullest sense. In other words, a sound economic basis for the peace not only means industrialization of agrarian countries as a matter of our own postwar prosperity, but is at the core of a *durable* peace.

Yalta also represents a powerful blow against those unbridled imperialists in England and the United States who were rolling up their sleeves for an all-out fight for postwar markets. There can be no doubt that the Crimean Conference immensely improved Anglo-American relations. When the coalition as a whole is made stronger every one of its parts and their relation to each other is also made stronger. The burden of stabilizing the Anglo-American sector of the trinity will rest primarily on the

United States, but relations between both countries and their special problems can now be worked out more easily. Great Britain should next be assured by general agreements that we will not seek to overwhelm her with our superior trade and financial position. The promptness with which the Bretton Woods plan is ratified in Congress will be a writ of guarantee to the British businessman that he can keep his hopes high for an equitable solution of his headaches.

SO IT has come to pass that a new design for living was fashioned in a palace of the former Czars. One need only recall Mr. Roosevelt's recent message to Congress, his castigation of those who would drive a wedge between ourselves and our Allies and his reaffirmation of close friendship with the United Nations, to see how his work bore fruit at Yalta. But for him as well as for the majority of the country who fought and voted for his policies, the battle begins anew. He obviously has already taken steps to anticipate the charges of Hearst,

Roy Howard and Captain Patterson, that Stalin had taken him over lock, stock and barrel. Even the *New Republic* tempered its enthusiasm for Yalta with similar insinuations. The fact that Tokyo and Berlin make the same charges bothers our contemporary not at all.

The President's appointment of Senator Vandenberg to the American delegation which will participate in the United Nations security organization meeting in San Francisco is, above all, an act of nonpartisanship. Vandenberg as the foreign policy spokesman for the tory corner of the Republican Party will now have to put up or shut up, and those in the Senate and House who follow him will be faced with the same choice. We need not fear that Vandenberg will be able to disrupt the San Francisco discussions. He will be surrounded by too many friends of Dumbarton Oaks to do any real damage. What we need fear is whether the Senate will ratify Dumbarton Oaks out of existence by appending to it qualifying reservations.

At any rate the success of the San Francisco meeting is one of the critical issues in American politics today. It will be an all-out fight, with many supposedly speaking in its favor while by flank maneuver they try to undermine it. Those who will bear the closest watching are: (1) the gentlemen, and they are easiest to detect, who insist that Yalta represented a "complete victory for Stalin"; (2) those who pay lip service to the Crimean statement but say that many of its decisions should be reviewed at the San Francisco meeting; (3) those who are "agreed" on everything but are terribly concerned over the voting procedure in the security council; (4) those who, like John Foster Dulles, consider the "details" of the Crimean agreement "unimportant" so long as the United Nations hang together—a way of undermining the agreement (and the United Nations) by hammering at its details; (5) those with black records on international collaboration, such as Herbert Hoover, who were seemingly enthusiastic when the Yalta announcement was made but qualified their response with "ifs," "buts" and "maybes"; and finally (6) those who will use the Polish issue as a ramming rod against the settlement of Europe on a democratic basis.

We have now the chance to bring a new springtime to the world—where men can love, play with their children, and live out their lives without the torment of war. That world can be ours—if we fight for it as those who are fighting for it on every Allied battle line.

JOHN L.'S FOOL'S GOLD

AN AWFUL lot of people are wondering whether John L. Lewis, who is apparently plotting a new coal strike, is going to get away with it. Personally, I think labor's best known romantic is going to get a poke in the eye and perhaps be clapped into jail. He sure has been asking for it. I call him a romantic simply because he discards realities in favor of his own mental picture of probable events, a picture in which Lewis the triumphant is always able to out-think and out-act his adversary. As a matter of fact, his best known characteristic is his consistent under-estimation of his enemy and his exaggeration of his own strength.

Though he acts as if he holds them in the hollow of his hand, he can't even count on his miners any more. The Cincinnati convention of the United Mine Workers proved that his rusty machine can still club out the opposition. But it also proved that there is a new spirit moving the coal diggers of this country. They are getting hep to the fact that the Lewis methods don't get them results. And there is no group of workers who need or deserve results more.

WHAT is Lewis up to? What makes him think that all he has to do is to huff and puff and the house will blow down?

It isn't Lewis so much as the company he keeps. He is counting on help from the powerful employers who supported the America First Committee and who share his vendetta against Roosevelt. The mine owners, who want a higher price for coal, also egg him on. Lewis meanwhile never loses a chance to assure them that, in his fight to smash the War Labor Board, he is also out to do a job on the OPA. Hutcheson, Woll, Dubinsky & Co. make him feel certain he can swing the AFL behind him. Likewise, the Montgomery Ward strike and other triflings with the no-strike pledge lead him to count on disruption of the CIO, where he feels that admiration for him still lingers.

Therefore, he is encouraged to believe that, because of the workers' unsatisfied wage demands, a strike to break the Little Steel formula would precipitate a wave of similar actions throughout war production industries where the CIO is strong. He hopes thus to destroy the CIO as the source of stable support for the President and, under the threat of vetoing the nation's victory program, emerge as the undisputed master of the national situation. He has been encouraged in this belief by the hesitations and uncertainties labor has shown on national service legislation, wage policy and other issues. But he is making a mistake.

Since the election, it is true that the CIO and other forces responsible for the President's victory have been slow to adjust and orient themselves to the new course opened up before our country. They have been puzzled and have hesi-

tated to rely fully on Roosevelt's program, so fiercely challenged in the Congress, to provide the basis for the solution to pressing problems confronting the workers and their organizations. Reaction, meanwhile, seized the opportunity to initiate flank attacks intended to drive a wedge between Roosevelt and labor.

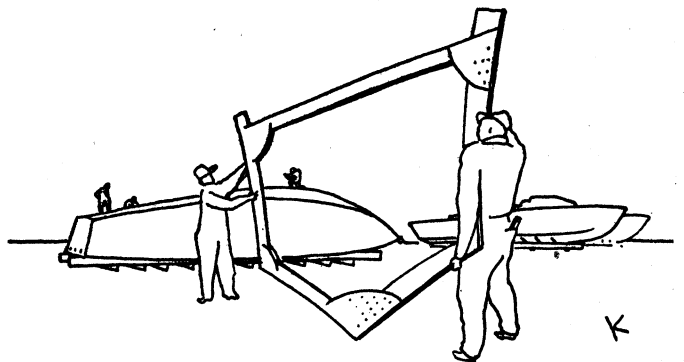
But labor's uncertainty merely reflected the sense of pause in the whole country and, for that matter, in all of the United Nations. This the Crimea Conference has brought to a close. Today America is certain of its course. Our country, as part of the coalition but acting in its own interests, will play its indispensable role in guaranteeing world security and prosperity. The military, political and economic decisions made at Yalta have created the basis for the solution of a wide variety of problems.

Our country and our government are stronger for the Crimea Conference and are therefore able to devise and put into operation measures to answer such key questions as the effective employment of our nation's manpower or the need of a wage policy which will sustain production for war and for peace. The Little Steel formula, which incidentally was outflanked months ago by Philip Murray, will have to go, not because Lewis stamps his foot, but because it cannot serve the nation's economic program, a program to which we are now fully committed. It was no accident that the Crimea Conference communique and Roosevelt's masterly message to the Congress on Bretton Woods were released on the same day. The only way in which the Economic Bill of Rights can be secured is the way pointed by Roosevelt's policies.

Labor and the country are not going to surrender the certain achievement of the Crimea Conference decisions for the fool's gold of John L. Lewis, glitter it ever so nicely. The perplexity of the national unity forces, which encourages the cupidity of a Lewis, will disappear in a concerted effort to strengthen and broaden national unity for full production and a lasting peace.

Where Lewis counts on weakness, there will be strength. Where he expects disunity, there will be unity. In the place of perplexity and hesitancy, he will have to meet certainty and action by the administration and its supporters. Where he expected labor to falter and break ranks, he will find it firmer than ever in the service of its country.

In his day, Lewis has taken a pasting or two. But none of them compares to the one he took at Yalta.



Joseph Konzal.

CRIMEA POSTSCRIPT

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THERE are so many Senators who seem loath to indulge in any but the most personal activities without summoning the press as witness, that the newspaper- or even *Congressional Record*-reading public is apt to regard the Senate as a miscellaneous body of competing exhibitionists.

But if you spend some time padding about the marble corridors and dropping into offices in the Senate Office Building, known here by the hardly euphemistic term SOB, you get another idea. You learn that the Happy Chandlers and Harry Byrds and Robert Tafts and others so assiduously built up by an attentive press are outnumbered greatly by the quiet, hard-working Senators, some of them quite nice people who get a lot done.

It was quite by accident, for instance, that in calling on some of the freshmen Senators to get their reactions the day after the Big Three conference decisions were announced, I learned of their latest activity. Without any fanfare or public announcement, they were meeting that day in the office of Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), to learn something about the Bretton Woods proposals.

Republicans and Democrats, many of whom supplanted bitter-end isolationists like Gerald Nye and Roosevelt-haters like the late Cotton Ed Smith, they had gathered to hear Harry White of the Treasury and Dean Acheson of the State Department. They asked questions, and they were not ashamed to profess their ignorance at times. Feeling this session was not enough, they asked White and Acheson to return later in the week. Hearings on proposed Bretton Woods legislation, sponsored in the Senate by Robert Wagner (D., N.Y.) and Charles W. Tobey (R., N.H.) and in the House by Brent Spence (D., Ky.), will begin soon.

No one expects them to vote as a bloc, including as they do such men as Homer Capehart (R., Ind.) a flagrant isolationist in the past, and Republican Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa. But they did get together in some humility to learn the facts on the Bretton Woods International Bank and Monetary Fund proposals. Moreover, they did issue a joint letter to the President before he left for the Crimea conference support-

ing the formation "at the earliest possible moment of a United Nations organization, to establish and preserve the peace of the world, along the general lines tentatively drafted at Dumbarton Oaks."

This is largely due to the initiative and organizing work of Fulbright and Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R., N.J.).

I TALKED to five of the sixteen freshmen Senators; five men from varying regions and backgrounds, whose viewpoints in general appeared as separate as their personalities. The difference between them and so many of their more entrenched confreres was that they are "fresh from the electorate," in the words of Senator Smith. Among these freshmen, who will play an important role in obtaining the required two-thirds Senate approval of an international security organization, and more immediately of the Bretton Woods legislation, the five I saw represented a cross-section.

One was slim, wiry, forty-two, who despite his years in England as a Rhodes scholar retained the soft, slow speech and the tendency to understatement I remembered from my native state, Arkansas. A university president for a brief time before he entered politics, Fulbright has anything but the academic approach. He is a shrewd tactician in politics, like his mother, who is a local power in Fayetteville. Fulbright represents the new liberal South which is emerging, just as the senior Senator from Arkansas, John L. McClellan, represents Southern bigotry and reaction in its most virulent form.

When Fulbright talked about the results of the Big Three conference, a slow smile of obvious gratification was more eloquent than his rather humdrum words. "I liked it," he said simply. "I liked it better than I thought I would. I liked the definiteness about all they said. I liked the definiteness about the conference to be held next in San Francisco. I liked the definiteness about the Polish settlement. I don't see how anyone can object to the Polish settlement except some of the Senators from districts where they have political problems with a big Polish minority. I liked the definiteness about the treatment of the Germans. It cuts the ground out from

under those people who were saying the Russians would just take over and suit themselves and install Communism."

The only thing he wanted to know more about was how the voting difficulty was settled in regard to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals (later discussed by James F. Byrnes at a press conference), "and I guess that was because France and China weren't there." The parley decisions, he said, "should give reassurance and confidence to the critics who have been wondering if Britain and Russia weren't out to grab," and should disarm those who attacked Bretton Woods.

This did not mean he knew all the answers to Bretton Woods, but only that he knew answers had to be found, "for they're all parts of the same thing—Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks and other international agreements—means for establishing order and peace in the world—they are our first feeble gropings." His own part in the meeting with White and Acheson he deprecated.

"It's just that one basic reason for the endless debate in the Senate is the complete misunderstanding of so many outside the particular committee which has studied some issue. Why wouldn't it be better for White to go before the whole Senate? But under the rules it can't be done." That is why he introduced in the Senate, he said, a companion to the Kefauver resolution setting up question and answer periods for representatives of executive departments.

ALSO a man to watch, Senator Smith, like Fulbright, has an academic background. A product of Princeton, his home town, and long associated with the university, he is a warm admirer of Woodrow Wilson, who taught there when Smith was an undergraduate. Before I left his office the Senator told me quite seriously that he was not a Red or a Communist, but that he was for the masses. His father was a physician, and he was for helping the individual, the family. A tall, slender man, impeccably tailored, with a lined, mobile face, the Senator spoke nostalgically of the gold standard and the days when he traveled in Europe and could be sure of fixed exchange rates. He was all for the international bank but not sure "the particu-

lar plan of a managed system" evolved at Bretton Woods was better than the gold standard. Yet on one of the numerous occasions when a phone call interrupted us, he said to some Senator, regarding Bretton Woods, "We've got to wipe the slate off clean and begin thinking anew." And when I suggested that coming from Princeton it might be natural to think of the gold standard as one thought of church and mother, he admitted some of his banking and industry friends took the American Bankers Association and New York *Times* position of opposing the international fund. But he had an open mind.

"And I'm not a conservative," he said. "On foreign policy, I'm ahead of the President. I proposed a United Nations council before Senator Vandenberg did."

Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg's (R., Mich.) proposals he considered "sound thinking." And why? "We're not going to send an army over to stop Russia," he said, going right back to the argument which Fulbright considered a dead issue now, about the so-called "grab" of territory. "No, we can't do that. So we say, your only excuse is that you've been invaded so often. What can we do? Break down the only threat to the nation's security by a treaty insuring the disarming of Germany."

On the real essence of the Vandenberg proposals, that all political happenings in Europe, such as Poland, be reviewed after the war by the international council to be set up, he failed to comment. But he spoke with hostility of Teheran, saying it was decided there to carve out "spheres of influence."

He was not sure whether our tariff policy should be repudiated or not, and was full of concern lest our labor have to compete against "slave labor." He had attended a buffet dinner the previous evening with "some Senators and some men in the importing business." Some thought it "very dangerous to steam up our export trade." But he had neither agreed nor disagreed. "My whole sympathy is with an expanding trade."

The Senator's social-political life is a full one. He chatted on the phone with War Labor Board Chairman William H. Davis, whom he and some others were meeting for lunch. "You talk for fifteen minutes and then we'll shoot questions at you," he told him.

The Senator is a cultured and charming man, no doubt about it. And I am told that the bitter-end Republican isolationists give him hell. But in his Janu-

ary 5 speech proposing a United Nations Council he was not above using that old bromide, that recognizing our responsibility in the postwar world does not mean "we are to establish international WPA's for world rehabilitation." The world does not need someone to finance its restoration, he finds. "What the world needs is the preservation of order until it emerges from chaos." And he apparently approves of putting the people down, but for their own sakes, and in a gentlemanly way, for he says: "Had the action taken by Great Britain in Italy and Greece been taken by a United Nations council, the uproar and even bloodshed might readily have been avoided if it had been clear that the motive was the preservation of the peace in these areas and the protection of the people in their right to self-determination."

SEN. OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, who defeated Cotton Ed Smith and three others in the first primary, without the need for South Carolina's traditional run-off primary, is a big, lumbering fellow who cloaks a canny political sense with an exaggerated naivete. When I said I was with NEW MASSES, he said, "Never heard tell of it." He turned to his secretary. "Did you ever hear tell of it?" He hadn't.

But Johnston licked Cotton Ed by talking in speech after speech of the Senate isolationists and Roosevelt-haters. "When it comes to fightin', my state is pretty good at it. My people want to win this war, first, and then they want to get the boys home and fix things so there won't be no more wars. They don't want to mess around as the Senate did before. My state's awful sore at anyone who wasn't for the League of Nations."

He thought the results of the Big Three conference "a great thing." As for Bretton Woods, he had to learn about it yet. Johnston, a former mill hand, who said proudly he "carried every mill box in the state against all four of my opponents," was in the famous Rainbow Division in the last war. A sergeant, he was decorated and his citation listed five deeds of heroism.

Johnston is expected to cast a progressive vote, with some exceptions. His attitude toward Negroes is about as bad as Cotton Ed Smith's.

FROM North Carolina, former Gov. Clyde Hoey presents a contrast to Johnston. A sprightly, elderly man, his

hair long and straight and gray in contrast to Johnston's ruffled and wavy black hair, Hoey wears a morning coat with tails, a wing collar and a red carnation in his buttonhole. His manners are of the courtliest and he makes labor delegations, particularly the women delegates, who call on him feel that he is the soul of sympathy. How Hoey will stand on labor questions remains to be seen, but he is pro-administration to the last ditch on foreign policy.

He is enthusiastic over the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and points out that all the church people favor them. North Carolina has a strong Protestant church membership, and Hoey on his first visit to his home at Shelby the previous Sunday had addressed an overflow audience in his old Bible class. I asked him how long he had taught it. "Oh, that particular one, only twenty-five years," he said. "Then I had one when I was governor at Raleigh. But I've taught a Bible class all my life."

He thought the Big Three decisions "most reassuring to the country." Proudly he told of North Carolina's support of the war. When he went out as governor in January 1941, his state had the largest enlistment in the armed forces on record.

He was in the House when the League of Nations was voted on and his only regret was that he wasn't in the Senate to cast a vote for it.

SEN. FRANK B. BRIGGS (D., Mo.) had been boning up on Bretton Woods the previous evening. His choice of material was a pamphlet issued by the US Chamber of Commerce. A large, shy man, he said he was anxious for authentic information but as yet he didn't know what it was all about. He said the Big Three "put things on a definite basis. We've all talked about building a permanent peace as if it were a Utopia. This is the first step toward reality."

Briggs owns and edits the *Chronicle-Herald* in Macon, Mo., and is trying to write his daily column as usual from Washington. The column is called "It Seems to B." I looked at a copy of his paper. He runs competition with a column, "Inside Washington," by Helen Essary, described as "Central Press Columnist." Mrs. Essary is one of publisher Cissy Patterson's more venomous columnists. The Senator's own column, however, was mild enough. He said he couldn't tackle the big jobs ahead alone, and asked for his readers' counsel and guidance.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CANDLE

By CAPT. SERGEI KOURNAKOFF

THE twenty-seventh anniversary of the Red Army this week is more than just another birthday. It is an apogee of military achievement—strategic, operational, tactical, technical, organizational, political and moral.

In order to evaluate the true portent of this apogee, it is necessary to view the Red Army as a modern incarnation of Russia's fighting forces in the perspective of their historical development. There are still too many people among the USSR's friends who insist on drawing a sort of steel curtain across the history of Russia at the nodal point of October, 1917, and then viewing the scene behind the curtain as unmitigated darkness while the events in front are seen as shining glory. The foreground is, of course, brilliant, but the very fact that there is no name except "Russia" for the country which was reincarnated as the Soviet Union a little more than a quarter of a century ago makes a lot of people shy away from the historical approach, which is the very one that is demanded by the political outlook of those same people. In fact, just as one cannot erase Russia in studying the Soviet Union, so one cannot erase the Russian Army in studying the Red Army.

Throughout the military history of Russia, from the tenth century to the present, there never was a solid penetration by Russian troops of the heart and body of an enemy country such as we see today. True, the regiments of the Duke of Kiev, Oleg, besieged Byzantium in 911, Russian troops entered Berlin in 1760, Suvorov's army crossed the Alps in 1799, Russian troops entered Paris in 1814, a Russian army fought in Hungary in 1848 and Russian armies stood within a few miles of Constantinople in 1878. Yet none of these campaigns bore the character of acts of military annihilation of the enemy. In fact, they were only large scale forays, or raids.

This is why the present march of the Red Army in one year, from the heart of Russia on the Dnieper to the heart of Germany on the Spree, has no military precedent in the history of Russia. A gigantic wedge has been pushing to a depth of 700 miles between the Baltic Sea and the Danube. This wedge is not only destroying German armies, but it is changing the face of the greatest mon-

strosity with which humanity has been afflicted. While the emperor of Byzantium remained on his throne after 911, while Frederick continued as King of Prussia after 1760, while Bonaparte became Napoleon after 1799 and the Bourbons took Napoleon's place after 1814 and the Sultan remained Sultan of Turkey after 1878—Hitlerite Germany is vanishing in a stinking pall of smoke in 1945. This campaign is no military foray: it is a cleansing expedition and a surgical operation. This is the principal achievement of the Red Army in its twenty-seventh year.

OPERATIONALLY speaking, the past year was marked by an *uninterrupted* Soviet offensive, a thing entirely new in military annals. In *March* Marshal Zhukov crashed through the western Ukraine to the Carpathians and another Red Army crossed into Rumania, thus preparing the Balkan campaign which was to develop five months later. In *April* Marshal Malinovsky liberated Odessa after a whirlwind campaign on the southern Bug. In *May* Marshal Tolbukhin liberated the Crimea and stormed Sevastopol. In early *June* the great offensive in the center was preceded by offensive action in Karelia and the capture of Viipuri, which presaged the defection of Finland from the Hitler camp. On *June 23* the great offensive began to roll on the Middle Dnieper, reaching the Vistula five weeks later. In *August* the great Danubian march started in Rumania, sweeping that satellite country as well as Bulgaria out of the war, reach-

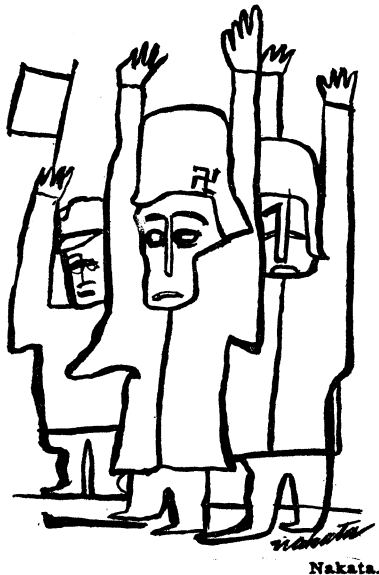
ing the approaches to Vienna three months later and culminating on February 13 with the capture of Budapest after a fifty-day siege, involving the destruction or capture of some 175,000 German and Hungarian troops.

Meanwhile in *October*, the Red Army drove the Germans from the approaches to Murmansk and crossed into Norway, while other Soviet troops crossed the border of Germany for the first time in thirty years and invaded East Prussia, after a victorious sweep through the Baltic. Finally, to climax these titanic campaigns, the great winter offensive against the very core of Germany began on *January 12* on the Vistula and has now reached the lower Oder and the Spree.

Thus the twenty-seventh year of the Red Army is the "Dnieper-Spree Year." The regiments of the Red Army marched from Lake Peipus to Koenigsberg, from Moghilev to Kuestrin, from Rovno to Goerlitz, from Krivoi Rog to Komarom, Belgrade and Sofia. The uninterrupted rolling offensive spread from the Arctic Sea to the Balkans, a frontage of 2,000 miles, and penetrated to a maximum depth of 800 miles in one year.

This offensive liberated all Soviet territory, with the exception of a small triangle of Latvia where a score of enemy divisions are isolated. It knocked Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria out of the war and is finishing off Hungary. It reached a helping hand to Yugoslavia and assisted in the liberation of two-thirds of that country. It liberated almost all of Poland, except for a part of Pomerze (the Corridor). It freed about one-third of Czechoslovakia. Finally, it captured almost all of East Prussia, most of Silesia, a good slice of Pomerania and has entered Brandenburg. Having freed Warsaw, Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade and Budapest, the Red Army today is forging a pincers aimed at the Berlin fortified area and threatens Stettin and Dresden.

One of the characteristics of Soviet operations during the past year has been the Red Army's ability to forge and consummate numerous traps some of which were of great magnitude. Among the dozens of such traps of more than tactical scope, the outstanding are the traps at Jassy-Kishinev where 106,000 Germans and Rumanians were captured (August, 1944) and at Budapest where





"Who, me?"

about 120,000 were captured, to say nothing of those killed and the immense booty taken. The Latvian, East Prussian, Posnan and Breslau traps have not been liquidated yet, but promise to yield another quarter of a million men, or more, in captured alone. Never once did the Germans escape a trap once snapped shut.

The great citadels of Warsaw and Budapest were attacked according to a typically Soviet method: from the west, instead of from the east. Of course, one could not say that outflanking the enemy

and taking him from the rear is a Soviet invention. The method is old. What is noteworthy is the Red Army's ability to execute such maneuvers under modern conditions when their consummation requires a double breakthrough of a strongly fortified defense zone.

During the past year the Red Army has proved that defense zones, mountains and great rivers, such as the Danube, Vistula and Oder, are obstacles it can master. It has mastered them often with so-called "local means," which took the form of benches, doors, furniture and

bales of hay used as material for crossing great rivers.

The Red Army service of supply, helped to no mean extent by 300,000 American motor vehicles, made available through lend-lease, is a cause for universal admiration. But getting trucks is one thing, and using them to the best advantage under the most impossible weather conditions is another. The Soviet service of supply has made possible an uninterrupted offensive lasting a year and covering more than 400,000 square miles, which include such natural obstacles as the Carpathians, the Mazurian Lakes, the Pripet Marshes, the Dnieper, Dniester, Pruth, Bug, Vistula, Narev, Warta, Oder, Tissa and Danube Rivers.

Such, roughly, are the strategic-operational achievements of the Red Army during the year ending in its twenty-seventh anniversary. There have been four such anniversaries during the Soviet-German war. The first (1942) was observed by the Red Army on the Moscow-Berlin road some fifty miles from Moscow, the second (1943) eighty miles from Moscow, the third (1944) 250 miles from Moscow. The fourth (1945) is being celebrated 960 miles from Moscow and forty miles from Berlin at this writing.

However, this review would not be complete, even in its briefest form, without a reference to the moral standards of the Red Army as reflected in its behavior in both friendly and enemy countries. Perfect discipline everywhere. Human warmth and understanding with friends; cold wrath, controlled by discipline and law, with enemies. Peace and quiet reigns everywhere the Red Army sets its foot.

The last anniversary of the Red Army was preceded by Teheran, the present one by Yalta. Yalta is the development of Teheran. As Stalingrad, in my opinion, made Teheran possible, so the Dnieper-Oder campaign made Yalta possible. It was one thing to admire the Red Army in the Kalmyk steppe, another to see it perform in Norway, East Prussia, Poland, Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Thus the twenty-seventh year of the Red Army provided the acid test not only from a military viewpoint, but also from an international-political viewpoint.

One can only regret on this anniversary occasion that one of the greatest as well as the youngest of Soviet generals, Ivan Chernyakhovsky, could not live to see the final triumph of the Red Army.

WHAT LATIN AMERICA WANTS

By JAMES S. ALLEN

AT THE Congress of the Latin American Federation of Workers (CTAL) in Cali, Colombia, last December, much attention was devoted to economic problems of the war and the coming transition to peace. The one word which sums up the general approach toward all the problems of the economy is "industrialization." In the report of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of the CTAL, and in special resolutions on the subject, the present phase of Latin American development was defined as the "industrial revolution." The period is seen as the era of the carrying forward of the Latin American democratic revolution, expressed politically in the consolidation of democratic governments and economically in the growth of the national economies.

The immediate objective of this period is not seen as socialism. The sights are set upon the renovation of an economy which had come to be dominated by foreign capital before it could rid itself of the feudal heritage of Spanish rule. There has been slow and painful progress in shaking off the inner and foreign impediments to fulfillment of the democratic revolution. Now, and that is the essence of the present period, there can be rapid progress.

The CTAL is itself imposing evidence of that. Born in the struggle against fascist aggression, it has developed into a force of 4,000,000 organized workers in countries, let it be remembered, where modern industry is only little developed. And this force has become to a remarkable degree the common denominator of the broad combinations of national unity in the Latin American countries. It can play this role more effectively today because Latin American labor never was, nor could it be, narrowly class-conscious. Its own interests were always those of the nation, of the modern democratic nation which was only in the process of becoming. And today the CTAL becomes the foremost spokesman of the common national interests of the Latin American peoples.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the program of the industrial revolution is exclusively the property of the CTAL. It is shared widely by all forward-looking elements in Latin America. War restrictions on trade have had the effect of encouraging the manu-

facture in Latin America of goods previously imported. Industrial expansion has been accelerated. In some countries, as in Brazil and Mexico, national and United States capital have combined under intergovernment auspices for the construction of basic plants; and in a number of countries new light industries have been established. But this has merely whetted the appetite. After World War I, when important beginnings were made in the creation of national industries, industrial development was sporadic and isolated. Now the prospect is brighter. The new world perspectives for a durable peace, combined with the expanding anti-fascist and democratic movement in Latin America, establish new favorable conditions for rapid industrial growth.

This is generally recognized in American business circles. Early last year a meeting of Commissions of Inter-American Development, attended by many leading industrialists and financiers, devoted most of its discussion to the problem of industrialization. William P. Witherow of the National Association of Manufacturers, speaking before an inter-American business gathering, urged the Latin Americans to go into manufacturing as a means of "shaking off their colonial status at an accelerating rate." It is becoming more generally recognized that our own need for large postwar markets abroad can best be served by helping backward economic areas to industrialize. A conjuncture of interests is created which is most favorable for the development of the national economies of Latin America.

The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs recently estimated that during the next ten years Latin America would need \$10,000,000,000 of old and new machinery, to replace its outworn plant and to further new industrial development. Of this, about half could be supplied by the United States in the form of capital goods, provided the proper financing could be worked out. This estimate does not envision development beyond the pace already taking place.

The key question is whether our big business circles are fully prepared to change past investment policies. It will be necessary to place chief emphasis upon the manufacturing industries, and veer

away from the traditional policy of concentrating investment in the extraction of raw materials. During the war the production of strategic raw materials was stepped up, and one of the big problems of the transition will be to help the Latin American economies cushion the shock of a sudden drop in the production of these materials. This problem, as well as the long-range program, can best be met by immediately canalizing North American capital exports into the development of basic industry, processing of raw materials and the light industries in Latin America.

WHAT the change involves can be seen by analyzing the US direct investments in Latin America preceding the war. In 1929, sixty-two percent of such investments were in the extractive industries (agriculture, mining and petroleum); and twenty-five percent in public utilities and transportation, most often in conjunction with the movement of raw materials. *Less than seven percent was in manufacturing.* The British investment, concentrated in Brazil and Argentina, was mostly in railways which are associated directly with the development of trade. Foreign capital, therefore, was devoted almost entirely to development of the raw materials needed for industry at home, and also, as in the case of Britain, of foodstuffs for the home market. Latin America performed the classic economic function of colonies by supplying raw materials and importing manufactured goods. But as a market, Latin America remains largely undeveloped because of the backwardness of the economy and the low purchasing power of the people. Brazil, for example, with a population of 45,000,000, has no more purchasing power than the State of Ohio. Canada, with 12,000,000 people, buys more from the United States than all Latin America with a population of 120,000,000.

It is quite probable that the old-line investments in primary materials like oil, copper, other metal ores, sugar, bananas, and agricultural raw materials will not fare well in the new democratic atmosphere now developing in Latin America. Many of these investments have already been repaid many times over in the profits extracted by the foreign owners. And the Latin American govern-

ments can be expected to take further measures to conserve their natural resources, retain subsoil rights, and limit the export of profits from these enterprises. They will insist upon the development of the processing industries on their own soil, upon the greater utilization of their valuable raw materials in national industry, and the reinvestment within the country of the bulk of the profits made by foreign capital.

This is not to say that foreign capital will be unwelcome. Latin America is in great need of foreign capital for industrial development—that is, capital in the form of machines, equipment, tools and technical training. But even this capital will not be welcome unless the investors are willing to share ownership with national capitalists, permitting them a major portion, and are also ready for joint ownership with government.

During the war some development in this direction has taken place. The new steel combine under construction in Brazil—which will meet the present steel requirements of the country—is a joint venture of United States capital advanced through the Export-Import Bank and of Brazilian government and private capital. A new steel plant is nearing completion in Mexico which is a joint enterprise of North American and Mexican capital. Loans from the Export-Import Bank (they have not been very large) are increasingly being advanced through the development corporations (*fomentos*) set up by the Latin American governments, with the participation of United States representatives where North American capital is involved. If the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development proposed at Bretton Woods is approved by Congress, this will offer still another government-supervised channel for the investment of industrial capital in Latin America. The trend already perceptible is towards joint capital ventures involving intergovernment supervision, where the investment is not entirely a government affair. From the viewpoint of the Latin American governments seeking to safeguard their sovereignties this form of investment is by far preferable to uncontrolled private investment from abroad.

In countries where industrialization becomes a part of the national program, integrated with the whole problem of developing the national economy, it is inevitable that foreign investment will have to submit to the government plan and control. Many elements enter into a national development program. The agrarian reform, for example, involving

a basic change in social relations as well as extensive government financing and the encouragement of modern forms of agriculture, including the use of machinery, is inseparable from such a national plan. The erection of a huge industrial superstructure upon a feudal agrarian base, as in Japan, is no longer possible in Latin America, because of the high level of the democratic movement. In the countries undertaking a basic program of economic development there will be a mixed economy for some time to come: government-owned utilities and industrial enterprises side by side with privately-owned industry, both native and foreign; remnants of the old *latifundia* and vast foreign agricultural holdings side by side with small and large-scale capitalist farms; handicraft village industry and modern big industry; the export of industrial raw materials side by side with their increasing manufacture within the country. Government supervision and control to encourage the national industry and the expansion of modern agriculture will be necessary.

THESE developments in Latin America will delimit the old form of foreign capital investments, but they will encourage the investment of industrial capital from abroad. And that is the best thing that could happen from the viewpoint not only of the Latin American economy but also of North American economy. For if we continue in the postwar to dispose of capital exports as we did before the war, this will become a drag upon our economy and an obstacle to postwar prosperity.

Our postwar problem (and our biggest contribution to world security and economic expansion) will be to maintain full production and employment. That cannot be done without developing our export markets much beyond the level of the past. This will call for huge capital exports perhaps five or six times greater annually than the peak of \$1,000,000,000 reached in 1929. Besides being the greatest creditor nation in the world, our export of goods will far exceed our imports for some time to come. This is an unprecedented situation in the history of imperialism. Our exports and the service charges on loans and investments abroad can in the long run be paid for only in goods (gold and silver, as well as dollar balances, can serve this purpose only in part). But if our exports continue to exceed our imports, as they will, theoretically these debts cannot be paid, except for isolated

countries where the balance of payments is the reverse. We are not in the position of Britain whose excess of imports over exports guaranteed the collection at home of profits and revenue from foreign investments.

During the inter-war years, Latin America was an exception to the general rule of United States trade. In most years imports from Latin America exceeded our exports to Latin America, but the difference was never very great. During the war, of course, due to restrictions upon our exports of manufactured goods, this was accentuated, with the result that many Latin American countries now have large dollar balances which they can employ as soon as the war is over for the purchase of machinery and other products in the United States. But this will immediately increase our exports in the face of reduced imports of strategic raw materials from Latin America. And if the industrialization in the Latin countries is to proceed, we are likely to export much more than we import for some time to come. The expected increase of capital outflow to Latin America will also accentuate the problem of payments.

This relationship in itself becomes a powerful factor making for long-range investment of industrial capital to Latin America, as well as in other parts of the world. Our capitalists will be impelled, by the very laws of profit-making, to accept the type of investment which does not call for instalment repayment and the products and profits of which can be sold and reinvested abroad. They may hanker after the old type of investment, but it will be largely closed to them. They may decide to keep their capital at home, rather than invest it in enterprises which can no longer guarantee them the super-profit of colonial investment. But if they do this they will raise the danger of a postwar economic crisis the like of which we have not yet seen; and they also face the prospect of high taxes on hoarded capital. If some powerful sectors of capital would prefer to stage a sitdown strike on capital exports, others will not; and the government will also be impelled to step into the foreign investment field on a large scale to help avoid economic collapse.

These are some of the principal circumstances which favor industrialization in Latin America. An enlightened inter-American policy on the part of the United States government, together with a capital investment policy in accordance with the new realities, has become a national necessity.

NM SPOTLIGHT

Chungking vs. Yalta

IT IS fortunate that democratic elements within China have enormously strengthened their position during the last two or three years, and it is equally fortunate that the United States has for some time been pursuing a forthright progressive policy with respect to that country. For otherwise the bankruptcy of the present clique which controls the Chungking government would spell defeat for the entire Chinese nation and perhaps even a general breakdown in the strategy of the Pacific war. As things stand today, however, while Chungking is throwing every conceivable obstacle in the way of the war effort, the main defeat which its waning authority and prestige can administer is against itself. In this respect the dictatorship of that section of the Kuomintang which now dominates the nationalist party more and more approaches the moribund status of the London Poles.

The latest spectacle of Chungking "statesmanship" coincided with and can therefore be sharply contrasted to the magnificent outcome of the Crimean conference. While the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition jointly settled the principal points of difference among them, the corrupted officials of the Kuomintang refused to take those steps which the whole democratic world knows to be prerequisites for enabling China to play a positive role in the defeat of Japan. Their clumsy attempt, backed in this country by such reactionaries as Lin Yutang, to throw the blame on the Chinese Communists is transparent. The Chungking spokesman's claim last week that the Kuomintang's "concessions" would have solved the crisis if they had not been turned down by the Communists was quickly refuted by Communist Chou En-lai's statement that these offers, shabby as they were, were contingent upon even greater concessions from the Communists.

It has become clear that there can be no solution to China's internal difficulties within the framework of the Kuomintang one-party dictatorship. By its defeatist policies it has destroyed its own authority. Therefore no compromise in which the Kuomintang is left in exclusive control of the government can be accepted. Only a policy based upon a

democratic coalition of all those groups willing to fight against Japan holds any hope for the salvation of China.

Importing Trouble

MR. MAX LERNER, of *PM*, writes from Paris with great sadness, even bitterness, that General de Gaulle is sheathing France's sword. It's not the sword which is fighting German fascism that worries Mr. Lerner, it's not that he finds France a reluctant ally on the Western Front. The battle which occupies him chiefly is France's battle of "reform," or, as he candidly puts it, the "revolution." "Where," he asks, "is the New Deal de Gaulle promised when the Provisional Government took power six months ago? Where is the nationalization of French industry, the breaking up of the big trusts?" Reviewing the achievements of the Provisional Government and de Gaulle, who he admits would be overwhelmingly chosen again to head France if an election were held immediately, he elaborates on what he calls the paradox of French life today: that is, that de Gaulle is reestablishing France as a great international power, but has betrayed the Resistance by abandoning internal reforms for

which he says the Resistance fought. And in this moral failure, Mr. Lerner laments, he has the effective aid of the Communists.

One does not need to examine every item of Mr. Lerner's charges nor even to know in full the story of the reconstruction of French government and economy up to this point to recognize a familiar and erratic pattern in Mr. Lerner's argument. The French government, he frankly admits, is interested first in winning the war. For this it is interested in preserving the essential unity not only of the trade unions and the highly political Resistance groups, but also of the far more conservative peasantry and of patriotic French capital. It is taking care not to raise controversial issues to the point where internal dissension might produce another Greek tragedy. Whether the de Gaulle government has done everything it could in the direction of the reforms necessary to accomplish these ends is a question one can hardly decide definitively from the outside, but one cannot question the essential logic of the policy itself when Nazi arms are not yet broken, and for that matter, are still being exercised on French soil. But Mr. Lerner does—at length. It is the approach so familiar to readers of *PM*. It recalls that paper's carping and obstructive attitude toward President Roosevelt and its tendency to subordinate primary issues to secondary whatever effect it might have on national unity. Mr. Lerner, loyally carrying on *PM*'s policy, calls on French "liberals" for a new militant "Resistance." And it is resistance to de Gaulle he means. He berates the Communists for abandoning the "liberal" forces, and finds deep sympathy with those who, despite this "betrayal," demand drastic reforms. All this hardly contributes to French unity or to an American understanding of French problems.



Honore Sharrer.

Wallace = Jobs

HOUSE passage of the George bill to separate the lending agencies from the Commerce Department clears the way for Senate confirmation of Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. The enemies of the administration pro-

Henrietta Szold

"I am an ardent Zionist," Henrietta Szold told the late Wendell Willkie when he visited her in Jerusalem on his globe-girdling trip in 1942, "but I do not believe that there is a necessary antagonism between the hopes of the Jews and the rights of the Arabs. I am urging my fellow Jews here in Jerusalem to do those simple things that break down the prejudices, the differences between people." And Willkie related in his "One World": "As I sat there that late afternoon with the sun shining through the windows, lighting up that intelligent, sensitive face, I, at least for a moment, wondered if she in her mature, selfless wisdom might not know more than all the ambitious politicians."

Now both Willkie and Henrietta Szold are dead. And with her death there has passed not only the foremost Jewish woman of our time, but one of those wise and gracious spirits whose labors water the soil of history. Daughter of an American rabbi who fought in the Union army, Miss Szold was more than the founder of Hadassah, the women's Zionist movement, more than the organizer of the remarkable medical work that has flourished in Palestine, more than a leader of world Zionism: she was a moral force whose imprint reached beyond her own country, her own people, her own cause. Her life was a passionate dedication, yet hers was no bristling, dogmatic Zionism which shut out the rest of mankind. In her last years Miss Szold became a champion of Jewish-Arab unity and the eventual creation of a bi-national state in Palestine, even though this represented a minority view in the Zionist movement. Henrietta Szold was one of those who believed in the future and fought for it.

gram of 60,000,000 jobs and an economic bill of rights will undoubtedly renew the fight against Mr. Wallace when the nomination comes before the Senate on March 1, but the passage of the George bill by both houses has greatly improved his chances.

On two test votes the House Republicans, with minority leader Joe Martin cracking the whip, stood almost solid in an effort either to reduce still further Mr. Wallace's powers or make his confirmation more difficult. Nevertheless, there are misgivings in Republican ranks over these vengeful and obstructive tactics. Walter Lippmann, for example, has sounded a note of caution to the Republicans by calling attention to the unconstitutional implications of their struggle against Mr. Wallace. He points out that if Congress presumes to veto a presidential appointment to a cabinet post because it disagrees with the nominee's views, it is guilty of "a usurpation of power" which undermines our constitutional system. Some Republican Senate leaders share these misgivings.

Members of Congress need to be kept aware that the mandate of last November was a mandate to place America squarely on the road to a brighter future projected in the administration's economic and political program. It is because Henry Wallace stands for that program that he has won the support of Americans of all classes.

The AFL Says It's 5 B.C.

REPORTS of the recently concluded Miami meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL made dreary reading. Toward that fellow spirit John L. Lewis the sentiment was cordial and his return to the citadel of labor reaction was brought appreciably closer. To the bid by Philip Murray of the CIO for cooperation between the two major labor organizations the reply was haughty rejection. And the AFL's refusal to participate in the international conference at London was climaxed by a Red-baiting attack by William Green on Sidney Hillman and the proposed new international labor body.

The entrenched labor diehards show the traditional reactionary blindness and indifference to the realities and needs of a changed world. At the Miami sessions they fastened their grip; but it is the convulsive grip of those who act against history. Even more than in the past the living forces in the AFL will have to work independently to keep up with the world of today.

The Ives-Quinn Bill

DURING this month of proud anniversaries of America's great liberators, New York has been considering the first state law against discrimination in employment. The widely approved Ives-Quinn bill for fair employment practices was, however, suddenly withdrawn from consideration by the legislature and was subjected to new public hearings. Progressive forces always favor public hearings for important legislative acts. But this bill had already enjoyed public hearings in all parts of the state. The new move for more hearings was engineered by the State Senate Finance Committee on the motion of Sen. Frederick R. Coudert, the erstwhile attorney for Vichy and the recent witch-hunter-in-chief in our educational system.

Rarely has a progressive bill received such broad and wholehearted support from religious, civic, business, labor and professional groups. It was introduced as a bipartisan measure. The New York City Council gave it unanimous support. All signs pointed to its speedy adoption until Senator Coudert organized hasty efforts to stall action in the hope of eventually killing or emasculating it. Coudert cites ten unnamed business organizations and the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen as the forces behind the demand for delay. It is unfortunate that the Brotherhood of Firemen lends its name to this reactionary move; the state CIO and AFL are actively supporting the bill. Among the quiet opponents of the measure are a group of liberals headed by the isolationist Oswald Garrison Villard, who in a collective letter to the *New York Times* voiced their opposition and called for a public enlightenment campaign as a substitute for legislative action. This muddleheaded plea in the name of liberalism helps cloak the reactionaries' efforts to protect un-American practices.

Governor Dewey, with an eye cocked on the 1946 election, has belatedly and cautiously indicated his support of the Ives-Quinn bill. The weight of public opinion must be brought to bear to assure passage of an essential measure that will strengthen the war effort and help in solving the problems of the peace.



One Against Jim Crow

MISS MARYLIN KAEMMERLE, student editor of the William and Mary College weekly, *The Flat Hat*, made a plea in her paper that the Negro people should be recognized and treated as equals. This meant also equality at William and Mary, where Negroes are not admitted, she said. She did not believe that complete equality could be achieved at once, whatever the anthropological truths involved, but insisted that it was most important that we should educate ourselves away from "the idea of white supremacy nonsense." The Board of Visitors (trustees) of William and Mary exploded, ordered the faculty to investigate how the editorial happened to be published and to take any necessary "corrective" or "disciplinary" action, and to suspend the paper. The president promptly issued an ultimatum that the paper should submit to faculty supervision or be suspended and that Miss Kaemmerle resign. But the students of Thomas Jefferson's old school were not meekly obedient and they let the president know that they wanted the right to say and publish what they believed. They challenged the Board of Visitors to come down and discuss the matter publicly. The board refused. At an assembly where the president pleaded for the school's fair name in the state and mentioned appropriations, the students listened in silence. Before they could be dismissed the president of the student government rose and asked for a vote then and there on whether the paper should be issued in accordance with the administrative mandate, under faculty supervision, or be suspended. And the students solemnly and overwhelmingly voted for suspension. As one editor of *The Flat Hat* put it, "The Byrd political machine of Virginia says thumbs down . . . but the student body says thumbs up." That the president and trustees eventually won the immediate battle for faculty supervision does not mean the students lost. By their stubborn defense of their democratic rights the students of William and Mary have made the next victory of poll tax reaction less certain.

Lessons from Sparta

(Continued from page 8)

As was true both in Greece and America of a national union, no world organization can today be achieved except on the basis of democracy. As slav-

Cornerstones for Peace

THE Bretton Woods financial proposals form the cornerstone of the economic foundations of enduring peace and world prosperity. This is the substance of the President's message to Congress calling upon it to pass the necessary legislation committing the country to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Monetary Fund is designed to stabilize the currencies of the subscribing United Nations to enable them to enter world trade on a sound and fair basis, while the bank will extend loans to war-devastated nations to rebuild their shattered economies. Both these measures are the preliminary steps to world economic rehabilitation and are the necessary conditions for the full productive functioning of our own economy. Other economic measures to follow will, together with the Bretton Woods proposals, make up a consistent over-all plan to stabilize world economic relations and raise world productivity.

There is a sense of urgency as well as a note of warning in the President's message: "This point of history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs." The danger of competing economic blocs is inherent in the American Bankers Association opposition to Bretton Woods and has its roots in the evil traditions of the past. The ABA, to be sure, does not attack the Bretton Woods proposals frankly and openly. It accepts international cooperation "in principle" and approves the bank—which among other functions will also guarantee private loans to the various nations—but it rejects the monetary fund, which is the keystone of the Bretton Woods proposals. The rejection of the fund would not only reduce the available collective sum by half, but would deny the small nations the elementary right to first-aid loans to overcome their internal currency difficulties. It would also make these nations the victims of predatory bankers with all the consequences that flow from such relationships.

The legislation to implement Bretton Woods is now before both houses. The Wagner-Tobey-Spence bills provide in part for a repeal of the Johnson act prohibiting loans to countries defaulting on their debts of the last war. The bills also make it possible to avoid any new appropriations for both the monetary fund and the reconstruction bank. America's contribution will be financed out of non-interest bearing Treasury notes and from the country's special stabilization fund. If you think your Congressman has any doubts as to where you stand on Bretton Woods, then a letter or telegram should set him straight.

ery was the curse which prevented the preservation of Greek independence and democracy and which had to be abolished by force of arms in order to preserve American democracy, so the complete extermination of fascism, the most barbarous restoration of slavery in the modern world, and everything giving rise to fascism is the prerequisite for any lasting world organization.

We need to drive home the lesson that there *are* new things under the sun. The contrast between ancient Greece and modern America sharply reveals this. Greece achieved new things in antiquity. The roots of modern history lie

in ancient Greece. But America created still more new things. The whole history of America is a chronicle of accomplishing the unprecedented. Our miracles of production and military prowess now are proving that this pioneering American spirit is not dead. We are now pioneering on a world scale. As America picked up threads broken in ancient Greece, the United Nations are now picking up all the threads severed throughout all the long years of man's tragic history. We have today the opportunity to join those threads to form a new and unbroken tradition of human progress.

READERS' FORUM

"A Jew Looks at His America"

TO NEW MASSES: To begin with, I wish to express my appreciation for Joseph North's very human and sensible essay "A Jew Looks at His America." [NM, January 16.]

This serious though subjective analysis of a most aggravated ancient (and yet always new) problem of anti-Semitism and racism, is very timely, as far as our own new happy-go-lucky (?) generation is concerned. I mean our teen-age children who in their naivete or, should I say, ignorance, deliberately ignore this lurking menace. Some of our so-called "folks menschen" do the same thing. They act or wish us to act like the proverbial ostrich—that is, to stick our heads (in humility) into the sand, and ignore these dangerous periodic outbursts of the plague called anti-Semitism which takes place in congested centers like New York, Boston or Philadelphia. Instead of searching for a mental anti-toxin with which to fight this plague, they totally ignore it.

Six months before Pearl Harbor my nine-year-old son, who is now a prisoner of war in Germany, said: "We have no reason to become involved in European scraps." He argued, "Dad, what did we benefit by all the sacrifice we made in the first World War?" I tried to convince him that at this time the danger is not only to the free people all over the world, but to our people in particular. I pointed out the grave danger to us involved in Hitler's "policy." My son replied "Dad, first of all I consider myself an American. I am a Jew only by accident." He added, "However, when I will see Hitlerism approaching our shores, in any way, shape or form, I shall enlist immediately in the forces of my country." Five months after Pearl Harbor, he gave up a job at which he earned \$100 a week and enlisted in the Air Corps.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I agree with you wholeheartedly that we *must* teach our children to be proud of their ancestry, of the Haym Solomons as well as the Mendelssohns, the Isaiahs and Moses' as well as the Marxs and Spinozas. They should know their cultural origin. Then they will stop acting like "ostriches," or even sometimes like cowards.

Detroit.

JOSEPH C. GOLDMAN.

TO NEW MASSES: I read with great interest Joseph North's article in the January 16 issue, "A Jew Looks at His America." I agree with all the points presented, but feel that additions can be made.

In combatting racial prejudice in general, and anti-Semitism in particular, I feel that the schools can play a great part. At home many children are taught to hate others because their parents consciously and unconsciously spread hatred. Many politically immature or economically insecure people feel that they must in some way account for their "lowly" position in society, and some feel that they must blame something or someone for their immaturity or insecurity or even ignorance, and gullibly swallow the untruths in the ninety-five percent corrupt commercial press. They become panicky, believing the Hitler line that the Jews are to blame for the world's misfortunes, or that the Jews own all the wealth, or that the Jews are responsible for mistakes in the government, etc., depending on their particular woe. They fail to see the truth because it is not given to them forcefully enough nor in great enough quantity. Their children often reflect these attitudes, just as they take up their parents' religion without reasoning why.

I have noticed, too, that anti-Semitic remarks and teachings sometimes emanate from schools, and often enough from parochial schools. I have had occasion to visit Polish and Irish Catholic schools. The democracy in these schools reflect the degree of progressiveness of the parish priest or the sister-superior in charge. Examples:

In a Polish parochial school I entered one of the rooms where the class was especially overcrowded. The sister was trying to get some order. Finally, in desperation, she yelled, "You're like a pack of Jews, all talking at once!" In another school I had been giving classes in library instruction—how to make effective use of the public library—and also told stories to the younger children. As soon as it was discovered that I was of Jewish origin, my superior was asked to send a representative of the Catholic religion, because I might disseminate some un-Catholic ideas! In still another school the traditional bogus story had just been taught prior to Passover—the one in which the Jews are said to kill Polish children for their blood, to be used in the holiday service!

• These are only a few examples, but I want to say that in many parochial schools I have found the attitude to be more progressive than in some of the public schools.

I have come to the conclusion that racial prejudice must be wiped out by beginning in the schoolroom. The Boards of Education in the various communities can best decide how

to include courses of study in the curriculum for each grade, and the teachers should be required to take courses themselves in order correctly to teach the children the democratic point of view and attitude.

In the case of Joe North's son's experiences, and where there are other actual incidents, the teachers concerned should at once take up the problem and point out the injustice in beating up little boys for the sole reason that they are Jewish or belong to some other minority group. They should learn the proper respect for, and the historical place in the world of, the various peoples against whom discrimination often runs rampant. Also, it wouldn't be amiss for parents to take a course or two on the subject of racial discrimination.

JEANETTE ROSENE SCHOER.

New York City.

And the Kids at Their

Editor
New Masses
N.Y.C. N.Y.

Feb 14, 1948

Dear Sir

Our class is studying racial discrimination, the way we got interested in this cause was the fact that a Negro boy in my class having been invited to a friends house was not allowed to go up the elevator and had to walk up the back stairs. The white boy got together a committee in class! We would appreciate it very much if you would publish this letter in your magazine and help this cause!

Your sincerely,

John Oehring of the 105th

Committee.

John Oehring
Andrew S. Weinstein
Paul Richter
Peter Bronson
James Nease
Paul Caborn

In This Corner

To inform GI Joes
Keep sending them V-mail:
For Congressional Bills
Start writing some C-mail!

* * *

Instead of concentrating
On uniting all 48,
Dewey is more concerned with
His chances in '48.

* * *

To market, to market,
To buy a fat pig;
Home again, home again
... with Herman Goering.

N.M.



WHO WAS TOM PAINE?

By **HOWARD FAST**

This is abridged from Mr. Fast's introduction to the volume "The Collected Work of Thomas Paine," which he edited for Duell, Sloan & Pearce, with whose kind permission we publish it here.

"**T**HERE is not an idea in it (the Declaration of Independence) but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before. . . ." So wrote the Federalist John Adams.

Jefferson, the well-loved and trusted leader of the democratic forces in America, had been for some time the foremost target of the anti-democratic Federalists. He knew how to take mudslinging; quietly, he answered:

"I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether and to offer no sentiment which had never been expressed before. Not to find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the *common sense* of the subject. Neither aiming at originality of principles or sentiments, it was intended to be an *expression of the American mind.*"

The italics are mine; but it is no accident that, so many years after, Jefferson refers to the ideas incorporated in the Declaration of Independence as *common sense*—the title of Paine's first and far-reaching major work. And the phrase "expression of the American mind" is one of the most important clues, not only to the writings of Paine and Jefferson, but to the whole democratic system that sprang from their times.

The difference, however, between the writings of Paine and Jefferson, is the difference between an almost uneducated working man and the foremost philosopher of the culture of democracy that the eighteenth century produced. The question most often asked about Paine is how he did it, a question no one asks concerning Jefferson; so much of a fetish has the idea of formal education become.

We don't know too much of Paine's early life. An intense and clean objec-

tivity was so much a quality of Paine's writing that he himself as an individual comes to light only in the briefest snatches. And when, many years later, serious biographers undertook an investigation of the boy who had fathered the incredible man, they found almost nothing on which to base any conclusions.

Much we can surmise. He came of the lowest landless class when class divisions were knife-sharp. As a child, he saw too much, and most of it hurt; if there was any real happiness in his childhood, he would have recalled more of it than he did, not shunned it as a bad dream. He had some schooling at the charity school at his native English village of Thetford; how much we don't know. Early, he learned his father's trade of corset making; and that he hated it is proved by the fact that so much of his early life was an attempt to escape it. Twice, young Tom Paine attempted to run away to sea, to ship aboard a privateer. Well, that was one of the few ways out; but it was like leaving Nazi Germany by way of a concentration camp, and the boy must have been desperate indeed.

There was a period of London wandering—which ended in Paine's apprenticing himself to a staymaker. Many such periods appear in Paine's pre-American life; they must have been times of futile desperation, attempts to escape the rat cage that always closed him in at the end. But they were periods of education too. London of the

latter eighteenth century was, for at least half its population, as close an approximation of hell as is possible to create on this earth. The enclosure laws of the previous two centuries had created a huge landless population that gravitated toward the urban centers, mostly toward London, to form a half-human mob, not peasants, not craftsmen—the first tragic beginnings of a real working class. But the primitive capitalism of the time could not absorb even a fraction of the mob. Starvation, thievery, murder, and drunkenness were the order of the day. Paine went as low as the people, suffered with them, attempted their avenues of escape, and thereby came to understand them. Admirers of Paine attempt to make him a teetotaler; his enemies make him out a drunkard. He was neither.

That was Paine's pre-American life, up and down, hope and despair. Stay-making, revolt, wandering—desperate ventures at other trades. At the age of twenty-two, Paine married a servant girl; less than a year later she died: another chapter that Paine was loath to recall. At the age of twenty-five, he escaped staymaking—into one of the most unenviable trades in Britain, that of an exciseman. Tax collecting in a country of wholesale smuggling and tax evasion was not a happy business. He stood it for a while, and then, as before, went back, hopelessly, to stay-making. He tried other trades, cobbling, some cabinet-making; but the degree of hopelessness was the same. Always back to staymaking. Again desperation, and again a return to tax collecting.

This was the time of Paine's second marriage. He was a boarder with a tobacconist in Lewes, and when the shopkeeper died, Paine married his daughter, Elizabeth Ollive. Whether he was motivated by love or pity, we don't know, but he took on the responsibilities of the girl, the widowed mother, and a shop that was fast going into bankruptcy. Stretch the ends as he would, they could not be made to meet; and from this came Paine's first groping effort toward organization and his first written work,



"The Woodcutter," by Helen West Heller.

The Case of the Officers of the Excise. Wages of tax officers had been fixed more than a century before, and the rising spiral of prices had made these men long and silent sufferers, forced finally to choose between dishonesty or starvation. Paine organized them, pled their case in a petition to Parliament. The plea was refused.

A GAIN the old pattern in Paine's life, the shop in debt, bankruptcy, Paine fleeing to escape the debtor's prison, Paine going down and down and down, the shadow-land bottom layer of society, the gin mill. Paine left his wife; or perhaps she left him. That part of his life remained closed, and he never opened it. Paine disappeared into the maw of beggar's London. Paine reemerged, passage money to America in his pocket, to confront Benjamin Franklin, demanding help from the great man, and a letter of introduction to an American.

Even with these few sketchy facts, we can begin to understand what made the man, Thomas Paine, and what forces gave birth to the flaming documents he wrote—documents that moved more men to more earth-shaking results, politically, than any up to that time and even since that time, if we except the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The single most important clue to Paine's writings is that they are *dynamic*. Let us see what is meant by that and whether we cannot relate the meaning to both the man and his experiences. Before Paine ever wrote a word, there were political philosophers in plenty: Voltaire, Locke, Milton, Cromwell, Rousseau, to name only a few. In America, long before Paine's time, such popular leaders as William Penn and Róger Williams had put the most advanced social and political theory of the age into practice, and what's more had, within limits of time and space, made those theories operate successfully. But there was a most important difference between the writing of these men and Paine's writing—indeed, between Paine's writing and the writing of so many political philosophers who came after him. And the difference may be summed up in this fashion:

They wrote abstractly of the pattern of change; Paine wrote realistically of the method of change. They were philosophers who created political philosophy; Paine was a revolutionist who created a method for revolution. They moved men to thought; Paine moved

men to thought and action. They dealt with theory and ideals; Paine dealt with the dynamics of one force playing against another.

Note how these factors in Paine's writing are forecast by the events during the first thirty-seven years of his life. Paine's belief was in change; this was his faith, that all is dynamic and subject to change, that nothing is immutable. That is the pattern of both his life and his writing, subjectively and objectively: an unconquerable desire to substitute good for bad, hope for despair. Paine was never content with his lot, nor was he ever content with the lot of his fellow man. He believed it could be better. Follow the pattern: he believed there were better things to occupy a man than corset-making or cobbling. He believed that the lot of tax collectors could be bettered, if they worked actively toward that betterment. He saw poverty, the deepest kind of poverty, and he felt that a thing so evil should be wiped from the face of the earth. He never accepted anything but change.

And in November of 1774, he came to America, where change was the order of the day. He came to an America that was rumbling and quivering like a volcano about to erupt, and he put his ear to the ground and listened.

Let us glance, very briefly, at the America Paine came to. It was not a single, unified nation, but thirteen separate colonial areas—areas, however, with many things in common: they were being exploited by the same overseas empire; they spoke—the majority of them—the same language; they all suffered from the colonial status to which they were relegated; and they each of them possessed democratic movements in one stage or another of development.

In contrast with England, Paine found here in America comparatively little class differentiation. Land was so abundant that there was no real landless class, only a flux that went onto the land, away from the land, and back to it. There was a merchant class fast being ruined by British trade restrictions; a planter class that was also being ruined by the colonial policy of the British. Thus, under outside pressure, these two united firmly with the free farmers and artisans, presenting an almost solid front. *Almost* because more than ten percent of the 3,000,000 Americans were Tories bound to the British by blood and class, exploiting the Americans as colonials, thinking of themselves always as British, depending upon the redcoat army to secure them their property. The Amer-

ica Paine came to was an armed and embattled people, who flared into guerrilla warfare only five months after he set foot on our soil.

Much of what America was and what it promised to be, Paine put into *Common Sense*. And he wrote it down there with the terrible sense of urgency which a man feels who has come on sudden and splendid good fortune—such good fortune that every waking moment plants the fear that all this wonder may slip from his grasp.

That was what drove Paine. He stepped off a boat and into the ripest and most gorgeous revolutionary opportunity that had existed. He looked around him, and the more he looked, the more he realized. The prophet of the common man stepped into the land and era of the common man. The fine gears of history, so often haphazard, now purposefully meshed.

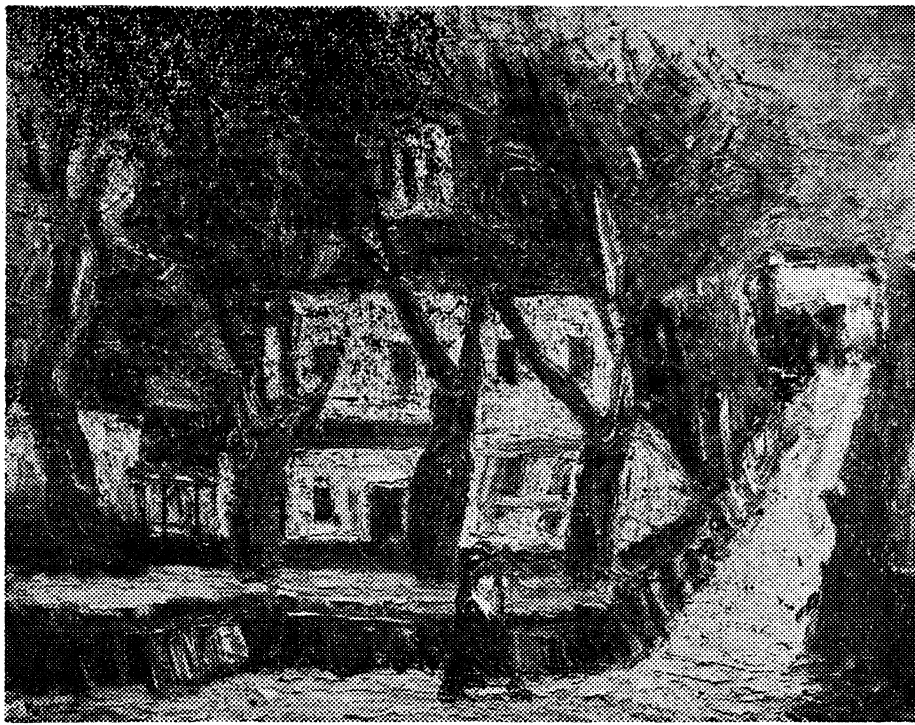
Nietzscheans

A CENTURY OF HERO WORSHIP, by Eric Russell Bentley. Lippincott. \$3.50.

NOW and then a doctoral thesis to which its gifted young author has brought more than scholarly accumulation is rescued from the stillbirth of thesis publication. *A Century of Hero Worship* is such a book. It retains a little of the solemnity of thesis writing and its perplexed conclusions indicate unfinished thinking. But it reveals a new critical mind that is honest, keen, perceptive and severe in its standards; and it raises important issues in the comparatively unexplored borderland where history, philosophy and literature abut.

Mr. Bentley shifts in the naming of his theme from "Hero Worship," whose connotations make him uneasy, to "Heroic Vitalism," which has the advantage of being unencrusted—as yet—with associations. "Heroic Vitalism" may be defined as the life force fulfilled in the hero.

Of the seven figures in whose life and work it is studied—Carlyle, Nietzsche, Wagner, Shaw, D. H. Lawrence, Spengler and Stefan George—four are Germans; one, Carlyle, was an outspoken Germanophile; another, Shaw, was absorbed in the Wagnerian and Nietzschean structure; and the seventh, D. H. Lawrence, had a modern German-like obsession with masculinity, blood and force. It is therefore probable that one motive, conscious or unconscious, in Mr. Bentley's undertaking was to protect German culture, which appears to be



"Landscape," by Benjamin Kopman. At the ACA Gallery.

his chosen field, by reinterpreting and making acceptable that aspect of it which may provoke rejection of the whole.

Essentially, the book reduces down to a study of Nietzsche. For me, despite Mr. Bentley's patient attempts to rationalize him into the company, Shaw remains outside the door; and Spengler's middle-aged manager hardly qualifies as a hero. The others blur away into defective images of the master. For Nietzsche Bentley's admiration reaches the astounding extreme of rating him as, up to 1889, "the greatest mind in Europe."

One part of Mr. Bentley's defense of the "heroic vitalists" is to analyze them as split personalities in whom the progressive part did battle with the anti-democratic part. But this is not the report we need. All men's souls are battlefields. The significant news is the battle's outcome, both in a man's life and in his influence. The latter cannot be ignored for the final victor in life may be the loser in influence and heritage. Plekhanov, for example, retracted his past without affecting its influence.

Mr. Bentley further argues that the vitalists' exaltation of the "heroic" individual is really an affirmation of what he conceives to be the highest end of democracy, the fullest liberation of talents; and their repudiation of democracy really a repudiation of its abuses in the capitalist exploitation stage of its development. Finally, Mr. Bentley's defense runs into this contradiction: he denies

the evil influence of the "heroic vitalists," questioning the extent of the influence of intellectual figures altogether. Some pages later, he pleads for the positive values in their contribution, for the sake of their influence.

It seems to me that Mr. Bentley is fighting, in the pages of his own book, an uncompleted battle of his own. He is tormented by what he conceives as the conflicting claims of the individual and the collective. He attempts a resolution in the thesis that the collective fulfills itself when its greatest individuals are fulfilled. This may be granted providing he agrees that individual fulfillment is within and not against the collective.

This is the key moral question that the book raises—and fails to deal with. Bentley fails to note that Nietzsche himself gave the answer. Unable to ignore the social source of morality, Nietzsche attempted to escape it by projecting realities "beyond good and evil." These failed him and, in the end, he called himself a *criminal*; and he called others, the historian Burckhardt for example, who had, he thought, similarly valued great individuals, his *fellow-criminals*.

Farthest-fetched to me is Mr. Bentley's interpretation of the Nietzschean misanthropy as anti-capitalism. Nietzsche's is the reactionary type of criticism that looks to past values. In the most hopeless sense of the word, the Nietzschean attitude is timeless. There has been no age without it for there has been no age of perfectly integrated people. In the ages

considered "golden," the gilding has been posthumous. Certain misanthropes' miscalled "Saints"—Christian Moslem, Buddhist, Taoist—have denounced worldliness and immured themselves in caves from drives similar to Nietzsche's and in similar symbols which Mr. Bentley, himself, situates among the Freudian commonplaces.

As for the Nietzschean influence, Mr. Bentley, not having lived through its years of sway—the first two decades of this century—is simply unaware of its permeation. Should he wish to carry on his research, I suggest that he go through the work of the most cynical, opportunist and reactionary writers of our generation, in America alone. He will find them to have announced or justified themselves as *Nietzscheans*. There are many retorts Mr. Bentley could make to this but, unless he can offer a comparable showing of progressives who declared themselves Nietzscheans, it will have to be assumed that the victory in the divided soul of Nietzsche, at least as reflected in his influence, went to the anti-democratic part.

Mr. Bentley notes that a Wild West adventure writer named Karl May had more to do with the formation of Hitler's mind than Nietzsche. Assuming that to be so, it remains true that the Nazis won *intellectual* acceptance partly on their claims to be Nietzscheans.

There is no more purpose in claiming for the "heroic vitalists" what they themselves rejected than in denying their actual achievements. Wagner's thinking was a miasma though his remarkable writing for orchestra played an important part in musical development. Nietzsche's thinking was anti-social and had harmful results though it contained extraordinary psychological and historical insights, though he flayed the German philistines and though his sheer iconoclasm had some effect. It is more valid to forgive Nietzsche as the victim of psychoses that ended in his madness than to justify him as a democrat.

Such judgments would not destroy German culture, which does not live or die with Nietzsche. Mr. Bentley does more to protect its best values in such a book as his translation and commentary on Bertolt Brecht's recent book than in the attempt to rationalize Nietzsche into a democrat.

I should like, in conclusion, to emphasize, since this review has been largely negative, that I found the book interesting and provocative; that Mr. Bentley deals with profound questions which

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vided revealing new insights into some
of the most puzzling figures in the in-
tellectual history of our time.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Man in a Mountain

BEHOLD TROUBLE, by Granville Hicks. Mac-
millan. \$2.75.

IT WAS Schopenhauer, I believe, who
once remarked, "When a book and a
head come into collision, it is not always
the fault of the book." Conversely, of
course, it is not always the fault of the
head and I trust, therefore, that I may
be pardoned if I collide with Mr. Hicks's
novel with much the same bewilderment
that might be aroused if someone were
to produce *The Second Mrs. Tanque-
ray* as a serious present-day drama.
What is it doing here in 1945?

Pierre Mason, the protagonist, is the
same sort of sensitive, jobless young man
with delusions of persecution who was
the subject of every third novel coming
in to publishers in the thirties. Then the
novels went to prove that all was not
well with the economic system. But by
the early spring of 1942 Pierre Mason,
though older, has learned nothing. He
is still jobless and persecuted and has
also adopted a violently intransigent
pacifism. Not for him, apparently, any
nonsense about collective security: the
war is just one more persecution that
"they" have devised for him. With his
rather plain and not-too-well defined
wife, he is living halfway up a mountain
in upper New York State while he
awaits whatever "they" are going to do
to him for defying them. After inform-
ing the draft board that he is willing to
go to jail, a number of coincidences
throw him into an hysterical panic. He
borrows a gun from his uncle and holes
up in a cave on the mountain, shouting
that "they" can come get him if they
want him.

Naturally enough, the local air-raid
wardens and the state police do go after
him, and in the operation two men are
killed and a girl and another man
wounded, in addition to the killing of
Pierre himself. But since Pierre "had
always been on the side of separation
and death," this would almost be classed
as a "happy ending."

As for the other characters, Pierre's
neighbors seem to be an outstanding
collection of rural lechers (notable ex-

amples: Pierre's landlord tries to make his
own granddaughter; she is made by the
local newspaperman covering the case;
landlord's son seduces Mrs. Mason while
the manhunt is on). They are por-
trayed at such a level that when one of
them sensibly remarks, "I wouldn't feel
safe with a crazy guy like that wander-
ing around with a gun," it strikes the
reader as a rare piece of intelligence.
Some of these people farm, others work
in a war plant, but they never seem to
think of the war, wages, farm prices, or
even That Man in the White House.
Through all this wanders a kind-hearted
elderly Jewish woman who mothers
everybody in a rather philosophical man-
ner. It could be that the author wants
to prove some of his best friends are
Jews; heaven knows what else Mrs.
Weisman is doing there. And the final
chapter is devoted to Pierre's young
aunt (who has had mighty little to do
previously), who just can't bring her-
self to do anything for the war effort
because she just got so worn out over
Spain and Czechoslovakia while she was
in college.

If Mr. Hicks wished to patriotize to
the extent of preaching that all con-
scientious objectors are crazy, or to point
out that they're unfortunate psychiatric
cases who should have been cared for
long ago, the novel would have an ap-
preciable point. But he does not; he
states several times that Pierre is not a
typical objector and in addition treats
him with such objectivity that the reader
can regard him with no more than the
diffuse sympathy and slight aversion ac-
corded any destructive mental sufferer.
Nor are the other deaths, births and ac-
tivities any more perceptible as a pattern.
The appearance of the mountains and
valleys of the northeastern United States
are admirably described, but that and
the fictionalized presentation of one iso-
lated case seem hardly enough.

Indeed, the only conclusion that I
can draw is that Mr. Hicks is one for
whom the hopes and the problems, the
deeds and the statements and especially
the confusions that are roughing out the
outlines of the postwar world are too
much. He would, like Pierre, rather
withdraw up his mountain from the tur-
moils below than take a stand and try
to help resolve them. And one way of
avoiding a point of view on both the
future and the present (and getting
others to avoid one) is to throw up one's
hands with the cry that all is futility, that
any action is sure to bring about a dis-
astrous train of empty and painful con-
sequences, that "justice" is a combina-
tion of injustices, and that men die on

the mountains fortuitously, not purposefully.

The peoples of the world have been shedding their blood to prove any such concept a lie and a slander. And among those made safe by their act of faith are also Mr. Hicks and the Macmillan Company. **SALLY ALFORD.**

Real War Writing

STILL TIME TO DIE, by Jack Belden. Illustrated with maps. Harper. \$3.

Few writers have been able to bring the war into our homes and say, "Here it is. This is what it is really like." One of those rare few is Jack Belden.

Starting as a newspaper reporter in China in 1937 he has been on battlefields ever since. He has reported the war from the front lines with the soldiers, he has retreated with them in bitterness, suffered with them, been wounded with them, and he has the gift to tell you about it. You go with him painfully through his long reverse journey from the first sight of killing to his understanding of the social forces at work. Years of war, year after year so gruesomely the same—so grimly monotonous that he had to make himself feel fear in order to be able to sympathize with the soldiers—instead of leaving him disillusioned, embittered and cynical, have left him filled with love and hate. Love for the soldiers, for the little people who have suffered, for the new movements struggling to make a world in which this nightmare cannot recur; hate for those men of all nations who are responsible for this war and are willfully or ignorantly or selfishly trying to lay the foundations for the next one.

Most graphic of all is his description of the uncertainty and insecurity of battle. No one knows what is happening; no one really knows afterwards what took place. An official report is written because something must go on record. But nothing ever happens according to plan. An officer, torn by doubt, indecision and lack of facts, guesses right and gives an order, a soldier doggedly keeps going when he doesn't know where he is headed—the result is a battle won. Reverse this and a battle is lost.

But his sketches are not half-finished fragments. They are completed, well-rounded pictures. His "Battle of the Mareth Line" takes you from headquarters where the over-all strategy is planned to the grim hours taking cover under a British tank as the plans go slightly sour and that great unanswered

able question "What went wrong?" again looms frustratingly.

The book contains a description of the desperate plight of a handful of American soldiers in Sicily. Marooned on a hill, cut off from relief, surrounded by advancing Germans, out of water, food and ammunition, radio smashed and telephone lines cut, they wait for a miracle. The miracle comes—the bitterest of miracles, for American planes come overhead and bomb them by mistake. Belden, had a fleeting thought that whoever said there are no atheists in foxholes had sold the public a bill of goods—he had no desire to pray.

As Belden himself points out, some of the earlier pieces are not as well written as the later ones. This in itself adds interest to the book for you watch the growth of a writer from his early descriptions of the hopeless confusion in China to the smashing impact of his prologue and epilogue. If he lives to do it, he should certainly attain the stature, as Agnes Smedley says, to writing the *War and Peace* of China.

If any book deserved to rate high on the best seller list this is it. But the promotional ways of book publishers and sellers are dark. **MARY GARRISON.**

What About Monopoly?

CARTELS, by Wendell Berge. Public Affairs Press. \$3.25.

As Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, Wendell Berge speaks from first-hand experience. His book is based mainly on the federal proceedings against American monopolies affiliated with international cartels in violation of the Sherman anti-trust laws. Its chief value, since little in the book is new material, is the unimpeachable character of its testimony.

The role of the du Ponts, Standard Oil, Alcoa, Mercks, General Electric and other giant corporations which exercised partial or full monopoly controls over strategic war materials and patents, and their agreements with the German cartels to restrict their production, is generally known by now. In most of the cases cited these corporations pleaded no defense to the charges, thus avoiding public trials and getting off with a minimum of publicity.

Mr. Berge's indictment in part corroborates Lenin's analysis, in *Imperialism*, of the anti-social and parasitic tendencies of monopoly capitalism. Conceding that the cartel and monopoly evils are not an inherent and inevitable



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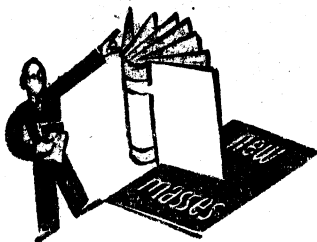
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development of the private enterprise system but excesses that can be curbed and eliminated, and that American enterprises do not require international affiliation to expand our foreign trade, he favors the complete liquidation of the private international cartel system—at any rate, he would prohibit American firms from participating in such agreements after the war. In the event that some European cartels survive the war, he would set up a United National Commission to which non-cartel firms could appeal against monopolistic practices. In his view, the vast reserves, high technological level and mass production character of our industry furnish our favorable position on the world market.

There are dangerous implications, however, in Mr. Berge's conclusions. His faith in the overwhelming competitive advantages of American finance and industry includes a perspective of a free-for-all competition for the world markets, which would be the surest road to another war. A major evil in the international cartel agreements lay in the fact that they aimed to *limit markets and production*. A secondary evil was the private and secret nature of these agreements. But the greatest evil of all, in that dark pre-war world, lay in the long-range predatory war aims of German monopoly capitalism, and its creation of the fascist state and the "anti-Comintern" axis to achieve these aims.

Included in the Teheran, Bretton Woods, and Dumbarton Oaks perspectives is a worldwide growth of productive capacity and material well-being, which calls for national and international planning, cooperation and agreements on questions of markets, production, prices, etc. Private capitalist enterprises will play an important role, but unlike the situation in the pre-war period, they will be subject to an increasing measure of social regulation, much of which may be voluntary. In the wholesome environment of an expanding world economy, development of democratic and people's governments, nationalization of certain enterprises, growth of political consciousness and the steady rise of living standards, private capitalist enterprises will be encouraged to follow socially constructive policies and practices.

Toward this prospect, and to the general problems of social regulations of foreign trade and international economic relations Mr. Berge's book, despite its value as data on cartels and their activities, makes no serious contribution.

RALPH BOWMAN.

Brief Review

THE LION RAMPANT: *The Story of Holland's Resistance to the Nazis*, by L. De Jong and Joseph W. F. Stoppelman. Illustrated by Querido. \$3.00.

THIS book has the materials of a tragedy and an epic. The tragedy is the Nazi occupation of the country and the systematic enslavement of people, the despoiling of resources, the slaughters of Jews and other victims and the treachery of the quislings. The epic lies in the organization and maintenance of the resistance, another noble example of humanity's tenacious will for freedom. One of the most interesting sections deals with the attempts of the Nazi propaganda experts and their quisling stooges to promote a new anti-Bolshevik wave and the amazing failure of these campaigns.

Worth Noting

ALBERT MALTZ's notable novel *The Cross And The Arrow* is the current selection of the Book Find Club. It is also to be filmed by Lewis Milestone and Robert Rossen, acting as an independent producing team.

MATERIAL is being gathered for the second issue of *Cross-Section*, the collection of new American writing edited by Edwin Seaver. Manuscripts should be addressed to him care of the L. B. Fischer Publishing Co., 381 Fourth Ave., New York 16.

AS PART of its observance of Negro History Week the Fur Dressers and Dyers Union is holding its second annual Art Exhibition, in tribute to the Negro people. The showing which is at the union headquarters at 245 Seventh Ave. from February 14 to 28, includes the work of outstanding American painters and sculptors.

AN ANTI-FASCIST comic magazine, *The Challenger*, apparently the first of its kind, has started publication. Its editor is Gerald Richardson, formerly of the War Relocation Authority of the Department of State. Among its features is a strip giving the adventures of a Negro fighter against fascism.

DR. MARC SLONIM, an authority on pre-Soviet and Soviet literature and Professor of Literature at Sarah Lawrence College, is giving a series of lectures on the three Soviet novelists, Sho-

lokhov, Leonid Leonov and Alexei Tolstoy, on successive Friday evenings, March 2, 9 and 16, at the American Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, New York.

THE second production of the season by the American Negro Theater is to be *Garden of Time*, an American interpretation by Owen Dodson of the Greek myth of Medea and Jason and the Golden Fleece. The fantasy opens in Greece and ends in the American South at the turn of the century. It includes music and dancing and is performed by

a mixed cast. The presentation will be at the 135th Street Library Theater, New York.

AN UNUSUAL concert for children is being given by the Metropolitan Music School in New York on Saturday afternoon, February 24. It will include songs of the American Revolution, of the American Civil War and of the World War and a performance of *Babes At The Zoo* with the composer Samuel Morgenstern at the piano. The performance will be at the Club House of the School at 150 West 85th St.

ON BROADWAY

THERE was a good deal of unjustified critical swinging at William McCleery's comedy at the Fulton, *Hope For The Best*, largely because the reviewers saw the gentle newspaper columnist of pastorals who is its protagonist as a shilly-shallyer who breathes hot or cold according to which of two women happens to be blowing in his ear. The play is not bad, but this interpretation is. For Michael Jordan is consistently described as a nonpolitical writer whom the war has stirred into a painful awareness of the need for political action, of the connection between political indifference and wars and poverty. The conflict to which he is subjected is not based, as the critics thought, on ambivalence toward this conviction, but rather on whether he can succeed in presenting this conviction powerfully enough in a new kind of column. In other words, his conflict is one of lack of craft-confidence in the face of an unprecedented demand upon it. The viperous political columnist, spiritual sister to brother Pegler, to whom he is engaged, tears this confidence down by contempt of his emergent maturity. The girl reporter turned war worker who comes to him with a commendation from her plant fellows recognizes the value of his new views and does all she can to make him believe in his ability to set them forth. That is the real story. The pity is that its dramatic properties are too loosely woven and that much of its genuinely progressive writing is insufficiently integrated in action.

It is pleasant to see Franchot Tone again after his many years of absence from Broadway. His playing of the columnist-in-flux is real, simple and ingratiating. One of the most amusing scenes of the current season is his five-minute

curtain of pure pantomime in which he fruitlessly wrestles his typewriter for an idea. His performance could, however, have benefited by a little more spark and vibrance, especially in the love scenes which are as sexless as a congregation of sterilized oysters.

In fact, both the writing and the acting could have used a bit more human warmth.

Jane Wyatt, pretty and pert, and often handicapped by lines more suitable to Stage for Action, tries desperately to overcome the atmosphere of ideas—and often succeeds. She is beautifully abetted by the laconic comic, Doro Merande, as the maid who has learned bitterly that writers are like hens: one never knows whether they are producing or just sitting. Joan Wetmore plays the reactionary columnist as if she hated the part. The rest of the cast is only so-so in this Jean Dalrymple-Marc Connelly production. Mr. Connelly staged the play in an overpoweringly swank country living room by the Motleys. *Hope For The Best* might have provided a more satisfactory evening, but even so, it is more intelligent and mature than a score of other plays which have had better critical receptions.

HAVING made enough money on *Angel Street* to risk on what, in theatrical parlance, is known as a dog, but not enough to put into a play of ideas and social worth, Shepard Traube is currently demonstrating in *The Stranger* the futility of trying to chase a sure dollar on Broadway. With a like effort and an equal budget, he might have brought human dignity, worthy aspiration, eloquence, beauty and importance to this season's theater; he chose, in-

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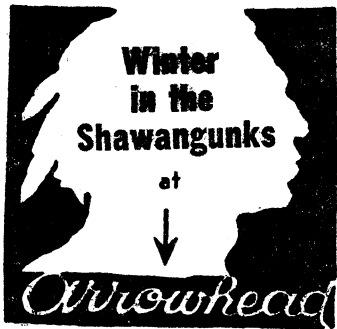
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stead, to bring us Jack-the-Ripper out of London's 1888.

The characters in Leslie Reade's *The Stranger* are full of folly and foolishness when they are not harmlessly mad. His choice of a workers' club for their scene of action is without meaning even if he intended to ridicule the radical associations of that period. His revelation of the real murderer, after a strenuous heaping of suspicion on a pogrom refugee, would not pass the first test of any working mystery editor.

It is too bad that Boris Aronson's highly atmospheric set was not better employed. Even the acting, except for Perry Wilson as the romantic girl and of Eduard Franz as the addled suspect, is too often on the embarrassing side. We do not expect much respect for the theater from most producers; but Shepard Traube has such a respect. He now has only to live up to it.

HARRY TAYLOR.

Recent Films

"THE PRINCESS AND THE PIRATE" is the worst Bob Hope film I have ever seen. Not that he doesn't work hard enough. In fact, in this one he labors more diligently than usual, making his way through yards of ruffles, frounces, pleats and tucks, prettied o'er with technicolor, before he comes to the witticism, nearly always feeble or stale. The high point of the picture occurs a moment before the end, when Bing Crosby suddenly pops up to win the blonde. Hope turns to the audience and complains, "For nine reels I've been knocking my brains out trying to make the girl and—I lose her to a bit player from Paramount." This plays upon one of the established trade feuds (the Crosby-Sinatra and the Benny-Allen matches are others). Personally I suspect the gag was born first and the picture was written to lead up to it. It is a pity that Hope's sound patriotic sense didn't restrain him from consuming all that raw-stock for such a sad enterprise.

SOMETHING new has been added to Disney, and it's no good. Up to the point where it makes its appearance, *The Three Caballeros* is good Disney, bright and ingenious. Then an invasion of live bathing beauties and singing hip-swayers reduces Donald Duck to a glassy-eyed eroticism as painful to watch as anything Hollywood has ever perpetrated. The juxtaposition of living actors with animated cartoon characters may work

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out into something interesting, but its use here is banal and confused.

FRITZ LANG, whose fine hand was noticeable all through *Women in the Window*, is much less successful with *Ministry of Fear*, the new Paramount occupant. The film is hardly the equal of the Graham Greene novel on which it is based. Now and again there are flashes of the Lang style, but watching the picture is mostly an experience in tedium. It is somewhat baffling to think that the same man made both *Window* and *Ministry*, especially since the latter offered such suitable original material from which to work.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

Music to Sandburg

FOR a musical tribute to his adopted country, twenty-two-year-old Lukas Foss has taken the Carl Sandburg poem from *Cornhuskers* as the text for his Cantata, *The Prairie*. Scored for mixed chorus, four solo voices and orchestra, the work was given its first full-dress performance a few weeks ago by the Philharmonic under Artur Rodzinski, assisted by the incomparable Westminster Choir, and Dorothy Kirsten, Nan Merriman, William Hain and Todd Duncan in the vocal leads.

The poem has as its theme the development and progress of a vast productive land and its people; and the score eloquently expresses this down to the final statement of hope for the future embodied in the lines "I speak of new cities and new people," and "Tomorrow is a day." *The Prairie* is modern music, but the composer does not lose sight of melodic values. In the sections entitled "O Prairie Girl" and "Songs Hidden in Eggs" especially, there is fine song-writing in the folk mood.

Unfortunately, there was undue repetition of certain dramatic lines. "What brothers these in the dark of a thousand years?" for example, is chanted by the chorus for almost five minutes, distorting the rhythm of the poem—and thereby its emphasis—for musical display. In the main, however, delicate sensitivity is shown in the blending of words and music. The word "horizon," for instance, is given an echo effect by the sopranos; and when Sandburg builds a prairie city "in the years when the red and the white men met," the chorus builds with him. *The Prairie* is an example of what musical art in the United States can be if based on native material.

JOHN KITTON.

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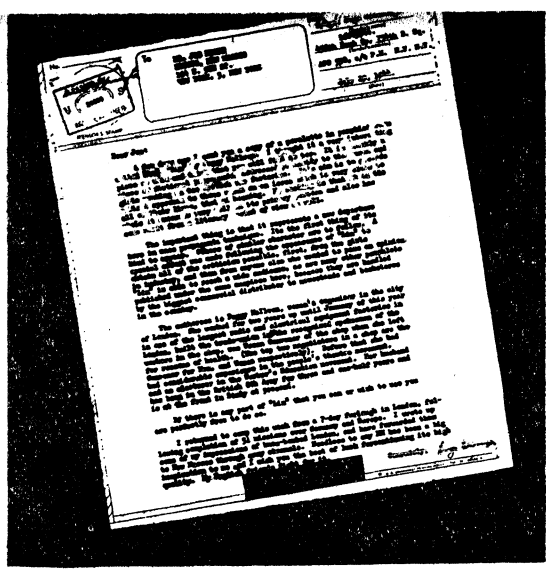
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