

# NEW MASSES

## What's Happening in Spain

A LAST-MINUTE CABLE FROM EUROPE

## Earl Browder

SOVIET ECONOMY AND THE WORLD TODAY

## Robbing the Jobless

NEW YORK'S G.O.P. SABOTAGES THE UNEMPLOYMENT ACT

By Robert Terrall

Ruth McKenney, Charles Recht

Theodore Draper, Edwin Berry Burgum,

Samuel Sillen, Barbara Giles

GROPPER, GARDNER REA, RICHTER

MARCH 21, 1939 • FIFTEEN CENTS

# BETWEEN OURSELVES

**N**EXT week Paul de Kruif is sending NM a piece which will make the third in our series, "What I Am Doing to Fight Fascism." The first two articles in the series, by J. B. S. Haldane and Dorothy Parker, struck responsive chords with our readers all the way from Brooklyn, N. Y., to Boseman, Mont. Others who will contribute articles later on are Harold Laski, Bishop Francis O'Connell, Henry E. Sigerist, Max Lerner, Hugh H. Darby, Louis Aragon, Matthew Josephson, Louis Bromfield.

V. J. Jerome, an editor of the *Communist*, is contributing a much needed article called "Mr. Wilson Retreats to Munich." The Mr. Wilson referred to is Mr. Edmund Wilson, whose literary criticism and interpolated Trotskyist political harangues appear frequently in the *New Republic*.

Among the letters we are getting in response to our financial drive is a note from Hartford, Conn., enclosing \$1, and saying, "This means I won't be able to have a haircut this month, and I'll have to smoke Bull Durham." From Mechanicsburg, Ill., \$1; the WPA worker who sends it says he really ought to hang onto it, for he is "expecting the ax soon." Please see page 3 for further news of the drive.

John L. Lewis has written a letter to Ruth McKenney about *Industrial Valley*, her story of the rubber unions and rubber companies of Akron. He liked it. "I sometimes think," he said, "that too much emphasis is given by people who write about the CIO to its industrial and economic circumstances, rather than to the vast strength of human thought and emotion and will which it represents." As NM put on record in Review and Comment several weeks ago, *Industrial Valley* is a remarkably fine book. Most reviewers liked it. Heywood Brown wrote a column about it. But *Time* magazine didn't review it at all. The reason is given in the current issue of *High Time*, the shop paper published by Communists at Time, Inc. "*Time* has been on the run from the rubber companies," says *High Time*, "ever since April 8, 1935, when it was foolhardy enough to print an account of the Labor Board's charges against Goodyear, Goodrich, and Firestone." Since then *Time* has mentioned labor in Akron only once—last May, when a story about a particularly vicious attack on a United Rubber Workers picket line "brought the Akron Chamber of Commerce and the rubber companies down on their necks so fast they thought the sky had fallen."

When *Industrial Valley* came along, Mr. Ralph MacA. Ingersoll thought *Time* had better not touch it.

As their contribution toward NM's \$30,000 fund drive, the Committee for Democratic Action is having a gala party and dance at the Keynote Club Saturday evening, March 18. Proceeds will go to NM and the Rehabilitation Fund of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. For details see ad on page 25.

The first Boston NM Ball will be held, April 7, in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel Bradford, Boston. Two orchestras have been secured for a battle of music: Buddy Trask and his Society Orchestra, which is most popular among the more fashionable parties and clubs, and Tasker Crosson and his Ten Statesmen, who will play swing. Three singers, a dance team, and an old-fashioned melodrama will be features of the entertainment. Performances on the stage will start at 8 p.m. and continue to 9:30, after which there will be dancing until 1 a.m. Admission is \$1.10. Tickets are available at the Progressive Book Shop, 8 Beach St., Boston, and the Holyoke Book Shop, 19 Dunster St., Cambridge.

Our very successful and much heralded show, *Sunday Night Varieties*, will be played again on Sunday, March 19, and Sunday, March 26. Tickets are \$1. Write to our office, 31 East 27th St., N. Y. C., or call Tiba Garlin, CAledonia 5-3076.

After Barnaby Hotchkiss' review of the first performance of the *Sunday Night Varieties* appeared in our last week's issue, NM received a call from Abel Gorham, critic of the drama. With some asperity NM was informed that its review of its own production (for its own benefit) was not at all worthy of the excellent talents and entertainment offered at Sunday night's Keynote Club. "The *Sunday Night Varieties* are finer than any entertainment current on Broadway," said our severest critic, "but the NM suggested that they were somewhat short of perfection. Pfui on you for a critical medium." Dropping the telephone receiver in our confusion, we covered ourself with our blushes and curled up on the bed of the press.

Tickets are still available for the Mordecai Bauman Town Hall concert this Sunday evening, March 19, for the benefit of NM.

One of our readers complains that we often urge people to write to congressmen in support of or opposition to certain pending legislation, but fail to provide the names and addresses of the legislators. This reader suggests that we publish a

full directory in each issue. Such a procedure, of course, is not possible under our space limitations; however, it may help to know that United States representatives may be simply addressed at House Office Bldg., and senators at Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

International Publishers announces that forthcoming publications in its series of literary pamphlets—the first of which was *Salud!*—will be a collection of poems and stories for and about union people, and a little anthology of New Negro Writing, with a foreword by Richard Wright. Contributions from NM readers and writers are eagerly solicited.

## Who's Who

**T**HE article in this issue by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, will soon be available in pamphlet form. . . . Richard Goodman is NM's European correspondent. . . . Charles Recht is a well known New York lawyer. . . . Robert Terrall is a former staff member of *Time* magazine. . . . Edwin Berry Burgum is a member of the English department of New York University.

## Flashbacks

**A** RADICAL agitator in Virginia, after looking the situation over, said, "The war has actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" March 20, 1775, the day on which Patrick Henry announced that he sided with the American people, was less than a month before the battle of Lexington. . . . *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, most powerful single bit of propaganda leading up to the second American Revolution, was published March 20, 1852. . . . Early evidence that Communists in this country knew the importance of close ties with the trade unions was offered by Joseph Weydemeyer, a close friend of Karl Marx. On March 21, 1853, he organized the General (American) Workingmen's Alliance in New York. . . . The Commune of Paris, first workingmen's government in the world, was proclaimed March 18, 1871.

## This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXX, No. 13

March 21, 1939

Soviet Economy in the World Today by Earl Browder . . . . .	4
In Memoriam, Ben Leider by Ruth McKenney . . . . .	8
What Is Happening in Spain by Richard Goodman . . . . .	9
Brandeis, J., Dissenting by Charles Recht . . . . .	11
Prelude A Poem by Moe Golden . . . . .	12
Cutting Social Security Red Tape by Robert Terrall . . . . .	14
Editorial Comment . . . . .	17
Reader's Forum . . . . .	20

### REVIEW AND COMMENT

How Safe Is America? by Theodore Draper . . . . .	21
Josephine Herbst's "Rope of Gold" by Edwin Berry Burgum . . . . .	22
"Seasoned Timber" by Barbara Giles . . . . .	24
Oklahoma Farmers by Samuel Sillen . . . . .	24
Brief Reviews by Milton Meltzer and J. D. . . . .	26

### SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

"Awake and Sing" by Steve Morgan . . . . .	27
Film of Czechoslovakia by James Dugan . . . . .	28
Joris Ivens' Film by R. T. . . . .	30
Mordecai Bauman by John Sebastian . . . . .	31
Industrial Design by E. N. . . . .	31

Cover design by Georg Salter. Art work by Mischa Richter, William Gropper, Gardner Rea, A. Ajay, Alfredo Valente, Ad Reinhardt, S. F. Ramsey.

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

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 31 East 27th Street, New York City. Copyright, 1939, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies, 15 cents. Subscription \$4.50 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months \$2.50; three months \$1.25. Foreign \$5.50 a year; six months \$3; three months \$1.50. In Canada, \$5 a year, \$2.75 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped and self-addressed envelope.

# New Masses

VOLUME XXX

MARCH 21, 1939

NUMBER 13

FOR five weeks now I have taken this space in NEW MASSES to explain its financial situation and appeal to you for help so it can survive. I am afraid at first my appeals were emotional. No one connected with the progressive movement in America can be absolutely unperturbed when there is a possibility that NEW MASSES will disappear.

I am afraid, also, one of my appeals is much like the rest. I am afraid some readers, after five weeks, may find them monotonous.

But there is nothing monotonous about the fight against fascism. It will go on week after week, year after year, till fascism is only a word in unabridged dictionaries.

NEW MASSES is needed in that weekly fight. Nobody knows that better than you. To keep NEW MASSES coming out each week, pounding away at fascism wherever it appears, we need money. We need \$30,000. We have only one place to get it. If we don't raise \$30,000, NEW MASSES cannot continue!

At press time, 748 readers have contributed \$6,484, about 20 percent of the total needed for survival. Are you one of the 24,000 who have not been heard from yet?

A business manager should not take up a page that can be put to editorial use. You have it in your power, all of you, to stop me from making these weekly appeals. But I have to go on making them until the magazine is out of danger. It is in danger now!

Please sit down, the moment you read this, and send us whatever money you can spare—\$1, \$5, \$10. Even quarters and half-dollars will keep NEW MASSES coming out. Our address is 31 East 27th St., N. Y. C.

*George Hillner*

BUSINESS MANAGER.

# Soviet Economy in the World Today

Earl Browder reveals graphically just what abolishing private ownership in the means of production and distribution in the Soviet Union has done to the world about us.

**S**INCE the rise of the modern Communist or Socialist movement, dating from the Communist Manifesto written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848, which proposes that the national economy of each country should be taken over by its people, acting through its government, abolishing private ownership in the means of production and distribution—since then, the issues thus raised have been the very center of all economic and political thought and controversy. Until the rise and consolidation of the Soviet Union it was not possible to refer the issue to the test of practice, and to compare the performance of the rival schools of economics in practical life. Now that the Soviet Union has entered its twenty-second year, such a comparison is not only possible, but becomes necessary and inescapable as the final test of all disputed issues.

The final argument of all defenders of capitalist economy (that is of all forms of economy based upon private ownership of the basic economy of each country and its operation upon the principle of search for maximum private profit) is to the effect that this capitalist system has demonstrably in the past hundred years multiplied man's productive powers, and that it alone can and does result in maximum production of wealth, while, conversely, any form of common ownership and operation would result in economic decline and eventual collapse. The basic argument for Socialism or Communism is to the opposite effect, namely, that while capitalism did expand man's productive forces, it can no longer do so, that it is precisely capitalistic private ownership and operation that must result, and is resulting, in the decline of economic life and in economic crisis and collapse. Now let us proceed to a checkup of these two arguments in the light of what has actually been going on in the world for the past twenty years.

## WORLD PRODUCTION

I turn first of all to statistics of world production in manufacturing and mining, as given in the Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations for 1937-38. Taking 1929 as an index of 100, which represents the highest point reached up to that time, we find that by 1933, the low point of the world crisis, production had declined to 77.7. From that point on there is recovery until 1938, the index reaching 109.7 for 1936, above that for 1937, with the exact figure not yet published, while 1938 showed a distinct decline.

What do these figures show? That the world, predominantly capitalist, was not able to rise above 1929 more than 10 percent, and last year even lost that gain and went back almost, if not entirely, to the 1929 level. Cap-

italism has not been able to lead the world back to recovery; it still leaves the world economy in stagnation.

Perhaps it may occur to you that the reason why world economy remains in such dire straits lies in the fact that the rise of the Soviet Union has taken one-sixth of the world out of the capitalist orbit. The figures that were cited include the Soviet Union; it may be argued, therefore, that it is the influence of Soviet economy, the inability of a workers' regime properly to administer a great land, that has pulled down the world index figure so lamentably. To examine this question, we turn to another League of Nations index, namely, that of World Production *excluding* the Soviet Union, which they conveniently provide us. What does that show us?

Again taking 1929 as 100, we find that the capitalist world had declined in 1933 to the low point of 71.3, or 6.6 percent lower than the whole world including the Soviet Union. Further, the recovery after 1933 was not nearly so favorable as the index showed for the combined capitalist and socialist worlds; taking the capitalist world alone, 1936 is no longer almost 10 percent above 1929, but lags at 95.5; 1937 barely crawls above 1929, with a figure of 102.5, while 1938, with exact figure unknown, is definitely below 100 again.

Facts give us the clear answer: it was not the Soviet Union which dragged down the world index, but on the contrary, it was the Soviet Union which made the world—showing more favorable by far than the capitalist lands, taken separately, can show.

## AMERICAN COMPARISON

Partisans for the United States economy, as against the rest of the world, both capitalist and socialist, may call upon us for the comparative figures of our own country, the stronghold of capitalism, which represents more than half the total economy of the capitalist world. If the expectation is that the USA makes a better showing, then it is doomed to disappointment. Our own country lagged behind the rest of the capitalist world, and was the chief influence dragging down the whole index. Where the combined world index in 1933 was 77.7, and the capitalist world taken separately was 71.3, that of the USA had descended to the depths of 64.3; the highest point of recovery of the United States in 1937 was only 93.2, while 1938 dropped to about 90 or below, exact figure not yet known. In all these comparisons I have used the statistical tables of the League of Nations.

Let us turn now to the argument of those who say that the fascist powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan, furnish an exception to the general trend of the capitalist world, that the

Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis has found a path to recovery which the democracies have not yet discovered. Here we are forced to compare index figures of varying bases, not directly comparable, but which reveal the basic trend and underlying facts clearly enough.

For Germany, we take the semi-official figures of the Institut für Konjunkturforschung, therefore the most favorable interpretation that can possibly be put upon the facts. With the year 1928 taken as the base of 100, German economy reached its low point in 1932 with a figure of 59; 1933 was 66, while 1937 had risen to 117. But the slightest examination of the constituent parts of Germany proves the fact, which we would know from general information, that the preponderant part of this increase is accounted for by armaments and fortifications, and therefore covers up the real condition of the general economy, which is undoubtedly not above, and is probably below, the general level of the capitalist world. Italy's statistics demonstrate this fact even more decisively. Using the figures of the Ministero delle Corporazioni, 1928 taken as 100, Italian economy descended in 1932 to 73, and in 1937 had reached only 109, still below the general world level, and only ten points above all of Europe including the Soviet Union, notwithstanding all the influence of Italian armaments. Japan's index is more favorable on the surface, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry claiming an index of 170 in 1937, based upon the 1931-33 average as 100; but in the case of Japan there is no dispute from any source that these figures reflect entirely the combined influences of inflation and the enormous expenditures of the Japanese aggression in China. These official figures completely destroy all pretense that the fascist powers have discovered any secret formula for economic recovery.

Now that we have the main outlines of world economy and its direction of development, together with that of the capitalist world, of the USA, and of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, taken separately, we can use these figures as the background from which to approach more concretely our examination of the economy of the land of socialism, the Soviet Union, which is our main subject today.

## THE SOVIET BACKGROUND

First of all, let us remind ourselves of a few basic facts, economic and historical, which condition the development of the Soviet Union. Its area constitutes one-sixth of the earth's surface, and its population about one-twelfth of that of the world. It is two and a half times the area of the United States and forty times that of Germany, occupying the eastern half of Europe and the northern third

of Asia. It contains unrivaled natural resources of all kinds. But up to the World War, this great area, under the czarist empire, had remained economically the most backward among the modern nations. To the extent that its economy had been developed along modern capitalist lines, it was largely dependent upon Western European capital and technical management, and economically it was more and more becoming a colony of foreign capital. The World War, with the civil war and invasions that followed the revolution, almost completely destroyed its industry. The new Soviet Power that undertook the building of a new economic system, therefore, had to begin almost from the bare ground. It was further denied any effective help from abroad beyond a small minimum of imports and technical assistance which it could pay for cash on delivery. These are the chief positive and negative features of the conditions under which the new socialist economy was erected.

POST-WAR SHRINKAGE

From the World War until 1921, when the civil war and interventions were ended, the economy of Russia was continuously shrinking, until the products of its industry had declined in value from a little more than ten billion rubles in 1913, to less than 17 percent of that volume, or 1,700,000,000 rubles, in 1920. Then the Soviet Union began the reparation of its shattered economy, arriving in 1928 at a total national production equal in volume to that of 1913, the last year before the World War. This was the time, also, when the capitalist world had recuperated sufficiently to surpass once more its pre-war level of production, and is the point at which we began our examination of the trends of world economy. Up to this time, the Russian and world economic trends had gone, on the whole, parallel, except that its decline had been more precipitate and to a lower point, while its recovery had been correspondingly quicker. But with 1928-29, a sharp divergence begins between the course of economy in the capitalist world and that of the Soviet Union. The divergence is sharp and startling. While the capitalist economy went into decline which by 1933 had dropped 40 percent of its production, the Soviet economy began to rise at a rate unparalleled in history; while by 1938 the capitalist world had barely climbed back to its 1929 level and had slipped behind it again, the Soviet economy in the same period had increased its industrial production by more than 1,000 percent, had multiplied it more than tenfold.

To bring this contrast closer home, we may recall that from 1928 to 1932, our country, under the leadership of Herbert Hoover, dropped more than 40 percent of its national income into the abyss of economic crisis; during that same period, the period of the First Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union doubled its national income, which rose from twenty-five billion to fifty billion rubles. From 1933 to 1937, our country, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, painfully struggled out

of the Hoover pit and regained most of its losses; during the same period the Soviet Union again doubled its national income, which rose from fifty billion to one hundred billion rubles, through the successful execution of the Second Five-Year Plan. In 1938, the economy of our country again declined, while the national income of the Soviet Union again surged forward to 112,000,000,000 rubles; while the leaders of American economy can only express the *hope* that our country will climb a little above the 1929 level in the next few years, the leaders of the Soviet Union can confidently announce the *plan* whereby the national income will, in 1942, have increased by 88 percent, or almost doubled, over 1937.

- For another comparison, we may refer again to the statistical tables of the League of Nations. This shows the comparative index of industrial production of the United States for the years 1928, 1933, and 1936, at the figures of 111, 76, and 105, respectively. For the same years, the corresponding index for the Soviet Union stands at the figures of 100, 250, and 481. If we had the index of this series for 1937 and 1938, the gap would be greatly extended.

TWO ECONOMIES

All the facts of the past ten years go to prove conclusively that, if we accept the test of performance, of verified deeds in actual life, the capitalist economy has failed to sustain itself on its previously achieved level, it shows no promise of any fundamental recovery, it demonstrates all the symptoms of a system which is fatally ill, which is destroying its own reserves, which is preparing the con-

ditions of its own death and disappearance. But in contrast to the obvious failure of capitalist economy, there is to be seen an equally obvious success of the new socialist economy, a success not only in contrast with the current failure of capitalism, but an outstanding success when compared with the achievements of capitalism in its previous days of greatest growth. For never in all its history has capitalism presented a single instance of the growth of a national economy that approaches more than 20 percent of the growth of Soviet economy under the Five-Year Plans.

During the next weeks, the Soviet Union will be giving final shape to its Third Five-Year Plan. The preliminary figures already published indicate that it calls for an 88 percent increase in national income, compared with a 100 percent increase during each of the First and Second Plans. If there remains any skepticism among readers as to the validity of these figures, allow me to refer to one of the most conservative organs of American capitalism, namely *Business Week*, which has the following to say in its issue of Feb. 11, 1939, on this point:

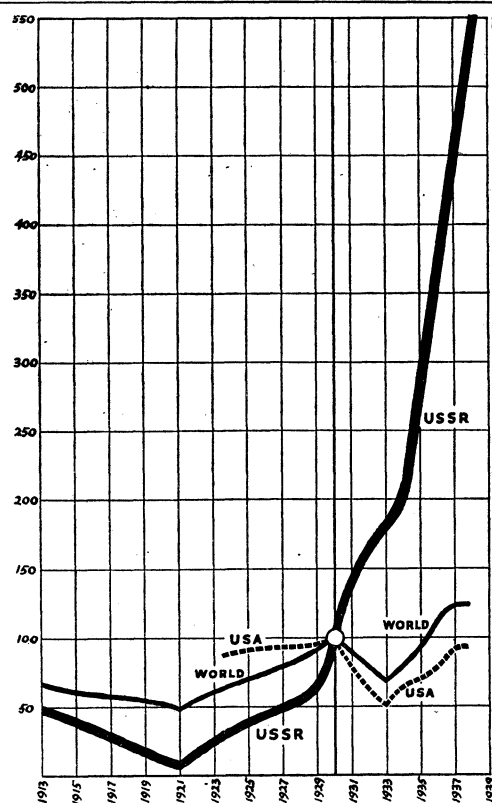
In 1927, when Moscow announced its first Five-Year Plan, the world viewed skeptically the prospect of industrializing a nation of 160,000,000 "according to plan." In 1939, most of the skepticism is gone. Moscow still has far to go to attain its goal of outstripping "all the capitalist countries," but its accomplishments are impressive, and its newest plan is more modest than was the first.

Yes, even for the American business world, most of the skepticism is gone regarding the achievement of Soviet economy. *Business Week* has raised, however, two interesting lines of further inquiry, in the course of making this declaration. One is the query, how long will it be before the Soviet economy surpasses that of the capitalist world, and the second is, what is the scope of a "modest" plan for a socialist economy from the point of view of American business men.

TWO COMPARISONS

On the first point, it is already established that since 1928 the Soviet Union advanced from the last place to the second among the great powers, in terms of industrial production, being exceeded only by the United States. Thus it has already outstripped "all the capitalist countries" of Europe. The only thing still uncertain is how long it will take to outstrip the United States, the colossus of capitalism, which exceeds all other capitalist countries combined in wealth production. To this remaining question, a tentative answer can be given now: If the USA and the Soviet Union each performs in the next ten years as they did in the past decade, then before that time is over the Soviet economy will have surpassed our country also. Thus, although we may not disagree with *Business Week* that the Soviet Union has "far to go," yet it is clear that it travels so fast this may not take a very long time.

Now let us examine more closely the task



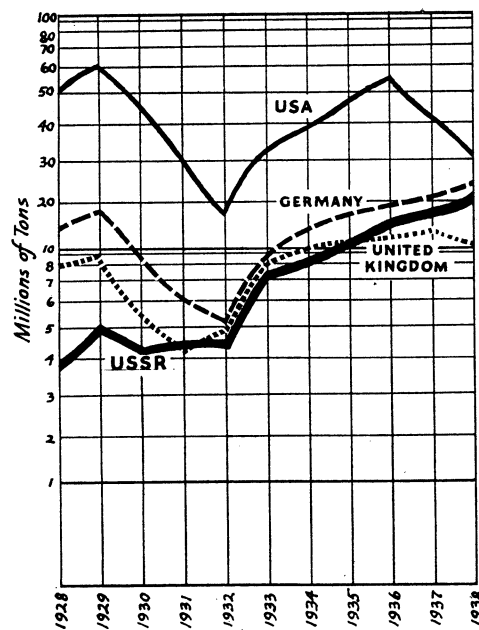
RATE OF PRODUCTION. Comparison with USA and world figures. 1930 is taken as 100.

undertaken by the Third Five-Year Plan which *Business Week* considers relatively modest. The general increase of 88 percent is the average of an increase of 103 percent in production of means of production and 70 percent increase in production of consumption articles. Thus, while doubling its capacity for future production, the Soviet peoples will be enjoying an improvement in their immediate living standards by more than two-thirds. If the United States economy should perform just half of that "modest" task, on the basis of its already existing economy, it would exceed the most wildly optimistic expectations ever expressed by its most devoted supporters. Therefore, while we can agree that the Third Five-Year Plan sets a relatively modest goal, we take note that what is a modest perspective for a socialist economy would be an obvious exaggeration for a capitalist economy. This is still more emphasized when we compare this goal with total 1928 production, and find that the amount of increase in the next five years will be four times as much as the total production of 1928; if the USA produced a total four times as much in 1942 as in 1928, our national income would then be around \$300,000,000,000 instead of its present approximate of \$60,000,000,000.

It must be admitted quite frankly that the progress of the Soviet economy in overtaking the capitalist world has been greater in total than in per capita production; that means, while it has surpassed all European countries in amount of production, it is still, in productivity per worker, behind several of the technically most advanced nations. That is because it has engaged the entire population in its economy, has expanded its working class from eleven million in 1928 to 26,000,000 in 1937; these new industrial recruits were raw peasants, and have had to receive prolonged and difficult training in modern industry to transform them into fully qualified workers. The rapid mechanization of all economy, the high spirit of emulation among the workers exemplified in the Stakhanov movement, the tremendous educational and cultural work, and the rapid rise in living standards, all of which are outstanding features of Soviet economy today, provide sufficient guarantee that in per capita productivity also the Soviet Union will rapidly overtake and surpass the capitalist countries.

#### SOVIET EXPANSION

Are there any visible natural limits to the expansion of the Soviet economy? It is very difficult to discern any. Its area of five thousand billion acres contains every requirement of the national economy for the indefinite future. To give a few examples: the already surveyed iron ore deposits exceed ten billion tons, and if iron-bearing quartzites are included the figure is 260,000,000,000 tons. Surveyed oil reserves exceed six billion tons, more than half the resources of the world. Known coal deposits contain 1,654,000,000,000 tons, second only to the USA. Water-power re-



STEEL PRODUCTION. The USSR in relation to the USA, Germany, and the United Kingdom.

sources exceed 280,000,000 kilowatts, much greater than any other country. The population is greater in number than any other industrial country, but there is plenty of room for expansion, as the population per square mile is the lowest; the natural growth of the population is almost five times as much as any other industrial country.

One of the most important, and least clear for the American public, among all questions of comparison between the socialist and capitalist economies is that of the relative results upon the living standards of the working populations. If we accept the standard of weekly earnings in industry as the measure of living standards, and their movement during the past ten years, then all capitalist countries show a decline while the Soviet Union reveals a steady and sharp rise. Again quoting the League of Nations Statistics, the USA index figure of weekly earnings, taking 1929 as 100, declined to 60 in 1932, recovered to 78 in 1935, and to 95 in 1937 (the League does not yet give a figure for 1938, but it is known to have declined). The German index declined from 100 in 1929, to 67 in 1932, recovering to 75 in 1935, and to 80 in 1937. The Soviet Union rises from 100 in 1929 steadily each year to 240 in 1935, the latest figure of the League of Nations; while from Soviet sources we can conservatively estimate that the same index for 1936, when published, will be around 300, and for 1937 around 380. What has been the trend of the intellectual workers in the Soviet Union can be sufficiently indicated by comparative figures of their average yearly wages in 1932 and 1937, during which period the rise was from 3,636 to 6,502 rubles.

#### CONSUMPTION GOODS INDEX

Another method of comparison is that of the volume of production of articles intended for mass consumption, which to some degree

inevitably reflects the trend of living standards of the population. The United States index of consumption goods declined from 111 in 1928 (the basis being 1923-25 average) to 98 in 1933, rising then to 110 in 1937, still somewhat below 1928. For Germany, the index of 100 in 1928 dropped to 83 in 1933, and rose to 103 in 1936. For the Soviet Union, the index rose to 201 in 1933 and to 348 in 1936. In each case I have taken the latest figures published by the League of Nations, in order to avoid any suspicion that the comparison may be considered by anyone to be unbalanced or unfair. It may be remarked, by the way, however, that the Third Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union envisages the multiplication of consumers goods by approximately 70 percent in 1942 over the figure of 1937, which means that the increase in consumption articles per capita will be many times the total means produced in 1928. Nothing even remotely approaching this rapid rise in the means of livelihood is even dreamed about for any capitalist country.

With regard to the agricultural population, I have not had sufficient time at my disposal to gather adequate comparative data. It is well known, however, that in every capitalist country agriculture has been in continuous crisis ever since the war, and that the decline of income of the farm population has been especially catastrophic. In the Soviet Union, however, since 1933, when its agriculture definitely moved above the pre-war level, the income of the collective farms, comprising 98 percent of the farm population, increased by 2.7 times up to 1937, while the amount of income distributed in money form multiplied by 4.5.

#### THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

By this time the simple examination of comparative figures will have raised the question in the minds of any person, if he does not deliberately close his mind to such thoughts, as to why the Soviet Union, which started so far behind us in productive powers only a few years ago, is forging ahead so rapidly as already to surpass all other countries but the USA, and to promise to surpass the USA itself within ten or fifteen years at the outside; while the countries of greatest resources lag behind and cannot even maintain their past achievements. Is there anything wrong with the American people, the workers, farmers, and technicians, that they could not move forward with equal speed, or at least with half the speed, as the Soviet peoples have been advancing? Clearly, there is nothing wrong with the American people as producers; on the contrary they are a hundred times better prepared for economic advance than the Soviet peoples, insofar as their individual technical capacities are concerned, and many times as well prepared insofar as already existing machinery is concerned. Neither can we say that natural resources and geographical position can account for the difference between the performance of the USA and the

USSR, for these differences favor the Soviet Union only in the long perspective of the next fifty or one hundred years but have no immediate consequence. The answer, therefore, must be found in the difference in the *economic system*, in the different relations of production as between socialism and capitalism.

Under our economic system of capitalism, the national economy is under the private ownership and operation of a relatively small section of the population, the incentive to production being entirely dominated by the search for private profit on the part of these private owners. The result is anarchy in economic life, which periodically brings crises, which grow progressively more deep and profound. The accumulated surplus production becomes more difficult of reinvestment in expanded production in proportion as it increases in volume. It is characteristic of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that when its economic machinery enters a crisis, and paralyzes the nation, the explanation is immediately found, not in lack of production, but in *overproduction*. Because we have produced so much more than our capitalist economy knows how to make use of, therefore the whole nation is thrown into crisis and chaos, and large sections of the owning class itself are bankrupt and dispossessed.

The emergency measures, whereby our government attempts to bring some order out of this chaos, inevitably take the form of governmental intervention in the economic setup, directed toward putting idle capital and manpower back to work under governmental direction. But these emergency measures are themselves deprived of much of their effectiveness by the imperative demand, on the part of capitalists, that such governmental intervention shall be kept down to the minimum, and shall be directed into channels entirely outside the normal development of economic life. We therefore have the crying anomaly that it is precisely in the period when our economic life is in crisis and depression, when the standards of living have been falling most disastrously, that we have suddenly blossomed out in a veritable orgy of public improvements of all kinds.

REFORM VS. REORGANIZATION

The present capitalist system has accumulated idle capital and idle manpower which it is no longer able to bring together in any normal way, and has no prospect of ever bringing together again in the normal processes of capitalism. Its emergency measures, typified by the New Deal, while absolutely essential to the continued existence of a large part of the population, are in themselves no cure for this condition, because they scrupulously keep within the limits of the capitalist mode of production, and avoid the slightest competition with private capital, which monopolizes all fields except the narrowest margin of public works.

The unexampled economic success of the

Soviet Union is made possible by its system of organization, by the economic relations established between the producers and the productive machinery. The productive wealth of the country is collectively owned and operated by the entire population acting through their government. Whatever surplus they accumulate belongs to all, and there can never be such a problem as overproduction, the bugbear of capitalism. The entire economy is brought under a national plan, which expresses not a *hope* which may or may not be realized, but a decision which experience has proved can be fulfilled, in the main, and often even over-fulfilled. It makes maximum utilization of all the productive forces, men and machinery, and constantly raises the level of performance by the systematic application of scientific principles. It realizes, for the first time in history, the full capacity of humanity for the expansion and enrichment of life, first of all materially, and upon what basis culturally and spiritually.

There is an old superstition, often repeated in the textbooks of capitalist economics, that the establishment of socialism is merely the confiscation of the wealth of capitalism which is then divided and dissipated among the masses, leaving them worse off than before because it "killed the goose that laid the golden eggs." But the original confiscation of the national economy from the hands of private owners was of supreme importance, not because of the amount of wealth involved (in the Soviet Union it was relatively small), but because it made the people master of their own destiny. The *new wealth*, directly produced by the new economy and which would not exist at all except for the new economy, already amounts to ten and twenty times that of

pre-war times. To illustrate this, we may compare the 1913 value of the fixed capital of large-scale industry, which was 7,200,000,000 rubles, with the 1937 value (measured with the same scale) of 50,400,000,000 rubles. This unprecedented rate of accumulation was entirely out of their own resources. As a matter of fact, the old capital has almost entirely disappeared, and the entire economy is practically new, the product of the socialist system.

No other country can hope or expect to expand its economy at any rate comparable to that of the Soviet Union, so long as it clings to the outmoded and self-defeating system that we know as capitalism.

A MATTER OF DECADES

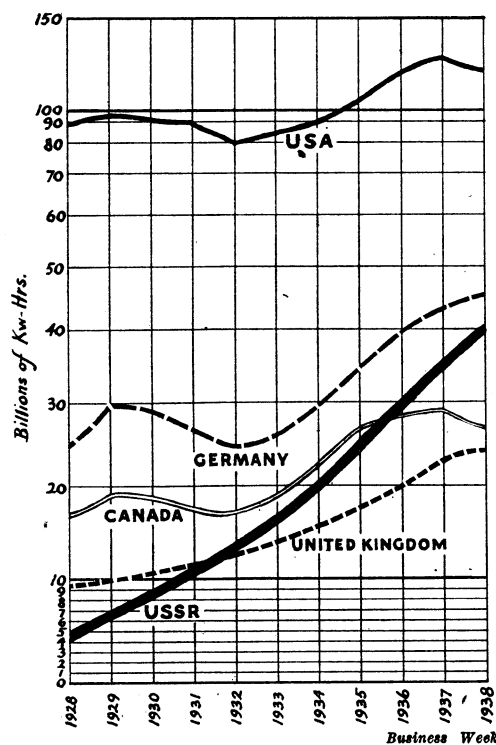
It is, therefore, only a question of time, and of a relatively short time in terms of history, a matter of decades at most, until the superior merits of the socialist system in the Soviet Union will have proved itself by producing a land so overwhelmingly rich, prosperous, and culturally advanced, above all the rest of the world, that the peoples of all lands will inevitably be compelled by the simple dictates of common sense to adopt the same principles as the Soviet Union or resign themselves to permanent backwardness and decay. There is no escape from the logic of the facts of world experience in the last twenty years, and particularly of the past decade.

It is this certainty of the future which is the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is a policy of peace and international order, or cooperation with all forces in the world which want to maintain peace and international order. The only thing which can threaten the Soviet economy in its triumphal march forward is war. Therefore the Soviet Union wants peace above all else, and is ready to cooperate with everyone who for any reasons also wants peace. The Soviet Union concedes to every people and nation the right to decide its own system and its own policies so long as they allow the same privilege to others. The Soviet people and government avoid every act or even utterance which could in any way be interpreted as any dictation, or desire to dictate, to any other people. It relies entirely upon the example of its own achievements, as its only influence upon other peoples, an influence entirely intellectual and moral, as was the influence of the new republic of the United States upon the world after 1776. Its armaments are entirely for the defense of its own increasingly prosperous and rich economy against the threatening attacks from without.

It is supremely confident of its ability to defend itself against any enemy or collection of enemies.

ONE THING IS CLEAR

Regardless of whether one may approve or disapprove of the inner regime of the Soviet Union, and of its economic system, one thing is clear beyond all doubt for every American who loves his country and wishes to preserve its independence and well-being. That is that



ELECTRIC POWER PRODUCTION. *The USSR curve shows a phenomenal climb.*

the Soviet Union, its government and its peoples, are natural friends of the United States and its people, and the two nations are naturally friends, with common aims and faced with common enemies, in the present strained and dangerous international situation, in which the new world war is already begun. There is no possible or conceivable course of events which could place the United States and the Soviet Union on opposite sides in the world alignments which are being hammered out by the aggressions of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance of warmaking powers. The Soviet Union is unalterably on the side of international order and peace, against all aggressions everywhere in the world; the only way in which the United States could be on the opposite side

would be for our country to enter the path of imperialistic aggression as a partner of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, and this, I think it will be agreed, is so directly contrary to the whole history, tradition, and temper of the American people as to be unthinkable.

#### SOVIET-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

It is, therefore, of supreme importance to all Americans, regardless of their economic and political convictions otherwise, to understand the Soviet Union, its growing weight in world affairs, the system out of which arises its growing strength and its potentiality as an active friend of our country in a world full of dangers and pitfalls. Perhaps we will be able to learn something from the economic system of the

Soviet Union which will help us to solve our American problems. But whether that is so or not—and on this question some of my readers will certainly disagree—it cannot be denied that the Soviet Union is a great and growing power in the world, upon the basis of the Soviet economy, that it is a power most friendly to the United States with no interests or policies which could change this friendship to its opposite, and therefore, and finally, that American citizens of all opinions who love their country should try to understand and utilize more effectively this great, growing, and friendly power for safeguarding world peace and protecting American national interests, which are the interests of the 130,000,000 American people. EARL BROWDER.

## Ben Leider: In Memoriam

THE words are all used up. Two years ago they came easy, because they were fresh. Two years ago, to this very day, I wrote a piece for *NEW MASSES*, called, as this one is, "In Memoriam, Ben Leider." I was living in Akron then, and the war in Spain was only seven months old, we were just getting used to it. The telegram said, "Ben is dead stop I can't believe it stop Salud."

Salud. We used the word so solemnly then. Salud. Salud. No pasaran. You remember when those words were new and they kindled our hearts. I sat down the night the telegram came and began to write about Ben for *NEW MASSES*. It took me two days, finally, and then it wasn't good enough. But it was easier than this.

What shall we say now about Ben Leider? He happened to be the first American who died defending freedom in Spain. But that was two years ago. Since then a hundred, two hundred, three hundred Americans have died, and been mourned, with the brave words in public and the agonized tears in private. I stood up, nearly a year ago in Madison Square Garden, when Earl Browder read out the list of the American dead in Spain and they played taps and the whole vast audience, the twenty thousand, cried out loud, with the tears on their faces, and the intolerable pain in their hearts, for our boys who were dead, dead, never to return, finished forever, lying rotting in soldiers' graves a thousand miles and more from home.

Two years ago. I said, when I finished that piece about Ben, now I can never feel like this again about anything. Now the nerves are deadened. Now everything else will be a merciful anti-climax. Ben is dead, and I have taught myself he is dead. I know why he died, and I have learned from his death. Nobody needs to learn that lesson twice. It will never be like this again.

But you remember these past two years. You remember February 1938, when Franco and his Italians and his beautiful guns and his fine airplanes blasted the Spaniards out of the trenches and through to the sea. We sat one night with some friends, reading the early edition of the *New York Times* and looking up the names of the cities on a Spanish map. And three days later when we knew that it was true, and all the hoping was over, we said, my husband and I, that we couldn't feel that way again.

I think it was about that time that we began to be afraid, every morning, when we took in the papers from the doorstep. When did you start being afraid to look at the headlines?

The radio came later, with Munich. We have never been radio fans, and this was the first time that we listened to a

radio day in, night out, for nearly ten days. Part of that time we spent up in the country, sitting in an automobile at three o'clock in the morning with the motor running to keep the radio battery up, listening to an announcer say, "The mobilization was a complete success. The streets of Prague are filled with grave, determined people. The Czechs will die, but never surrender."

And yet when Franco moved on Barcelona, we felt it all over again. The agony of hope, when hope is really gone. They don't have enough rifles to go around, they are calling up schoolboys and sending them to war with pickaxes; Franco has a German field gun every ten yards, Franco has thousands of fresh Italian troops and millions of rounds of ammunition—but Barcelona, don't fall! Don't fall!

Two years. What irony, Ben, that the anniversary of your death should so nearly fall on the blackest day of treachery in all these two dreadful years. What lies in the hearts of men who can betray the suffering people of Spain? We have seen so many foul deeds in these months since you have died, Ben. But this staggers the imagination! What do you think about nights, General Miaja? What dreams cloud your sleep? Do you remember the comrades who fought beside you? You must remember them, General Miaja. They are the men you shot yesterday. Do you remember the people of Madrid, General Miaja? Do you? I mean the people you bombed last night, General.

Dear Ben. Do not think we have forgotten you because we also remember Vienna and Prague and Barcelona and Madrid. I think I remember you better now, in the middle of these nightmare headlines, "Miaja crushes revolt; asks Franco armistice."

For, Ben, we have used up all the fancy words, all the rhetoric. We can only say it now very simply, the idea stripped down bare. But it's like this: these two years have toughened us up. We have seen so many dead, watched so many agonizing defeats, hoped for so much that we have lost. They have driven us back at the point of the bayonet, at the invisible but deadly point of treachery. Back.

So far, but no further.

There are almost no words to mourn you with, Ben, on this second anniversary of your death. But I think it is time to say again what we used to say when the news of your death was a fresh wound. So I say it again for you, Ben, the only epitaph you would have liked.

No pasaran!

RUTH MCKENNEY.



# What Is Happening in Spain

A last-minute cable from Paris tells of the Munich trap sprung behind the defenders of Spain's democracy. Richard Goodman, our European correspondent, tells the story.

Paris, March 13 (By Cable).

ON THE walls of the commander's cabin in his Britannic majesty's ship *Devonshire* there hangs a large-size autographed photo of Adolf Hitler. At least it was hanging there when, on instructions from London, the *Devonshire's* commander arranged Teranco's "fifth-column" rising in Minorca, which Mr. Chamberlain has been pleased to call "purely Spanish occupation" of that key Mediterranean base. (*Deutsche Wehr*, organ of the Nazi General Staff, rather more frankly than the British prime minister, explains in its issue of February 16 that "occupation" took place "after Italian aviators from Majorca had created the necessary atmosphere.") Today the *HMS Devonshire*, riding at anchor in the British-owned port of Gandia, is supervising the extension of "Minorcaism" to the rest of republican Spain. Today the *Devonshire's* commander, in the name of "appeasement"—and perhaps also in the name of his buddy Adolf—is urging a handful of military traitors, British spies, Franco fifth-columnists, and anarchist uncontrollables to exterminate those Spaniards who still remember the words a Spanish woman spoke to them over two years ago—"It is better to die on our feet than to live forever on our knees."

As I write, the Casado-Miaja junta are obeying their British masters to the letter. Opening the front to the enemy in many places, they are withdrawing troops from advance republican positions to exterminate "Communist rebels," i.e., loyal supporters of the Negrín government, which, let it be stressed, never resigned. They've used some of the new planes the republic possesses to bomb those Spanish troops and Spanish civilians who are still determined that Spain shall belong to Spaniards. And in this, Italian planes from Franco's airforce, it appears, are assisting them. They've shot and are still shooting Spanish men and women—the former republican minister of education, Jesus Hernandez, among them—because they refuse to capitulate to foreign invasion.

So the British-made farce of "non-intervention" has worked itself out to its logical conclusion and has become active intervention of the filthiest kind for Franco. And the British-made policy of "appeasement" has been stripped of every shred of disguise and has emerged naked as "anti-Communism," that is, anti-democracy.

The inconceivably ghastly story that lies behind the Casado-Miaja coup, a story unparalleled save by that of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites and of Tukhachevsky's planned military coup in the USSR, goes back to the days of the heroic Asturians' fight in the fall of 1934. As early as that it was revealed that Right-Wing Socialist boss Julian Bes-

teiro, who would have nothing to do with that bid for freedom and is now "foreign minister" in the Miaja-Casado junta, was in the pay of the British Intelligence Service.

When Franco began his war against the republic, Besteiro, faithful to his paymasters, was for surrender. He has maintained that position ever since. Although little has been heard of him until recently, Besteiro has not been inactive. While other Spaniards were building with their bodies a living wall against the Italian and German invaders, Besteiro, in a safe place well behind the front, went on intriguing, his main aim to prevent and then to split the democratic unity of the republican forces, to isolate those standing solidly for resistance—Communists first and foremost—and thereby to make defeat inevitable.

## TRAITORS IN ACTION

When the majority of the rank and file of the Socialist Party was demanding working-class unity with the Communists, Besteiro violently opposed them. When later the followers of Caballero and the Trotskyites opposed the creation of a regular People's Army, the cleansing of the republican rear of traitors, and the development of a war industry, when they began intriguing with enemy elements abroad through, for example, Araquistan, at that time Caballerist ambassador in Paris, Besteiro was with them. When, after the fall of Caballero, these same elements sought to split the Socialist trade unions and to sow seeds of hatred between Communists and anarchists and between Socialist and anarchist unions, Besteiro assisted them to the maximum behind the scenes.

The more the Negrín government won the support of the broad masses of Spaniards for its policy of resistance based on its famous Thirteen Points, the more the capitulationists, British and French agents, and fifth-columnists grouped themselves around Besteiro, Caballero, Prieto, and Azaña, and thereby constituted what was to all intents and purposes a capitulationist center of Right and Trotskyist elements, bourgeois fainthearts, and foreign spies.

The first big push of this center against resistance and therefore against the Communists was Prieto's attempt to smash the system of political commissars in the army. This attempt failed and led subsequently to Prieto's resignation. There is no doubt now that the attempt was inspired by British intervention at Barcelona, with Azaña playing the key role with Prieto. However, the temporary disorganization of the army which it caused had its results during the first Franco offensive on the Aragon front—the collapse of the republican lines in places where it had not been

possible by political work to counteract the defeatist propaganda of the Trotskyist POUM and the Caballero group, and where the capitulationists had sabotaged and prevented the building of real fortifications. Naturally, when Franco reached the sea the capitulationist bloc intensified its activity. Direct British intervention at Barcelona, again through Azaña, also increased, its object being to push Negrín and Del Vayo into the capitulationist camp. The only result, however, was the resignation of Prieto and later the Cabinet crisis in which the Catalan and Basque ministers (including Irujo, who was known at that time to be very closely linked with the British) pulled out.

After the occupation of Catalonia, the British and French made no secret of the fact that they hoped Negrín would now "come to his senses" and give up the fight. When, however, Negrín showed no signs of obliging Chamberlain and Bonnet, the plan for the occupation of Minorca (to be followed if necessary by the extension of this tactic to the Central Zone), which had been worked out in London and Paris—and Burgos—at the end of January, was put into operation with the hope that this would succeed where backstairs intrigue had failed.

## THE LOYALISTS RESIST

The return of Negrín, Del Vayo, Modesto, Lister, and Galan to the Central Zone was, however, a heavy blow to Chamberlain and Bonnet and their agents in republican Spain. With the decision of the Negrín government that resistance should continue until Franco agreed to recognize the independence of Spain, agreed that there should be no reprisals and that a plebiscite should be held to determine the future constitution and government of the country, the move to extend the Minorca tactic to the Central Zone was started. (The British and French had hoped that their good offices to Franco in the Minorca affair would not only result in Negrín's capitulation but in agreement on Franco's part to accept conditional recognition—i.e., would let the British and French strengthen their position in Burgos. The failure to force Negrín to surrender was paralleled, however, by the failure of the mission of Bérard, Bonnet's emissary, to Burgos.)

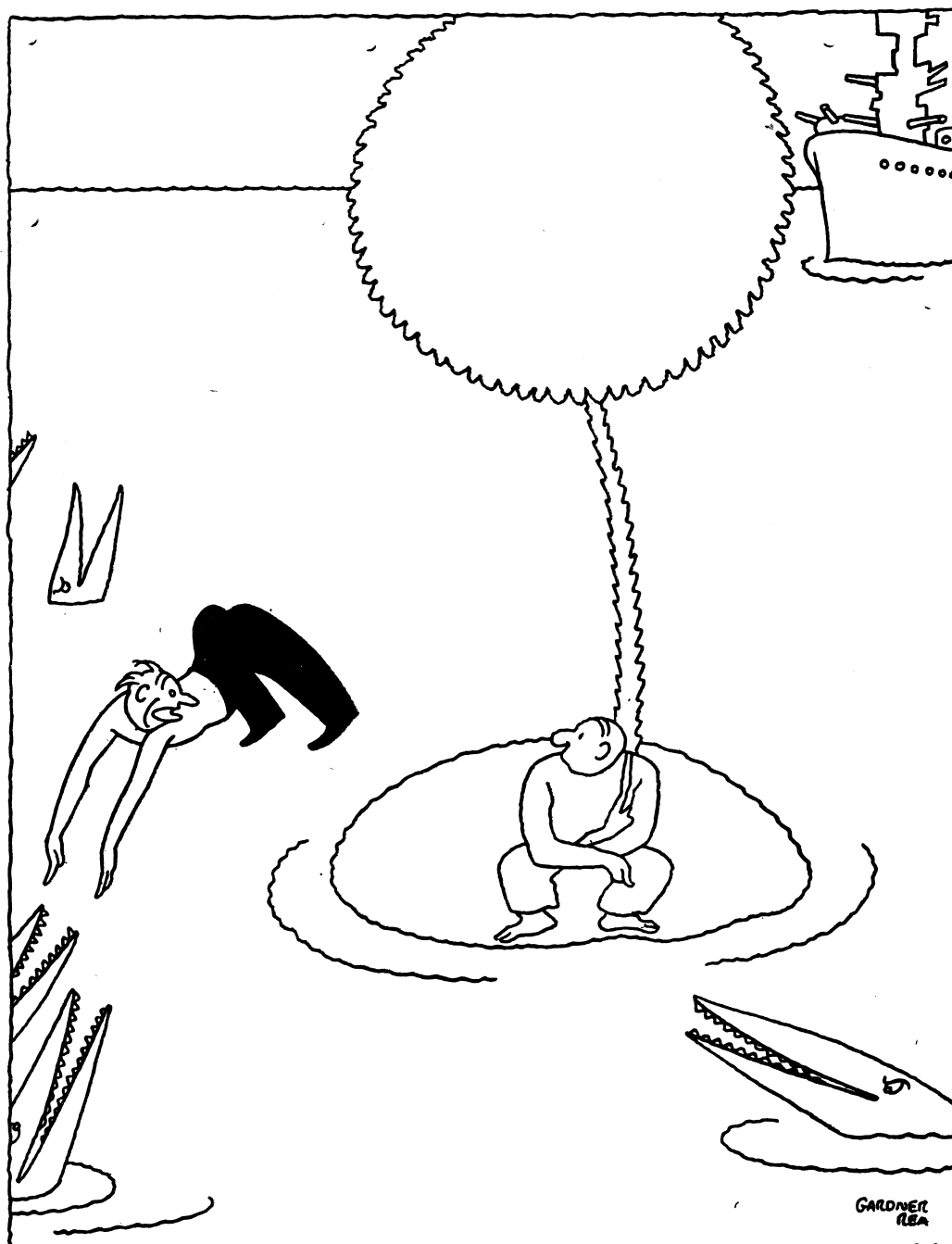
On the part of the capitulationist center, preparations for the anti-Negrín coup had been discussed ever since certain reactionary leaders of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions had informed their Spanish counterparts,—including Besteiro, naturally—that not until the Communists were thrown overboard could Spain expect "real assistance" from world

social democracy. With the second phase of the battle for Catalonia, actual conditions for achieving this coup began to materialize, for until that moment there had been on the Madrid front a heavy preponderance of republican divisions in which Communists and the United Socialist Youth were the dominant influence. But these had at this point—necessarily—been transferred to the Catalan front. In the Central Zone there was consequently left a predominance of divisions under anarchist-Casadist influence, i.e., troops led by the anarchist Mera. When Negrín returned to Central Spain he saw the way things were going: while all efforts of the government were being correctly concentrated on the defense of Catalonia the Caballerists and Besteirists working under the direction of the British consul in Madrid had been putting the final touches to their plan (ten days before the coup actually took place, the *Petit Parisien* admitted that Besteiro was preparing to form a new “government,” while within thirty-six hours of the rising the diplomatic correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* indiscreetly admitted that the British government had known all about it for more than a week).

Negrín acted immediately, seeking to immobilize the Casado-Besteiro elements by removing them from their positions, decreeing the reorganization of the armies of the Central Zone, and promoting to key positions tried and trusted republican officers, who naturally included a number of Communists like Lister, Modesto, and Galan (this and this alone is the factual basis for Besteiro's declaration that “Negrín was preparing a Communist coup”).

#### THE COUP TAKES PLACE

Realizing that it was now or never, and basing itself on all those forces latently or openly hostile to the People's Front, the capitulationist center struck. In this they were decisively assisted by the decision of the French government not to allow the Army of Catalonia to return to republican territory. Indeed, it now appears that this decision of the Daladier-Bonnet-Sarraut government was primarily based upon their knowledge of what was being prepared in Madrid, Valencia, and Cartagena and of the military position in Central Spain. It also appears that Miaja waited until he saw which way events were going and whether the putsch would succeed before he decided with whom to throw in his lot. The coup took place. In order to obtain some sort of mass basis the Casado-Besteiro clique clothed its real object—capitulation to Franco and the opening of the front—in demagogic talk of resistance, by lying and slanderous attacks on Negrín, and by the clamor of “anti-Communism.” Already in contact with Franco, through the British consul in Madrid, the junta offered in return for “honorable peace,” or safety of their own skins, to hand over Negrín, Del Vayo, Uribe, Pasionaria, Modesto, Lister, and Galan to the tender mercies of the fascists! Very



“Look out! Here comes the ‘HMS Devonshire!’”

soon, however, the demagogic cover was punctured by one of their own camp, the anarchist general Mera, and resistance to the junta traitors and spies began, and is continuing as I write.

No one, of course, can say what the outcome will be. The basis of the junta is very precarious. Large sections of territory are apparently in the hands of real loyalists; fighting is incessant in Madrid, Valencia, Murcia, Alicante, Albacete, and other towns; and it appears that the loyalists are not without some heavy arms.

At the moment it is possible only to draw a number of preliminary conclusions from these terrible events, conclusions which will serve as lessons for democracy in struggles with which it will inevitably be faced in the future.

In the first place, the Casado coup has finally demonstrated the fundamentally fascist character of the policy of “appeasement”—the

foreign policy of the most reactionary section of British and French finance capital. Pressed to extremes by the heroic resistance and determination for freedom of the Spanish people, the Chamberlain government, bent on organizing a reactionary bloc of the four Munich powers against democracy, a new concert of Europe, has dropped all its disguises and has come out openly as an advocate of the fascist doctrine of “anti-Communism” and a believer in the fascist fifth-column tactic. However, its use through Runciman of pro-German capitulationists in Czechoslovakia and, above all, its connections with Rights and Trotskyites and Tukhachevsky's group of military conspirators in the USSR show definitely that this is not a tendency but is inherent in the whole line of British foreign policy as conceived by the City of London and the British Intelligence Service. Indeed, there are many characteristics of the Casado-Besteiro coup which parallel—undoubtedly not accidentally—many of

those presented by the conspiracy of Tukhachevsky and the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. The conspiracy of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites and of Tukhachevsky, organized with the assistance of fascist and British intelligence services, was directed against those who believed, and believed correctly—as events have shown—in the ability of the working people to establish socialism in one country, to organize peace-loving peoples of the world against the fascist menace, and to prevent war. The Casado coup, organized with the assistance of the fascist and British spies, was directed against those who, believing in the power of the Spanish people to save their country from fascist invasion and to build up a democratic republic of an entirely new type, in which the basis for fascism would be forever eliminated, were seeking to organize the struggle for these things.

In both cases full use was made of reactionary leaders of the Second International, of Trotskyist and enemy elements, of Rights and fainthearts, and of careerist militarists. Compare, for example, Casado and Tukhachevsky. Tukhachevsky, besides being in alliance with the fascist enemy, was a careerist seeking personal power—was, as even his co-conspirators admitted, a “Bonapartist.” An officer in the czarist army, his essential opportunism led him to throw in his lot with the Bolsheviks although fundamentally he despised—as he openly admitted while in London—the masses. Casado too is a careerist, owing his position, like Tukhachevsky, to the cause he is betraying. An officer in the old Spanish army, he was earlier closely associated with Caballero’s pal traitor, General Asensio, who was rightly courtmartialled and jailed by the Negrín government. Asensio and Casado were, like Tukhachevsky, in touch with the enemy. Like him, too, Casado fundamentally had no faith in the masses and preferred, while the majority of his colleagues were moving under the pressure of events closer towards the Communists, to keep one foot in the camp of the Caballerists, Trotskyites, and a worse type of anarchists. But let’s not worry too much about personalities. It is fundamental issues that really count, and a fundamental issue is that both the Casado clique and Tukhachevsky’s gang based themselves upon fainthearts who never believed in victory and upon fascist and British spies. Is it necessary to elaborate the lesson further?

SMOKESCREEN

Finally, there is the third conclusion all honest democrats must draw and it is this: the cry of “anti-Communism” is the cry of the enemy and is used as a smokescreen under which the attack on all real defenders of democracy and peace, whether Communists or not, is begun by fascism and its friends. Those who doubted that this was the case in the past can hardly doubt it now as they watch and ponder on the terrible treachery of the traitors, spies, and fifth-columnists in Madrid.

RICHARD GOODMAN.

## Brandeis, J., Dissenting

Charles Recht surveys the career and philosophy of the retiring liberal justice.

**T**HE retirement of Justice Brandeis symbolizes the close of an epoch in the evolution of our country. He came to the Supreme Court bench with the dawn of what then was known as the New Freedom and he retired during what the reactionaries hope is the twilight of the New Deal. Between his appointment and retirement profound changes have occurred in the economic and political structure of the country. The clamorous forces of reaction which vigorously tried to bar his appointment were signal manifestations of their day, and the quiet, dignified tribute which the entire country paid him on his resignation is equally expressive. The radicalism of yesteryear is the conservatism of today.

Brandeis himself was to witness many of the diffuse and vague currents become concrete phenomena, many of the strident differences silenced into acceptance. In his avocational aspiration—Zionism—he was to behold a predictable historic development which no doubt has been a bitter grief to him. Zionism, a movement which, in its origin, was largely supported by the Jewish working masses, changed its complexion and drew for its support and advocacy on the middle class and the rich. In his last years he sees the Palestinian battleground transformed from one of ideological forces into actual warfare and violence. In our tragic period his horizons have vanished and on the periphery hang heavy clouds of war.

FORESAW CHANGES

But for him the focus of activity has essentially been the American scene. Here his skill as an honest craftsman shone at its best. As the frontier drew nearer and nearer, as social stratification became more apparent, a painful readjustment of values and definitions became inevitable.

It is to the credit of Justice Brandeis that he foresaw the coming of this growth even prior to his elevation to the bench. When he assumed the high position there was to pass before him in review an entire cycle of issues which, in retrospect, make us realize how we have changed with the times. No better index to his social ideas can be found than in his dissenting opinions handed down in the two decades of his career in the Supreme Court. To most lawyers of the country the words “Holmes and Brandeis, J.J., dissenting” became something of a password. The numerous biographers and essayists who have dealt with the life of Brandeis have invariably gone to these dissenting opinions for their source material.

His “social philosophy,” however, must be approached with a reservation. Strictly construed, one cannot spell out of any of these

famous dissents, or from his other writings, any systemology; indeed, there emanates from them a studied unwillingness to submit the complex facts of our daily life to a fundamental theoretical conception grounded in historic origin and trend. It is a commonplace among the biographers of Brandeis to point out that he did not desire to reach even the somewhat broader vision of his older liberal colleague, Holmes. The “social philosophy” of Brandeis consisted of strict application to the factual and legal issues before him to a point of developing a technique of avoidance of the larger issues. His Boswellian biographer, Alfred Lief, barely mentions that Brandeis was acquainted with the writings of Karl Marx but that he preferred H. G. Wells. Max Lerner points out that radicals should not expect from Brandeis either direct or implied reference to the Communist Manifesto or to Sorel’s *Reflexions sur la Violence*. The Brandeis technique, transposed into another era, means perhaps that the justice regarded himself as something of a strictly statutory “tribune of the plebs.” He saw no mandate to transgress the limited function of the liberal jurist, and to the exercise of that function he gave all of his painstaking ability.

SACCO-VANZETTI CASE

No better example of that narrow consistency can be found than in his treatment of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. In 1921 the justice and Mrs. Brandeis played hosts to the wife and children of Nicola Sacco in their home. Later, Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans, who was one of the most active persons on the defense committee, discussed the case in his presence. She was warned not to repeat it because it seemed that the case was very likely to reach the Supreme Court. When, however, a day before the execution the chief counsel applied to Judge Brandeis for a writ of habeas corpus, Brandeis refused because, it is said, he was convinced that no federal issue was involved.

One of the outstanding differences between the conservative judges on the Supreme Court bench and Brandeis was that the latter, as a lawyer, had been active in labor-union struggles and one of his principal achievements was that of an arbitrator of strikes, especially of the famous dress and shirt makers strike in New York. He came to the high bench with a clearer understanding of the tendencies of his time and a greater sympathy for the rights of workers in their unceasing struggle against powerful employers. Brandeis foresaw in the early years of the century that the principle of collective bargaining would become part and parcel of our industrial system, and not only would have to be recognized but would

be juridically protected. In the early years, however, many of the judges of the land still harbored the old British concept of regarding a labor union as a common-law conspiracy to damage the property rights of the employer.

#### GROWTH OF LIBERALISM

Brandeis saw that the bloom was off the laissez-faire theory. The older men who presided over the courts were brought up on the traditions of the frontier and had none of the background and experience with labor which Brandeis had. They were caught on the horns of the dilemma of trying to square the philosophy of rugged individualism with the evils of the large monopolies. But Brandeis foresaw that not only labor's rights must be recognized and protected but that the task of Congress and the administration would be one of increasing regulation of business and limitation and supervision of its activities.

From those famous dissents, beginning in 1917 with *Adams v. Tanner*, down to the present day, we can chart the growth of liberal ideas in the field of law.

In the *Adams v. Tanner* case Justice Brandeis dissented from the majority of the court, who held that a Washington statute abolishing private employment agencies in favor of state agencies was unconstitutional.

In the same year, in the *Hitchman Coal Co.* case, involving a "yellow dog" contract, Brandeis again dissented. In fact, to estimate the progress we have made, it is only necessary to compare the dissenting and the majority opinions in the *Hitchman* case, with the standards now prevailing under the Wagner act. All that Justice Brandeis argued for in that case was that the United Mine Workers had the right to organize the coal miners of West Virginia.

Four years later, in another dissenting opinion in *Duplex Printing Press Co. v. Deering*, Brandeis laid down some of the underlying principles of his realistic approach to industrial problems. He followed this in another dissent in *Truax v. Corrigan*, which involved the right of a state to enact a law limiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes. But Brandeis' attitude toward the rights of labor was perhaps best expressed in the famous *Bedford Cut Stone* case, decided in 1927. In that case, union members had been called upon not to handle non-union marble. An injunction was sought by the employers in the lower court and denied. When the case came to the Supreme Court, the majority reversed the court below and held that the methods of the union were coercive and illegal. Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissented, arguing against the theory that the anti-trust laws could be invoked against labor unions.

Recognition of progressive forces, however, was circumscribed by the Brandeis technique of avoidance. He made a fetish of a concept—the curse of bigness. In that term is embraced all, if any, of real social philosophy which Louis D. Brandeis ever had. The mainsprings of that concept are to be traced to the economic schools of the nineteenth century.

Brandeis glories in his ancestry—Czech Jews who fled to America when the Revolution of 1848 was crushed by the Austrian Tories. Time has hallowed the '48'ers in the memory of our land. Louis, born in Kentucky, became aware of that proud tradition. In '48 the Ohio River was the frontier, and opportunity for the freedom-loving immigrants lay in wait on its fertile banks. The '48'ers brought courage and liberalism with them as well as unshakable faith in the ethics of Mills, the economics of Ricardo, and standards of liberal laissez-faire morality. The American son of these '48'ers projected his young years against this intellectual background. It was to remain the fundamental determining factor in his ideology.

Brandeis and some of his honest contemporaries trace the evils of our day to the urbanization of our population, to the growth of gigantic enterprises, the bane of soulless corporations, and all the complex results of what Brandeis terms "bigness." Nevertheless, from his writings it becomes almost impossible to spell out whether the justice offered any idyllic alternative. Just as the student of his work would have to plod through pages and pages of legal lore to get an approximation of social concept, so we have to study with minuteness the days of his active life to guess whether he ever desired to promulgate any program for future action. The key, perhaps, can be found in his advocacy of Zionism. Brandeis, as the acknowledged and professed leader of Jewry, saw no warrant for a pro-

gram which would ultimately tend to solve the Jewish question. Zionism, just like a legal decision, was a fact before him to be met on its own merits, regardless of its deep historical social implications. If he did ever read dialectical literature on the problems of the Jews and other national and racial minorities, he applied the technique of avoidance. Just as he denied the Sacco-Vanzetti writ of habeas corpus, because no federal question was involved in the application for the writ, so, in his approach to Zionism, he excluded the fundamental problem of rising nationalism and its tremendous contemporary consequences.

#### STUBBORNLY HONEST

Nor is this estimate in the vein of unfriendly criticism. No man probably has been less patient than Brandeis with the unvarying encomiums piled upon him. His stubborn honesty has completely disarmed his critics, and in the available literature there is a dearth of dispassionate appraisal of his work. It is more than likely that such one-sided portraiture must find but little favor with his judicial temperament. It is all cloying sweetness and light. If, however, we bear in view the limitations, whether inherent or, more likely, self-imposed by his own avoidance technique, it is to evaluate more intelligently the quality of his services. As law practitioner, he was on the progressive side. He was the People's Lawyer in days when privilege and corruption were less open to attack. He advocated cheap insurance through the banks—the Massachu-

## Prelude

We are clothed by the buildings.

Along the rigid line of slums  
The shadows wrap themselves around your shoulders,  
And something from the fiber of the walls  
Cakes on your skin.

The air is still,  
Immovable, except when sniping winds  
Explode from the deep alleys. Window-ledges  
Rubberstamp the shadows on our lives.

These walls and roofs that look on crippled hours,  
Have known the glow of hidden warmth, the will  
That seams the darkness of the rooms with strength:  
Our wisdom has been forged in tenement-fires,  
And stored beneath the thickest layers of blackness.

Here by the crumbling faces and the creaking stairs,  
Here by the burning houses of yesterday,  
We made our vow, by all this wreckage, by  
The tardy muscle, and the remnant bone,  
And by the flesh that has not yet been wasted.

Ring down the eyelids on those years of death.

The sun moves in a mysterious way.

MOE GOLDEN.

setts Plan—which only last year was finally adopted in New York. He attacked the corruption of great public utilities and traction companies, and established the method of citing statistics and expert facts in legal briefs. He was the originator of the phrase of scientific management of industrial enterprises. He was one of the forerunners of the fight against the monopoly of finance.

The scope of his activity before he ascended the bench was broad and comprehensive. As an attorney he was capable, fearless, and scrupulous, to such an extent that, when he was nominated to the bench, neither the organized bar nor finance, which fought his appointment bitterly, could find the slightest evidence of unethical conduct or malpractice. (Among the presidents of bar associations, those who signed a protest against his appointment were William Howard Taft and Moorfield Story.)

HIS SERVICE TO THE COURT

Brandeis' greatest service to the country was rendered as a judge of the Supreme Court. There he did leave the mark and impress of his work. Without his liberalistic support and encouragement, Justice Holmes would have been a voice in the wilderness. Brandeis' legal craftsmanship helped to educate his fellow judges. In justification it must be remembered that the technique of avoiding quintessential problems made his utterance the more acceptable to the believers in the maintenance of the status quo.

Justice Brandeis retires from the embattled scene at a time when the basic concept of our national life has shifted. No doubt he senses that the practice of avoidance is becoming more and more tenuous and the tribunal of which he was so active a member will, in the not distant future, perforce face issues as basic as the Dred Scott case. The cases involving the New Deal have in themselves been auguries of the legal problems which will soon make their way to the Supreme Court. He, who had been a steadfast opponent of Socialism, would have attempted nevertheless to be the fair arbitrator of whatever issue of principle was before him. The tremendously vital questions about to arise cannot be framed within the economic and political theories of the nineteenth century. It is now for men of a new type to take up the task. For Louis D. Brandeis there remain the deserved respect of every democratic American and the leisure to do his own summing up.

CHARLES RECHT.

Light in Darkness

IN DARKEST Republican Vermont, famed for rugged individualists and other sap products, the town of Lyndonville has canceled all taxes for the year 1939. Reason: the village-owned light plant and water works will pay all expenses of government. In addition the two enterprises will provide an \$8,000 reserve fund for improvements and \$5,000 for road mending, reports the Federated Press.



Mischa Richter

A Job for United Labor

# Cutting Social Security Red Tape

While the jobless wait, unpaid, the New York Unemployment Insurance Act is sabotaged by the Tories. Reorganization needed. Labor's proposals for immediate action.

I HAD read in the papers that only a third of the people who were supposed to get job insurance checks in December got them on time. All that meant to me was that a good act was being hanged in its own red tape, so I went round to the unemployment office at Fourteenth St. and Eighth Ave., New York City, on the third floor of the County Trust Bldg., to see what it meant to the two-thirds whose checks were late.

A sign in the lobby said that if you were reporting for job insurance you were not allowed to use the elevators. I walked up. The office was a low, large room covering almost the whole floor. It had the general appearance of a campaign headquarters. There was a long row of tables down the middle of the room labeled with numbers painted on little cardboard flags. Behind the tables were desks and filing cabinets and steel lockers; in front, men and women with their overcoats on were sitting on hard steel folding-chairs, waiting their turn.

I sat down in front of Table 7, and a friendly man with a Slavic accent told me I had a good hour and a half to wait. "Best time to come eight, eight-thirty in the morning. Early in the morning, don't have to wait. One-two-three, come back in a week—finished. But tell me this, Charlie, who wants to get up early in the morning when they haven't got a job?" Everybody around us smiled. They were all there for the same reason, and they were talking quietly to each other about how slow the checks were in coming. An Italian in a khaki mackinaw, with a bright yellow bandanna round his neck, was saying, "I come to this building, sit in this chair, I think fifty-six days. Look at my shoes—I wear out shoes walking back and forth. Two pair of shoes I wear out. I am forty-four years of age. My wife dead in 1925. I get no checks. Everybody else gets checks, checks, checks. I get no checks. I got plenty children—five children. I got no job, no food, no checks, nothing. I got nothing." The Slav said, "I know one man got \$117 in one check." "I got nothing," said the Italian.

"WAIT, WAIT, WAIT"

The claims man at the desk by the window called out, "Raphael Moroni," and the Italian got up and went back to talk to him. He talked in a low, monotonous voice, so fast it sounded like Italian. The claims man couldn't do anything about it. They were reorganizing things in Albany, checks would start coming through again very soon. Meanwhile, he would send a tracer. While he was making out the three carbon copies, the Italian kept on talking, raising his voice but keeping the monotone.

He didn't move a muscle of his face. The claims man looked uncomfortable. What could he do, after all? He was sorry, but they were straightening things out in Albany. When the tracer was finished the Italian came back where we were and picked up a brown-paper parcel he had left on his chair, still talking, not caring who heard him. When he turned his head toward me I saw he was crying. Tears were dripping off his chin, and he wiped his chin with his yellow bandanna. "Wait, wait, wait. I wait ten months, I get no checks. Look at my shoes. They got good jobs, tell me wait, wait. I got nothing, no food, nothing." He buttoned up his mackinaw and started out, talking to himself in that dead monotone. A young fellow in the back row yelled out, "Get a machine gun, come kill everybody!" We all laughed uneasily.

The Slav said, "That way of acting don't get you any place. I been in all these relief offices, the only way to do is take it easy. I been coming here nine months. I never get a check. Not one check in nine months; but I take it easy." I asked him what he had done not to get paid for such a long time, and he took out a messy red card with a lot of dates stamped on it. "They say come on ten, you come on ten—no good. You got to come on nine. You understand that, Charlie? I understand after two months. I have to sign up three times. You think you got trouble first time you sign up, but the second time you sign up you got a hundred times trouble." The claims man called out his name. He and the claims man laughed together and shook their heads over his red card; I couldn't hear what they were saying but they were both very cheerful. He signed something and came back, shaking his head wryly and saying, in perfect good humor, "Another nine months."

## TOM DEWEY'S PROMISE

Well, you remember that in the campaign for governor last November Tom Dewey made two promises: to wipe out crime and to wipe out inefficiency in the administration of job insurance. It was a clever stunt, for out of the five or six million workers in New York just about half (at the end of 1938) had signed up for benefits and just about a quarter had got them. Those that did get them got them late, after many complications and much worry and humiliation. Naturally, late checks are better than no checks, but if Tom Dewey didn't dare say the Job Insurance Act was lousy, he was on firm ground in saying that it was being lously administered. It could be blamed partly on Tom Dewey's own friends, the employers, partly on Tom Dewey's party. In 1934 Re-

publicans were in control of the State Legislature and voted down job insurance. Next year the Democrats were in control and job insurance passed. The ideal unemployment insurance would be national. But the Federal Social Security Act virtually required each state to set up its own job insurance. By next July, all forty-eight States will have done so. Bad as it is, the New York act is better than most.

Like most social legislation, this law was a patchwork of compromises, the best progressives could do with Republicans bringing pressure on every provision. It satisfied nobody. Labor set to work to strengthen it; the New York Board of Trade set to work to weaken it. Twelve days after it took effect, action was brought against it in the courts. Frederick Wood, the highly paid lawyer who brought down NRA, pursued the argument all the way to the Supreme Court that people who get job insurance should take a pauper's oath. The Supreme Court split four to four, upholding the decision of the New York Court of Appeals which had upheld the act. Employers were thereupon required to pay a general payroll tax which would rise till it was 3 percent in 1938, and deliver reports every three months on how much they were paying their employees. There was no way of checking up on these reports. Say an imaginary employer (Hearst did it on the *Journal-American*) reported one of his workers as getting \$15 a week when he was getting \$30. That wouldn't come out till the worker lost his job and put in a claim for the whole \$30. Action on these claims—in 1938 there were about 400,000—is, unfortunately, now at a standstill. Another trick of certain employers was to leave off social security numbers. Without them the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance was helpless.

## THREE MONTHS BEHIND

The division was pretty helpless as it was. Consider its difficulties. In the first three months of 1938 one-fifth of the wage-earners of the state applied for benefits—no one had ever thought the response would be that enthusiastic. Having got behind, the division never caught up. It was ten days behind in January, two weeks behind in April, a month behind in September, as much as three months behind in December. That was in addition to the three-week waiting period—ten weeks if you were fired for misconduct or went on strike. There were only five thousand workers in the division, far too few, and the temporary workers who had been hired to help get things going were fired after a month, before things got going—not becoming eligible for job in-

insurance, because they were government employees. At the end of December, when the job insurance tangle was at its worst, three hundred more were fired. Last April the legislature passed its usual amendments, and work had to stop for three weeks while benefits were recomputed all over again for everybody.

The red tape might have been made of flypaper. A claim for benefits went first to the examining unit, then to the checking unit, then to the calculating unit. Checks were sent to the Bureau of Insurance Control for certification, signed and sent to the state controller, then issued by the Department of Taxation and Finance. One of the reasons for the long waiting period was to give the Placement Bureau a chance to find you a job; though most of the Placement Bureau's employees have been transferred to the insurance part of the division, there is still a complicated delay while the division makes sure you are unemployed. Because the act says that if you earned \$22.24 a week while you were working, you are entitled to one cent more in unemployed benefits than if you had only earned \$22.22, an individual card must be maintained in Albany for every worker in the state—including waiters, who are paid largely in tips, taxi drivers, paid in commissions, plumbers, paid by a hundred employers in the course of a year. Because the act excludes about 1,500,000 workers—seamen, maids, farmers, anyone working with less than four others for the same boss—half the time of the division is spent looking up the cards of people who are not eligible. (Half the time of the unemployment offices is spent explaining that "due before" idea—you report once a week on any of the seven days before the date stamped on your card, but if you report on that date, too bad for you.)

MAIN TROUBLE

The chief trouble with the act is the trouble with most social security legislation—it forces the division to operate as a private insurance company, pile up big reserves and pay low benefits to those who have paid in least. Now the division is not a private insurance company. The justification for job insurance in abstract economics is that it increases purchasing power: about \$100,000,000 was paid out in benefits in 1938 (the first year of benefits, though taxes had been collected since 1936) to about 1,500,000 people, who presumably spent it immediately, but there was also a reserve fund of \$130,000,000 in Albany which was doing precisely nothing. The payroll taxes can't by law be deducted from wages; but there is nothing to keep them from being passed on in the form of higher prices. Job insurance has withdrawn from the state's purchasing power the difference between \$100,000,000 and \$130,000,000.

Naturally, job insurance should be paid for out of the general income tax. But the men who frame social security laws still think in terms of private insurance. Milton Loysen, the



A. Ajay

*"Patience, Mrs. Zweig. We've only gotten to the C's."*

present director of the division, got his start with a private insurance company (Aetna). The idea of putting job insurance on a pay-as-you-go basis will come to no legislators all at once, in one blinding flash: they are perhaps more likely to see the stupidity and injustice of paying the least money to people who need it most. New York State benefits, better than those of most states, last a maximum of sixteen weeks (the average is eight) and can be as little as \$7 a week (the average is \$9). Nine dollars a week is not exactly a security wage.

One of the purposes of job insurance was to cut the relief rolls, and the fact that it hasn't is less an argument for junking it than for paying decent benefits financed by general taxation, not by a surreptitious sales-tax. There was real misery last spring when people were cut off relief because they were certified for job insurance, then didn't get their job insurance for a month or so, during which time they presumably lived on air and orange peel. Most people who need help get full relief during their waiting period, half-relief when job insurance checks start, full relief again when they stop, all the time being shunted back and forth between the relief office and the insurance office like the Grand Central shuttle. In a sensible program, relief and insurance would both be functions of the same department; administrative costs would be cut in half.

AMENDMENTS

The Unemployment Insurance Act has been amended at each session of the legislature since it was passed; there is reason to think it will be amended at this. The employers, organized in the New York Board of Trade, as usual have a program. The nub of their proposals is: make the employees pay part

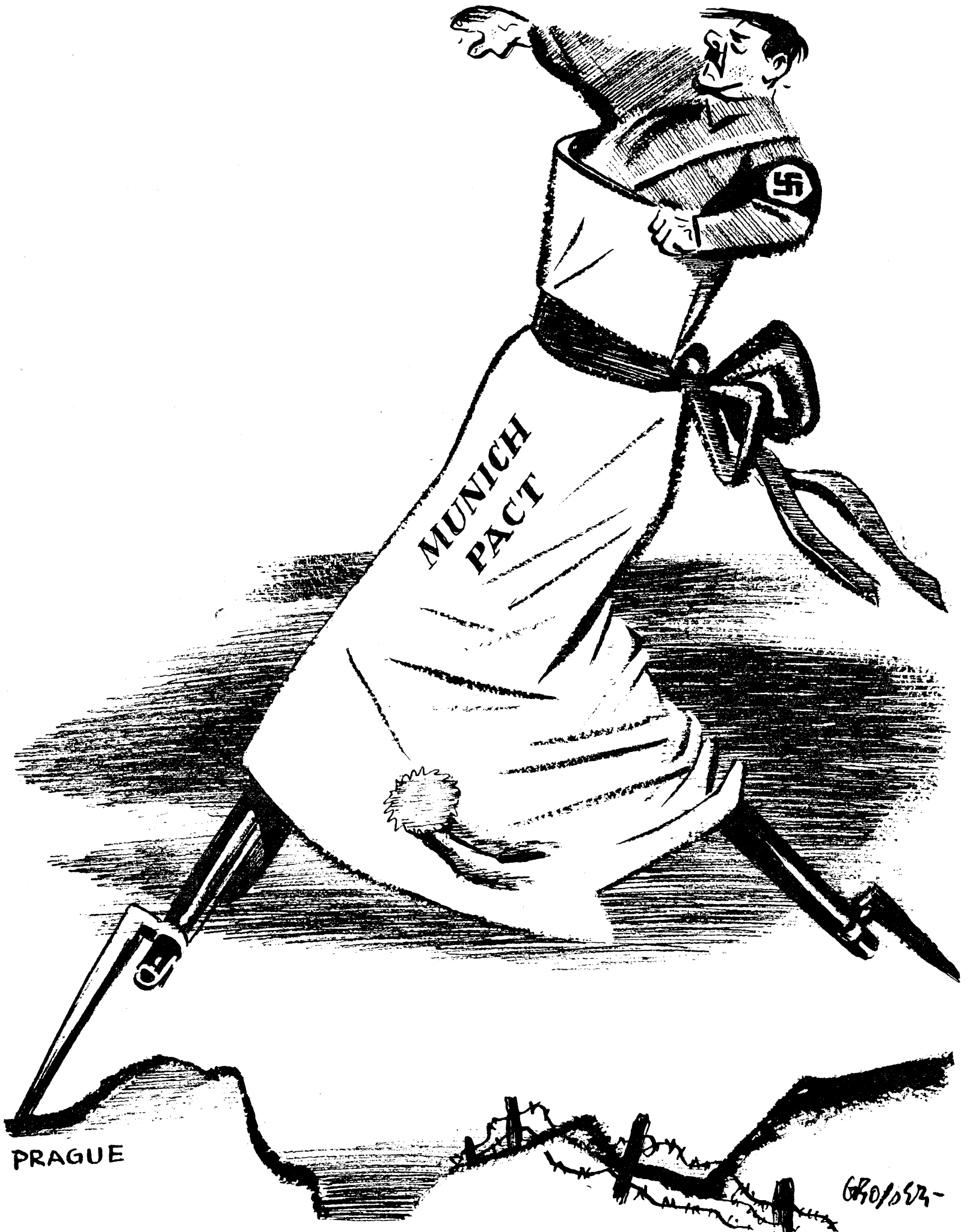
of the cost—as though they don't pay most of it already. One of their ideas is to run benefits from \$2.50 to \$15 instead of from \$7 to \$15, confounding further a sadly confused administrative system. Also there is a complicated plan for a "merit system," where employers with a low rate of labor turnover will pay lower taxes—more confusion. Labor's proposals are somewhat different. The Workers Alliance, American Labor Party, CIO, AFL, Communist Party, and Governor Lehman's advisory council on job insurance are pretty much of one mind, and if the proper amount of pressure is put on Albany there is a fair chance that most of the proposals will pass. A committee set up by the state legislature is now investigating the act's administration, but the chief interest of the Republicans in charge of it is getting publicity in the papers for how awful everything is. Governor Lehman has never seen the point of this committee, for his advisory council has done all the investigating necessary and is now getting together concrete recommendations.

But despite sabotage by employers and a few big blunders by heads of the division, the real reason for the halting administration of the act has been foolish complications in the act itself. There is no reason why eventually all unemployed workers should not get the same unemployed benefits, as they get the same relief. More immediately, labor suggests four classes of benefits; and because tax collections are running 25 percent ahead of expectations, \$15 should be minimum instead of maximum. Break that down into clothes, rent, and groceries, and it doesn't seem such a startling figure. Also, checks should continue for longer than sixteen weeks—then you would see some reduction in the relief rolls.

STAMP BOOK

One of labor's most important proposals and the most simple is: root up the tangled undergrowth of card indices and filing cabinets, which are said to cover four city blocks in Albany, substitute the ordinary union-dues book, which ought to be familiar to every New York worker—the worker hands in his book to his employer when he goes to work, the employer buys stamps with his payroll taxes and has one of the members of the State, County, and Municipal Workers, now fiddling with filing cabinets in Albany, paste them in for him. The system is in use in England, where so far as I know there are no complaints. When the worker leaves he takes his book with him. That way he can see whether or not his employer has been chiseling on his taxes. That way he can start getting benefits right away, without waiting for people in Albany to go through the filing cabinets. That way the 1,500,000 jobs can be insured which are not insured now. The Republicans who run the legislature will introduce stamp books at once if they are sincerely interested in saving money and not (as cynical critics believe) simply in starving people.

ROBERT TERRALL.



PRAGUE

680/523-

William Gropper



# New Masses

ESTABLISHED 1911

*Editors*

GRANVILLE HICKS, CROCKETT JOHNSON, A. B. MAGIL,  
RUTH MCKENNEY, JOSEPH NORTH, SAMUEL SILLEN.

*Associate Editors*

JAMES DUGAN, BARBARA GILES, RICHARD H. ROVERE.

*Contributing Editors*

THEODORE DRAPER, ROBERT FORSYTHE, JOSEPH FREEMAN,  
MICHAEL GOLD, WILLIAM GROPPER, JOSHUA KUNITZ,  
HERMAN MICHELSON, BRUCE MINTON, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER,  
RICHARD WRIGHT, MARGUERITE YOUNG.

*Business and Circulation Manager*

GEORGE WILLNER.

*Advertising Manager*

ERIC BERNAY.

★

## Stalin Reports

IT IS one of those breath-taking events, the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Statistics pile on statistics, the arteries of world history are laid bare, the complexities of an entire epoch are brought to a single clear focus. Here is Marxism in action, universal in its sweep, geared to the deepest aspirations of mankind.

Compare Joseph Stalin's report to the 18th Congress with one of Adolf Hitler's speeches, and you will have the gulf that lies between socialism and that most reactionary form of capitalism known as fascism. In his report Stalin presented statistics which showed that "the Soviet Union is the only country in the world which does not know crisis at all and where industry is always on the upgrade." In fact, Soviet industrial output has more than doubled since 1934, whereas in the United States it has increased only about 10 percent. Figures on national income and wages offer a further contrast to the situation in the capitalist world. National income rose from 48,500,000,000 rubles in 1933 to 105,000,000,000 rubles in 1938, while the average annual wages of workers in industry increased in the same period from 1,513 rubles to 3,447 rubles.

It is Stalin's discussion of the international situation that appears to have had the greatest "news" value for the American press. Certain newspapers and press agencies have been straining themselves to read into Stalin's sharp criticism of the Chamberlain-Daladier "appeasement" policy a hint of rapprochement with Nazi Germany. Sunday's *New York Times* subheaded an article by its managing editor, Edwin L. James: "Stalin Sympathetic to Reich." This is willful distortion designed to discredit the consistent Soviet peace policy and facilitate fascist aggression.

Stalin left no doubt as to the real character of Soviet foreign policy. He summed it up in four points: (1) the "strengthening of businesslike relations with all countries"; (2) "peaceful, close, and neighborly relations with all neighboring countries which have a common frontier with the Soviet Union";

3. We stand for support to nations which have fallen prey to aggression and are fighting for the independence of their countries.

4. We are not afraid of threats from the aggressors and we are ready to retaliate with two blows for every one against the instigators of war who attempt to infringe upon the integrity of the Soviet borders.

Stalin further pointed out that in its foreign policy the USSR relies on "the moral support of the working people of all countries," and on "the common sense of the countries which, for one reason or another, are not interested in the violation of peace."

In the present critical world situation this clear and realistic Soviet peace policy, reaffirmed by Stalin and the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, should serve as the sheet anchor of the sincere peace forces throughout the world.

## Emergency in WPA

ONE week ago, Col. J. C. Harrington, administrator of WPA, announced that if Congress did not vote the additional \$150,000,000 deficiency appropriation asked by President Roosevelt, orders for the dismissal of one million WPA workers must go out. The ax falls on April 1.

For over a month the House Appropriations Committee has bluntly refused to consider this emergency measure of the President. What does this mean to the United States?

It means that from nine to ten million people in the homes of three million WPA workers face the removal of their livelihood on April 1.

It means that there will be \$150,000,000 less business done by large and small merchants throughout the country; some of them faced with extinction if their customers are fired from WPA. It is as if a factory employing one million people were to shut down. Consider the destitution that would follow.

But while the \$150,000,000 is being held up, the Workers Alliance points out that already a far greater sum is needed. From March to June there is no sign of the 2,500,000 additional workers being absorbed by private industry as the WPA budget had expected. In fact over a million new applicants for WPA jobs have been certified as eligible during the past few months.

The House committee's suggested delay

until a survey is made is but another sabotaging stunt by the "let 'em starve" boys on Capitol Hill.

The Workers Alliance is leading the fight of the people to keep their fellow men and women from destitution. They must be supported by every means if our national recovery is to be maintained.

Write your representative or senator today. Ask that he demand the hearing and immediate passage of the \$150,000,000 emergency deficiency measure supported by President Roosevelt and every progressive American.

## Slovak "Sudetens"

THOSE who expected Hitler to be satisfied with the Sudetenland that Chamberlain-Daladier gave him at Munich can now enjoy their disillusion. For the same provocation, the same "Beneš game" has been worked for the invasion of Slovakia.

The Slovaks, long the serfs of Hungary, are now impressed into the Nazi galley. A few rocks thrown by SA men in Brno, a few shots by SS men in Bratislava, and the whole Nazi press shrieks its siren warning of "millions of Germans tortured under Czech brutality." The fact that there are far less Germans in Slovakia than in any other part of Czechoslovakia means nothing. The Slovak separatist movement, originally financed by Hungary for its own ends, is being used now for outside propaganda about "self-determination." The dismal farce, the tragic dance of death, is going into its routine once more while the peoples of the world wonder what is going to be the next "appeasement" tidbit offered by Chamberlain-Daladier.

Underneath the Slovak sellout runs an interesting background of Catholic politics. For Hitler is using a fascist fifth-column within the predominantly Catholic Slovak nation for his own ends. These are the Hlinka Guards, founded by the late Father Hlinka, the sub-Carpathian Coughlin, now commanded by another renegade priest, Father Tiso, who, after his ousting as Slovak premier, flew to Hitler for advice. Tuesday the Slovak separate state was announced. Catholic President Hacha of the Czechoslovak government and the newly appointed Slovak Premier Sidor (also a Catholic) are getting that Schuschnigg feeling as the cold embrace of *Anschluss* is flung around them by traitors within their church and country.

## Labor Unity Ahead

AS WE close this issue, seven of America's labor leaders are trying to hammer out a basis for unity of the two largest groups of organized workers in the country. While the seven men deliberate, ten million in the

AFL, CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods and millions more outside the ranks eagerly await a successful ending. The Department of Labor has in the last few days received letters and telegrams expressing hope for unity from individuals and groups totaling 1,500,000.

Only in certain recalcitrant sections of the AFL is there any attempt to prejudice the negotiations. The *Weekly News Letter* of the federation, with no basis in fact, headlines its leading story, "Lewis' Visionary Scheme for One Big Union Rejected by AFL." William Green has tried to hamstring discussion by refusing to let any discussion turn on what he proudly calls "the structure and philosophy of the American Federation of Labor" and by appointing as conferees Matthew Woll, Thomas Rickert, and Harry Bates, whose stand against militant organization and progressivism in any form has characterized their offices for many years. Only Daniel Tobin, appointed by the AFL at the request of the President, brings to the round table a conscious estimate of what the AFL workers really want.

But labor unity has the backing of too large a portion of the population to be long in coming. The people want it, the New Deal wants it, and those most directly involved—the organized workers—want it. That combination won't be licked.

## Hitler Defines "Pledge"

A FEW weeks ago the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees announced that the Nazi government would give Jews "a chance of employment" pending their departure from Germany. We pointed out at the time that this "pledge" was in the form of a vague and qualified promise. What the Nazis really meant by "a chance of employment" became clear recently. A governmental decree has been issued drafting Jews for "building construction" and "soil amelioration"—euphemisms for road work and ditch digging. Nothing is said in the decree about working conditions, hours, or wages. The "unutilized" Jews, to use the pleasantly revealing phrase of this latest Nazi decree, will be segregated from all other German workers.

In other words, the Nazis keep their pledge by cashing in on a cheap labor supply. Having taken away the livelihood of Jews, the Nazis can now generously press them into compulsory labor for the state. The generosity of this move is exceeded only by the Nazi decision last week to allow Jews to keep the gold fillings in their teeth. But even this concession contains no guarantee that the gold supply will remain permanently untapped.

## Italian Jews in Exile

MUSSOLINI'S attacks on the Jews of Italy are as heartless as those of his crony in Berlin. Under the fascist racial laws, all Jews who entered Italy after Jan. 1, 1919, are compelled to leave the country. The deadline for enforced flight was up last week. Five thousand Jews wandered through the snow-covered Alps, caught between the relentless decree of Mussolini and the closed frontiers of France. Destitute and hungry, the driven Jews found themselves in a no-man's land. All neighboring states—Austria, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, France—refused to give them refuge. The plight of the Italian Jews ominously parallels that of the Polish Jews who were driven out of Germany last year.

It is clear that the more advances fascism makes on the international front, the more brutal are its attacks on the Jews. The capitulation policy of the British and French governments has encouraged the pogrom policy of Hitler and Mussolini. The drive against the Jews can be checked only by checking the gains of the fascist axis. No solution to the refugee problem can be permanently effective which does not strive to establish the full right of Jews to live in the countries of their own choice. In the meantime, immigration barriers in America and in other countries should be modified in order to ease the tragic plight of the refugee Jews. Unless this measure is coupled with strengthened resistance to fascism, however, the program will be self-defeating. Fascism must not be permitted to dump human beings whenever it is so disposed.

## Neutrality Revision

THE Washington reporters asked President Roosevelt two simple questions at his press conference last week. His answers were equally simple and clear.

Has the present Neutrality Act contributed to the cause of peace?

No.

Has the Neutrality Act contributed to war? Yes.

On the same day, Secretary Hull, speaking at his press conference, praised the letter of former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson endorsing a foreign policy based on affirmative action against the fascist aggressors.

On the same day, Senator Barkley of Kentucky, the Democratic floor leader, said that American foreign policy had two purposes: to preserve peace in the Western hemisphere, and to make a contribution to the preservation of peace in other parts of the world.

These statements are in line with the President's opening message to Congress. If they are supported by new statutes, the

United States will do a major service for world peace and American peace.

Senator Pittman's bill authorizing the sale of war materials to Latin American republics is a concrete step in this direction. Senator Thomas' amendment, empowering the President to ask Congress for authority to apply embargoes against aggressors alone, is another step. The sentiment against the Neutrality Act is further embodied in Senator King's resolution for simple repeal and in another repeal bill sponsored by Senator Lewis.

No measure so far introduced for revision of our Neutrality Act contains the final solution. But each of the bills reflects American dissatisfaction with an act which has rewarded the warmakers and penalized their victims. Whatever legislation is introduced must pass one simple test; does it distinguish between aggressor and peaceful nations? If we fail to make this distinction, we shall have to repeat the tragic experience of the past three years.

## Republican Antics

THE Burney Job Insurance Investigating Committee of the New York Legislature, run by upstate Republicans who have deeper doubts about job insurance than political expediency permits them to express, operates on what may be called Dies-committee rules of evidence. Which is to say, virtually no rules of evidence at all. Witnesses whose views coincide with those of the committee are allowed to run on at enormous lengths; witnesses who can be suspected of speaking for labor are brought up short. Committee members make flat statements to the press, often at variance with even the limited testimony which has been permitted a hearing.

So far the hearings have produced a great quantity of headlines, and have discovered: (1) that the administration of the act can be greatly improved, which everyone knew, and (2) that 3,237 (out of 2,500,000) workers have been paid a little more than they "deserved." Despite the hearings' unruly nature, they now seem to be slanted in a definite direction: to recommend a "merit system" of payment of job insurance taxes. The original act provided that such a proposal "be studied." Spokesmen for labor groups have pointed out its phony logic—like saying that a man who died young ought to have paid higher life insurance premiums. Of course it would hopelessly complicate tax collections. The Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance has already announced a more efficient system of administration, recommended by the Federal Social Security Board, which will go into effect April 1. Action on claims, said Miss Frieda

Miller, state industrial commissioner, early this week, is not nearly so far behind as it was at the start of the year. Governor Lehman has just sent to the legislature half a dozen amendments proposed by his Advisory Council. For labor's proposals (it is, after all, a labor law) see our article elsewhere in this issue.

## McNaboe's Bill

A BILL which would in effect bar progressives from holding public office in New York passed the State Senate this week and has moved on to the Assembly. Proposed by Senator McNaboe, who brings up measures of this sort with indefatigable regularity, the bill is ostensibly designed to deny Communists the rights accorded other groups. That in itself is contrary to the first principles of democracy, but McNaboe's definition of Communism is, to say the least, loose and subject to expansion. The bill should be stopped in its tracks, and will be if New Yorkers direct effective protests to state assemblymen.

## That Brazilian Business

THE commercial and financial agreements concluded between the United States and Brazil are the most important step since the Lima Conference toward the creation of a Pan-American democratic front against penetration by the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. Brazil is the largest of all Latin American countries both in area and population. And it is the country in which the fascist axis appeared at one time to have scored its greatest economic and political successes. The signing of the agreements comes as the culmination of a sharp struggle in which United States interests have succeeded in swinging the Vargas government away from the totalitarian powers with which it was originally allied.

The agreements provide for the extension of credits of about \$120,000,000 by the United States for the expansion of Brazilian commerce and industry. In return Brazil will free its exchange and resume service on its foreign debt of \$357,000,000 in this country, beginning July 1. The freeing of foreign exchange is a blow at the system of compensating marks (Aski-marks) through which Nazi Germany has increased its trade with Brazil. Another provision, by which Brazil will undertake extensive rubber production, has a direct bearing on national defense, as it would free the United States from dependence on more remote areas for this important raw material. The resolutions introduced in Congress by Sen. Key Pittman and Rep. Sol Bloom to enable Latin American countries to purchase all types of armaments directly

from the War and Navy Departments is a further step toward erecting a wall of continental solidarity and strength against fascist aggression.

The weak spot in this armor of democratic defense is the internal regime of Brazil itself. The continued suppression of the democratic forces does not create a strong government, but a weak one—weak in its ability to resist the pressure of the fascist axis. In the interest of effective continental defense our State Department should exercise its influence to secure a liberalization of the Brazilian government such as is now taking place in Cuba.

## Good Riddance

THAT ugly word—sellout—came up frequently in Homer Martin's trial. Witness after witness testified, naming names, dates, and places. When the trial ended—it was held by the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union—Martin was out: permanently expelled from the councils of the organization which he recently headed. The vast majority of the UAW called it good riddance.

True, Martin was able to scrape together a rump dual-union session last week. It required two days to prepare the credentials report. R. J. Thomas, once Martin's associate, declared that representatives of only 17,580 members of the union attended. The credentials committee, Thomas revealed, added some forty-one locals which are almost dormant, tacked eight suspended locals, and "fourteen which exist in imagination only."

The character of this rump session can be gauged from the telegrams of greetings it received. Gov. Frank Fitzgerald, reactionary Republican, sponsor of an extreme anti-labor bill, blessed the session. So did Detroit's chief of police. Martin's teacher—Jay Lovestone—came out to advise.

The trial revealed truly alarming facts about Martin. Connivance with Ford's agents to the detriment of the union is clear. Paul St. Marie, secretary of Ford Local No. 600, testified under oath that a Ford agent offered Martin use of Ford servicemen—that industrial army of Black Legion cut-throats. Evidence also showed that Martin had entered into verbal agreement with Harry Bennett not to press charges before the NLRB against Ford for firing active unionists.

And to top it off, the notorious "Rev." Gerald L. K. Smith was invited by Jack Little, Martin's representative in Flint, to address auto workers there. The workers responded—by staying away.

Thus the devil's brigade tip their hands: from Martin to Lovestone to Coughlin to Gerald Smith to Ford. The delegates at the

UAW convention in Cleveland, March 27, will have this great advantage over previous sessions: they will know their friends from their enemies.

## Steel and Milk Monopolies

THE Temporary National Economic Committee last week came to grips with the problem of monopoly at two key points in production and distribution. The Federal Trade Commission made the indictment in both fields, attacking the steel industry's basing-point system as responsible for the monopolistic price and production conditions in that industry, and laying bare the domination of milk distribution by the National Dairy Products Co. and the Borden Company.

The indictment of the steel industry is an impressive document, the result of twenty years of study. The FTC points out that "Competition in such crude matters as price and quality has been put aside, and all that seems to remain is a gentlemanly emulation in the art of making friends and influencing people." It warns that the continuation of unrestricted monopolistic practices is a threat to democracy and declares that unless free competition is restored, "public control of the details of business policy, including prices, wages, and production schedules" will be the only alternative.

In milk distribution, monopoly is achieved by virtue of the fact that two companies, one of which, National Dairy Products, is a holding company for scores of operating companies, so dominate the field that they are able to dictate prices to both the consumers and the producers.

The real problem involved in the monopoly investigation is not so much the securing of evidence as the discovery of effective remedies. We believe that the Federal Trade Commission is in error in holding that the elimination of the basing-point system would automatically solve the problem of monopoly in the steel industry. In general its philosophy seems to be that of the anti-trust laws. That philosophy has proved ineffective because it directs its attack at bigness as such rather than at the finance-capitalist exploitation which is the essence of monopoly. The industry-by-industry empirical approach advocated by Jerome Frank, member of the Securities and Exchange Commission, is likely to prove more fruitful, provided it does not serve as a cloak for establishing a new NRA. It should be borne in mind, however, that all remedial measures can never, under capitalism, be more than partial and relative. Nevertheless, they can aid materially in improving the living standards of the people and in checking the political encroachments of the monopolies.

# Reader's Forum

## Danger at Albany

**T**O NEW MASSES: Tory Republican contempt for the expressed will of the people is manifesting itself in a dangerous way in New York State. Although they got a minority of votes in the 1938 elections, the Republicans received a legislative majority through a gerrymandered system of apportionment. This minority clique is planning to ignore the vote of the people on the constitutional amendments last fall, when a decisive majority of the voters specifically endorsed a statewide program of public low-rent housing and health insurance.

Already the Labor Committee of the Legislature has slaughtered fifty progressive bills. Grave danger exists that the progressive proposals of the committee on the condition of the urban Negro population, aimed at abolishing Jim Crow discrimination, will go the way of the bills before the Labor Committee.

Albany correspondents agree that the Republican tactic is to avoid "wasting" progressive legislation in years when there is no election. While this exposes the tory cynicism of playing politics with human needs, it tends to gloss over the real danger that a number of reaction's own pet projects will be put over this year.

Every day's delay in mobilizing support for the progressives' financial program increases the danger of the Legislature's adopting the notorious McNaboe sales tax, and imposing crippling reductions in funds for social services. The Red hunt at the hearings on the operation of unemployment insurance indicates a tory determination to ignore the recommendations of the investigating committee and to reduce benefits, increase waiting periods, and reduce employers' contributions. The Wicks bill, a blow directed at the subway workers and the Transport Workers Union, is still awaiting a moment when reaction hopes to sneak through its passage, and the McNaboe anti-civil-liberties bill and vicious anti-alien legislation are still pending, with powerful reactionary groups demanding their passage.

New York City.

DAVE RICHARDS.

## One Year Ago

**D**EAR JOE NORTH: Remember one year ago at this time? We were both in Barcelona at the Hotel Majestic. I remember we both went looking for something good to eat so we could have a small celebration for St. Patrick's Day, but instead the people of Barcelona got the most terrible bombing of the war. More than three hundred women and kids were killed, they were looking for the bodies for weeks after; most of them were killed down by the car barns right in the rush hour. Who could ever forget all those people digging in the ruins and finding bodies? They used to hold up the corpse and put on a light and everybody would look at it to see if he knew who that used to be. There were some pretty sad reunions that night. The kids were walking through the rainy streets all night long dragging bodies that were heavier than they were; it was the saddest parade there

ever was. It was all done by the Italians from Majorca with bombing equipment made in California, and could not have happened if America had sold the people a few anti-aircraft guns so they could defend themselves.

That was also the time of Hitler's first great machine offensive in Spain. On the same day they took Austria they destroyed the little town of Belchite which our brigade was defending. The Nazis massed more artillery in a small sector than had been seen before in modern times, the French generals said, and we had had no new arms for many months and were at the lowest ebb so far on all supplies; we did not have a plane in the sky for twenty days after that. It was at that place a shell hit our "estado mayor" and killed Dave Reiss and De Witt Parker, and Fritz Orton and Paul McEachron and many more were caught on the way out. We marched for several days after that till we were surrounded and had to fight our way out—that was at a rich town of Caspe. Our boys attacked at about three in the morning with no artillery cover fire at all and by dawn Mussolini's gallant legions had retreated about seven miles, which is pretty fast, and left plenty of material that was used for a long time after that. It was one of the greatest jobs that Dave Doran and Bob Merriman ever planned, and earned us a rest for about a week at least—and we needed it.

It looked as though their stream of gear and supplies would never end, because they started up again very soon. Then we were watching from a little town, the much bombed Batea, and I remember you came up to see us there and Herbert Matthews, who was driving the car, was plenty sore at a few of Benito's planes that dived out of a hill and tried to strafe you off the road. The fat English reporter was sweating plenty and the little Frenchman from *Ce Soir* was trying to take notes and look up in the air at one and the same time.

When the action finally came up, we were dug in deep on a very long ridge and completely camouflaged. The boys were well prepared for the old *enemigo* that day and when they finally came up they were pretty surprised and fled down the hill and back across the river where it was fast and shallow. But that was no time to feel good, because the motorized columns went around and came out behind us and then we were surrounded and locked in there for more than eight days. But I guess everybody knows by this time how we finally got out of that area and all the fighting it took to do it; the last tough hurdle was the old Rio Ebro.

It is a sad commentary on the Moors and Italians and the troops from Navarre who could not stop us from getting back to our units. There are not many instances on record of a whole corps of men surrounded forty miles in enemy territory and then getting out. We felt pretty good because even with all their material advantages and gains they still looked like a bush-league outfit because they did not want any part of a fight when it came up and they were not 100 percent sure of winning before it even started. We lost quite a few good men in those tough days but it certainly does not feel as though a whole year has rolled around since that happened. The International Brigade vets will be getting together in cities all around the world, even in Berlin and Vienna, to talk about that year ago.

Today the situation has changed quite a bit and a lot has happened. The fight is still there, only the front has moved and all of us have different jobs. We in the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade are finding out more each day what our job is, taking care of our fellows who were wounded and bombed out. There are at this time at least 180

men who will need our help for a long time and some for the rest of their lives. The people of America have been very good to us veterans so far and now we must ask their aid again at a time when things are dark in Spain.

To take care of these 180 cripples and bring home 131 men from France and extradite the eighty-seven fellows who are prisoners in Burgos so that they will never know a sorry moment for their fight against the fascists, will cost at least \$16,000 and we have to get it in the next few months to eliminate a lot of suffering. Many people who have given before will go on helping us as they always have and we must see a great many new people and ask for their aid.

You fellows on NEW MASSES are doing a great job and the recent Brigade issue you ran with the tribute to our dead by Ernest Hemingway was the finest thing ever. We vets hope it helped because we know you need the money to keep on operating; but perhaps it would not be out of order and George Willner would not mind too much if we could ask your readers to help in our campaign by sending the names of clubs and people who might be willing to help, and giving suggestions or sending us what they can to get us out of this situation. Last year it was rivers to cross and this year it's vets to take care of and fix up for the rest of their lives.

The people of America have been very good to us; they are the ones who made it possible for us to go to Spain and gain some experiences that may be useful in the defense of our own land. They made our fight in Spain worthwhile because we always thought of them when things were tough sledding. We were thankful for the hundreds of gifts they sent when we were over there, and for all that we thank them very kindly and ask their help in taking care of our fellows who have suffered quite a lot and will, for as long as they live, wear the only medal of valor or distinction they use in our army: an artificial limb or a glass eye or a silver plate—and for that they shall never be sorry; they acquired it in their fight against the cowards.

The vets send their best wishes for a bigger and better NEW MASSES, and thanks in advance for everything.

FRED KELLER.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.  
New York City.

## Fund-Raising Plan

**T**O NEW MASSES: Enclosed herewith please find \$10 as an initial contribution from the group of white-collar workers which this writer represents.

Time and space prohibit our complete expression as to the seriousness with which we regard the present difficulties being faced by NEW MASSES. In place of this, however, we want NEW MASSES and those who depend on its continued existence, to know that we are prepared to make every sacrifice to help ensure the complete success of the present financial drive. How we are planning to do this should be of interest to every friend of peace, progress, and democracy.

The initial \$10 was raised by a loan, to be repaid by the entire group in small weekly installments. Beginning immediately we are each (ten of us) sending out personal appeals to ten friends (total, one hundred) for subscriptions and contributions to be forwarded directly to NEW MASSES. The letters will also contain ten more mimeographed appeals which we will ask our friends to send to ten of their friends.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

PAUL HACKETT.

## How Safe Is America?

Stuart Chase argues that it can't happen here in "The New Western Front." Lewis Mumford pleads for "non-intercourse" with fascism in "Men Must Act." Reviewed by Theodore Draper.

FOR fully half his book (*The New Western Front*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$1.50), Stuart Chase patiently catalogues the differences between Europe and the United States. There is no need to repeat them all because they have one characteristic in common. They are all differences in size or quantity. I do not exaggerate, for Mr. Chase disarmingly comments that Europeans are probably superior to Americans in things of culture, learning and artistic achievement. We are vastly superior in railroad mileage, telephones, natural gas, sulphur, corn, automobiles, and the like, with excellent charts to prove it. And we are big. Mr. Chase learnedly reminds his readers that they could put Germany, France, Italy, England, or Japan in the single state of Texas and still have something to spare. The Europeans have more languages, frontiers, governments, and armies but, in the United States, New York cannot raise a tariff wall against Connecticut and Iowa stays at peace with Nebraska. This is all described with great gusto and the wonderment of discovery. It is supposed to establish that the United States is "unique and alone."

There is no point in disputing the evidence, though some of it is carelessly arranged. Much of it is familiar to school children. The United States is different, bigger, more productive, in many ways. It does not suffer from many of Europe's ancient sores—at least, not as much. If Mr. Chase tried to prove only this, he would be on safe ground but nobody would bother to read his book. His purpose is much larger. It is to show that the advantages of the United States in size and quantity can keep us out of a world war and make fascism at home impossible. Both of these claims are advanced with a most reckless dogmatism. "It lacks certain material conditions which produced Communism in Russia, fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, aggressive militarism in Japan," he insists. "To import these ideologies to America is like importing crushed stone to burn in a furnace—they make no sense under our conditions." And of peace: "But when war comes, if we care to pay the modest price of neutrality, we do not have to be dragged in."

The whole argument is based on a colossal *non sequitur*, one, moreover, which Mr. Chase himself exposes in an unguarded paragraph near the end.

The piling up of details about the country's material wealth is no substitute for a serious social analysis of that wealth's uses. For one thing, that bigness has been no guarantee against recurrent depressions. Indeed, the bigger they come, the harder they fall. The railroads and the corn and the natural gas happen

to fall within a capitalist economy. They are controlled by a very small minority to whom self-preservation as a class is uppermost. From this minority come the allies of the fascist axis. The notion that fascism has to cross the Atlantic is too silly to dispute. The importation of spies, saboteurs, and storm troopers may help, but the greater danger lies with the fifth column at home. We have Messrs. Hoover, Castle, Reynolds, Dies, and Coughlin, men of wealth and power and dictatorial ambition, despite the lack of tariff barriers between the states and the unlikelihood of Iowa's warring against Nebraska. Mere size will not save us and the social uses of material wealth are infinitely more important than any quantitative catalogue.

In just one place, Mr. Chase confesses. At this point, his entire argument breaks down. The result is a self-indictment. He writes: "Why do the people of many nations in Europe support dictators, and hang out a 'To Rent' sign on their houses of parliament? Because of desperate economic conditions, unemployment, insecurity. Will such conditions produce a Strong Man in France and England, some day? If they continue long enough, they probably will." On the very next page, it appears that the United States is in the same fix. "When will the people of the United States turn to a Strong Man? When they are fed up with being half fed." This is the first and only intimation that the United States is not "unique and alone" with respect to the social uses of production. It comes, unfortunately, very late, twelve pages from the end, and is quickly dropped. Obviously, if desperate economic conditions have something to do with fascism, then the American scene is not exempt. Where does that leave Mr. Chase's previous claim that the United States absolutely lacks "certain material conditions" which produced fascism in Europe?

This blind confidence underlies a political program. If there is nothing to worry about, if fascism has no soil here, there is no need to struggle, no need to resist—though pacifists of this type come to this conclusion by a reverse logic. They do not want to struggle so they find that there is nothing to worry about. "Be calm, my fellow citizens" is the expression in this book. Be calm in the face of Addis Ababa, Vienna, Prague, Shanghai, Nanking, Barcelona, Madrid. Be calm about the Bund, the Dies committee, the possibility of a Hoover-selected President in 1940. Be calm because you may be roused to action if you take fire with rage against the barbarians. Mr. Chase demonstrates his own calmness by advocating "neutrality" and the Ludlow amendment.

But even he is not sure of his own prescription. In an ineffable chapter, entitled "How to Stop Dictators," he addresses himself to the inventors. He suspects that we may have to take the road marked out by Dr. Schacht in Germany "for all the superiority of the United States in many departments." The inventors must find the solution. Now, Mr. Chase recently published a book on "semantics." He is an authority on the willful misuse of words in order to deceive. This needs to be kept in mind to pass judgment on the inventions he desires. "In simplest terms," he appeals, "the inventors must find a method which will permit Americans to buy back what they can make." Nor is this all. "We need an invention that will neutralize, scale down, transform, the present debt burden" and we need inventions "that will finance a growth in intensive capital outlays" as well as lessen "the rigidities of administered or monopoly prices." In other words, we need somebody to invent a new social system. If somebody will do that by the time Mr. Chase is ready to write another book, it would be gratifying.

It is quite incredible that a serious writer should be guilty of such flagrant misuse of language. Social systems are not invented like mechanical appliances and even if they could be, there is little to indicate that the profit-mongers would accept them peacefully. It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Chase would make as a condition for his social "inventions" the preservation of the capitalist system. If so, what he wants is not an invention at all but a miracle.

From this hocus-pocus, it is a relief to turn to Lewis Mumford. Every page of *Men Must Act* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$1.50) is filled with a passionate loathing of fascism. He finds it horrible, not only because it gives the people guns instead of butter, but because it is a systematic barbarism, an anathema to civilized



Ad Reinhardt



Ad Reinhardt

man. He is far from calm. He is convinced of the extreme urgency of the crisis and the lateness of the hour. For my part, anybody who feels these things keenly enough cannot permanently go wrong. Rarely have they been stated more stirringly than here.

"The question that fascism puts to democracy is not *whether* we shall fight but *how and when* we shall fight," as Mr. Mumford insists, is another way of saying that the choice lies between submission and resistance. A slave's peace does not interest him. In his view, if there has to be a choice between fighting for freedom and living for a concentration camp, let it be the first. This point was reached with Munich. No matter what we may like, the fascists will yield only to superior force and it is necessary to use that force soon or it will be too late. On the whole, he seems to believe that Europe is already lost so he conceives of the United States as a latter-day Byzantium in a new Dark Age. Too frequently does Mr. Mumford depend upon psychoanalysis in problems where detailed economic and political knowledge is necessary. This leads him to define fascism as "the doctrines and the works of evil men" and to take refuge in its "irrational element."

The specific program advanced in *Men Must Act* is called "non-intercourse." In brief, it proposes that the United States renounce all political and economic relations with Italy, Germany, and Japan, with some few exceptions. At the same time, Mr. Mumford disassociates himself from "collective security" and is at some pains to put it in the same class as isolationism. On the positive side, he frequently retreats into vagueness and eloquence as a substitute for careful political analysis. So, for example, he would have lifted the embargo on Spain but he stops short of thinking through what that would mean as a general policy.

"Non-intercourse" would seem to be but the negative side of collective peace action. We would, at that, not help the aggressor. But there is equal need for a positive policy. If we do not want the fascists to win with our help, do we want the victims to lose by our failure to help? The first may be achieved through "non-intercourse." The second needs "democratic intercourse." The two are complementary. Mr. Mumford, in defense of his purely negative plan, says that "bold leadership" by the United States "might easily" lead to more active resistance in Europe, which in turn would help us. The same end would be accomplished even more easily and with greater certainty by help to democracy wherever embattled. I am afraid that Mr. Mumford, in fear of a mere name, has failed to follow the course of his own thought to its logical conclusion.

A very gross case of the same illogic applies to his treatment of the Soviet Union. He mentions it twice. In the first reference, he remarks that Mussolini and Hitler may "lead a fatal march into Russia." If this is so, then there must be something stronger and healthier about Russia than the European democracies

(which he considers as good as lost) or even the United States (to which he assigns only a few more years of possible resistance). Mr. Mumford next returns to the subject only to vilify the Russian tradition as "sinister" and to repeat the old liberal hoax that fascism borrowed its violence and repression from Communism. He adds to the muddle by claiming that "the sinister features of Communism are not Communist at all but Russian." The paragraph in question is so confused that it is possible to interpret it as a slam at the "Russian tradition" or the "Communist dictatorship" or both. Either way, it fails to grapple

with the main question: why has Soviet Russia been the strongest barrier against fascism at every critical turn?

But I prefer to think of *Men Must Act* as a rousing protest by a rich spirit rather than a scientific statement of a unified viewpoint. When Lewis Mumford writes: "What we must isolate is not the United States but fascism" and "Peace at any price means peace at the price of accepting fascism," I feel like cheering. As long as he cries "J' accuse," he is magnificently eloquent, but neither his analysis nor his solution does justice to his passion.

THEODORE DRAPER.

## Josephine Herbst's "Rope of Gold"

Edwin Berry Burgum traces her development as a novelist. The third book about the Trexler family.

IT is clear now that Miss Herbst's novels must be read as part of a large design, to which *Pity Is Not Enough* was a misleading, inadequate prelude. This earlier novel attempted to resuscitate the Southern background of the Trexler family. But Miss Herbst's achievement began when, in *The Executioner Waits*, the family had long been settled on a Midwestern farm, and lost their contacts with the past. The later novel remains the most vivid statement in fiction of the decline of our petty bourgeoisie in the period from the end of the Great War to the dawn of the panic of 1929. Its theme continues in *Rope of Gold* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$2.50) with the emphasis shifted to the tendency of these declassed persons to merge into the proletariat and to become more consciously hostile to the owning class. Miss Herbst is now obviously aligning herself with those novelists, more abundant in France than in our own country, who seek through a series of novels to present the different currents of thought and conflicts of classes, within the dubious shelter of which our individual lives must run their courses.

But Miss Herbst's method is her own. She is imitating no foreign novelist. Nor should the flippant conclusion be reached that she is in any essential way influenced by her American predecessor, Dos Passos, because she introduces at the end of each section of *Rope of Gold* a "camera's eye." These passages, in which stream-of-consciousness technique is distorted into bitter commentary on important social events, have the same end as in Dos Passos; through some individual's awareness of participation in it, the event comes alive as symbolic of the larger issues that dominate the immediate story. But, however helpful to this end, they are scarcely necessary since Miss Herbst's method is sufficient of itself. They become the exclamation marks at the conclusion of already vigorous sentences.

For Miss Herbst's method is otherwise entirely independent of Dos Passos, and, I be-

lieve, superior. The stark contrast of discontinuous episodes is intended in Dos Passos ironically to sharpen the sense of class difference and isolation, but it succeeds only in producing the impression that men are the puppets of conflicting forces too powerful and remote to be understood. Miss Herbst remains aware of the human factor in events. She gives a clearer and surer picture of social movements by emphasizing the intricate inconsistent continuum of human contacts that are anything but episodic in their nature. And she recognizes that the most immediate and intimate of these contacts is still to be found in the family. The family, in other words, has not yet disappeared as the natural unit through which a story may be told as well as through which these abstract economic forces actually work. Such is her conspicuous distinction among the novelists of the left: that she takes as her unit of action, not the factory or the strike or the town, but the family. And in so doing she has escaped the limitations of the novel of propaganda, because she has realized that the traditional conception of the novel has not yet been outmoded in this respect. We still live in families, and the novelist who recognizes the fact only makes whatever social implications he has in mind the more palatable and convincing. His novel becomes warm and intimate, and is no longer a portfolio of snapshots by a man who likes to travel.

But Miss Herbst is dealing with a changing world, and she does not withdraw before the difficult problem of defining its direction. One notes a change in tone in this latest novel from that of *The Executioner Waits*. That novel was principally devoted to the Trexler family, and though they had a German sobriety, there was *Gemütlichkeit*, too. A gayety pervaded the atmosphere such as was characteristic of the period also. Reckless, superficial American optimism lingered after the standard of living had begun to shrink. It took time for the deepening impoverishment to eat it away. The reality of accumulated

wealth somewhere in the family made for confidence as well as jealousy. Connections between its poorer and its wealthier members were breaking, but the growing cruelty and indifference were scarcely credible. At the end, however, when old Trexler stands alone before his wife's grave, the distant songs of the striking workers combine with his mood of defeat to suggest that an era has closed.

If the tone of *Rope of Gold* is more drab, it is that these ropes are now broken. And to make our sense of the change more definite, Miss Herbst has shifted to a wealthier family group where the break will be the more spectacular. No longer is it the poor Trexlers appealing to the wealthier Western branch of the family. It is now Jonathan Chance cut off by his wealthy Puritan father. As the prosperous family gathers closer for self-defense against the onslaught of the depression, it will no longer tolerate the old drawing-room chatter of Communism and good American ways. Old Chance's daughter has married Ed Thompson, who, unlike a sober middle-class Trexler building his business by honest service, becomes an executive in a motor corporation, seeking to save his job by hatching plots to forestall the unionization of the men, and thus selling to the directors his own suppressed hysteria of insecurity. In such a family the radical becomes the black sheep and is ostracized no longer for his moral but for his political conduct.

But Miss Herbst is not interested in the now familiar story of the break between the wealthy father and the radical son. She is concerned rather with the effect of this background upon the personality of the son. Instability of personality intensifies the effect of economic pressure, and family life becomes impossible for him. He likes to associate with workers whose freedom from Puritanism in matters of drink and conversation delights him, but never for a moment does he think of becoming one, of settling down into family life as a steady union man. Nor does his education promote this sense of service to society. So he prefers the more reckless position of organizer of workers, and since this is hardly a lucrative profession, Victoria Trexler, whom he has married, is forced to leave him for pursuit of a job, and the couple, separated, meet others to love and share their interests. For these displaced intellectuals the family has disappeared.

Nothing, in fact, quite succeeds in this novel of the striving with hope, of the ferment of restless and still ineffectual movement. Love, defeated in the family, seeks to find itself in the brotherhood of poverty and misery. Hope and melancholy unite in a common return to the land. The more conspicuous characters never feel quite at home in the city, in the factory town. The drive beneath their efforts to organize the farmers is the nostalgia for the peace and security of their simple farming ancestors. Something of the respect for property of the small holder survives in them, and they had rather fight to defend the land than the job. If *Rope of Gold* is a more disturb-

## NEW MASSES

*will present in its pages  
in the immediate future:*

### The Arts Projects: A Cultural Survey

BY JOSEPH STAROBIN

This series will tell what the various Arts Projects of WPA have done; what has been suppressed concerning their achievements; what they mean to the cultural life of America today; what they mean to the artists who are employed upon them.

★

### The Fight Against Lies

BY PAUL DE KRUIF

This eminent author and scientist gives a program for authors who want to fight fascism. He tells just how they can tell the American people simple truths; how their words can be just as effective as the great struggle of the people.

★

### Mr. Wilson Retreats to Munich

BY V. J. JEROME

The editor of the *Communist* analyzes Edmund Wilson's "counsel to withdraw from the fight" as a specialized literary service to fascism.

★

### The Hymnal of Hate

BY KARL BILLINGER

A comprehensive analysis of the new "unexpurgated" editions of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" by the author of "Fatherland" and the forthcoming "Hitler is No Fool."



CLEARANCE SALE

14,000 BOOKS MUST GO!

Over 14,000 books must be sold regardless of former prices. Here are selected titles by outstanding authors among whom are, Feuchtwanger, C. Day Lewis, J. M. Bertram, K. Marx, F. Engels, A. L. Strong, Lenin, J. Stalin, L. Zugsmith, B. Kaverin, Ralph Bates, E. Browder, Millen Brand, Ernst Toller & Liddell Hart. Because of certain obligations we unfortunately cannot list the titles. If you cannot come in write for special book list. Postage on all books FREE.



2000 Books at 29 cents (or 3 for 79c)

3000 Books at 49 cents (or 3 for \$1.39)

2500 Books at 69 cents (or 3 for \$1.89)



3500 Books at 98 cents (or 3 for \$2.79)

1500 Books at \$1.29 (or 3 for \$3.50)

1500 Books asst. reduced 50% (slightly damaged)



SALE BEGINS FRIDAY MARCH 17 2 WEEKS ONLY

WORKERS BOOKSHOP 50 East 13th Street, N. Y. C. Telephone AL 4-6953

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronising advertisers

ing book than its predecessor, the period of which it treats has defined its tone. We are in the deepest of the depression, when fascism has arisen abroad, and when all the promises of recovery cannot restore confidence in the old prosperity which the bourgeois American now realizes has gone from him forever.

It is to the minor characters that one turns for relief. And it is, I hope, the promise of a shift of focus in the next volume that the last chapter of this book is given over to Steve Carson on sitdown strike in a motor plant. But in treating of this more hopeful theme Miss Herbst has not lost her discretion or shattered the consistency of tone in Rope of Gold. The worker is not yet sure of what he is doing. He is not yet aware of the historical importance of the establishment of industrial unions. He is sensitive to immediate hazards and insecure in his grasp of the new weapon. But he does not let it drop from his hand.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM.

"Seasoned Timber"

Dorothy Canfield's latest novel deals with anti-Semitism in Vermont.

It won't happen here, says Dorothy Canfield in her latest novel (Seasoned Timber, Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$2.50). "Here" is Clifford, Vt., home of a small and unfashionable academy with a liberal tradition. The issue is, shall the academy accept a million-dollar bequest on condition that it exclude Jews and transform itself into a peppery prep school. The academy will not. But this decision, which is made by the townspeople, comes only after a battle between gate receipts and intellectual freedom, intolerance and democracy, phony and real Vermontese, has been fought with enough heat to draw the patronizing attention of big-city newspapers.

Miss Canfield's prescription of the American way (lower-case brand, and genuine) is leisurely and thorough. No specific issue emerges for the first half of the book. We get only parenthetical comments on fascism from the academy's principal, Timothy Hulme, who adds disgust and guilt over Hitler's pogroms to the weight of an active, honest private conscience. It is Timothy's job to plan the curriculum and repair the plumbing, take money but no ideas from the Nazi-minded trustee of wealth, teach, type his own letters, advise his students, worry about unequal opportunity in Vermont, and keep an eye on instructor Bowen, who is addicted to Hilaire Belloc, riding clubs, and High Church genuflections. When the news of the arrogant bequest reaches him, he explodes like a Fourth of July torpedo—and the skillful buildup Miss Canfield has given him makes this explosion seem inevitable and relates the first part of the novel to the sharp conflict of the last section.

There are memorable Vermont landscapes in Seasoned Timber, and plenty of Vermont characters, small-town and country people whose speech is marked by understatement and

a faintly bitter humor. Mr. Dewey, the eldest trustee, who says that anti-Semitism "makes me ashamed to look a decent dog in the face," battles valiantly against Bowen's gang of "realists." Timothy's nephew, although an alumnus, is young enough to typify the rumbling, roaring herd still in the academy walls; youthfully scornful of his uncle's hope that people will turn down a million dollars for a principle, he is still willing to support Timothy's campaign for all it's worth. At no point does Miss Canfield, while she poses a worldwide problem, depart from the natural setting of her story.

An author of widely read novels for the middle class has written her first book around an immediate political issue—written it with a sincerity, even a passion, which shows how deeply that issue has stirred her. This is the chief significance of Seasoned Timber. The book's fault is its occasional sentimentality. Men of good will, with a moral vitality like Timothy Hulme's, are not so often found in influential posts; people do not respond so readily to patriotic and rational appeals; and Vermont has more Cal Coolidges than you'd guess from this narrative. Nevertheless, Miss Canfield has said: no place in America, not even a small academy town, is safe from some form of fascist invasion; how can we resist it?—with the practical weapons of American democracy. Her readers may feel that the answer is just a little too easily carried out in Clifford, Vt., but no one can quarrel with the directive she offers.

BARBARA GILES.

Oklahoma Farmers

Samuel Sillen reviews "The Stricklands" by Edwin Lanham.

OLIVER LAFARGE has called Edwin Lanham's new novel (The Stricklands, Little, Brown & Co., \$2.50) a good bet for the Pulitzer prize. I wonder. It is not likely that the Pulitzer committee is ready to bolster its prestige at the price of selecting a novel so forthright in its support of militant working-class action against the evils of sharecropping, tenancy, and racial discrimination. If there were some kind of prize for social fiction written with a clear-headed and uncompromising vision of American life, The Stricklands would stand a better chance.

For it is a first-rate story, told with sureness and vigor, about the organization of croppers and farm tenants into the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Jay Strickland, the main character, is an organizer for the STFU in Oklahoma. His job is to get the union rooted in a state which presents special problems to the labor movement. In addition to breaking down the barriers between Negro and white farmers, there is the difficulty of organizing the expropriated and resentful Indian population. The urban workers who cut spinach and pick cotton during the season must be made to see their identity of interests with the small farmers. The propaganda of the Growers Association and the intrigues of lo-

cal politicians must be resisted. A new rank-and-file movement must be built at the same time that a native leadership is trained. In the face of these difficulties, Jay is determined to fight until "we got all them hunderd and sixty-five thousand tenants and sharecroppers in this state organized solid."

Jay's desire to improve the lot of his fellows through union activity is contrasted with his brother Pat's method of individual violence. In the plain talk of the hill people, Crosby Strickland summarizes the attitudes of his two sons: "I know things have been bad fer us and I can see why you couldn't stand fer it, neither of you. It made you (Jay) want to go out and fight to make things better and it made Pat want to go out and kick the world in the pants. I wish to Christ I could of stopped him." You can't altogether blame Pat for wanting to kick his world in the pants. The novelist makes us see why this high-spirited young man, fed up with poverty, tired of kicking around from one rotten job to another, should get involved in a bank robbery and in a shooting breakaway from the Dallas penitentiary. At the same time, Mr. Lanham underscores the suicidal futility of the gunman technique as a protest against society. Where Faulkner would give us only the gunman, Lanham gives us the gunman and the union organizer.

The moral of Pat's tragedy is not the banal moral of the police department: you can't win. It is rather the moral of the Marxist: your class can't win. The last days of the hunted outlaw are exciting, romantic, and utterly futile. The death of Rock Island Jones, on the other hand, is a landmark in the history of Oklahoma's labor movement. Rocky Jones, one of the most memorable characters in the novel, is a Negro organizer from Arkansas, Jay's invaluable aid. Courageous, intelligent, tireless, he symbolizes the strength of an entire people revolting against oppression through solidarity with other exploited men. Rocky is horribly lashed by the vigilantes; he is finally shot. But his lifework, as Jay points out in his stirring funeral oration, will go on inspiring other men who have the guns and the law against them.

It is a fine novel, written out of a passionate conviction that the hope for sanity and justice in Oklahoma, and by implication everywhere else, rests with an aroused and organized people. The style is plain and convincing. If there is melodrama in the novel, it rests on a sound basis of social reality. The interior-monologue device is shorn of its psychological subtleties, but the result is that the action of a fast-moving book is not impeded. The major weakness of the book, I feel, is its failure to account in sufficient detail for Jay's development as an organizer; we believe in him, but we are eager to know what it was, besides temperament, that made him go a way so different from his brother's. Rocky is more real, somehow; and Pat's wife, Belle, is more lovable. But we are more than content with a novel that gives such an affirmative and dramatic picture of an important area of



**SPANISH Variety NIGHT** With *These Great* **SPANISH ARTISTS**

**Song**  
 CONSUELO MORENO  
 VICENTE CORDELLAT

**Dance**  
 MARTINEZ & ANTONITA  
 NINA & ZABAL TRIANITA

**Music**  
 GERONIMO VILLARINO *Guitarist* HISPANOS UNIDOS  
 VICENTE GOMEZ *Guitarist* 10 Pc. Orch., Folk Dancers

**MECCA TEMPLE, 133 W. 55 ST.**  
**SUNDAY, Mar. 19 at 8:15 P. M.**

Tickets  
**\$2.20, \$1.65**  
**\$1.10, 55¢**

at N. Am. Committee, 381 4th Avenue  
 Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th Street  
 LeBlangs, 42nd St. and B'way  
 Auspices: MUSICIANS COMMITTEE  
 TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY.

**For the Relief of Spanish Republican Refugees**

**SAVE 49c AND SATURDAY NIGHT, MARCH 18TH**

FOR THAT

**GALA PARTY and DANCE**

From 8:30 P.M. until early A.M.

DANCING, FOOD, DRINKS AND

**BROADWAY VARIETY SHOW**

with

- ★ HAROLD ROME—composer and lyricist of "Pins and Needles" and "Sing Out the News"
- ★ ELEANOR LYNN—star of "Rocket to the Moon"
- ★ MANUEL COMPINSKY—violinist of Compinsky Trio and N.B.C. Symphony Orchestra
- ★ AL EBEN—star of "Pins and Needles"
- ★ LEONARD ELLIOTT—hilarious Broadway Comedian
- ★ CHARLES RABINER—humorist and mimic

*And Others!*

at KEYNOTE CLUB, 201 W. 52nd St.  
 SATURDAY — MARCH 18TH

**!! ADMISSION ONLY 49c !!**

Auspices: Committee for Democratic Action

Proceeds: ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE and NEW MASSES

## EUROPE • MEXICO • SOVIET UNION •

You see how life is really lived—you meet the people—you travel with companions of your own mental age in a small informal group—those things best done together are done cooperatively; otherwise you pursue your own interests—services are generously inclusive.

SCANDINAVIA, SOVIET UNION, TURKEY, BALKANS, GREECE under leadership of Prof. Colston E. Warne. 14,000 miles: London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsingfors, Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa, Bucharest, Istanbul, Athens, Salonika, Belgrade, Budapest, Paris. Sailing July 6. Back Sept. 5. — **\$698**

PUBLIC HOUSING IN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION (fourth season) under leadership of Irving Brant, Vice-Pres. National Public Housing Conference. England, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland. Sailing June 22. Back Aug. 10. **\$598**

"INSIDE EUROPE" (fourth season) under leadership of Herbert Witt, Exec. Secretary, N. Y. District, American Student Union. Auspices American Student Union. London, Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Leningrad, Moscow, Stockholm, Oslo, Amsterdam, Paris. For students only. Sailing July 1. Back Aug. 22. **\$498**

THE SOVIET UNION (third season) under leadership of Robert Magidoff, an American writer resident in the Soviet Union for the past 5 years. London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsingfors, Leningrad, Moscow, Ukraine, Caucasus, Black sea, Crimea. Sailing July 1. Back Sept. 5. **\$498**

MEXICO IN PROGRESS (second season) under leadership of Herbert Weinstock. An unusually complete survey. Sailing July 6. Back Aug. 15. Travel arrangements First Class. **\$468**

Steamship passage Third Class except for "Mexico in Progress." For information regarding itineraries, social and cultural programs, etc., on these and other trips, address:

**THE OPEN ROAD**  
8 W. 40TH ST.  
NEW YORK Dept. E  
Cooperating in the Soviet Union with Intourist

## CHESTERS' ZUNBARG



WINTER-WEARY? SUN-HUNGRY?  
This Easter . . . meet Spring at the Zunbarg.  
Lots to do—indoors and outdoors. All athletics. Genial company. Write—or phone Fallsburg 53.  
OPEN ALL YEAR WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

**Thrilling Vacation Ahead.**  
Hit the Trail for a Grand Time.  
THRILLS GALORE. Plenty of Action. Riding. All Sports. Free Instruction. Modern Conveniences, excellent food. Special rates for Easter Holidays. GRam. 7-3135.  
**SUCCASUNNA N. J.**

## Birdland

OPEN ALL YEAR  
CENTRAL VALLEY NEW YORK  
48 miles from N. Y. 225 acres in beautiful Ramapo Mountains. Fascinating hiking country, seasonal sports, excellent cuisine. Open fireplace, library, congenial atmosphere. Adults. Tel.: Highland Mills 7855. Management: FANNIE GOLDBERG.

## MAUD'S WINTER RAY

TEN ACRE PINE PARK  
Squankum Road, Lakewood, N. J.  
Ice skating, sports, entertainment. Excellent cuisine. Diets arranged. Phone Lakewood 261

American life that has been preempted by sentimental regionalists. The newspaper reviewers are busily adding another exception to their riddled rule that the proletarian novel has seen its best days. It is a pleasure to crow.  
SAMUEL SILLEN.

## Brief Reviews

"No Victory for the Soldier," novel by James Hill.

ALMOST from his cradle John Knox, the hero of James Hill's *No Victory for the Soldier* (Doubleday, Doran & Co., \$2.50) is rigorously trained as a pianist by his parents. His talented but selfish father works him as a good investment and then the bourgeois music world entangles him in its financial machinery. Knox goes from the waiting rooms of patrons to the salons and concert halls of Europe, enduring the humiliations and disappointments of an artist in a society that values art for what it brings in at the boxoffice. Denied a normal childhood, forced to live alone or in the company of art-mongers, Knox reaches maturity unequipped to handle life's ordinary problems. His love affairs and marriage are failures. His concert tours are compromises between his honesty as a musician and his need to make a living. As a composer he produces excellent music that bores stuffed shirts or is never heard at all. After a long series of frustrations he loses his life in Spain, where he has achieved his only deep satisfaction working anonymously in the ranks of the loyalist defenders.

Mr. Hill's is an unusually good first novel, deserving much more attention than the slush and mysticism of such of his countrymen as James Hilton and J. B. Priestley. He writes with sincerity and social understanding, and his style is clean and swift. His novel's weakness is that it compresses too much material and so does not obtain all its potential effectiveness. MILTON MELTZER.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA makes another contribution to his generous studies of Soviet culture in this important new index to the plays, films, operas, ballets, and theaters of the Soviet Union's first twenty-one years (*Handbook on the Soviet Drama*, American Russian Institute, \$1.50). Not only does it list in useful arrangement the thousands of Soviet dramatic pieces, with a descriptive sentence, but it catalogues all the pertinent books, articles, and pamphlets in various languages. The index to the index, as it were, is the easiest starting point for those interested in Soviet theater art. J. D.



S. F. Ramsey

OPENS MARCH 31st!

## plum point

the year-round vacation resort

NEW WINDSOR P.O. Box 471 Newburgh NEW YORK

CALLING ALL VACATIONISTS!

Enjoy the stately splendors of this Georgian Residence. Thrill to the grandeur of its spacious gardens, landscaped acres, lofty peaks overlooking the Hudson. Relax or play: your favorite sports, also golf, bowling, billiards. Come this Easter week for New Holiday Delights!  
Only 75 minutes from N. Y. C.

Send for Illustrated Booklet

Management of David M. Freedman and Ada Jaffe  
Newburgh 4270 or in N. Y. Canal 6-5965

## ZINDOREST PARK

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7764

Formerly a millionaire's estate.  
150 acres of most beautiful country.

All modern equipment and all facilities for sports.  
Make early reservations.

OPEN ALL YEAR

## THE LAKE VIEW

is preferred for choicest location, homey atmosphere and excellent cuisine. Moderate Rates.

59 MADISON AVENUE  
Lakewood, N. J.

Tel. Lakewood 287 or 963  
ANNA EPSTEIN

AN  
\*ARTIST  
INVITES  
YOU

to ...his 100 acre farm  
...glorious country  
...superlative cooking  
...homey atmosphere  
...books, fireplace  
...complete winter sports  
Just 55 miles from New York

Open All Year. Low Winter Rates.  
\*GEORGE A. PODORSON, 250 Park Ave., PLaza 3-8926  
or Locust Grove Farm, Hopewell Junction, N. Y.

Enjoy your vacation at

## EAGER ROSE GARDEN

305 7th St., Lakewood, N. J. Former Schildkraut Hotel

- All sports. Social activities.
- Passover holidays: make reservations early.
- Music and entertainment.

PHONE DR 4-3328  
OR LAKEWOOD 428

Come and spend your winter vacation  
at **UNITY HOTEL**

501 Monmouth Ave. Lakewood, N. J.  
Comradely atmosphere — Excellent cuisine — Winter sports — Entertainment à la Unity — Make reservations now for Easter Holidays  
Moderate prices Jake Schwartz & Moishe Gross  
Tel.: Lakewood 1159

When in Lakewood Be Sure to Visit Your  
Comrades at Their Rendezvous

## THE ROYALE

708 Princeton Ave. Telephone  
Lakewood, N. J. Lakewood 1146  
Social and sport activities. Music—Dancing—Entertainment. Special rates for readers of the New Masses. Special Diets. Make your reservation for Easter now.  
SONIA GELBAUM. — ANNA BROUDE.

## CAMP NITGEDAIGET

ON-THE-HUDSON  
BEACON, N. Y. Phone: Beacon 731  
ALL SPORTS

Hotel Accommodations: Per week \$17—Per day \$3  
City Office: EStabrook 8-1400. Transportation: EStabrook 8-8144  
(Or by N. Y. Central R.R.)

S I G H T S A N D S O U N D S

# “Awake and Sing”

Odets' first full-length play revived by Group Theater with most of original cast. Morris Carnovsky in brilliant performance. J. Edward Bromberg returns to the Group.

WITH the original cast almost intact, the Group Theater has revived *Awake and Sing*, Clifford Odets' first full-length play. It is a hauntingly beautiful play, fashioned of the nobility of the human spirit. There are moments when one loses all consciousness of a theatrical performance; moments when the actors' personalities seem to have completely dissolved into the characters they portray. Especially is this true in the case of Morris Carnovsky. His portrait of an old man is a magnificent thing to behold. He molds, paints, actually creates, not merely acts. In Mr. Carnovsky the Group ideal seems to come closest to realization. His ability of getting under a character and staying under, of sustaining an objectivity in the most difficult, the most emotional moments, of never once cluttering up a characterization with his own personality, is nothing short of inspired. But Mr. Carnovsky is not entirely alone in this faculty. It is a brilliant class in which he is the star pupil.

Phoebe Brand's Hennie Berger is as moving, as poignant as it was four years ago. And the two-fisted, one-footed, cynical, worldly-wise-guyish Moe Axelrod of Luther Adler is just as effective, and perhaps even a shade more mature. Sanford Meisner continues to be to Sam Feinschreiber what Barry Fitzgerald is to Fluther Good. Incidentally, one of the best scenes Odets has ever written is in the second act when the pathetic Sam doubts his paternity. (I was so nervous twice I weighed myself in the subway.)

Perhaps just as important as the revival itself is the return to the Group of J. Edward Bromberg. For being a really first-rate actor, Mr. Bromberg was penalized by Darryl Zanuck with a three-year contract. Now that the punishment is over, I hope J. Edward stays East and continues the crime. Julia Adler's Bessie Berger is a little uneven in certain spots and Alfred Ryder is not quite as satisfactory as Julie-John Garfield in the role of Ralph. Nevertheless, from every standpoint, *Awake and Sing* continues to be the best full-length play Odets has written and the Group produced.

In his subsequent plays Odets has achieved some extremely effective moments; here a powerful scene, there a brilliant character. *Paradise Lost*, *Golden Boy*, *Rocket to the Moon*, each attests to the magic of his dialogue—some of it written with an x-ray tipped pen; each is provocative in its own way and each equally disappointing. Why is this so? Why is it that the truly great promise of *Waiting for Lefty* and *Awake and Sing* has not yet been realized?

The answer is by no means as simple as the question. Perhaps it lies somewhere in Odets himself. Perhaps, to a certain extent he is suffering from some of the contradictions that torment his own characters. Certain facts would seem to point in this direction.

Once, in an interview, Clifford Odets made the statement that his plays all came from inside himself. Each of his characters was merely a different side of his own personality. It follows then that all he has to do is observe himself keenly, catch himself in a particular mood, and put himself down on paper as Sam, Joe, or Uncle Morty. What a familiar idea—to be able to write about people without the bother of having to know them—to be able to reflect life by contemplating your own reflection in a glass-topped desk! I can just see Mr. Odets bristling at the accusation that he was moving into an ivory tower with a wing looking out on the left. I wouldn't in the least blame the most articulate dramatist

of progressive America for bristling. And yet—that is precisely what his statement implies, pressed to its logical conclusion.

Mr. Odets knows as well as I do that his characters are not the product of his imagination exclusively. They are the result of the reaction of his imagination to experience. They are the result of the fusion of Odets and his environment. No matter how pungent his dialogue, no matter how great his natural gifts, he must learn how to do consciously what he started out to do unconsciously and instinctively—to draw from life itself. To accomplish this a certain discipline is needed which he, apparently, still lacks. In writing, it takes a great deal of courage to say certain things; it takes just as much to omit others. Wonderful as Odets' dialogue is, it would be still more wonderful if he left some of it out. He is the victim of a common ailment among writers—falling in love with your own lines. Sometimes he is captured by his own imagination—seduced by his own lyricism. I say these things after a careful and searching analysis of all his plays. The concealed faults in *Waiting for Lefty* and *Awake and Sing* have become more prominent in the later plays and one can't help feeling that this is due to a lack of discipline in thinking—a condition which is bound to be reflected in work. By now it is obvious to the whole world that a tremendous talent is possessed by Clifford Odets. Unfortunately, the reverse is also true.

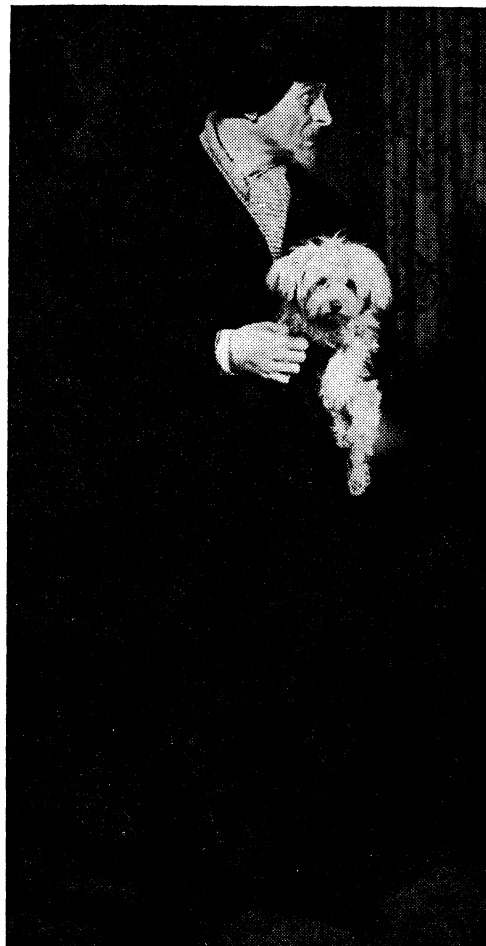
It is not easy to see the revival of *Awake and Sing* without being profoundly stirred again; without experiencing the sensation of contact with a major dramatist; without being grateful for the promise he makes which you know he hasn't kept.

Odets is down in South America somewhere writing a new play. Maybe this will be the one we've been waiting for. Maybe. In the meantime I wish someone would tell him what he must already know as well as any of us—that a work of art must be made of the stuff of life filtered through the artist's personality—and not the other way round.

## “FAMILY PORTRAIT”

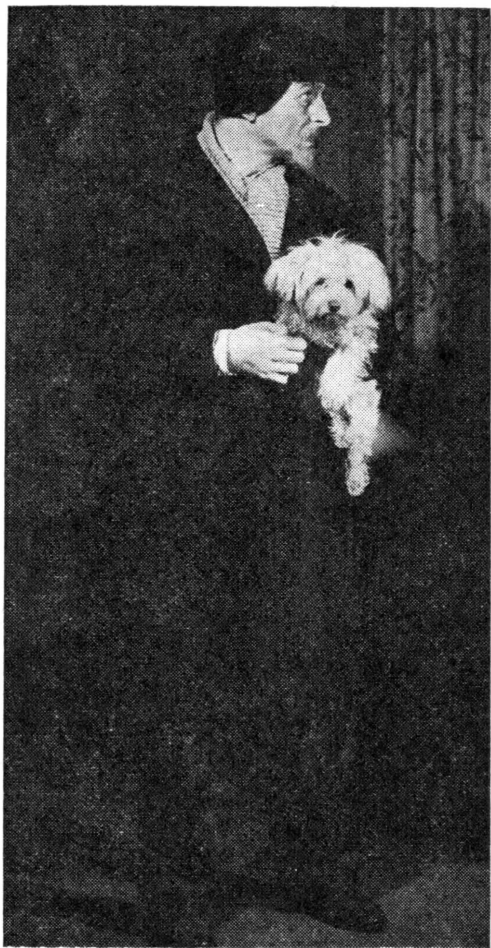
There are still quite a number of people in the theater who believe that a play consists of three acts, a star, and an Equity bond. For instance, Cheryl Crawford seems to believe this, in association with Day Tuttle and Richard Skinner. Lenore Coffee and William Joyce Cowen sold them 120 pages or so of hokum called *Family Portrait*. They, in turn, supplied Judith Anderson and the bond. Not enough.

*Family Portrait* concerns itself with an



Alfredo Valente

MORRIS CARNOVSKY in a scene from the Clifford Odets' play "Awake and Sing."



Alfredo Valente

MORRIS CARNOVSKY *in a scene from the Clifford Odets' play "Awake and Sing."*

The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
invite you to a

## Wedding Reception

for  
Mary Tannenhau  
and

Lieut. Robert Raven  
Blinded Hero of the Lincoln Brigade

Friday, March 31  
7:30 P.M.  
DINNER, \$2 per plate

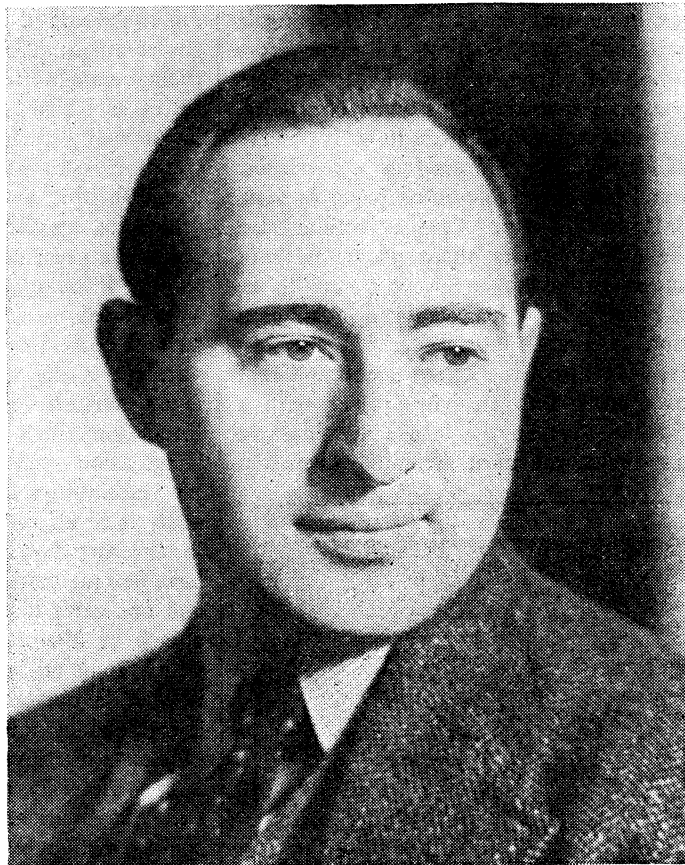
Town Hall Club  
43rd St., East of Broadway  
Proceeds to Disabled Veterans Fund

Reservations from Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
125 West 45th Street, N. Y. C. LOngacre 3-6215

extraordinary character—Jesus Christ—seen through the eyes of his very ordinary family. Wonderful opportunity for modern overtones—the radical in the family, etc. Sounds like a pretty good idea. It is. But the play doesn't develop in that direction at all. It turns out to be only one of several paths along which the hard-working Equity members stumble. Now it is the effect of Jesus upon greedy business men who would exploit him for his large following—now it becomes the actual Biblical tale completely divorced from the family—finally it narrows down more or less to a semi-mystical relationship between Mary and her offstage Savior-son. The trouble lies in the failure of these elements to blend into a homogeneous whole. The effect produced is diffuse, rambling.

STEVE MORGAN.

# MORDECAI BAUMAN



Lottl Jacobi

NEW MASSES PRESENTS

MORDECAI BAUMAN  
BARITONE

TOWN HALL

113 WEST 43RD STREET, N. Y. C.

SUNDAY EVENING

at 8:45 o'clock

MARCH 19

MILTON KAYE AT THE PIANO

\$2.20, \$1.65, \$1.10, 83 cents, 55 cents

Tickets on sale at New Masses, 31 E. 27th St., N. Y. C.,  
Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St., Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.,  
Mail Orders Now!

## Film on Czechoslovakia

"Crisis," Herbert Kline's eye-witness movie. Words by Vincent Shean.

**Y**ou see Conrad Henlein, stiff and foolish, lumbering along on the marches, looking like one of the balloons in a Macy parade. You look inside one of the bestial Nazi rallies in the Sudetenland where the local and imported Goebbels gibber their hatred for democracy, and the gangs, in a shattering primitive scream, answer, "Deutschland! Sieg Heil!" You see what this outpouring of ancient lusts, revived by fascism in our day, does to ordinary human beings living in it—to the democrats, the Jews, the Catholics.

Herbert Kline's movie crew spent the last six months with Czech democracy and many weeks in the Sudeten, which they left two days after Munich. The full-length film *Crisis* that has come to the 55th Street Playhouse (N. Y.) from the work of these three—the Prague German Hans Burger, the Czech cameraman, Alexander Hackenschmied, and the American Kline—is an historical film of the first rank—an "eye-witness" movie, its makers prefer to call it. Against an inspired and complete narrative by Vincent Shean, spoken by Leif Erickson, the camera fills in a story of the Nazi techniques for dismantling democracy that has universal lessons for the rest of world democracy.

The story begins with the *Anschluss*, March 12, 1938, after which Hitler pledged that he had no designs on Czechoslovakia. The Czechs have read *Mein Kampf*: they know better. They prepare themselves, secure in the alliances with France, England, and the USSR. The first Hitler attacks begin in May with Henleinist riots before the May 20 plebiscite. The camera gives a scene of profound irony: Sudeten Storm Troopers rounding up every breathing German for the election. Homes for the aged are raided and old folks are carried to the polls on their very deathbeds—an appropriate thing, the dying voting for the general death.

Look at the faces under the upraised arms of these Sudeten crowds: an expression of grim

anticipation and outraged ignorance. "In a rising state of excitement, steadily worked up by the German radio in an unparalleled effort of propaganda, the Nazis awaited the great party rally fixed for May 20 at Aussig, which was to have been the signal of their victory." But Hitler does not march in to assure this victory in typical Nazi manner: England, France, and the USSR stand firm with Beneš. Collective security works.

Now look at the faces in the vast crowds in Prague at the Congress of the Sokols, gymnasium of Czech democracy—an expression of self-reliance and happiness. They laugh; they do not need the mad savior and his crooked cross. For the beating heart of democracy, look at the German and Czech children in the summer camp the day Voscovec and Werich drove out to sing with them. The great Czech clowns, now refugees in New York, lead the kids in singing *Against the Storm*, the defense song by V+W popular that summer in the republic. But the storm gathers in the Sudeten; the German radio and press and the Nazis passing back and forth across the border are spurring the Henleinists. In September the film party travels in the German areas, making historical records of the brutal details which led the republic to suppress the Sudeten-German Party—shootings, beatings, shop-wrecking, and the lines of refugees whose cross-marches through modern Europe, from Germany to Czechoslovakia and Austria, from Austria to Czechoslovakia, from the Sudetenland to Prague, from Prague to New York, London, Paris, from Spain to France—where next?—have had no counterparts since the medieval pilgrims and crusaders. (Now they fly from the Nazis to nowhere, unlike the devout of an age less dark, who traveled to something.) Beneš proclaims martial law; we see Czech soldiers closing Nazi headquarters, carrying away the insolent banner of the Nazi paper *Die Zeit*. "The area returned to public order under military law," says the commentator, "and on that same afternoon Mr. Neville Chamberlain climbed the long road to Berchtesgaden."

The Czechs mobilize, with only the Soviet Union standing with them. Then Munich. Inside the House of British Infamy and French suicide Goering shakes like a bowl of jello at Der Führer's jokes; he puts his hands up to his chin in girlish ecstasy. In Prague thousands wander through the streets, crying and stumbling; it was too dangerous to take many pictures of these crowds. If they thought you were an Englishman, you might have been left in many small pieces. Beneš resigns: "In this new order of things, I would only be in the way." The picture ends in a refugee camp in no-man's land, between Czech and German lines on the southern frontier. It is a cell, this windswept, bitter plain; they cannot even fly. "As they huddle in rags and straw, or trudge up and down the windswept road to keep themselves warm, the only hope life has to offer is that in other lands there may be men who do not tremble and obey when Adolf Hitler cracks the whip."

**GROUP THEATRE PRODUCTIONS**

"An entertaining play. Excellently acted."  
—Watts, *Herald Tribune*

**'THE GENTLE PEOPLE'**

A Comedy by **IRWIN SHAW**

Sylvia Franchot Sam  
**SIDNEY TONE JAFFE**

BELASCO THEATER, 44th Street, East of Broadway  
Eves. 55c to \$3.50 MATS. THUR. & SAT. 55c to \$2.20

2 CLIFFORD ODETS SUCCESSES

**'AWAKE AND SING'**

MON. thru FRI.  
NIGHTS and  
WED. MATINEE

WINDSOR THEATER, 48th Street, East of Broadway  
Evs. 55c to \$2.20—Mats. 55c to \$1.65

**'ROCKET TO THE MOON'**

SAT. MATINEE and  
SAT. NIGHTS

WINDSOR THEATER, 48th Street, East of Broadway  
Evs. 55c to \$2.20—Mats. 55c to \$1.65

"It cannot and must not be missed by one who loves his country and his theatre."—WHIPPLE, *World-Tel.*

**RAYMOND MASSEY** in  
**ABE LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS**

By **ROBERT E. SHERWOOD** Staged by **ELMER RICE**

PLYMOUTH THEATRE, W. 45th St. . Clr. 6-9156

PRICES: EVENINGS 8:35, ORCHESTRA \$3.30. BALCONY \$2.75 to \$1.10  
MATINEES WED. & SAT. 2:30, \$2.75 to \$1.10  
EXTRA MATINEE EASTER MONDAY, APRIL 10

"SHOULD BE SEEN BY ALL LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLE . . . A STIRRING ODE TO THE COURAGE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE."  
Wm. BOEHNEL, *World-Tel.*

**The 400,000,000**

"BRILLIANT" "★ ★ ★"  
—Howard Barnes, *Her. Trib.* —Daily News

Commentary written by **DUDLEY NICHOLS** Narrated by **FREDRIC MARCH**

**CAMEO, 42nd ST.** East of B'way **25c** to 5 P.M. MIDNIGHT SHOW SATURDAY  
Weekdays

**DON'T LET IT HAPPEN HERE!**

Amkino presents

SEE WHAT HAPPENS TO A HELPLESS AND BETRAYED PEOPLE

**"CONCENTRATION CAMP"**

with the stars of "PROF. MAMLOCK"

LIVING DEATH UNDER THE RULE OF THE MAD DOG OF EUROPE

**American Premiere**  
Saturday, Mar. 18  
Continuous thereafter

**WALDORF Theater** **50th STREET**  
Betw. 6th & 7th Aves. (opp. Radio City)  
1000 seats 25c to 1 p.m. week days

**American Premiere**  
**WEDNESDAY EVE., MARCH 22nd**

AMKINO is proud to present

**EISENSTEIN'S Masterpiece**  
**"ALEXANDER NEVSKY"**



With a brilliant musical score by Sergei Prokofieff.  
Starring Nikolai Cherkassov, heading a cast of thousands.

**CAMEO, 42nd St., East of Broadway, N. Y. C.**

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronising advertisers



Seek out new horizons this year! Thrill to the vivid color and dynamic progress in the Soviet Union! From Baltic to Black Sea—a sweep of industrial and social advance! Nowhere is travel more exhilarating, less expensive: complete transportation in the USSR, hotels, meals, sightseeing, guide-interpreter service, **ALL for only \$5 a day, \$8 tourist, \$15 first class.** Write for illustrated booklet 30-B.

SEE INTOURIST OR YOUR TRAVEL AGENT

**Intourist, Inc.**

545 Fifth Avenue, New York  
360 No. Michigan Avenue, Chicago  
756 So. Broadway, Los Angeles

**ALL-UNION AGRICULTURAL EXPOSITION**  
opens Moscow, Aug. 1st 1939. Greatest exhibition in Soviet history — 353 acres devoted to USSR's massive achievements in agriculture.

## REUNION and DANCE

Tendered by

### HILLTOP LODGE

Hopewell Junction, N. Y.

Saturday Evening

March 25, 1939

8:30 o'clock Subscription 75c

Roger Smith Ballroom

40 East 41st St., N. Y.

Music by a popular swing band  
Refreshments • Vacations for  
the lucky winners as prizes.

Part of proceeds for Refugees

Directors: Sol Rothauer and Paul Wolfson

## KEYNOTE FORUM

201 WEST 52nd ST.

★

THURSDAY, MARCH 23  
8:30 P. M.

*"The Problem of the  
Cartoonist"*

Round Table Discussion with  
A. BIRNBAUM, FRED ELLIS,  
WILLIAM GROPPER and GARDNER REA  
ADMISSION 35 CENTS

History has built this shameful end, but *Crisis* does not answer Hitler's murder with the cry to fight back. In simple terms: an end to appeasement. The picture should present a plan of action: a strengthening of every fight in Spain and China, a unity of the democracies against fascist aggression, every step that can be taken to strangle Hitler—boycotts, embargoes, vigilance against the Bunds, the spies, and the traitors in the democracies. It worked in May when Chamberlain did not have the guts to play the traitor. Hitler did not march and he cannot march when the civilized world stands straight against him. *Crisis* has failed to provide the counter-attack necessary for the ruthless blows of Hitler. It did not show the anger of the democratic people of London and Paris. It failed, too, to show the strength of the Czech working-class parties—the Communists particularly—who fought then and are still battling against capitulation.

JAMES DUGAN.

## Joris Ivens' Film

"The 400 Million," China's fight against Japanese invasion.

THERE is no doubt that Chamberlain and Bonnet are trembling with eagerness to double-cross China as they double-crossed Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately for them, China is a big country, with no fewer than 400,000,000 citizens. As a result of the Munich which destroyed Czechoslovakia, China lost Canton. The Japanese are still in Canton, being afraid that if they get too far out of town they won't get back. One scene in *The 400 Million*, Joris Ivens' superb movie about the invasion, shows the reason for this fear. A Chinese soldier is bicycling down a narrow dirt road. He stops at the edge of a rice field and calls out something to a tall farmer in a circular straw hat. The farmer looks up quickly, wades out, and without even stopping to roll down his pants-legs, picks up his rifle and runs off down the road.

In *The 400 Million* Ivens uses the same dreamy, slow-moving technique of dealing with violence which made *The Spanish Earth* more a picture about the earth than the war which was taking place for the possession of it. His camera will focus on the branch of an apple tree in full blossom, then slowly slide down the trunk to a one-pounder at the bottom, almost hidden in piles of straw. *The 400 Million* is not half so brilliant as *Crisis*, but Ivens had the tremendous advantage of dealing with a war which is still going on. *Crisis* is downhill all the way, a real tragedy according to the specifications of Aristotle. Munich was a great fascist victory, on the same order as the merciless bombings of Shanghai and Hankow. But Ivens, besides the bombings, had the opportunity to photograph a great victory of democracy—Taierhchwang. The most exciting pictures in *The 400 Million* are of Chinese companies making a quick march over a

"The Little Foxes is one of the great events of this or any season on Broadway."

—Ruth McKenney, *New Masses*.

HERMAN SHUMLIN presents  
**TALLULAH BANKHEAD in  
THE LITTLE FOXES**

LILLIAN HELLMAN'S  
New Dramatic Triumph

NATIONAL Thea., W. 41 St. PEN. 6-8220  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40 — 55c to \$2.75  
Evs. 8:40 — Orches. \$3.30, Balcony 55c  
\$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75

The dramatic eyewitness film  
of betrayal in Central  
Europe—

# CRISIS

Filed by  
HERBERT KLINE

Commentary by VINCENT SHEEAN

**55th ST. PLAYHOUSE**  
East of 7th Ave. CO. 5-0425

## PLAY 2000 to 2500 RECORDS WITH AMAZING SAPPHIRE NEEDLE!

Needle problem solved! No changing, less scratch and surface noise, no wearing down of treasured records! Gives full tone of original music, on ANY phonograph. Only \$2. Money back guarantee. Ask your dealer. Muscraft, Inc., Dept. 33-A, 10 West 47th Street, N. Y. City.



## New Masses Presents Keynote Players



### "SUNDAY NIGHT VARIETIES"

Directed and Designed by  
NAT LIGHTMAN

Music by  
BERNECE KAZOUNOFF AND SYLVIA FINE  
Lyrics by  
JOHN LATOUCHE, DAVID GREGORY AND  
SYLVIA FINE  
Sketches by  
SAMUEL LOCKE

Choreography by  
BILL MATONS

## SUNDAY EVENINGS

March 19th and 26th

8:30 p.m.

TICKETS: \$1.00

## KEYNOTE

201 W. 52 ST., N. Y. C.

Tickets on Sale at New Masses, 81 E. 27 St., N.Y.C.  
CA Iodonic 5-8076 Mail Orders Now!



mountain and deploying on a plain to catch the Japanese on the flank. If there are gaps in Ivens' version of Taierhchwang, as compared with Hollywood battles between docile armies supplied by Central Casting, they are filled by the running commentary by Dudley Nichols, spoken eloquently by Fredric March.

*The 400 Million* ends with the victory parades after Taierhchwang. Since then the Japanese have taken more cities, from which they don't stray far after dark, and more miles of railroad, on which they aren't able to run trains. Taierhchwang was a good place to end a film about China's resistance to Japan. As a battle, it signified nothing. Wars aren't won by battles. Beside Munich, where fifty well equipped, well trained divisions were wiped out in one afternoon, it was nothing but a street quarrel. But as a symbol it was perfect. Czechoslovakia is lost, the great cities of China are lost, but even in Czechoslovakia fascism is an army of occupation which only holds the railroads. R. T.

## Mordecai Bauman

A progressive singer who has earned the title "people's artist."

THE title of "people's artist" is difficult to earn under any circumstances. In the arena of American music (so carefully tended by the ladies' committees and the wealthy patrons), it is doubly difficult; the big business of music is not interested in an artist who speaks in terms unknown to the after-concert soirées or the pre-concert cocktail parties. Those are the places where the business is done, and if you happen to be in Madison Square Garden at the time, the managers won't know your face or name.

Some years ago Mordecai Bauman sang the first performance of Elie Siegmeister's *Strange American Funeral* (words by Mike Gold), and since then he's participated in nearly every progressive musical activity which has occurred. Bauman introduced the magnificent songs of Hanns Eisler to this country; he has maintained the highest standards of artistry; has made phonograph records which have spread the news of a revitalized music; has been indispensable to left-wing composers.

The Juilliard School of Music turns out a host of singer-graduates each year. These young people follow a singularly repetitious pattern. Starry-eyed visits to managers soon disillusion any concert hopes, and it's not too long before they discover the limitations of an art which, though thousands of people want to enjoy it, is enmeshed by a vicious system of unscrupulous middlemen. Then there is nothing to do but face the dismal oblivion of a \$25-a-month church-choir job. This is true of all but the lucky few who crash the Met.

Mordecai Bauman didn't choose to follow that path. He decided early in the game that he couldn't participate in the kind of politics that one has to play to get past even the first

turnstile to the so-called halls of fame. He had earned a B.A. from Columbia while attending Juilliard, feeling the necessity of a general education along with a musical one. Columbia gave him the chance to be soloist with the Columbia Glee Club, to play the lead in a production of *The Beggar's Opera*, and to take part in Varsity shows. Out of school, there was a part in the Broadway production of Sean O'Casey's *Within the Gates*. When Hanns Eisler visited America in 1935, there were only two songs of his which were well known. In less than a year, most of his stirring mass songs were sung everywhere; for within that time Bauman and Eisler had appeared in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, bringing such songs as *In Praise of Learning* and *United Front* to cheering audiences. When Bauman returned from this tour, Timely Records asked him to record two volumes of songs for them. These recordings (one volume of Eisler's songs and another volume of workers' songs) have done as much as anything else to emphasize the existence and need of a left-wing music.

There's a lot more that can be said about Mordecai Bauman's experiences. Most of them will be known to the readers. Certainly there must be few who have not had the thrilling experience of hearing his voice ring out in a meeting hall. This Sunday, at 8:30 in the evening, he makes his formal debut at Town Hall (N. Y.). It is a moment to which every young singer looks forward. But it is safe to say that no young singer has ever appeared at Town Hall whose friends will be as legion as those of Mordecai Bauman—and it is to those friends that every young singer turns for an audience. Some turn in vain, but not so Bauman, for his title of "people's artist" is not an empty one. JOHN SEBASTIAN.

## Industrial Design

The Laboratory School exhibits achievements of new faculty members.

THE Laboratory School of Industrial Design (formerly the Design Laboratory) is launching its second term of the year with an exhibition of the design achievements of nine newly appointed members of the faculty. America, the birthplace of technology and invention, the home of the gadget, has notoriously lagged in the coordination of industry with design. The Laboratory School, seeking to synthesize engineering and the more purely formal attributes of the plastic arts, is a noteworthy pioneer in the field of native industrial design. Its steady growth, without the artificial stimulation of an endowment or a patron, but by the devoted labor of its volunteer teachers, is evidence that America needs and wants industrial designers trained in consonance with its own technology and its own tradition. E. N.

## FILEWORTHINESS

Not all items in the average newspaper are file-worthy. But there are, on the average, about six items in each issue of a newspaper that I find necessary to clip and put into properly identified folders in my Newsclip Filing System. The average good magazine gives me about twice as many file-worthy clippings. It's important to be able to call such clippings back into use at one time or another, and it's here that an efficient, handy, simple filing kit is essential. The H-J Newsclip Filing System is right down your alley. It solves the problem of how best to file clippings so they may be available in a few seconds when wanted for reference purposes. Send me only \$1 (plus 25c for packing, handling and carriage) and I'll send you the H-J Newsclip Filing System, containing 100 folders, gummed labels, and full instructions on how to put away about 5,000 fileworthy clippings. Address: E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 27, Girard, Kansas.

## NEW MASSES Classified Ads

50c a line Min. charge \$1.50  
7 words in a line Deadline Fri. 5 p.m.  
Classified ads can not be accepted over the telephone, and must be paid for in advance.

### ELECTROLYSIS

**SUPERFLUOUS.** Disfiguring Hair removed forever from face, legs, body. FREE—\$1 treatment to new clients! Personal attention. A physician in attendance. Belletta Electrolysis, 110 W. 34th (Opp. Macy's), suite 1102; ME 3-4218

### FURS REMODELED

**A FUR COAT PROBLEM?** Skilled Fur Craftsman with loft in wholesale fur district can give you 35% below retail rates on repairs, remodeling. Take advantage of off season lull. Storage facilities with Reveillon Freres. Armand et Soeur, 145 W. 30th St., N. Y. C. CH ickering 4-1424.

### INSURANCE

Whatever your needs—**PAUL CRÖSBIE**, established since 1908—**FREQUENT SAVINGS**, 135 William St., N. Y. Tel. BEekman 3-5262.

### LISLE HOSIERY

**SHEER LISLE** and mesh, union made. Wholesale prices as low as 62c pair. Minimum 3 pair. Sylvia, 80 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

### MAILING SERVICE

**COMPLETE MAILING SERVICE.** We are prepared to handle your Printing, Multigraphing, Mimeographing and Mailing needs. Quick service, low prices, any quantities. **MAILERS ADVERTISING SERVICE**, 121 West 42nd Street, N. Y. C. BRyant 9-5053.

### ORANGES FOR SALE

**NATURAL** Tree-Ripened. No sprays used. Del. ex. prepaid. Bushel \$3.50. Grapefruit \$3.25. Tangerines \$3.50. Mixed \$3.50. Half bushels \$2. A. H. Burket, Sebring, Fla.

### PAMPHLET

**NEW PRINTING.** "Justice for the Jew," just released, available to all interested in problem of anti-Semitism. Send for free copy. No obligation. Enclose 10c to cover postage, handling. American League to Combat Anti-Semitism, Suite 1308-E, 270 Broadway, New York.

### PIANO TUNING

**PIANO TUNING,** regulating and repairing. Tone restoring and voicing. Excellent work. Ralph J. Appleton, 505 Fifth Ave. Tel. MUrray Hill 2-2291.

### PLAY TABLE TENNIS

**BROADWAY TABLE TENNIS COURTS.** (Ping Pong) 1721 Broadway, bet. 54th and 55th Sts. N. Y. C. 1st floor. Open noon to 1 A. M. CO. 5-9088. Two tournaments weekly at 9 P. M. Tuesday Handicap. Friday Open Class A tournament. Expert instruction available.

### POSITION WANTED—FEMALE

**LABOR INVESTIGATOR,** government experience; also thorough knowledge campaign methods, publicity and fund raising; correspondence and secretarial work. N.M. Box 1577.

### VACATION RESORT

**DO YOU LIKE** country auctions, square dances, unspoiled walks, open fires? 18th century Colonial country house offers all modern conveniences, furnace, good food. \$2.25 per day; \$14 per week. Reservations only. Ertoba Farm R. 2, Quakertown, Pa.

## GOINGS ON

**JEROME KLEIN,** Lecture: "Romanticism in Contemporary Art." Sunday, March 19, 8:30 p.m. American Artists School, 131 West 14th St. 35c.

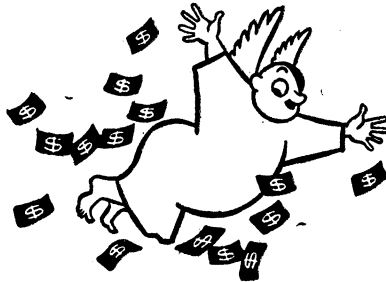
**ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS** of the Week every Sunday evening at 8:30 p.m. at the Workers School, 35 East 12 Street, 2nd floor. Admission 20 cents.

**FOR A REAL ROOF ROCKER** meet your friends at Bob's! Excellent entertainment; excellent refreshments. 317 West 93d St., Sat., Mar. 18, 8:30 p.m. Benefit New Masses. Subs. 49c.

**ROBERT MINOR** will speak on "The Historical Role of the Communist International" Saturday, March 18, 2:30 P.M., at the Workers School, 35 East 12th Street, 2nd floor. Admission 25 cents.

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

# « WHAT IS AN ANGEL? »



**“YOU’RE OUR ANGEL,”** we said a few weeks ago, and we’d like to elaborate.

The term angel has a long history in the publishing business. An angel is one whose interest in the viewpoint of a particular magazine or newspaper is sufficient to make him underwrite its deficit.

Hitler, for instance, is angel to many of the pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic papers now cluttering up the countryside. He’s interested enough in what they’re saying to foot the bills and supply them with free material.

It’s obvious why Hitler angels Nazi papers. It’s clear, too, why Hearst wants to keep his editorial point of view out front even though his newspaper income doesn’t justify it. But angeling goes a good deal further. The crisis throughout the capitalist world has made most big money-makers into losers. There are probably less than ten magazines throughout the country that have actually shown a profit since 1929; they don’t admit it, but it’s true. Advertising and circulation have dropped, but publication costs have remained relatively stable. Thus most of them have had to go to people whose point of view they represent and ask them to shell out.

And more often than not they succeed. A reactionary newspaper says something close enough to the Tory heart to make him help out when the paper finds itself in a hole. It’s a wise investment in the status quo.

Now we come to NEW MASSES and the reason we have elected you our angel. NEW MASSES exists because we live in a world in which Hitlers and Hearsts

are powerful enough to angel the kind of ventures they do, a world in which the common people have to struggle to maintain even the smallest enterprise.

So it doesn’t surprise us, and it shouldn’t surprise you, that NEW MASSES has no angel—except you. The Republican paper in your town may never print an appeal for funds, but it knows that it can always find a sympathetic ear in Mr. Brown of the First National. Understand, we’re not lamenting the situation; we’re just explaining it. We don’t expect the Tories to buy their own hemlock. You’re *our* Mr. Brown.

It’s not much when you think about it. It could be raised if every reader sent us one dollar. Of course, not every reader can send us a dollar (another reason why we exist), but it does amount to something very much like that. The small contributions of individual readers can keep NEW MASSES afloat.

NEW MASSES, 31 EAST 27TH STREET, N. Y. C.  
I’ll “angel” *New Masses*. Here is my contribution toward the \$30,000 drive:

Amount.....

Name.....

Address.....

# « AMERICA NEEDS NEW MASSES »