

NEW M MASSES

May 30, 1939
FIFTEEN CENTS

EXPOSING THE WORLD'S RICHEST SPY RING!

*How the Nazi Siemens Trust
Works in American Big Business*

WILLIAM PICKENS

Why the Negro Must Be Anti-Fascist

NO COMFORT IN ZION

Betraying Both Jews and Arabs

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH HESITATES

A Discussion by A. B. Magil

Between Ourselves

ON THE BACK COVER of this issue the NEW MASSES Emergency Committee voices its gratitude for the fine support which was given to their recent appeal for funds. We take this opportunity to thank the committee for its splendid efforts in the \$30,000 campaign to save NEW MASSES. We also wish to thank our readers for their unstinting efforts to keep NEW MASSES alive.

To date our \$30,000 financial campaign to save NEW MASSES has yielded \$22,010. This leaves a balance of \$7,990 to raise.

Last week we reported that NEW MASSES could not survive the summer doldrum months without raising this necessary balance. This week we are forced to reiterate that statement. We are now faced with the alternative of successfully concluding the campaign to save NEW MASSES now, or of temporarily stopping it until another crisis compels us to renew our appeals in the middle of the summer.

We believe, however, that NEW MASSES readers are as desirous of winding up this campaign—successfully and immediately—as we are. We don't care how the money is raised. If eight people want to come across with a thousand dollars each that's okay with us. But we have few illusions on that score.

What must happen is that thousands of loyal NEW MASSES readers will dig down into their pockets and contribute a dollar or more apiece.

The NEW MASSES staff is doing all it can to make the magazine increasingly better. But we are faced with a constant threat of refusal on the part of the printer to put NEW MASSES on the press. And the paper manufacturer refuses to extend our credit any further. We can't stall the printer. We can't stall the paper manufacturer. *They want their money.*

We wish to remind those NEW MASSES readers who are in possession of NEW MASSES coin cards that even if they are only half filled we'll be glad to get them now!

Announcement is made on the back cover that a nationwide subscription drive aimed at circulating NEW MASSES to thousands of new readers is about to start. We can pitch into this drive with all we've got once the Damocles sword in the form of the "pay now—or . . ." type of bills is removed from over our heads. Won't you please send us whatever you can—now!

PAUL G. McMANUS is Washington correspondent of NM. . . . Oronzo Marginati, Jr., is a former member of the Italian Senate, now in this country, and a close student of utilities. . . . Cora MacAlburt's article in this issue is the second in her series on internes. . . . Lee Coller was formerly associate editor of the *Louisiana Federationist*, an official AFL paper, and former editor of the *New South*. She is at work on a book dealing with progressive movements in the South. . . . Paul Novick is an associate editor of the *Jewish Daily Morning Freiheit* and the author of a pamphlet, *Zionism Today*.

A detailed examination of the place of poetry in the modern world will be conducted as part of the program of the Third American Writers Congress, meeting in New York City June 2-4. There will be sessions on poetry at the New School for Social Research on the mornings of June 3 and June 4, and one at Carnegie Hall the evening of June 2.

The Retail Drug Store Employees Union, Local 1199, CIO, is rehearsing its own play, written and acted by members of the union, dealing with

problems of drug store employees. Charles Shillet is the author of *Professional Men*, which will be presented at the Heckscher Theater, 104th St. and Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., June 9, 10, 11. Howard Da Silva is the director and rehearsals are held after midnight to accommodate the working members of the cast.

The opening of *War Scare*, the Modern Repertory Company production, which was advertised in NM last week, has been postponed from Wednesday night, May 24, to the following Wednesday night, May 31, at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C. All tickets dated May 24 will be honored at the door May 31.

Labor Research Association, an organization which systematically clips and files NM and often recommends its articles as research material, is looking for a few volunteers to help on a *Trade Union Arsenal of Facts* it is now preparing. Students, teachers, and others with some summer vacation time at their disposal will be especially acceptable. Those interested should call STuyvesant 9-1042 or write to the LRA at 80 East 11th St., N. Y. C.

This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXI, No. 10

May 30, 1939

The Gestapo in American Business by Paul G. McManus and Oronzo Marginati, Jr.	3
China's 30,000 Industrial Cooperatives Drawings by Jack Chen	6
Silicosis in the Tri-State A Page of Photographs by Sheldon Dick	8
The Interne's Dilemma by Cora MacAlburt	9
Why the Negro Must Be Anti-Fascist by William Pickens	11
Not Since Reconstruction by Lee Coller	13
No Comfort in Zion by Paul Novick	14
Wanted: One Tough Guy by Robert Forsythe	15
Editorial Comment	17
What's On Your Mind?	20
Reader's Forum	20

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Mr. MacLeish Hesitates by A. B. Magil	21
Millen Brand's Novel by Barbara Giles	24
"American Labor" by Bruce Minton	25
Maker of Universes by David Ramsey	27

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Music of the Perisphere by John Sebastian	28
Brookfield Ham by James Dugan	29
The Magazine Show by Milton Meltzer	30
Anti-Nazi Melodrama by Barnaby Hotchkiss	31

Cover design by Lucien Bernhard. Art work by Ad Reinhardt, John Heliker, Ned Hilton, William Gropper, Mischa Richter, Georges Schreiber, Beatrice Tobias, Selma Freeman 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.

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The Gestapo in American Business

How Nazis control America's war metal industries and operate international espionage through German corporations. The role of the Siemens trust in worldwide Nazi intrigue.

IF YOU have outgrown the romances of E. Phillips Oppenheim, the scientific thrillers of H. G. Wells, and do not find enough realistic detail in the activities of Flash Gordon and Dr. Zarkov or the manic sleuthing of Dick Tracy, the investigation of the Temporary National Economic Committee (Monopoly Committee) into the beryllium industry should give you a lift.

For when Thurman Arnold's boys lifted up the flat stone of beryllium, they found astounding things creeping under it. First there was the Beryllium Corp. of America, then the Metal & Thermit Corp., an American branch of the Nazi Siemens trust; then Vickers, the British armament makers, enter and it turns out that all of them have been diddled by the Siemens & Halske firm of Berlin, a division of the Siemens trust.

That the most interested spectator of the investigation is Dr. Hans Thomsen, counselor of the Nazi embassy, makes sense, for he is the man most concerned with the findings of the committee. When you have finished reading this article, you will understand why the Gestapo head here is worried. For if the investigators do their stuff, he may be arrested for espionage and interfering with American war industries if he doesn't have to skip the country like Dr. Ignatz Griehl.

Before the stone is dropped back again, NM would like to point out that all this whodunit hullabaloo is not mere fiction, but the result of the Gestapo's coordination of all German industry into its spy network. We don't know whether the Monopoly Committee realizes just what it unearthed, but we do.

Hold your hats, while we take off from last week's record of the Temporary National Economic Committee's hearing.

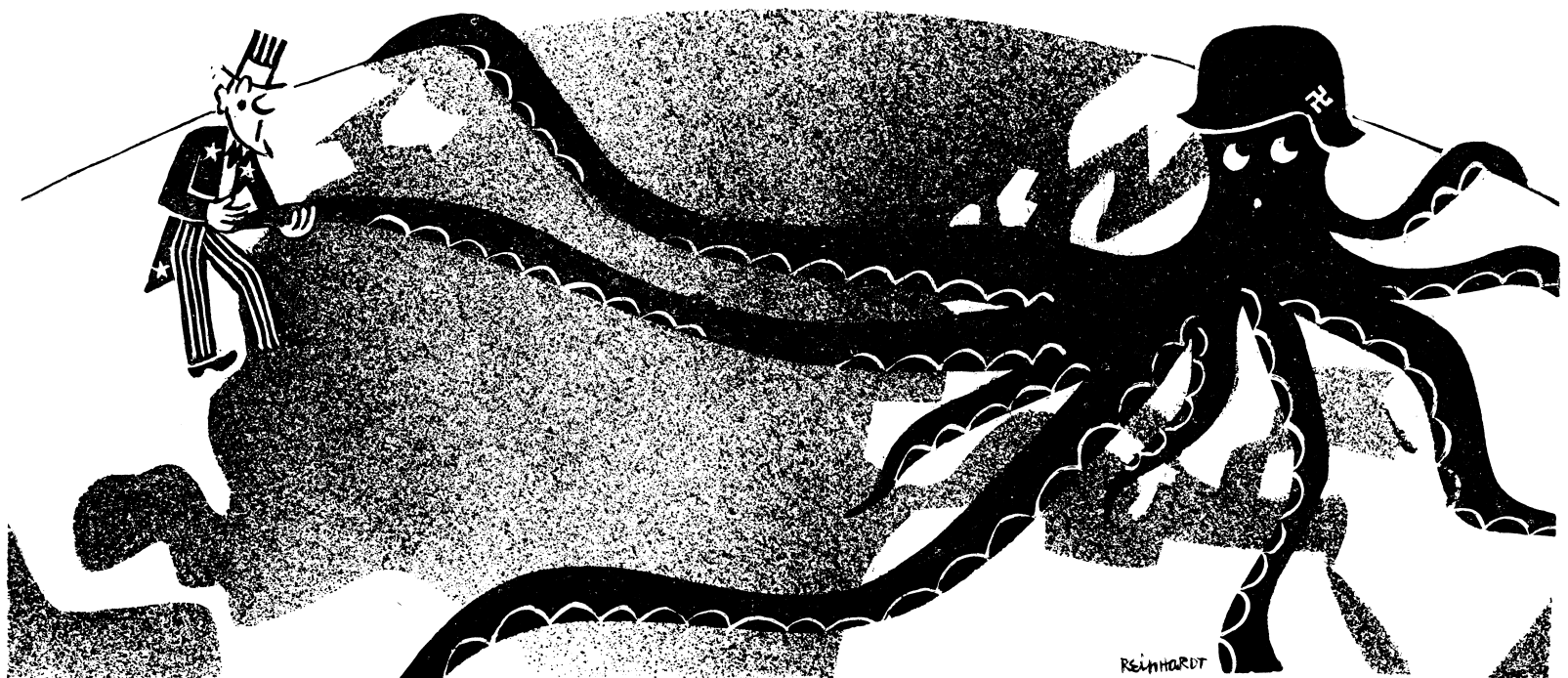
Beryllium, fourth lightest chemical element, while as old as Nero and of no particular importance in itself, has recently been found to combine with copper or nickel to produce new alloy metals harder and stronger than steel and many times lighter. Its potential uses in the mighty airplanes of the future—and in the mighty warplanes of tomorrow—tend to make it one of the most valuable of today's infant industries.

ENTER DR. HIRSCHLAND

In 1929 industrialist Andrew Gahagan set up shop as the Beryllium Corp. of America and under him J. Kent Smith, former associate of radium-huntress Mme. Curie and onetime chief metallurgist for the British government, conducted experiments with the strange metal. Suddenly Smith found that 2 percent of beryllium added to copper or nickel

produces the new super-metals. Gahagan rushed for the Patent Office, only to find that someone had preceded him. Ostensibly, it was the Metal & Thermit Corp. of New York, but shrewd investigating led Gahagan to the conclusion that it was actually Siemens & Halske, giant German trust, as large as du Pont, Ford, and General Electric together, with research laboratories "considerably" larger than the U. S. Bureau of Standards. Gahagan contacted Siemens & Halske's New York representative, to be told that all German rights were being patented in this country by the Metal & Thermit Corp., with whom they had an "arrangement." So Gahagan saw Dr. F. H. Hirschland, Metal & Thermit's president, in an effort to work out a basis of cooperation.

Hirschland, on the stand, admitted that his corporation had no "proprietary interests" in the patents, but had merely taken them out for Siemens & Halske "so that these patent applications could be prosecuted in the Patent Office by an American corporation." Explained Dr. Hirschland: "The relationship between Siemens & Halske and myself was a very intimate one ever since 1927 or 1928." He saw them frequently during his visits to Germany "where I went quite regularly to visit my mother." Outgrowth of these visits was a



letter in December 1929 from a Dr. V. Engelhardt, of Siemens:

I would at once agree to have the application assigned to your firm, if thereby the matter could be better pursued, when it appears under American auspices before the Patent Office, in a new shape or form. Since you . . . have decided to take up the beryllium matter in America, I assume that you too are interested in the fight for these patent rights, so that outsiders, like the Beryllium Corp., . . . cannot secure any ground in the realm of the beryllium-heavy-metal industry.

Gahagan told the committee that for three years:

I had various conferences with the representative of Siemens & Halske . . . and I couldn't find out whether the Metal & Thermit Co. owned the patents or whether they didn't own them, or whether Siemens were going into the beryllium business in the United States or whether they were not going into the business . . . we had a situation with which I was familiar before the war; a number of patents in dyestuffs were taken out in this country and as a result no dye businesses were started in this country. The patents were held merely . . . as a means of preventing a business in this country. I didn't know but what, to be frank, that was the situation. I didn't know whether that was the situation or not.

So Gahagan went to Germany, direct to Siemens & Halske, to settle the matter once and for all. And there he met the remarkable Dr. Rohn, one-armed scientist, director of Siemens & Halske, former member of the German General Staff, who had his left arm blown off twenty miles from Paris during the World War. Said Gahagan of Dr. Rohn: "He has the most wonderful metal working plant I have ever seen in the world, at Hanau, near Frankfurt. The equivalent of many millions of dollars is in this plant, and equipment that will produce alloys, that will produce results that I don't believe can be duplicated anywhere else in the world."

With the redoubtable Dr. Rohn and his associates, Gahagan worked out a secret agreement whereby the two companies mutually exchanged patent rights and divided the world between them for sales markets: Siemens & Halske to have exclusive rights to sell anywhere in Europe, Gahagan to have the Western hemisphere for his share, and the rest of the world to be open hunting.

But the story does not end there. Scarcely was the ink dry on the hardwon agreement than Gahagan was advised that one of his stockholders, a certain Mr. Jameson in England, wished to see him the next time he came to Europe. Gahagan was puzzled. There had been no public sale of his securities. He had not sold any stock to a Mr. Jameson. He had not sold stock to anyone in England. Who was the strange Mr. Jameson and how had he become a stockholder without Gahagan's knowing of it? Some more inquiry, and Gahagan discovered that partner Bassett, of James B. Colgate & Co., apparently purchasing Gahagan stock for his own company, had actually bought it for the mysterious Mr. Jameson. And Mr. Jameson, it turned out,

was chairman of the board of the armament-making Vickers Co. and a director of the Bank of England.

And what did Jameson want? Let Mr. Gahagan tell it in his own words:

The Vickers Co., as you all probably know, is the largest manufacturer of airplanes in England. I was rather surprised at this because I didn't know I had any such stockholder or any stockholder at all in England, so I called on Mr. Jameson and asked him why he had such an interest in beryllium. He told me he was very interested in beryllium because he considered that it would probably be the most important metal from a military point of view in the next world war, and I asked him why. He said, "We are entirely dependent upon the Malay Straits and Bolivia for tin, for the manufacture of bronze. The Malay Straits might be cut off. The few tin mines in Bolivia might be blown up and beryllium copper would be the only thing we could use for certain purposes, and beryllium copper is much better for tin, bronze.

"Therefore, I think beryllium copper is extremely important and I wanted to become one of your stockholders to follow your development."

As a matter of fact, curiously enough, about every six months I have some representative of the British aviation, military attache, or someone in Washington call on me to find out what we are doing and how we are getting along. They have been doing that for the past ten years.

Well, Mr. Jameson then said, "You have a contract with Siemens & Halske, and collateral agreements with other companies."

I said, "Yes, sir, we have."

He said, "You have a provision in that contract whereby you turn over everything to Siemens & Halske in Europe and you agree not to sell in Europe."

I said, "Yes, sir, we have. I am very surprised, however, that you know that because as far as I know there are only three copies of that. One is in my safe, one is in the safe of Siemens & Halske in Berlin, and the other is in Dr. Rohn's safe at Hanau."

He said, "I know it. How I found it out I can't tell you, but you are going to modify that contract because England will not be dependent upon Germany for any military needs."

He said: "We are doing a great deal of experimental work in Rolls-Royce, Vickers, and other companies in England on beryllium-copper and beryllium-nickel, and we are buying those materials for experimental purposes in Germany, but we are not going into production on any item unless we can secure our supplies from you entirely or from you as a second source of supply.

"We don't mind being dependent on you for a source of supply because we are dependent on the United States for a great many metals in any case, but we are not going to be dependent on any nation on the Continent."

He said, "I want you to modify that contract."

I told him, "Well, I have no way of modifying the contract. After all, I have signed it and I expect to live up to it."

He said, "Well, I'll take care of it. When are you going to Germany?"

And I told him within a few days that I would be there for some three or four weeks. So after I had been there about ten days, two unofficial representatives of the German government came over and talked with Dr. Rohn, and Dr. Illig of Siemens came down to Hanau and we argued and discussed for about three days—I didn't

do much discussing or arguing, but I listened to it.

The British said, "If you don't modify that contract and omit importation from the United States we are going to confiscate all of your patents, and Mr. Gahagan's patents in England; we are not going to permit some international agreement whereby we are held up for military purposes."

I didn't know under what provisions or how they were going to be able to do that: apparently neither did Dr. Rohn, because he said, "You can't do that. After all, we are not in a war with England—Germany isn't, and you can only expropriate patents in time of war."

At this point, Gahagan related, Fred Giller, one of the "unofficial" British representatives, said, "Oh, yes, we can." And evidently his argument was convincing because "very curiously, the contract was modified, made effective the first of this year: under the terms of that we are permitted to sell to England."

Now, these gaga adventures of Mr. Gahagan in international intrigue are only surface indications of something that's been going on about the world since Herr Hitler's rise in the Third Reich. With the Nazi machine coordinating all German industry, the Gestapo has taken various German concerns with international connections and made them agents of Nazi political propaganda and espionage. One of the greatest of these octopi is the Siemens Co., of which Siemens & Halske is a division. It has been harnessed into the Nazi spy ring and through its business connections it plans wrecking intrigue in every country in which it operates.

SPY RING IN ARGENTINA

On April 3, 1939, Landesgruppenleiter Muller of Patagonia, and Major von Schubert, the Argentine director of Siemens-Schuckert, were arrested in Buenos Aires. They had been caught plotting a Nazi putsch in the Argentine.

The revolt that Thyssen (a Siemens director) had gone to Buenos Aires to supervise personally collapsed. Nazi activity in the Argentine was checkmated. The U. S. Navy order for corned beef went to Argentina. The whole Nazi propaganda machine had to be rerouted in Latin America to work through the Spanish Falangist network issuing from Franco's Spain.

Under cover of the Siemens-Schuckert industrial activities the Nazi spy ring operated, protected by the favorable trade pacts between Germany and the Argentine. So big were the operations of the Siemens trust down there that Thyssen himself had spent some time in Buenos Aires looking over the field and, no doubt, doing a little intriguing with wealthy Argentinians toward the coming *Tag*.

Siemens Bau-Union had been building enormous hydroelectric plants on the Rio Negro, the Buenos Aires subway, etc., while Siemens-Schuckert was busy building up the Sociedad Electro-Metallurgica Argentina and the International Tel & Tel in Buenos Aires.

So the arrest of von Schubert or the Gahagan runaround or the brusque action of the Vickers representatives comes a little more

into perspective. But these are not the only instances wherein the Gestapo has used the Siemens trust for organizing the Nazi spy network.

WITH THE GESTAPO IN SPAIN

Siemens, which has branches all over the world, had a branch in Madrid called Siemens Industria Electrica at No. 38 Banquillo St. This mother organization had fifteen branches in Bilbao, Barcelona, Granada, Valencia, Seville, Valladolid, etc. Well, in 1936 the Spanish republican government found documents, letters, photos, and plenty else which showed clearly that it was the Siemens trust that financed Nazi espionage in Spain.

The secretary of the Madrid headquarters, Carl Cords, had been chosen to organize the Gestapo in Spain before the rebellion and invasion. The documents further showed that Mr. Cords was in charge of commercial espionage as well, keeping track of and kidnapping embarrassing German anti-fascist refugees in Spain and smuggling into the country Nazi literature and arms for the planned Franco revolt.

The manager of this same Siemens office, Walter Zuchristian, was the head of the Spanish section of the Nazi Party with the title "Landesgruppenleiter der NSDAP."

In Belgium the Siemens trust has its headquarters in Brussels. On its board of directors can be found Messrs. von Winterfeld and Thurmel, who are also directors of Siemens-France.

In 1937 a Belgian newspaper published a series of articles exposing the alliance of the Rexist Party and the Flemish National Union Party—an alliance which materially strengthened the fascist movement in Belgium. In these articles we find the following statement: "This alliance was concluded due to the activities of a group of Hitlerite agents who have been working behind the scenes in Belgium. Among these Nazi agents are certain 'Belgian citizens' such as M. Sap, deputy from Thielt and the real representative of the Siemens trust in Belgium."

SABOTAGE IN ENGLAND

In England Siemens has a considerable organization. As may be inferred from the Gahagan Beryllium Mystery, the English themselves are quite jittery about this Gestapo outfit and its ultimate intentions toward John Bull.

Siemens Bros. & Co., Ltd., which operates several factories in Woolwich (where the British Army Arsenal is and where most of England's £600,000,000 rearmament program is being carried out) is a firm capitalized for £5,000,000 sterling. On May 18, 1939, two mysterious explosions, killing seven men and injuring eight, were reported. A government investigation is under way and sabotage is strongly suspected.

The director of Siemens Bros. of England and the man who represents this mother company on the boards of its other affiliates throughout the empire is Henry Robert



John Heilker

Who Runs the Siemens Trust

THE Siemens trust, an electrical giant with fifty main branches all over the world, has its headquarters in Siemensstadt, its own company town just outside of Berlin, where it employs 185,000 workers and its plants cover over 100,000 square kilometers. The three main divisions of Siemens are Siemens & Halske, which specializes in low-tension electrical equipment; Siemens-Schuckert, devoted to high tension and hydroelectric supplies; and Siemens Bau-Union, which handles all the trust's construction work. It is capitalized for 227,000,000 Reichsmarks and since the advent of Hitler its stock has risen 227 percent, passing the billion RM level.

If you are curious as to who benefited from the sadistic Jewish pogroms in Naziland, you will be interested to know that Siemens confiscated two Jewish corporations, the Heliowatt Corp. and the Cassirer Cable Manufacturing Co., as well as participating in the spoils of the Warburg Bank in Hamburg, thus assuming control of the latter's multiple connections in international and particularly American finance.

The men who run the Siemens trust are the present masters of Germany. For them the Nazi organization, from Hitler to the smallest Gestapo rat, works and obeys orders. Their names are:

Carl Friedrich von Siemens, who also is a director of the Klockner and steel trusts.

Oskar Ritter von Petri, also of Schuckert & Haniel.

Hans Dietrich and Adolf Franke, of the Bayerische Vereinsbank.

Alfred Peterson, of Metallgesellschaft.

Oskar Schlitter, president of the Deutsche Bank.

Albert Pietzsch, president of the Reich Chamber of Commerce.

Hermann von Siemens, brother of Carl Friedrich von Siemens.

Fritz Thyssen, head of the steel trust, state commissioner of Rhinish-Westphalia, and a member of the boards of directors of over twenty-seven big corporations.

Albert Vogler, vice-president of the steel trust and on thirty boards of directors.

Wright. He is also on the board of directors of Siemens & Halske of Berlin. Perhaps that's how Mr. Jameson of Vickers found out what was in Mr. Gahagan's contract with Siemens & Halske.

The Siemens affiliates which Mr. Wright supervises are: Siemens & General Electric Railways Signal Co. (of which he is president); Siemens Bros. of Canada; Siemens Electric Lamps & Supplies; Caxton Electric

Developments; St. Helens Cable & Rubber Co.; Submarine Cable Co., Ltd.

The last two companies are most interesting, since they show the hookup between big Nazi money and big English money. For instance, half of the stock of the Submarine Cable Co. belongs to Siemens Bros. and half belongs to the Telegraph Construction & Maintenance Co., whose president is C. F. Campbell, also the president of the National Provincial Bank (one of the "Big Five" English banks) and a director in eleven large corporations. In the chair beside him the Earl of Selborn represents Lloyds Bank, another member of the "Big Five." M. G. Clarke, director of the Telegraph Construction & Maintenance Co., is one of the six members of the Special Economic Committee recently assembled to advise Mr. Chamberlain on British armaments.

In the organization of the St. Helens Cable & Rubber Co. will be found Mr. John Ferguson, director of the powerful "Birmingham Small Arms Co." This is Prime Minister Chamberlain's old firm. Siemens owns 13 percent of its stock.

TENTACLES THROUGHOUT EUROPE

Switzerland takes its place with the Siemens Elektrizitatsernuegnisse of Zurich. France has a Siemens-France with agencies in Lille, Lyons, and Strasbourg, controlled from a main office in Paris. The Austrian Siemens-Schuckert Works operates "national-independent" plants in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Theodore Liebig, the biggest textile magnate of Sudeteland and Henlein's financier, is a member of this Austrian Siemens combine. In October 1938 Liebig was paid off with the confiscated properties of Cichorius A. G., Bata's firm.

In Italy there are Siemens, Inc., a 5,500,000 lire firm, and the Officine Lombarde Apparecchi di Precisione. In Greece the Greek Telephone Co. belongs to Siemens and in Japan the great cartel's branch is called Fusi Denki Zeizo Kabuschi Kaisha.

All these tentacles of the Siemens trust have their head in the Nazi expansionist plan and are directed in complete coordination with and by the Gestapo.

We imagine that there must be some very interesting material in the files of the Temporary National Economic Committee. Thurman Arnold and his economic G-men should bring out some vital facts concerning the hookups of the Nazi spy ring in American monopoly circles. The Nazi agents uncovered by Leon G. Turrou and the antics of Fritz Kuhn's supporters should look like chicken-feed when the American big money collaborators in the Gestapo-led international monopolies come to light.

As Siemens director Albert Pietzsch, president of the Reich Chamber of Commerce, might say to the American president of the International Chamber of Commerce: "Elementary, my dear Watson!"

PAUL G. McMANUS and
ORONZO MARGINATI, JR.

China's 30,000 Industrial Cooperatives

Jack Chen, Chinese people's artist, tells the story of the rise of China's new form of industry in drawings. The amazing resourcefulness of the Chinese.

SO VIGOROUSLY has the new Chinese Industrial Cooperative movement grown that no article could describe its size, nor a book keep up with its multifarious activities. As the mighty army of the Chinese people is being built and trained to repel the Japanese invaders, so is the entire industry of the country being moved inland and trans-

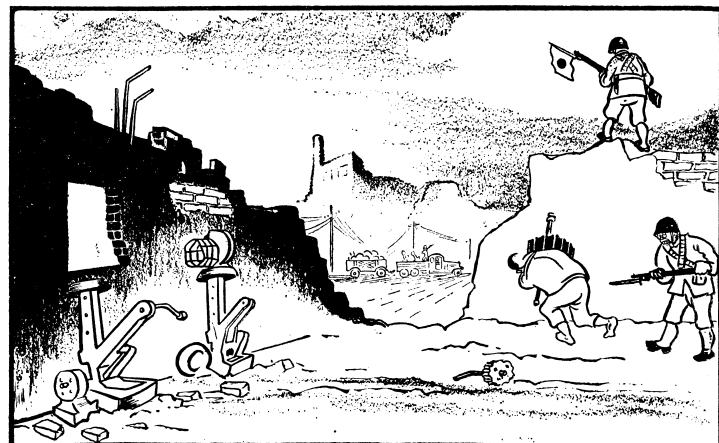
formed. The systematic destruction of almost all the industries in the coastal provinces of China or their capture by the Japanese made it necessary to set up the whole national economy far inland. The people needed consumers' goods, the army needed equipment, and the refugees needed employment and support. The answer was industrial cooperatives.

Basing himself on the old Chinese motto that "One picture is worth one thousand words," Jack Chen, the son of former Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Eugene Chen, has told the story of the rise of this new form of Chinese economy in succinct, self-explanatory pictures.

Here is the story:



The Japanese destroy Chinese factories.



They make the Chinese carry away machinery for them.



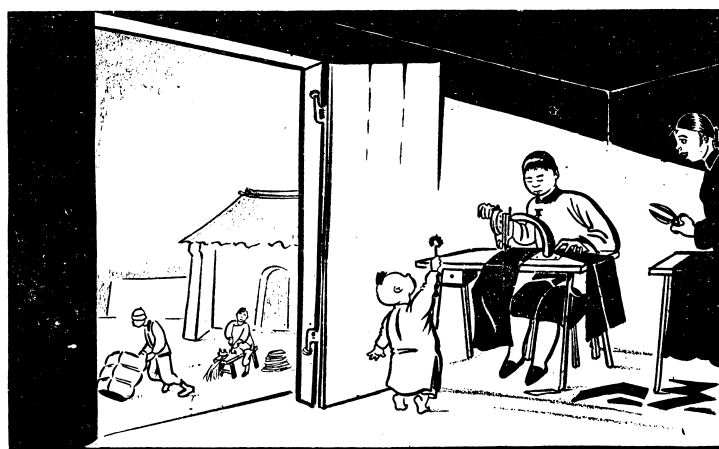
The country is filled with refugees.



With industry gone, Chinese soldiers cannot be equipped.



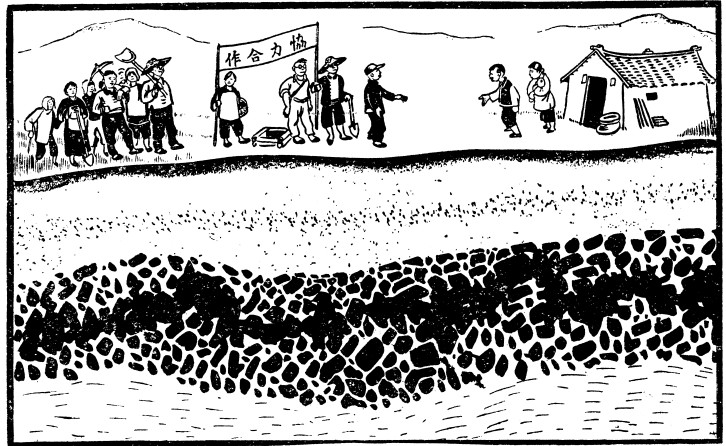
Refugees are buttonholed by a Cooperative organizer.



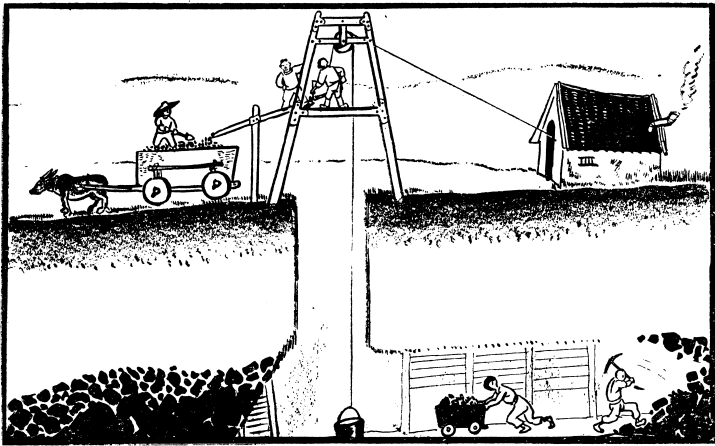
A Cooperative workshop is set up. Everyone is happy.



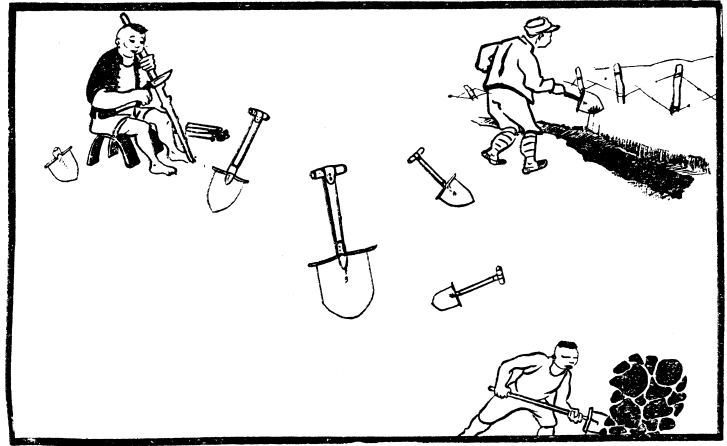
Everyone participates in the Cooperative meetings.



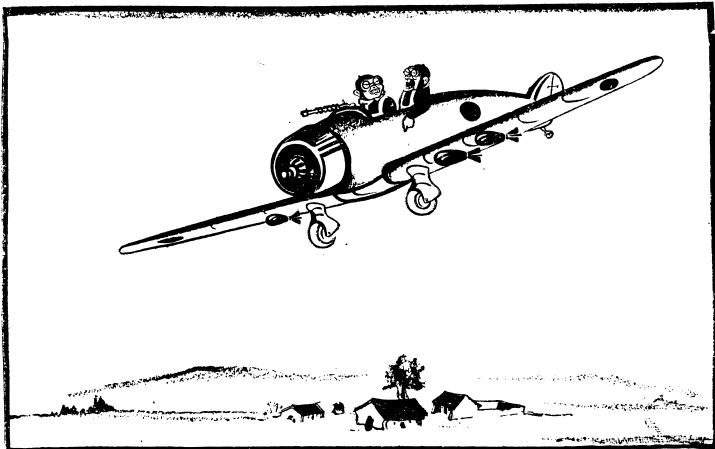
The farmer does not know of the coal beneath his land.



The Cooperative sinks a shaft to win coal for industry.



The small tool maker helps the soldier and the miner.



From the air Cooperatives look like harmless farms.



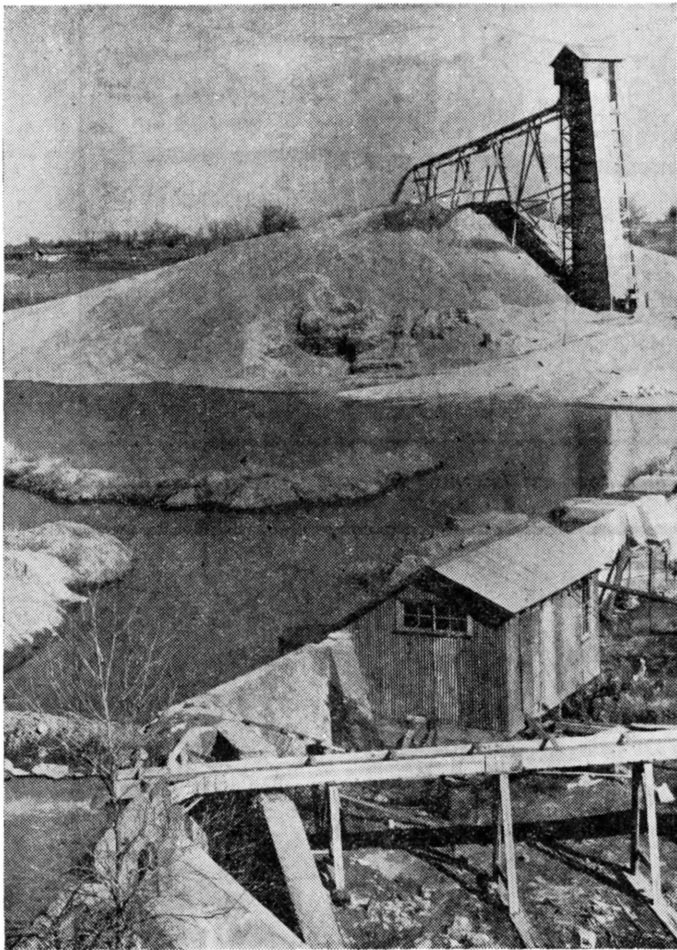
Japanese attack coast cities. Cooperatives are inland.



With Cooperatives working, soldiers can be equipped.



And drive out the Japanese.



All over the district the air is heavy with silica dust. It blights nature as well as man.



A victim of lead poisoning stolidly awaits death. This disease is common among smelter workers.

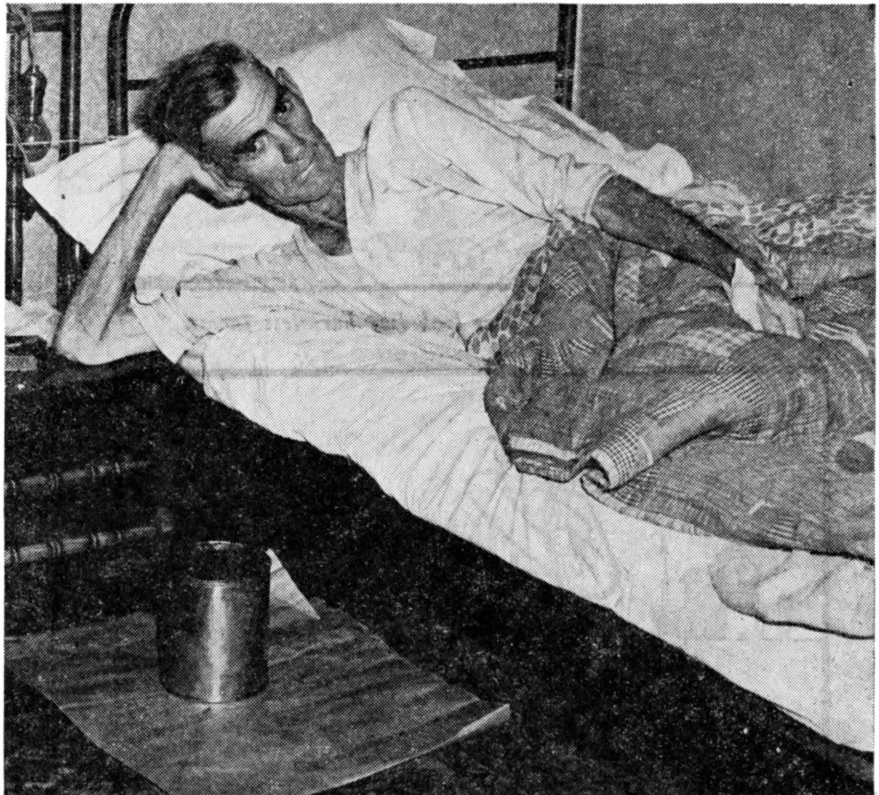
Silicosis in the Tri-State

THE tri-state district, where Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma join, is the silicosis capital of the United States. There went Sheldon Dick, young American photographer, to picture the ravages of silica dust on man and nature for the National Committee for People's Rights. From May 16 to 30 his photographs are at the Julien Levy Gallery in New York City.

Said Paul de Kruif: "The starkly beautiful photographs by Sheldon Dick taken in the tri-state mining area are in their way a social document of the lives of these native white Americans just as Steinbeck's great book *The Grapes of Wrath* documents the lives of California migratory workers."



Silicosis is contracted in the mines and mills. Its victims readily succumb to tuberculosis and other lung diseases.



From silicosis, this man developed tuberculosis. Since this picture was made, he died. Silicosis cannot be cured but it can be prevented.

The Interne's Dilemma

How embryo doctors are exploited as free labor, to the detriment of their professional studies and health. Occupational diseases of internes.

As a rule, internships fall into three basic groups, designated as rotating, mixed, and straight. The rotating plan is widely used, and through it the interne may serve in every field of medicine, surgery, and the specialties. The mixed and straight are more limited in their assignments, and while employed in many hospitals, are not considered adequate preparation for general practice. In the larger hospitals an interne serving a rotating internship works usually on one service at a time; that is, for two or three successive months his duties fall in one field, such as surgery, medicine, or ambulance. In the smaller hospitals he may be "first call" on one or two services and "second on call" for a third service. In almost all hospitals the interne works a 126-hour week: on duty thirty-six out of forty-eight hours.

Circumstances which must be considered economic make for a flagrant abuse of the interne's time, notably on ambulance and laboratory work. Since New York State laws require a physician on all ambulance calls, paid ambulance surgeons used to be sent out when ambulance service was first introduced. After a time, hospitals found it more convenient to use the interne for such work, and he has borne the brunt of it ever since.

GROWTH OF AMBULANCE SERVICE

Public demand for ambulance service has made startling increases. From 1925 to 1935 there was a jump of 201 percent in the number of cases treated but not brought to the hospital, and a doubling of the number of patients brought to the hospital. The ambulance, originally designed for emergency calls, has become a traveling outpatient department as well as a method for the domiciliary care of the indigent sick, because people who need medical care do not have it and do not know where to get it.

The ambulance service has been making increasing demands on the interne's time. Ten percent of the total interne population is always on ambulance duty. In addition to the one to six months devoted solely to this duty, there are usually such assignments as second or third on call while the interne is on another service.

The educational value of the interne acting as a diagnostician and escort for patients requiring transportation to the hospital is highly questionable. There can be no continuity of interest, for rarely, if ever, does the ambulance surgeon see the same patient twice. A limited assignment of four to six weeks might be useful for learning first aid but the general feeling is that more than a month of ambulance service is a complete waste of time.

Laboratory service and general "scut" work—urinalyses, catheterizing, etc.—is over-emphasized and greatly lamented among internes. The laboratory technics which are part of the modern diagnostic workup take enough of the interne's time to keep him away from the patient. The interne on full lab service may spend two to six months doing routine tests and never see a single patient.

INTERNES COST LESS

Although most hospitals have a few paid laboratory technicians, in some cases WPA workers, there are never enough to meet the demand. The burden of "scut" work falls on the interne, whose services have become cheaper than those of the lab technician. The economic value to the hospital of these lab services may be judged by what the hospital charges private patients for tests: urinalyses, \$2; blood examination, \$5; blood culture, \$10-\$15; spinal tap, \$25; blood transfusion, \$50. The blood bank system, recently imported from the Soviet Union to New York City hospitals, is operated by internes from the time blood is drawn from a donor until the time it is given to a patient. Commissioner of Hospitals Goldwater reported that this system, in use not quite a year, had saved the city \$170,000 and will eventually save it from \$250,000 to \$300,000.

Regular conferences, in which internes are expected to participate, pursuant to AMA requirements, are actually held in many hospitals. But such are the demands upon the interne's time that he is either unable to attend at all or, when he does attend, is repeatedly interrupted for ward duties.

If the interne's educational facilities reveal shortcomings of which the public is rarely aware, it is important to remember that the internship, as such, has become a never-never land. The realities of medical practice rarely come to life, for, as a doctor, the interne will care for at least 90 percent of his patients in his office or at the patients' homes. The internship has prepared him for medical service of a different kind.

The interne's living quarters are usually the oldest in the hospital, the site behind the incinerator, since there has always been a tendency on the part of the hospital to consider the interne a transient, and therefore subject to any inconvenience. In addition, hospital authorities have been unwilling or unable to recognize that house-staff needs have grown as house-staff population has increased—tripling since 1914. Sometimes a new hospital is erected, but no provisions whatsoever are made for quarters for the men who must take care of the patients.

Lincoln Hospital, in the Bronx, N. Y.,

was attractively reconstructed and enlarged in 1932 with clean, shining corridors and well equipped wards. But the internes were quite forgotten. Many were left in what was called "the flop house on the Lincoln Highway." There were eight men in a room—a night phone call awakened them all. Some had no dressers, others no desks, and a few not even a chair. The lavatory did not work, and the heavy traffic of cockroaches on the walls and floors suggested the name "the Lincoln Highway."

Nurse Mildred Blackmer recently shocked members of the Board of Estimate when she told them that she had found hundreds of ants crawling on one of her patients at Cancer-Neurological Hospital on Welfare Island. For years—until last October in fact—the internes of the New York City Cancer Institute Hospital on Welfare Island fought ants and roaches in their beds and food. They were housed in a building that had been the home of Lord Blackwell during Colonial times. The house had been kept almost intact since pre-Revolutionary days except for the addition of one toilet and one bathtub for twenty internes.

Institutional food is usually a vexatious problem but hospital fare is notoriously bad. In most hospitals internes may have second helpings of what they like, and in consequence eat a great deal of ice cream, one of the few edible dishes that emerge from hospital kitchens.

Internes on a two-year service in municipal hospitals get vacations varying from two to four weeks, depending on the hospital. The schedule of vacations is not very intelligently arranged. An interne may find it necessary to take his vacation period from a single service, which means that he loses the experience of that service. In many private hospitals there are no vacation allowances, or, when vacations are given, the interne may be required to find a substitute to take his place—not always easily done. Actually, most internes do not enjoy vacations when they have time off, for ordinarily they must seek jobs as a camp doctor or ship's doctor.

FEW CAN MARRY

A curious feature of interne life is the hospital's efforts to perpetuate monastic habits. Most hospitals have regulations in the interne's rule book stating that the interne must be in every night at midnight, even when off duty. Marriage is a controversial topic about which a great many educators express disapproval. Last June Dr. Rufus Cole of Cornell University Medical College told the graduating class "to keep your affection in cold storage while serving your internship."

Dean Curran of Long Island Medical College has said that a married interne is either "a poor interne or a poor husband." Neither of the good doctors has proposed extramarital relationships, so it may be presumed that they advise the vow of chastity along with the Hippocratic Oath. Indeed, the actuality of marriage exists for few. The interne's wife or parents must provide for the economic aspect of the marriage. He can contribute little but his occasional presence.

How the interne stands up physically to the health hazards of his job has received comparatively little consideration. No complete figures are available on the incidence of sickness, accidents, and injuries among internes, but the extent and gravity of this problem can be indicated. "Riding bus," the interne is especially exposed to injury and sudden death. Traveling at fifty to fifty-five miles per hour, the ambulance depends only on its siren to clear traffic. Although Mayor LaGuardia requested drivers to go more slowly last year, the traditional speed continues. Two known deaths in New York City resulted from ambulance duty in 1938.

Long working periods with twenty-four to forty-eight hours on duty, sleep repeatedly broken at three or four in the morning when physical resistance is lowest, lack of outdoor exercise, poor food, hastily gulped down, and poor living quarters—these conditions make the interne a welcome host to many diseases. Infections of the upper respiratory tract, laryngitis, bronchitis, tonsillitis, etc., are more prevalent among internes than among the general population. The interne with a heavy cold does not take time out for rest in bed; he continues his heavy work schedule, until the cold gets worse, possibly developing into something more serious.

The interne's heaviest work occurs from December to May, the peak of hospital occupancy, at a time when physical resistance is low for the general population. Last spring, at Willard Parker Hospital, N. Y., during a measles epidemic, 90 percent of the house staff fell ill, making even minimum care of the patients impossible. The internes had been working day and night for some weeks, but in attempting to correct the situation, the hospital added one interne to its staff.

TUBERCULOSIS AMONG INTERNES

The interne's exposure to tuberculosis, in addition to the conditions of his work, makes him an easy mark for the tubercle bacillus. A study made by one interne, who himself contracted tuberculosis during his internship and is now in a sanatorium, gives some figures on the incidence of the disease. Taking such a representative group as a college class, one in 160 each year develops tuberculosis, a proportion which is maintained throughout medical school. But among internes, four in 160 succumb to tuberculosis.

Additional recorded health hazards are infections contracted at autopsies, sometimes fatal, and syphilis contracted while taking blood, and gonococcal eye infections. More-

over, the interne's working conditions may be regarded as one of the causative factors in the high death rate of doctors from heart disease at an early age.

Although examination of medical students and student nurses is a well established procedure, only recently have hospitals given any thought to a systematic checkup on internes' health. Until 1937 only eight of sixty hospitals with general internships were making examinations a routine matter. Since then a departmental ruling has made examinations obligatory in all city hospitals, but careful observance of this ruling has not yet begun. One of the outstanding insults in interne history is the case of an interne at Trinity Hospital, Brooklyn, who suffered an accident while on ambulance duty. He was taken back to the hospital and during the course of his treatment was put under an oxygen tent. Upon recovery he received a bill for \$1,005 which included cost of the oxygen tent, fees for consultants, and ambulance transportation to the hospital! He had to pay.

In spite of the risks taken, the interne is subjected to a good deal of hornswoogling when it comes to compensation for accidental injuries and occupational diseases incurred in the course of employment. Confusion as to their status under the Workmen's Compensation Act exists among internes, and certainly most hospital authorities have made no attempt to clarify the situation. The New York Committee on Internships and Residencies reports that "The provisions of the state compensation law are inadequate when

applied to internes, since internes are apprentices and not salaried employees." However, in the light of the present status of the law, this conclusion seems presumptuous, if not plainly deceptive. In 1924 Judge Cardozo wrote a decision in the New York State Court of Appeals on the case of *Bernstein vs. Beth Israel Hospital*, which held that an interne is an employee of the hospital and as such is entitled to the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The court pointed out that the interne is directly subject to the order and instructions of the hospital superintendent and is not free to come and go as he pleases. Thus, his status under the law is no different from that of a porter, orderly, or clerical employee of the hospital.

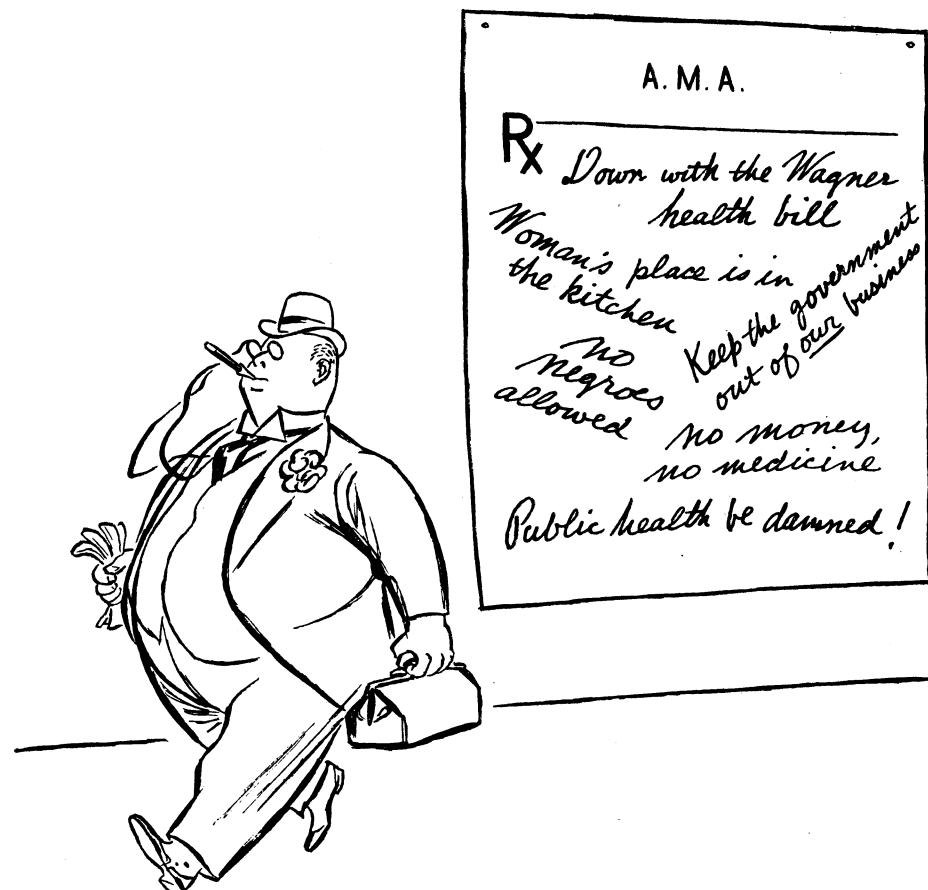
On the basis of the Cardozo decision and the 1936 amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Law, it would be entirely safe to say that internes may recover damages for accidental injuries and occupational diseases suffered in the course of employment. There is apparently no legal reason why internes should be subjected to the hospitals' hush-hush policy when disability compensation is involved.

CORA MACALBERT.

Cliveden Note

DEUTSCHE WEHR, official organ of the Hitler War Ministry, observes:

One must guard against underestimating the military power of Soviet Russia. Efforts made by this country in the domain of armaments for years past have given it a war potentiality not to be scorned.



The American Medical Association Prescribes.

Why the Negro Must Be Anti-Fascist

William Pickens, Negro leader, gives his reasons why the American Negro stands solidly for democracy, and more democracy. A race that knows the whole gamut of oppression.

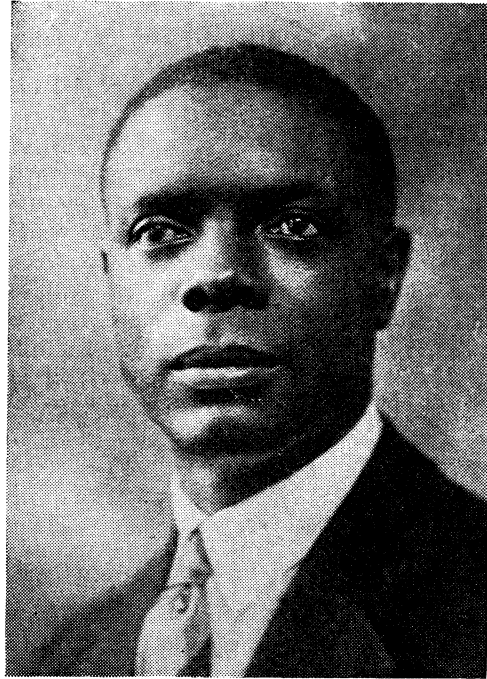
NEVER trust simply a diplomat's words: they sometimes lie. But listen to his *interests*: they always tell the truth. His interests may lead toward honor or dishonor, humanity or brutality—but you can always trust what they say.

For the American Negro's real position, as between fascism and democracy, let us find where his interests lie, rather than try to pick our way through the maze of words uttered by his newspapers, speechmakers, and other artists. These words are often illogical, and sometimes even contradictory. Sometimes the wordmaker does not know just where his best interests lie, and his words are confusing. But the Negro who is intelligent enough to look through the history of his 320 years in America and do a bit of thinking cannot favor the suppression of minorities—of any kind of minority, racial, religious, or political. His race has been controlled and robbed by fascism during all these centuries, for fascism is nothing new in human government. It is a new name for a trick that is old, about as old as government itself. Mussolini and his henchmen gave it the current name, but the trick was equally well known to the older-time Caesars, to Nero and Caligula—and doubtless to the older Pharaohs and the newer Genghis Khans.

MINORITIES UNDER FASCISM

Fascism is the most complete negation of democracy, of liberty and equality. It is the absolute domination of the weak by the strong. And when we speak of strong and weak, we mean nothing moral, spiritual, or intellectual, for the basic virtue of fascism is brute force and physical power. Its chief attributes are as devoid of moral virtue as is the idea of "fitness" in "the survival of the fittest." The fittest to survive in the brute world may be simply the sharpest claw or the biggest liar. Man has spent a million years working up toward certain moral values; fascist society discards them all, and sets the clock back to the most primitive beginnings. The fascist states best known to us throw aside all religious and humane considerations and follow only their desired aims and their supposed interests. They are callous in betraying friends, unhesitating in murdering opponents. The dominant fascist machine cannot, of course, be the majority, but it must control the majority. Any opposition must be immediately encircled and treated as a minority and a traitor. No rivalry can be brooked.

When an American Negro speaks in favor of Hitlerism or against the Jew, his words spring either from ignorance or from spite: from ignorance of the true nature of Hitlerism, which is at least as much anti-Negro as



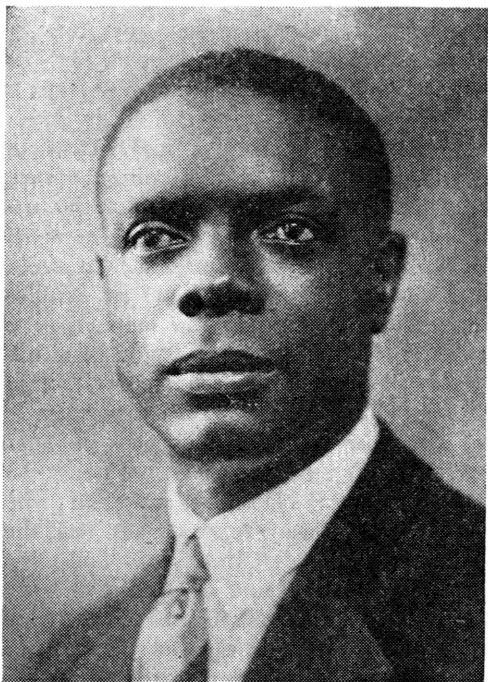
WILLIAM PICKENS. *This prominent Negro leader and writer, director of branches for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spent his childhood and youth in the deep South. He holds a Phi Beta Kappa key from Yale University and was for sixteen years a teacher at various colleges, including Morgan College at Baltimore where he served as dean and vice-president. He has attended conferences and lectured in England, Scotland, Germany, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, and Austria. His books include an autobiography, "The Heir of Slaves," a collection of essays, "The New Negro," and two volumes of short stories. He is contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press.*

it is anti-Jewish, or from spite at the hypocrisy of Americans, who get so "het up" about horrors over the Rhine while remaining so indifferent to similar or worse horrors down the Mississippi. But with a right mind about his own interests, no American Negro can favor the downing of the Jew for being a Jew; for the Negro knows that in this country if the Jew is put at the bottom, the Negro will be put somewhere under the bottom. In a certain way the American Negro has relieved the American Jew of much oppression: in the North where there are fewer Negroes, anti-Jewish discrimination is more pronounced and we hear of Jews being shut out of places of recreation and some hotels—those not owned by Jews. But even in the North the Negroes, few as they are, are far more circumscribed

than are the Jews. On the other hand, in the South, where the Negroes are on the average a fourth of the population and in some communities more than half of it, the anti-Negro sentiment is so strong that, like a greater pain, it renders Southern society almost unconscious of any anti-Jewish feeling. On the background of the far greater "black problem," the Jew stands out simply as a part of the "white" world. So anti-Jewish feeling in the South has remained in abeyance, despite the fact that this ex-slave territory is the most dangerously fascist part of the United States, as witness the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. It is difficult for any people to direct first-class hatred against more than one other people at a given time. In the Southern community the Jew, in business, in the professions, and in intellectualism, is accepted largely because there is little hate energy left to be used against him. If there were no black men in Georgia and Mississippi, the Jew would find those states far less civilized for his life than are New York and Massachusetts.

NEGROES IN GERMANY

On the other hand, German society presented Hitler with Jews but with practically no Negroes. There were a few beautiful little brownies left along the Rhine by the black African French troops who did post-war patrol duty for the Allies in those parts. The last we heard of them was in the early days of Hitlerism, when these children were mostly in their early 'teens, and when the dictator was planning to take them from their German mothers and sterilize them, to rid Germany of even that small smattering of pigmented loveliness. That ought to be sufficient to show the American Negro where he would have stood if he had been a minority in Germany at the rise of Hitlerism. The German Jew stood alone as a racial victim, and he caught the full savage onslaught of fascism. And yet only a fraction of 1 percent of the German nation was Jewish, before the annexations of Austria and other smaller states. If only there had been as many Negroes in Germany as Jews, Hitler would have been so vicious in his attacks upon the blacks that the Jews would have been at least partly saved. In Berlin in 1932, just a few months before Hitler, I was told that there were not more than fifty Negroes in that great city, most of them musicians and theater performers; few if any were citizens of democratic Germany. During many visits to Germany I had never seen one of them; I had only heard of them. They awakened no social consciousness then, and for their own sakes I trust that not one of them is so unfortunate as to be there now. There were a few more Negroes in some of



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the port cities, like Bremen and Hamburg, brought there in pre-war days when Germans owned African colonies and were kicking blacks around in the southwestern and southeastern parts of that continent.

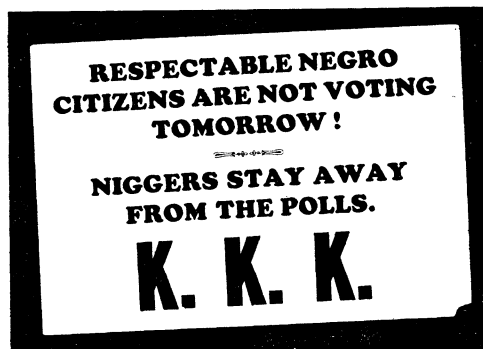
THE KU KLUXERS

In the famous infamous *Mein Kampf*, in which Hitler has written down the purposes and ambitions of his fascist life, the dictator goes out of his way to show his vile hatred of the Negro race, wherever he mentions it—despite the fact that Germany at that time had no Negroes for him to worry about. The Negro can only draw the conclusion that if he were under Hitler's power he would be the chief object of National Socialist attack; just as post-war Ku Kluxism set itself first against the Negro in Georgia, and later on wishing to spread out and increase its income, found that in the Northeast the Jew offered a better mark, while in the Midwest and Northwest the "furriner" was the best hate-object. Later still it discovered that the Catholic Church, being a religious minority, could be set upon by the morons and sadists of some of the other churches. Thus the Kluxers "took in too much territory" and in a country that was very prosperous and could laugh; so they finally failed or at least were greatly reduced. But the American Negro group was the matrix and the bete noir, the first and last inspiration of the whole devilment. And even as late as this month the knightly Klansmen of the state of Florida paraded in the streets of Miami with conspicuous nooses, and burned crosses and hung black effigies in and near the Negro residential sections—trying to frighten Negroes out of exercising their right to vote.

In this life choices are often only among evils, from which wisdom tries to pick the least or the lesser. Against democracy in the United States the Negro has great grievances: for its 150 years it has been, for him, full of hypocrisy. And the democracies and constitutionally limited monarchies of Europe have for the last hundred years made a mess of their imperialism in Africa. But if any one thing could make even imperialism worse, that added thing would be fascism. Germans under the kaiser were cruel in their African colonies and their brutalities were proverbial. But what would happen to these Africans if they were now turned over to Hitlerism, which has no respect for religion or humanity, for treaty or truth? The German cry for African colonies may be only a blackmail threat to make France and England acquiesce in fascist domination of Middle Europe, but that cry is nevertheless a challenge to the Negro everywhere. For if the fascists succeed in reducing England and France, there is no doubt that they will seize all or much of Africa. Two hundred million black slaves would add some butter to German cannon and magnificent manpower to its force-politics. It is no praise of imperialisms to say that they may offer a choice of evils and that the fascist type is the worst.

Specific illustrations could be endlessly advanced, but if this is the situation of the Negro

in America, and if that is the prospect of the Negro in Africa, what must be the attitude of the American Negro toward the spread of fascism in his own country? He should fight it—fight it when it attacks Jews, fight it when it attacks political minorities, fight its attacks on any group—fight its very existence. If it were not so pitifully tragic, it would be ludicrous and amusing to hear any American Negro approving of attacks upon the Jew. Of course there are unworthy Jews, just as there are unworthy Negroes, unworthy Anglo-Saxons, and (God forgive me!) unworthy Aryans aplenty. But such reasoning from particular to general is silly. It has been used against the American Negro for generations. But the oppressor seldom uses such reasoning in reverse: that excellent Jews or excellent Negroes might determine our opinions of all Jews and all Negroes. That would be as poor logic as the other way around, but far more pleasing. When white Americans want to attack American Negroes, they speak of "numbers" kings or chicken thieves, not of Frederick Douglass or Booker T. Washington; when German fascists want to attack the Jew, they speak of criminals, profiteers, and warmongers, not of Heine or Mendelssohn or Einstein. That is an old trick of attack, which neither the Negro nor the Jew ought to use against the other. As total groups they are both but human and reflect their environments: a Negro landlord in Mississippi will rob his black tenants as other landlords do; a Jew in Mississippi is likely to be just another "white person," and even in New York he is



THE THREAT THAT FAILED. *The card reproduced above was pinned to the effigy of a Negro hanged in a Ku Klux Klan demonstration on the eve of the May 2 primaries in Miami, Fla. The mock lynching was the climax of an auto parade of the Klan through the Negro section. License plates and faces were hooded, and nooses were exhibited from the sides of the cars. Copies of the card were passed around at the Miami Labor Temple, where the AFL president of the Central Labor Board, Walter Hoyt, remarked that "those fellows did a damn good job last night." The results, however, were not that happy for the lynch mob. Miami's Negro voters appeared at the polls for the greatest Negro vote ever registered.*

likely to assume toward black people the same snobbish attitudes which the other whites affect. Persecuted minorities are even apt to lean over backward in these foolish attitudes—just as a white Negro who is "passing" will run a great deal faster than a bona fide white person when he sees a black Negro coming. But all these foibles are human, not racial. Both Jew and Negro have the same interest against fascism: if either is downed, the other is downed, albeit in a "white" world, the blacks would get the worse deal of the two.

Fascism in America is far more inexcusable than fascism in Germany or Italy: for the United States has a Bill of Rights, a Constitution, and laws, all of which expressly forbid or oppose fascism. The Fourteenth Amendment was made to protect Americans, Negroes in particular, against fascist laws and administration. There is no Fourteenth Amendment to protect minorities in Germany; everything that the ruling gang may decide to do is legal and constitutional. Yet even with our abundant laws our fascism far antedates Hitler's. Is the Jew disfranchised in Germany? That is old stuff with the Negro in Mississippi. Yellow benches for Jews in Germany? Well, peanut galleries, third balconies, and side views for American Negroes. Segregated travel in Germany? We invented that in South Carolina. Brutal and beastly violence against Jews in Germany? We have over five thousand recorded lynchings in America, more than four thousand of the victims being Negroes and the other thousand being poor whites or whites whom our fascist lords did not like. Is the Jew now being robbed of part of his economic share of public school funds in Germany? For over sixty years in our American South the Negroes have been robbed of (to understate it) three-fourths of their due share of public educational funds. Does Hitler yell about "Aryanism" and "racial purity"? Well, that hypocritical nonsense has rung in the Negro's ears for three hundred years in America, while the dominant white race was merrily forcing its blood into the black group until today at least nine-tenths of our Negroes have more or less of that other blood. Water-curing Jews in Germany? We fire-cure Negroes in America.

THE NEGRO'S CHOICE

In America we have this difference: a Constitution, a Fourteenth Amendment, and a Supreme Court. Nothing of the sort exists for the Jews and the other disinherited in Germany. We can fight. I speak, write, and publish this article. That cannot be done in Germany. Our foundation idea is liberty; in Germany there is no liberty and no respect for that idea. We can even muster two thousand policemen to protect a German fascist meeting, while it attacks us in our own land. We have a democracy, something worth fighting for. The American Negro's choice should be easy. Where there is liberty, there is hope. A sane man cannot love everything in America, but he can come very near to a 100 percent hatred of the very essence of fascism.

WILLIAM PICKENS.

Not Since Reconstruction

Third All-Southern Negro Youth Conference shows awakening of Negro people.

ATALL, broad-shouldered student from Tuskegee Institute rose to speak; the crowded auditorium of Birmingham's Negro Masonic Temple was silent. It was the closing session of the Third All-Southern Negro Youth Conference. The young student's earnest face, his vibrant, deep-timbred voice commanded attention. He told what an inspiration the conference had been to him, how he would go back to school with a fuller understanding of his people's problems, how he intended to work to help solve those problems.

"Use what you've got to get what you need," admonished the young student. But those words were not meant in the sense in which they had previously been understood. Once they helped to hold the Negro people in bondage. Now they were a call to action.

A NEW MEANING

A hundred incidents throughout the South during the past few years have shown that the Negro people are giving a new meaning to those words, are using what they've got to get what they need. When the CIO opened its doors to them they joined by the thousands to fight side by side with white workers for improved living standards. The Scottsboro and Herndon cases encouraged them to openly demand their civil rights. The program of the New Deal provided impetus for the fight to gain their special needs. As Southern whites became more conscious of the fact that many of the problems of the Negro people were also their problems, the first signs of active unity on common issues became apparent. One of the brilliant markers on that road to unity was the Southern Conference for Human Welfare last November.

Only two days after the Birmingham conference ended, Negro citizens of Miami answered KKK attempts at intimidation by turning out a record number of Negro voters. Delegates to the conference reported similar unprecedented Negro votes in Norfolk, Va., and Chattanooga, Tenn., last year. What happened in Miami dramatically confirmed what the conference revealed on a much broader scale. The Negro people of the South are moving as they haven't since Reconstruction.

The right to vote is paramount in the struggle of the Negro people for full citizenship rights—for equal protection of life and property before the law, for legislation against lynching, for fuller participation in government. In this struggle, as in others, the Negro people are learning to make use of everything they've got to get what they need. This fight is being advanced by the trade unions, the church, Negro organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, civic, fraternal, and social groups.

There were 603 delegates, including eighty

whites, from thirteen Southern states at the Third All-Southern Negro Youth Conference. They represented 750,000 people. It was in the panel on the Negro's economic status that one of the few noticeable divergences of opinion occurred. While the majority of the delegates at this panel, which had by far the largest attendance of any, agreed on the necessity of organizing in labor unions to improve their economic status, Negro business men, without attacking labor organization, placed disproportionate emphasis on supporting Negro business to increase employment. Actually, as the discussions and recommendations of the panel disclosed, there was no basic difference. Negro business is small business. And the entire panel gave its support to a program which endorsed labor organizations free of discrimination because of race, color, or creed; a united labor movement; opposition to amending the Wagner act; federal aid to small and medium business under which Negro business can receive the assistance it so seriously needs; and maintenance of WPA, PWA, and NYA.

"Two years ago," said Bishop B. G. Shaw, prominent religious leader, "this could not have happened, that Negro and white could speak out on our economic status. We live together, we've got to agree. Yes, we're going to have a little trouble, but we've got that now. What you've got to do is get out and organize. I have nothing against the AFL except that they won't let me in. If you can get in, get in. I know I can get in over here"—pointing to a group of CIO delegates. "We're all going home and talk union."

The AFL leadership, which in the South particularly has refused to admit Negroes, has not been able to ignore completely the rising tide of sentiment for Negro and white unity. Indicative of this was the appointment by the Alabama Federation of Labor of a Negro, Cornelius Maiden, as vice-president at large, shortly before the conference.

One of the most moving experiences of the conference was a Negro music festival in which the massed choruses of several schools and organizations revealed the richness of the Negro tradition of song. Among the "firsts" of this conference was one of the first Negro art exhibits ever held below the Mason-Dixon Line, and three one-act plays by the Dillard University Players Guild, an all-Negro troupe. For many of the sharecroppers, workers, and townspeople in the audience it was the first time they had seen Negroes acting in a play and pictures painted by Negroes. The first Southern Negro community theater was founded a year ago under the auspices of the Second Negro Youth Conference in Richmond, Va. Fisk students at this year's sessions told of their plans for starting a similar venture next year.

In the South, still mainly an agricultural

region, when the gauge of progressive action begins to move up in the rural areas, you can be sure that a real ferment is going on among all the people. There was a much larger delegation from the rural areas at the conference than ever before. There were sharecroppers, tenants, rural teachers, church people, AAA farm bureau and agricultural extension service agents. In their discussion of the problems of rural youth they recognized farm tenancy and the demand of the Negro people for land as basic. The needs of the rural youth are essentially, in the broader sense, the needs of all the Negro people. The conference expressed these needs in the slogan it adopted, "Freedom, Equality, and Opportunity." These are the demands for which the Southern Negro Youth Conference will work during the coming year. The program adopted by the conference calls for a campaign with progressive whites for full citizenship rights for the Negro people, for support of the New Deal program embracing protection of labor's rights, maintenance of WPA, federal aid to education and a federal health program with equal provision for Negroes, aid to farmers and small business men, help for the special needs of Negro and white youth, and collective action by the democracies against the fascist aggressors. The panel on peace, let it be added, was second in size only to the panel on economic status.

SYMPTOMATIC

The Southern Negro Youth Conference is symptomatic of the awakening of the Negro people. The Negro people are beginning to close ranks and learning to join hands with progressive whites for common democratic aims. These developments are bound to play a significant role in the 1940 elections. They mark the first skirmishes of the fight to complete the job only half done by Reconstruction and to gain a fuller democracy for all the people.

LEE COLLIER.

Krivitsky Department

FROM the *Saturday Evening Post*, issue of April 15, 1939:

Editor's Note—This is the first of several articles by former General Krivitsky. The second, in next week's issue of the *Post*, will relate the inside story of the Russian army purge.

From the *Saturday Evening Post*, one week later, issue of April 22:

Editor's Note—this is the second of a revealing series of articles by former General Krivitsky. The third will appear next week.

From the *Saturday Evening Post*, one week later, issue of April 29:

Editor's Note—This is the third of a series of articles by General Krivitsky. The next will appear in an early issue.

NM's operative who has done nothing but read the *SEP*, reports after examining the issue of May 27, "No Krivitsky."

Whaddya mean, "early issue"?

No Comfort in Zion

The latest White Paper betrays both Jews and Arabs. A free and democratic Palestine the only hope for peace.

THE present White Paper is a new addition to the extensive literature created by the British government on Palestine since Nov. 2, 1917, when the sixty-eight-word Balfour declaration was issued promising "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Rather, we should say, since the McMahon letter of 1915 promising the Arabs something which they understood to mean self-government for Palestine as part of a federation of Arab countries. The White Paper follows the report of the Woodhead commission in November 1938 which accomplished the task of undoing the partitioning plan recommended by the Peel commission in July 1937 which was meant as a "final solution." Prior to that there were the Lord Passfield White Paper, the Ramsay MacDonald letter, the Simpson report (1930-1931), the Shaw commission report (1930), the Churchill White Paper (1922), besides a number of other reports and sundry papers and investigations (French report, reports of the high commissioners, League of Nations reports, etc.).

CLOSING THE DOORS

The present period of bloody upheaval began April 19, 1936, and up to April 19, 1939, cost no less than 2,857 lives (Arabs, 2,287; Jews, 430; British, 140). While the machinations of the fascist axis had a good deal to do with the unrest, there can be no question—and this much is admitted by the Peel report—that the Arab struggle is basically a struggle for self-government, of which there is none in Palestine. (There was unrest in Palestine long before Hitler came to power and at a time when Mussolini favored the Balfour declaration.)

A solution had to be found for the good of the country and its people, Jews and Arabs, as well as *in order to close the door against the fascists who have been exploiting this lack of self-government among the Arabs and their animosity toward England.* Nobody would expect a Chamberlain to offer a real solution. The present White Paper, however, exceeds the worst expectations. It brazenly starts out by declaring that the Jews were never promised Palestine as a national home. Instead, they were promised a home *in* Palestine, as stated in the White Paper of 1922, which promise "His Majesty's government has been carrying out." Chamberlain grants that His Majesty's government never discouraged the Zionist leaders from believing that Palestine would be turned into a Jewish state, the truth being that His Majesty's ministers and propaganda agents themselves interpreted it this way, indulging in the most grandiloquent "historical" and "poetic" declamations. The White Paper closes the doors of Palestine to

the Jews at the end of a period of five years, during which time ten thousand Jews per annum will be admitted, with an additional 25,000 Jewish refugees during the entire period. At the end of the five years the Jewish population of Palestine will be "frozen" into a permanent minority of one-third of the population (it is now less than one-third, 430,000 Jews, compared with one million Arab Moslems and 110,000 Christians, many of whom are Arabs). The sale of land to Jews for the purpose of colonization will come under the control of the British high commissioner, who will be in a position to prohibit such sales in certain areas.

BETRAYED PROMISES

This is what the Jews are getting for relying on the promises of British imperialism and for building on these promises, investing in the tiny country nearly \$500,000,000 since 1920. There is no mention in the White Paper of any autonomy for the Jews in districts where they constitute a majority. There is some talk in the White Paper about safeguarding the "essential interests of each community," Jewish and Arab—whatever that may mean.

The Arabs are told that they are mistaken in "interpreting" the pledge given by Sir Henry McMahon in 1915 on behalf of the British government to mean that Palestine is to become an Arab state. However, they are now given another promise: independence of Palestine after a transition period of a rather indefinite "ten years," provided peace and good relations are established. A constitution will be embarked upon "at the end of five years from the restoration of peace" by an "appropriate body representative of the people of Palestine and His Majesty's government."

The White Paper is clearly a betrayal of the promises the British government gave to the Zionists in 1917. True, the majority of the Jewish people never really put any great trust in these promises, but the British government did give such promises *to the Jewish people.* The retreat is brazen and shameful. During the February conferences with the Zionists and Arabs in London there was talk on the part of Arab representatives about autonomy for the Jews, but Chamberlain is as merciless as when he betrayed Czechoslovakia in Munich. No wonder his "white" paper has aroused such resentment among the Jewish people. And this testimonial of betrayal comes at a time when millions of Jews in Europe are the victims of most barbaric persecutions.

While progressives cannot fail to condemn this shameful betrayal, they will do the Jewish people a disservice if they support the slogan that the Balfour declaration and the mandate

must be preserved. This is when the betrayal really began, in 1917. Those Zionist leaders who clung to this declaration in spite of its disastrous effect on relations with the Arabs and in spite of a long series of disillusioning experiences with imperialist promises have made a tragic mistake. The Zionist leaders clung to the Colonial Office in London, doing its bidding, demanding a "strong hand" for the realization of the declaration. This strong hand is now being used against the Jews.

Nearly two years ago, when the Peel commission issued its report proclaiming the Balfour declaration unworkable and recommending the partitioning of Palestine (which the Zionist leadership accepted, only to give it up after the British Woodhead commission rejected it), there appeared in the *New York Times* (July 18, 1937) a letter written by Dr. J. L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who is well known to Jews in the United States. The letter declared:

The failure of my own people is hardest to become reconciled to. We have been returning to a small, already populated, even if not overpopulated, land and despite all "rights" conferred on us by the states which won the war, these rights are a thousand times less important than the consent, if it is at all to be obtained, of the Arabs who live in the land and of the Arab peoples who will continue to be our neighbors even after British imperialism may have passed. Moreover, my people have a long and high ethical tradition. We have been incomparable witnesses to ideals of justice for ourselves and for others and we have suffered as perhaps no other people from brute force and the selfishness of nations. Our duty in Palestine to make peace was and remains our primary practical duty as well as the duty of noblesse oblige.

Since then sentiment for a Jewish-Arab understanding has steadily increased among the Jews of Palestine. A group representing various trends, from Left Poale Zion and Hashomer Hatzoyir to bourgeois elements, and including the leader of the Jewish Labor Federation, S. Kaplansky, is up in arms against the policy of the present Zionist leadership. This group demands an understanding with the Arabs. Since the Arabs are not satisfied with the White Paper, conditions are favorable for a movement toward an understanding. It deserves the support of British and American labor and all progressive elements. The Jewish and Arab masses will have to be the backbone of such an understanding; the Jewish Labor Federation of Palestine (Histadruth) can truly play an historic role once the tragic line of the Ben Gurion leadership is given up.

A united Palestine population can wrest real concessions from the British government, even from a Chamberlain government. Real independence and democratic liberties can be achieved only through such unity. A free and democratic Palestine, under a pact with England worthy of a free country, can truly bring peace to the troubled land which has been the scene of so much bloodshed. In a free and democratic country the minority rights can

really be safeguarded and the sharp division among nationalities done away with. Good relations, according to the Magnes group (and according to the memorandum submitted by the Communist Party of Palestine to the Woodhead commission last year) will open possibilities for the immigration of Jewish refugees into all Arab countries. In fact, the Iraq delegation in London spoke of an immigration of 300,000 Jews to that country alone.

The task will not be an easy one. But there is no other solution. To continue to talk about honoring the false promises of a Balfour declaration would mean to invite further upheaval and bloodshed. Moreover, it would give fascism a firm footing among the tens of millions of Arabs in the Near East and Africa. Today these Arabs can still be won for democracy and freedom.

Progressive American leaders who support the slogan of preserving the Balfour declaration certainly mean well, but there are others whose support must arouse the greatest suspicion. One must not mention in the same breath a progressive leader like Senator Wagner, who has introduced a bill for the admittance of twenty thousand children of German refugees, with a reactionary like Hamilton Fish, who is opposed to this measure. When people like Fish talk about opening the gates of Palestine for Jewish refugees, it is because they do not want such refugees in the United States. Real friends of the victims of fascism know that no one country, be it even as large and as rich as the United States, can be designated as the sole place of asylum. For the present, countries like the United States will certainly have to play a major part in offering such asylum. Palestine, too, ought to be one of these countries, but only an understanding between Jews and Arabs, which would provide peace and safeguard the well-being of the Jews living there and the refugees, could make this possible.

PAUL NOVICK.



Mischa Richter

Portrait of an Appeasement Diplomat

Forsythe

Wanted: One Tough Guy

ON TUESDAY afternoon last I attended an excellent meeting which saddened me. It had been called to engage the interest of professional people in the fight against intolerance, and in the room at the Algonquin was talent enough to assure the success of anything attempted, if properly used. But that was the point. . . . If properly used.

From the experience of past years, it has been established that hundreds of important writers and painters are willing to help in the fight against reaction, but for an equally long time it has been apparent that much of the effort is being wasted. The meeting on Tuesday had been called by Marc Connelly and others and the response was heartening enough to please the most exacting chairman, but the discussion had the same nebulous, hazy quality that often accompanies meetings of that sort. We are well-intentioned but we are often so grievously ineffective.

It was only after I got home that I realized what that meeting and that cause and every meeting and cause of the same sort need. We have plenty of writers and painters; our hearts are in the right place; what we need is editors. And not merely editors who will sit with a blue pencil and correct copy, but something corresponding to city editors, those crusty, hardboiled gentlemen who not only know what they want but insist on getting it.

When I go to a meeting of that kind, I am sincere in wanting to do something but more often than not I merely express my good intentions and go on to other matters. If, however, somebody calls me and tells me that I must have a thousand words on a certain subject ready by next Friday at three, I'll do it. My feeling is that most writers require the same treatment and even desire it. We scatter our shots, we spread ourselves thin, we appoint subcommittees of such size that nobody has responsibility and eventually nobody does anything. There is no single personality with strength enough and imagination enough to run a show of that nature.

If we could conscript the services of a man like O.K. Bovard, the great managing editor who lately retired from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, we should have a perfect setup. Given twenty-five good men he could count on, Bovard would conduct a campaign against intolerance which would really mean something. To the objection that the twenty-five may not want to give themselves over in this manner, I answer that they had better soon start giving themselves over to something. Anyone who moves about in New York literary circles these days has met dozens of famous Europeans who once faced a similar

problem in their homeland. Without being told, I know that in such a group there are those who fought actively against reaction and others who could not be enticed away from their work on an epic poem to lend a hand.

As a matter of plain fact, it is not a question of being an artist or a non-artist. The idea that an artist must sacrifice himself to be a political figure is a lot of nonsense. There was once a man named Tolstoy and another named Zola and another named Bernard Shaw. Even more recently there has been a man named Steinbeck. Is there anybody foolish enough, with the exception of Burton Rascoe, to stand up and say that it would have been better if the author of *The Grapes of Wrath* had never heard of the migratory workers and had confined himself to the quaint Mexicans of *Tortilla Flat*? Shall we be told that the author of *War and Peace* could have written a book twice as good if he had not been concerned with the plight of the Doukhobors? The author of *Saint Joan*, the greatest drama since Shakespeare, has been a propagandist all his life, speaking from soap-boxes, writing pamphlets, working eternally on committees.

Naturally, the mention of Mr. Bovard is only a shot in the dark. It would be a great thing if he could do it, but if he can't there must be others available. We need guidance and authority. The time now spent in useless committee meetings could better be spent in work under the lash—yes, lash—of a man who knew what he wanted and demanded it.

The committee against intolerance which I have referred to has a project for a new sort of Fourth of July celebration, one which will reaffirm the principles of American life and denounce the spreaders of racial hatred. In that campaign it is proposed to use the radio, the screen, the help of local patriotic committees, the daily press, the magazines. It is a task which cries out for a strong hand, a unified attack. Committees are worthless. We need a man who can guide and bully and suggest and threaten. He must say to people like myself: "Are you serious or are you just talking!" Like a good city editor on a murder case, he must know where to send his men, he must know the angles that need covering, he must expect good work and prompt work, he must organize his attack like a military campaign.

When we have something like that, and only when we have it, will we cease having the feeling of futility which overcomes us when we understand the job before us and realize how badly organized we are to meet it.

ROBERT FORSYTHE.



DANZIG

Gropper

New Masses

ESTABLISHED 1911

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Dies Reveals a Real Plot

AT LONG last the Dies committee has turned to the task for which it was set up: the investigation of un-American activities. After months of disreputable sniping at the New Deal under the guise of combating Communism, during which it employed as investigators labor spies, anti-Semites, and Nazi sympathizers, it has yielded to popular pressure and begun to lift the veil a bit from those fascist groups that are the real menace to American democracy.

It is not news that Gen. George Van Horn Moseley is an anti-Semite. It is not news that there are various racketeering individuals and organizations throughout the country spreading the hate-the-Jew creed. What *is* news is that some of these individuals and groups were actually plotting an armed uprising with the general as fuhrer. What *is* news is the role of big business in financing these activities. And news too are the connections of these people with the Republican Party. It remains to be seen whether the Dies committee will give the public the full facts on all these points.

Thus far two men, Dudley P. Gilbert, wealthy New Yorker, and James Erwin Campbell, reserve army captain of Kentucky, have, in addition to General Moseley, figured large in the revelations. Gilbert, who contributed thousands of dollars to the movement, indicated the character of this conspiracy when he told the committee that the American people will "have to rise under some American officer of the Franco type" in order to avert a "Red revolution." In all probability, however, Gilbert is only the pay-off man for more powerful persons in the upper reaches of American finance and industry. Some hint of this is contained in the

fact that among those who engaged in anti-Semitic correspondence with Campbell was Felix M. McWhirter, president of the Peoples State Bank of Indianapolis and former vice-president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. In 1934 McWhirter was chairman of the Chamber's Red-baiting Committee on Subversive Activities, whose members included James A. Farrel of U. S. Steel and Walter Teagle, head of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Among those also linked to the conspiracy is George Deatherage, head of the anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic Knights of the White Camellia, Father Coughlin, whose speeches were regularly distributed by Campbell, and Patrick Scanlan, managing editor of Father Curran's *Brooklyn Tablet*.

As for the Republican Party, even if we accept at face value John D. M. Hamilton's denial of any personal connection with Campbell, is it only a coincidence that fascists and anti-Semites of high and low degree invariably gravitate toward the Republican Party? McWhirter, Campbell's close pal, is treasurer of the Republican State Committee of Indiana, and Campbell himself was busy organizing Republican clubs. In Michigan the Black Legion was linked with the Republican machine, in Kansas the anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic Rev. Gerald Winrod ran in the Republican primaries, and in Minnesota the Silver Shirts worked for the Republican candidate for governor, Harold Stassen, in the last elections. It is clear that anti-Semitism or anti-Catholicism is today no isolated phenomenon, but part of the broader pattern of reaction and fascism. In this country race and religious hatred go hand in hand with hostility to the New Deal, Red-baiting, and isolationism in foreign policy.

The Trail to Royal Oak

AS FOR Father Coughlin, a visit from the Dies committee is long overdue. Two recent events offer clues as to the tieups of the Royal Oak fuhrer. On May 14, before three hundred Coughlinites in Chicago, Roy Zachary, one of the leaders of the fascist, anti-Semitic Silver Shirts, announced: "My organization is ready to work hand in hand with Social Justice and any other group against the New Deal. I know you are ready to work with me." Zachary, incidentally, is the stormtrooper who on several occasions has called for the assassination of President Roosevelt.

The other development is the publication of the following headline on the front page of the May 22 issue of Coughlin's weekly, *Social Justice*: "Jews Boycott Hearst for Aiding Father Coughlin." This is an admission of the close link that has existed for sev-

eral years between these two leaders of nascent American fascism. This issue of *Social Justice* also announces that the Hearst radio station in New York City, WINS, ignoring protests, has agreed to broadcast Coughlin's poisonous speeches.

Hearst and Henry Ford are only two of the big business tycoons who have shown an unusual interest in this mellifluous purveyor of un-Catholic, un-American doctrine. If the history of fascism in other countries is any criterion, the checks also are coming from the same sources.

Still the Appeaser

THE Nazis have obtained the incident which they have been seeking to provoke in the dispute with Poland. But unfortunately for them, they are not in a position to exploit it as they had planned. Compare the violence of the Nazi reaction last November to the assassination of vom Rath with the comparative moderation of Nazi press comment on the shooting of a German citizen near Danzig by a Pole (in self-defense, the Poles allege). The difference is the difference between the European situation shortly after Munich and at the present time.

Today a temporary equilibrium has been achieved in Europe as a result of the steps, however meager and faltering, taken by Britain and France toward creating that anti-aggression front which the Soviet Union has consistently advocated. As a result we find the smaller states taking heart, Poland showing greater firmness in resisting Nazi demands, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Finland rejecting Hitler's bid for a so-called non-aggression pact, and a growing disposition on the part of Poland and the Balkan countries to collaborate with the USSR.

It should be emphasized, however, that this equilibrium represents a temporary state of affairs whose outcome is still uncertain. Out of it may emerge a genuine anti-aggression front, which would mean an alliance between Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Or this equilibrium may slide into new appeasement efforts—a second Munich. The danger of the latter was once more brought home by Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on May 19. In a single sentence the British prime minister managed to be both for and against further concessions to Germany. Clearly, Chamberlain cannot be trusted. He is still the devotee of appeasement, though the pressure of public opinion compels him to be less open about it than in the past. And in regard to the Soviet Union he has given an exhibition of diplomatic dancing on a dime which has encouraged Hitler to attempt new extortions at the expense of the smaller states.

Retreat at Kulangsu

IN ANOTHER part of the world the effectiveness of joint measures by the democratic powers has just been brilliantly demonstrated. On May 12, 150 Japanese soldiers took over the International Settlement on the island of Kulangsu in the harbor of Amoy. This was a move to create a precedent for seizing all international areas in China. On May 17, United States, British, and French naval forces landed on the island. The Japanese—notwithstanding assurances of American isolationists that a firm stand against aggression would mean war—promptly withdrew all but a handful of their troops. And two days later the Japanese yen dropped below the value of the Chinese dollar on Shanghai's exchange markets, a development which Hallett Abend described in the *New York Times* as "basically more important than would be a large-scale defeat of the Japanese in some major battle deep in China's interior."

The World of Today

A MIDST the stately pleasure domes of the World of Tomorrow at Flushing meadow there stands a marble building, solid among surroundings of beaverboard and wood, that bespeaks a world of today. The Soviet Pavilion was dedicated last week with a speech by Constantine Oumansky, youthful Soviet ambassador. There were no platitudes. Mr. Oumansky said that the workers' republic extended the friendship of a good neighbor to America, a fellow feeling as close as the physical proximity of the two lands across the Bering Straits. On Soviet foreign policy the ambassador beat around no bushes. "The Soviet people are not impressed by threats," he said. "Neither do they beg for alliances. They are prepared to cooperate on a basis of complete reciprocity and equal obligations with powers which are interested in the maintenance of peace and who feel themselves threatened by aggression."

The magnificent pavilion itself is the most effective spokesman of the good life of socialism. Its varicolored marbles, set in the clean lines of Soviet classicism, are alive with statements, quotations, and slogans setting forth the wonders of a new life in one-sixth of the world. Atop a soaring red marble shaft a huge worker, made of stainless steel, steps forward bearing the Soviet star. Golden Roma sits atop the Italian building, perpetually wetting herself; Hitler has no exhibit; and the workers of Soviet Russia are there with the biggest thrill of the great Fair. In the words of Mayor LaGuardia, replying to Constantine Oumansky, "appar-

ently you were sure you had something to show." The mayor said that American democracy was also "the result of a bloody revolution and we were not very popular with the dynasties of Europe at the time." Mr. LaGuardia also remarked, "Let us hope that the foreign policy of your government will be understood by some of the troublemakers before it is too late."

Millions of people will pass through the Soviet Pavilion, seeing for themselves the evidence of triumphant socialism in the USSR. Without this tangible proof of man's potentiality the World of Tomorrow might seem like a hopeless dream.

There Stand the Miners

THE United Mine Workers in Harlan County, Ky., have stood firm through a dangerous week. Despite ambushes from company thugs, the jittery presence of twelve hundred youthful National Guardsmen, and a frantic attempt by Gov. "Happy" Chandler at a Red scare, the miners are winning with discipline and the hard confidence of men who have staked their lives for their union. It is not a waiting game. While Chandler's infant troops with bayonets and machine guns give the proper air of riot, the UMWA has quietly breached the Harlan Coal Operators Association by signing the Black Soap Coal Co. to the first union shop contract in Harlan County. Black Soap slipped out of the diehards' hands.

The New Deal stands by the miners. Federal relief is available to the locked out coal towners; and Frank Murphy's new Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice has rushed two men to Harlan to watch the dirty work. The most aggravating thing to lawless Harlan is the fact that the scabs have not done their bit. Only seven hundred out of 12,500 men are working in the pits. As we go to press the mine union is on the eve of meeting with the Harlan Operators Association to talk closed shop. The magnificent morale of the men, shown by their cheerful restraint in the face of every provocation, will carry them through.

Inexorable Unity

TWO more red-letter days for labor may be chalked up this May to add to the thumping victory in coal. The men and women in textiles and the hardy workingmen in leather and fur won big victories too—in a less spectacular field than the strike—on convention floors. In textiles the parley brought unity and a permanent setup. Leather workers and shoe workers, hitherto organized in separate CIO unions, merged too. Significant actions these were, for they

hastened that bright day when disunity in labor's ranks will be overcome, and all workingmen will stand together. As Sidney Hillman said at the textile convention, "Remember, the division in the ranks of labor is only temporary."

Here's what happened in textiles: the TWOC—Textile Workers Organizing Committee—and the United Textile Workers merged and adopted the name Textile Workers Union of America. The UTW granted all TWOC locals charters. All TWOC funds, properties, and agreements were taken over by the UTW. Thus, the old skeleton organization which had but a membership of sixty thousand in 1937 becomes a great union of nearly 400,000. Delegates from the 302 locals of the TWOC and the 126 locals of the UTW were seated together, thus formally reaffirming a unity that existed in actuality since March 9, 1937, when the TWOC began. The UTW has been the major affiliate of the TWOC since that time by virtue of agreement. They aim to bring a total of one million textile workers into the CIO in no long time.

It was a great moment too when the scrappy furriers and their colleagues in the National Leather Workers Association merged to form the International Fur and Leather Workers Union. The vote, almost unanimous, registered the will of 65,000 men whose purpose is ultimately to bring the 125,000 workers in the allied industries under one union roof.

Thus the unity of labor moved inexorably: the efforts of capitalism and its henchmen in the ranks of labor are negated by the new spirit abroad in America. Now on to the ultimate union of the AFL and CIO. As Mr. Hillman declared, "We have eight million organized now. A unified labor movement could bring the membership up to ten million within a year."

Roosevelt and Little Biz

IN HIS address before the forum of the American Retail Federation President Roosevelt announced his determination to hold fast to the program of the New Deal. That the assembled retailers liked it was evident to anyone who listened to the speech over the radio. It was not only the manner of their applause, but the things they applauded that was significant—the President's statement that he would never permit the abandonment of work relief, his defense of the character of WPA projects and of the people on the federal relief rolls, his condemnation of sales taxes, his insistence that if the undistributed-profits tax is repealed, it must be replaced by another levy on large corporations.

The President's emphasis on increased consumer purchasing power as the key to recovery has a direct bearing on the new hearings begun by the Temporary National Economic Committee (Monopoly Committee) under the direction of the Securities and Exchange Commission. In his letter to the committee Mr. Roosevelt wrote: "It is our task to find and energetically adopt those specific measures which will bring together idle men, machines, and money."

The first witnesses before the committee, Wall Street tycoons Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Edward Stettinius, Jr., and Owen D. Young, chairmen, respectively, of General Motors, U. S. Steel, and General Electric, urged as specific measures that program now tediously familiar: tax relief for the rich and that free hand to big business which, as President Roosevelt pointed out, was tried from 1925 to 1933 with disastrous results. And while the President and Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins are considering measures for helping little business, the attitude of big business is exemplified by the testimony of Owen D. Young who, according to the *New York Times*, "said it might be much better to face the suffering which comes from the elimination of business agencies which are not effective from the point of view of the national economy 'than to prolong the depression by a fruitless effort in their conservation.'"

The depression is being prolonged not by New Deal assistance to little business—which, incidentally, has been totally inadequate—but by the deliberate sabotage of big business. If private enterprise refuses to break the logjam of "idle men, machines, and money," then it is up to the government to step in and do the job. And the way in which to do it is to adopt measures that will put more buying power into the hands of workers, farmers, and consumers, and that will provide the small business man with the cheap credit that is now denied him by the banks.

Ernst Toller

ERNST TOLLER dedicated his recently published *Pastor Hall* "to the day when this play may be performed in Germany." His life was dedicated to the day when freedom and culture would triumph over Nazi barbarism. Two weeks before his death he said: "Fascism makes the lie truth, hatred virtue, murder a necessity." And because fascism makes murder a necessity, it hounded and threatened Toller even in free America. Fascism will gloat over Toller's death, for he was a brave and effective fighter. But it is he, and the people for whom he spoke, who will have the last word. His untiring

efforts on behalf of the Spanish children and refugees, his militant championship of the oppressed everywhere, will be remembered long after the ugly face of Goering is a grinning skull. He left his work unfinished, and it remains for us, the living, to bring about the day when his play may be performed in Germany. That is the ultimate tribute we can pay to the memory of a man who suffered more than his share of torment and grief. Toller is no longer with us; we must work all the harder to make up for his absence.

A Pal for Mr. Ginsberg

AMONG the friends of Shmelka Ginsberg, alias General Krivitsky, whom we presented in our May 16 issue we neglected to include Luis Araquistain, chief straw-boss of Largo Caballero's little band of semi-Trotskyist disrupters and adventurers. We do not know whether Ginsberg and Araquistain actually know each other, but judging from the latter's articles in the *New York Times*, there is a deep spiritual affinity between them.

The first article, bearing the headline "Outcome in Spain Is Laid to Soviet," is a violent, semi-incoherent tirade against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Spain, and all loyalists who remained truly loyal to the People's Front and Spanish democracy. Its premise is the one familiarized by Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, Hearst, et al: that the Spanish government was the tool of Moscow. Its conclusion is out of the same cloth: Communism is "the chief reason for the disaster of republican Spain."

The article begins with the statement that shortly after the outbreak of the rebellion in July 1936, Largo Caballero was being acclaimed by workers as "the Spanish Lenin." "The order to use this qualifying phrase, writes Araquistain, "came from Moscow." In other words, ubiquitous and omnipotent Moscow, even under the first People's Front government, which contained not a single Communist or Socialist, grabbed every Spanish worker and ordered him on pain of something or other to call Caballero "the Spanish Lenin." Araquistain does not know—or thinks his readers may not know—that American correspondents, including that well known Moscow agent William J. Carney of the *Times*, were in the habit of referring to Caballero in this way *long before the outbreak of the rebellion*.

The rest of Araquistain's article is on the same high level of mendacity. He repeats the Ginsberg-Krivitsky canard that the ousting of Caballero as premier in May 1937 and his replacement by a fellow Socialist, Negrin, was nothing but a Moscow machina-

tion. Alvarez del Vayo, Socialist foreign minister in the Negrin government is—as Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, Hearst insist—a Communist at heart in whom "the Soviet witches" found "an easy Macbeth." (No mention, of course, of the fact that del Vayo was formerly closely associated with Caballero.) And so on *ad nauseam*.

We do not know for whom Mr. Araquistain is working. But we do know for whom his colleagues, who helped engineer the anti-Negrin coup and surrender to Franco, were working. We also know that in his entire lengthy denunciation of the best leaders of the Spanish people and of the only country, save Mexico, that came to the aid of Spain there is not one syllable of criticism of Franco, his Nazi and Italian masters, or their British and French accomplices.

Put It There, King!

WHILE we are sitting around on press day tensely waiting for the greatest news story of the age, the meeting of the Dionne girls and the king and queen, there has been practically nothing to do but stare at the front pages of the week before, containing the previous greatest news story of the age. We refer to the fact that Elizabeth and George shook hands with the eighty reporters covering their trip. Although most of the papers back home survived the honor with enough aplomb to get the rag out as usual, the *New York Post*, the *News*, and the *Mirror* fell into strange twitching ecstatic fits at the beatification of their hired hands. Mussolini could have shot Hitler and Chamberlain and committed suicide and it wouldn't have crowded out Dixie Tighe's five column, front page account in the *Post*. Inez Robb of the *Mirror* found the royal pair so neighborly that "the instant they entered the room I had an impulse to set up the bridge table and go out in the kitchen to investigate ice cube conditions." It was given to George Dixon of the *News* to receive the most reverent treatment any managing editor ever gave a reporter. "News Reporter Gabs With King," said the front page headline. Beneath this was the perfect tribute, a life-size picture of Mr. Dixon's right hand, the hand that shook the king's, with the information that Mr. Dixon was having a cast made of his sanctified member, presumably to be displayed in the rotunda of the *News* building or sealed up in the time capsule.

We are not put off so easily. If the king really wants to break into our front page he'll have to drop around to the office (daily ten to six) and pose for a cast of his hand clasping our managing editor's. We could use a paper weight in the circulation department.

What's On Your Mind?

A. Landy answers a question about the position of the Communist Party in regard to violence.

QUESTIONS on various topics continue to arrive, some of them on themes that have been answered before in this department. We invite you to send in your questions; we shall make every effort to answer them promptly and satisfactorily.

Should any inquirer feel that he needs further details than the ones published under this department head, we will be glad to forward them upon request.

Q. Does the Communist Party still advocate the overthrow of the capitalist system by forceful methods?

A. The Communist Party advocates the establishment of socialism, but it is not a party of terrorists or conspirators. It devotes itself to the defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class to unite and lead the people in the establishment of socialism. Today the achievements of democracy and the people's liberties are menaced by fascist reaction. It is these forces of reaction that would overthrow the democratic institutions and prevent the people from advancing to a higher form of democracy, socialism.

The establishment of socialism will require the transfer of economic and political power from the hands of the capitalist minority to the hands of the majority of people led by the working class. Such a transfer of power will take place only when the working class has learned to put faith in its own strength and in the inevitability of its ultimate victory. When it takes place it will be as the democratic act of the American people united and led by the working class. That is why the constitution of the Communist Party declares:

"The Communist Party of the USA upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. The Communist Party of the USA, standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy." (Article VI, Section 1.)

The decision to replace capitalism by socialism will arise inevitably out of the conditions produced by capitalism itself and will impose itself upon the American people as an historical necessity. The execution of this historic decision will most decidedly meet with the resistance of reactionary finance capital. But the American people will know how to safeguard their democratic right to direct their own destinies. It is in this democratic spirit that Marxism has always approached the question of the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

This can be seen quite plainly from the statement of Friedrich Engels in his preface to the first English translation of Marx's *Capital*. Referring to Marx, he wrote on Nov. 5, 1886: "Surely, at such a moment,

the voice ought to be heard of a man whose whole theory is the result of a lifelong study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without a 'proslavery rebellion,' to this peaceful and legal revolution." (*Capital*, Vol. I, Chicago, 1906, p. 32.)

Three decades later, Lenin gave the world a living example of the theoretical and practical position of Marxism on this question. The revolution of February 1917 established a bourgeois-democratic regime in Russia. Russia, Lenin declared in April 1917, "is characterized, on the one hand by a maximum freedom (Russia is now the freest of all the belligerent countries in the world); on the other, by the absence of violence in relation to the masses." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 22.) As long as there is no violent interference with the democratic processes and the right of the majority to decide its own fate, the transition to socialism would be peaceful, he declared. It was only after July 1917, when the Provisional Government attempted to suppress the Bolsheviks and the masses who supported them, that the possibilities of a peaceful development of the revolution were brought to an end.

Even without further analysis, it is evident that Earl Browder spoke as a consistent Marxist-Leninist when he declared that "Communists, despite what their enemies say, do not advocate or idealize violence. A violent struggle with the capitalists is by no means our choice or preference." (*What Is Communism?* p. 165 ff.)

Correction: A typographical error appeared in the last sentence of the last answer in the May 23 issue. The sentence, as printed, read: "That is why Marx advanced as the objective of progress the development of 'production for production's sake.'" The sentence should have read: "That is why Marx advanced as the objective criterion of progress the development of 'production for production's sake.'"

A. LANDY.

READER'S FORUM

Not Like "Beast of Berlin"

FROM a *Daily Worker* movie reviewer, David Platt, comes a letter with an interesting sidelight:

"Certain uninformed critics have been comparing *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (an honest documentary film if ever there were one) with *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin*, a meretricious potboiler of 1918. I recently came across the synopsis of this sexy World War epic. Here it is. I hope it will put an end forever to such invidious comparisons:

"Marcus is a peace-loving blacksmith of Louvain, Belgium. In a palace in Berlin lives the kaiser. A captain of the guard, chided for the appearance of his men, knocks down the kaiser and then commits suicide. The kaiser soon after starts

the World War. Title: I am asking you at any moment to strike at your own mother, sister, or sweetheart. Second title: We all know his major weakness for soft white hands and we shuddered.

"Louvain is invaded. The blacksmith is wounded. He saves his daughter from the German soldiers. Title: Stand back, old woman, it's the girl I want. Later the *Lusitania* is sunk. The commander of the submarine is decorated and then goes mad. In an interview with American Ambassador Gerard, the kaiser says he will stand no nonsense from America in the war. The United States declares war and Gerard gets his sailing papers. Scenes of battle. The armistice. The close of hostilities finds the principal Allied generals gathered in a palace in Berlin. The kaiser is a captive. He is turned over to the king of Belgium whose chief jailer is the blacksmith."

"There is documentary evidence in Washington to support every single scene in the Warner Bros. film. But only idiots and dopes will find any truth in the other one."

A Footnote on the "Post"

I. F. STONE, associate editor of the *Nation*, writes us:

"May I for the sake of the record make a correction in Robert Terrall's article on the New York *Post* in the issue of May 23? I am no longer an editorial writer on the New York *Post*. I was employed as editorial writer on the *Post* from December 1933, when Stern bought it, to January 19 of this year when I was suddenly called into his office and removed 'for differences of opinion' under circumstances that led the Newspaper Guild to bring a case against the management of the *Post*. The 'differences of opinion' are real enough, and the chief differences were my opposition to isolationism and to Red-baiting. I might add that my case against the *Post* is not for reinstatement but for payment of severance pay due me under the guild contract after sixteen years of employment on Stern newspapers."

A Progressive Bookshop

"DEAR N.M.: Having come to your town to give the World's Fair the double-O, I've been looking around at the tall women and beautiful buildings as well. In my wanderings along Broadway I came on the Progressive Bookshop, 133 West 44th St., where I spent a lot of my time and money I'd set aside for visiting a few of the hotter night clubs.

"Not that I consider the time or money wasted; quite the contrary. I'm determined to go back to Youngstown and see if we can't get the same kind of bookshop started right smack on the main street, a bookshop to equip the SWOC boys with more knowledge on how to defend democracy so that they can go ahead with the job they began when they won their first contract from Youngstown Sheet & Tube.

"Of course, things are a bit different in our town from the way they are here. There aren't many places where you can get books that take up the problems that face us today, so you can see why the beautiful modern bookshop on Forty-fourth Street came as something of an eye-opener to me and showed me just what ought to be done in our own town.

"This trip to the big city did teach me something more about the world of tomorrow than is to be found out in Flushing. Now I'm going back home and see what can be done about bringing a Progressive Bookshop to the Main Street of Youngstown.

"JOHN INGRAM."

Mr. MacLeish Hesitates

A. B. Magil analyzes and answers the "pro-democratic, rather than anti-fascist" attitude of one of America's foremost social poets.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH'S article, "Liberalism and the Anti-Fascist Front," in the May issue of *Survey Graphic*, might well have been subtitled, "Thinking Out Loud in Time of Hesitation." The tone is affirmation of faith, the overtone—doubt and fumbling. For all its concern with positive action for democracy, the mood is almost elegiac, the mood of those who were overwhelmed by Munich and Spain.

Mr. MacLeish is today something more than one of America's most important poets. In the past few years he has become an eminently social art, deeply concerned with democracy and the problems of its survival. And because he is so essentially creative he has found it necessary to abandon his former hostility to the left and to identify himself with those liberals and left-wingers, including Communists, who have collaborated in the American Writers Congress, in the work for Spain, and in other fields. This identification has not only enabled him to contribute richly from his talents and experience, but, in turn, to draw sustenance for his own work from the most creative forces in American life.

What is, therefore, so disturbing about Mr. MacLeish's article in the May *Survey Graphic* (its general orientation was already foreshadowed in one that he published in the February issue of the same magazine) is that he now seems to have taken a step toward separating himself from the forces of creative democracy. It is as yet a first step, one which, it is to be hoped, he will speedily retrace; it remains, nevertheless, a step toward isolation. It is true that Mr. MacLeish believes he is moving toward a more positive conception of democracy and is motivated by a desire to make the forms of democratic action more effective. This does not, however, alter the fact that, objectively, he is attempting to move away from the basic popular forces that are the blood and sinews of the democratic struggle. And the fact is, too, that at a time when the curse of the democratic movement is its own disunity, he seeks—from the best of motives—to accentuate differences and erect new barriers.

Mr. MacLeish states his thesis as follows:

An attempt can be made to defend democracy against fascism by adopting an *anti-fascist* policy, or an attempt can be made to defend democracy against fascism by adopting a *pro-democratic* policy. The first is the policy adopted by the Communist Party. It is a defensive policy which devotes its efforts and its means altogether to the weakening of fascism by the exploitation of fascism's cruelties, stupidities, and defects. The second is the policy so far adopted by no one. In theory it would be an



ARCHIBALD MACLEISH. A caricature of the distinguished poet by Georges Schreiber, drawn at the Second Congress of American Writers in 1937.

affirmative and offensive policy which would devote its efforts and the means at its disposal to the strengthening of democracy.

Mr. MacLeish thus conceives of anti-fascism and pro-democracy as two fixed categories which, if not mutually exclusive, at least develop disparately. And his essay becomes an appeal to those liberals who follow Communist leadership to abandon what he considers a mistaken path and "supply a direction and a program which American democracy now lacks." Mr. MacLeish is himself vague as to direction and entirely silent as to program. Even his definition of democracy—"a society in which the dignity of man is of first importance, a society in which everything else must be subject to, and must support, the dignity of man"—sounds more like nineteenth-century platitude than an operative philosophy for our own time.

Though Mr. MacLeish expresses his differences in the form of criticism of the Communist Party and those liberals who support it, the anti-fascist policy is by no means exclusively Communist or left-wing; it is pursued in varying forms and with varying degrees of consistency by the CIO, the progressive forces in the AFL, the New Deal, the American Labor Party, the Washington Commonwealth Federation, and many other groups. Therefore, Mr. MacLeish's criticism is directed, whether consciously or not, at all

those who comprise the developing democratic front against reaction and fascism. Mr. MacLeish's ideas are, of course, not new or unique even though he states that he is speaking only for himself. The whole conception of anti-fascism and pro-democracy as opposites, one negative and the other positive, has been advanced in season and out by Norman Thomas and his friends—with what fruitful results the present state of the Socialist Party can testify. And as in the case of Thomas, Mr. MacLeish's false conception is rooted in his misapprehension of the class nature of fascism. He rejects the Marxist insistence that fascism is the unrestrained terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital and maintains that "fascism is the coup d'état of a class which is as hostile to the ruling class capitalists as it is to the proletariat of Marx: a class which denies the right of the capitalists to govern as vigorously as it denies the right of the proletariat of Marx to inherit." Mr. MacLeish describes this as "the class which in all modern, industrialized societies is potentially the most dangerous because it is the most ignorant, the most violent, the most brutal, and the most unhappy." But he never defines its economic character, though one gathers from certain intimations that he has in mind the petty bourgeoisie or lower middle class.

The conception of fascism as a middle class revolution and dictatorship has been sedulously propagated by the fascists themselves. Unfortunately, it has been unwarily accepted by some liberals who see new evidence of the anti-capitalist nature of fascism in the German and Italian governments' increased intervention in economic affairs and their adoption of measures which appear to impose burdens and restrictions on the capitalists. The true character of this government intervention has been aptly epitomized by Prof. Gaetano Salvemini in his book *Under the Ax of Fascism*: "The intervention of the government has invariably favored big business." And one of the ways in which the totalitarian governments favor big business is by imposing burdens and restrictions, not on the monopolists, but on the lesser capitalists.

What is happening under fascism is that the process by which the big fish swallow up the little and are in turn swallowed up by the very biggest has, with the active assistance of the government, been enormously accelerated. The ruling economic oligarchy in Germany and Italy has been narrowed down, but its power has been vastly increased and the entire economic life of both countries has fallen more completely than ever before under the domina-

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Many New Masses readers will remember the first announcement in these pages of the formation of Consumers Union a little more than three years ago.

Because this month is the third anniversary of the first issue of *Consumers Union Reports*, because the third annual CU membership meeting is about to be held and the third annual edition of CU's *Buying Guide* is on the press, we take this occasion to report on CU's progress.



When its first advertisement appeared in these pages, CU had but 148 members, a staff of 10 people working for a uniform wage of \$10 a week, and no funds beyond the fees and small contributions of these 148 members.

Today Consumers Union has over 80,000 members, a thriving West Coast branch, a staff of 50 people and more than 200 highly specialized technical consultants.

It has published, in its monthly *Reports*, annual *Buying Guides* and other publications, a great body of technical information for consumers. It is about to begin construction of new laboratories so that this work for consumers may be extended.

It has opened the only exhibit at the New York World's Fair sponsored by a non-commercial consumer organization.

It has been in the forefront of the fight for better consumer legislation.

Its labor reports have proved a potent force in welding the interests of the consumer with those of the worker.

Its monthly *Reports* are used in hundreds of consumer education courses in high schools and colleges throughout the country; they are in the periodical racks of hundreds of libraries. Through these agencies and through its members, the influence of Consumers Union in protecting health and pocketbook has been felt in hundreds of thousands of American homes.

To the great number of New Masses readers whose support has helped to make this record possible, CU acknowledges its debt.



On June 1 in New York City's Town Hall, CU will hold its third annual membership meeting. Reports on CU's progress will be given, plans for the future discussed. Donald Ogden Stewart, humorist, will talk on "Advertising"; Dr. William M. Malisoff on "Science and the Consumer."

All CU members are urged to attend the meeting. Those joining CU at any time before the meeting are also welcome.

The membership fee is \$3 (for the full edition of *CU Reports*) or \$1 (for the abridged edition). Beyond admitting you to the meeting, membership will bring you twelve monthly issues of *Consumers Union Reports* and a copy of the 1939 *Buying Guide*. Just write us, telling us you want to join, and enclose the \$3 or \$1 fee—or bring it with you to the meeting.

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tion of a small number of tycoons of finance and industry. (Most books and articles on Germany and Italy deal with this question either inadequately or in a distorted way. The only serious study available in English that I am aware of is the article "The Real Masters of Germany," by K. Werner in the August 1938 issue of the *Communist International*. Its data, drawn in large part from Nazi sources, fully bear out the statements I have made above. Werner writes that the number of finance capitalists controlling the wealth of Germany, which in 1930 was estimated at from one hundred to 140, had declined by 1938 to between fifty and sixty. Between the years 1932 and 1937 the number of joint stock companies decreased by 3,540, their capital being taken over by larger concerns and by the banks. At the same time the lower middle class—in whose name the fascist dictatorship was established—is being squeezed to the wall. "In 1936 alone," writes Werner, "136,000 craftsmen's workshops went out of business. And in 1937 the tempo of this process increased.")

From his conception of fascism as anti-capitalist Mr. MacLeish implies the logical corollary that the capitalists—the big capitalists—are opposed to fascism. This makes them potential allies of the Communists and all those who advocate a united anti-fascist front. And since the capitalists are interested in maintaining the status quo, with all its shortcomings and inequities, a united front against fascism means the defense of the status quo rather than of democracy. Mr. MacLeish puts it this way:

It is undoubtedly true that only on the negative line of anti-fascism is it possible to form a common front of all opinions in defense of democracy. But the reason why it is possible to form a common front of all opinions on the negative line of anti-fascism is precisely that it is *not* democracy which is being defended on that line but the status quo. It is defense of the status quo which brings together the *Chicago Tribune* and Mr. Ickes and the State Department and the CIO and the DAR and the radio announcers and the people who pay income taxes and the people who do not pay income taxes.

It will, of course, be news to Mr. Ickes that he is sleeping in the same political bed as Col. Robert McCormick of the rabidly anti-New Deal *Chicago Tribune*. Nor has John L. Lewis yet been informed of his platonic alliance with the labor-hating ladies of the DAR. See where Mr. MacLeish's denial of the finance-capitalist genesis of fascism leads him when he turns from the realm of theory to that of practice: he creates an incongruous amalgam of pro-fascists and anti-fascists, tags it anti-fascist front, and saddles it on the advocates of anti-fascist unity.

Now, as to the status quo. Mr. MacLeish views it as another fixed category and fails to see that it is, in fact, a developing process. The economic status quo is capitalism, with all the profits and privileges for the dominant capitalists that that implies. Certainly our industrial and financial magnates are interested in preserving this status quo. But the

status quo also includes labor organization which threatens to curtail profits and privileges for the few and ultimately to abolish them. The capitalists are certainly not interested in preserving *this* element of the status quo. The political status quo includes the New Deal, but here again the capitalists are actively opposed. Thus, to defend the labor movement and the New Deal is to defend certain elements of the status quo, but would Mr. MacLeish maintain that this has nothing to do with the defense of democracy?

The fact is that in the present period monopoly capital is everywhere in sharp conflict with bourgeois democracy. Already as far back as 1851, when monopoly capital was still in the seed, Marx observed the beginning of this phenomenon and wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

The bourgeoisie recognized that all the weapons which it had forged against feudalism would have their points turned against itself; that all the means of education which it had created were rebels against its own civilization; that all the gods it had set up had deserted it. It became aware that the so-called civil liberties and instruments of progress were menaces to its own class dominion.

This conflict between monopoly capital and bourgeois democracy finds expression on the part of the former in a drive toward fascism—the complete destruction of democracy—and on the part of the democratic forces in a drive toward *the expansion of democracy, reaching its fruition in the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of socialism*. These two drives develop whether or not the opposing sides are fully conscious of their ultimate goals. Thus the defense of the status quo, bourgeois democracy, against fascist attack must inevitably result in its transformation into a higher form of democracy.

Mr. MacLeish might with more justification have criticized some of the proponents of a common front against fascism on the ground that they have insufficiently emphasized the dynamic, creative aspects of their policy and have too often given the impression that it is confined to static, merely conservative objectives. There may be Communists who are also guilty of this one-sided emphasis, but this is not the fault of Communist policy. Our horizons are, in fact, wider than Mr. MacLeish's, who seems to seek merely the revitalization of capitalist democracy. In this connection let me quote from Earl Browder's report to the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the USA:

Our program of the democratic front is not a socialist program. It is the minimum of those measures necessary under capitalism to preserve and extend democracy, all those things which have been the heart of the American tradition in the past, ever since the revolutionary foundation of the United States. The program of the democratic front is squarely based on traditional Americanism. . . .

For the avoidance of all misunderstanding, now and in the future, let us make clear beyond the slightest doubt that the Communist Party is in no way weakening or abandoning its goal of the complete realization of socialism for America at the earliest possible moment, which means as soon as

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and post-Spain. It is also a "pre-" world, a world that stands before the coming victory of democracy. Those who believe in and work for this world that is to be must appeal from the Archibald MacLeish of 1939 to the Archibald MacLeish of 1937. They must appeal from doubt and wavering to faith—faith based on knowledge and action—from sterile isolation and everything divisive, however subtly clothed in the garments of democracy, to that joining of common minds and common deeds which is democracy's living spirit.

A. B. MAGIL.

Millen Brand's Novel

"The Heroes," a moving story about disabled war veterans.

THE Soldiers Home in Millen Brand's new novel (*The Heroes*, Simon & Schuster, \$2) is a decent sort of institution, humanely run. Its disabled war veterans are adequately fed and given some form of recreation; they suffer little from the effects of their wounds. Yet not one of them is happy. The walls of the home have shut out insecurity, but unemployment—the unemployment of the early thirties—is still the enemy. These men can work; they worked in spite of their disabilities until the depression snatched their jobs; and from the safety of the home they continue to hunt for employment. Deprived of it they live as children, without the expectancy of childhood. Their games are a marking time. Their conversation becomes tired and nostalgic. Life has a perpetual quality of the gray hour between waking and breakfast. One of the men steals a watch to trade for drink and is expelled from the home, another commits suicide. These are the only definitely dramatic episodes in the life of the home, which moves in a monotony so intense that the click of a billiard ball is sharp to the ear and the sight of the charwoman's underclothes hanging on the line to dry is a sensual pleasure.

For all that, *The Heroes* is by no means a bleak book, nor is the title completely sardonic. The institution which harbors these dislocated lives is symbolic of the dislocated society outside; and its inhabitants are workers like those beyond its doors, with the experiences and comradeship and talk of workers. However close to emptiness the men live, they themselves are not yet empty. This is particularly true of George Burley, the main character, who was a good cabinet-finisher even after he had lost one arm, and loved his trade as long as he was permitted to work at it. In his dreams George always has both arms and is struggling with some direct physical reality. One of the best passages in Brand's stripped, effective writing is his description of George lacquering a bookcase—a small piece of work he has begged from the local cabinetmaker for his own satisfaction. The self-respect that prevents him from looking on the home as a final refuge grows, with the companionship and love of a girl from the factory nearby, into painful determination.



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They went out on the porch and walked forward, toward the front of the building. They turned; the width of the front of the home—three buildings, dormitory, hospital wing, chapel—wheeled before them in blinding yellow. The World War guns lifted, their voices sounded against the hills but he knew that he was escaping from what they said, from death out of their black mouths—

As in *The Outward Room*, the author's first novel, *The Heroes* is the story of a disabled individual imprisoned in a sort of asylum who finds his way back to life through the reality of the working class world represented to him by one of its members. To tell such a story sharply and yet tenderly, without sentimentality or mysticism, is not easy. Millen Brand's way of doing it is the key to the book's simple power and originality.
BARBARA GILES.

"American Labor"
Bruce Minton analyzes the shortcomings of Herbert Harris' book.

A FLOOD of books has been published in the last few years dealing with the history of American labor and particularly with the developments of the union movement since the advent of the CIO. Such histories fall roughly into two categories: those that discuss the labor movement with at least a rudimentary understanding of the class relationships underlying labor's struggles and development; and those that view the rise of militancy and power in the trade unions as a phenomenon to be "explained" by pointing to the closed frontier and the desire of workers for middle-class comforts. Into this second grouping falls Herbert Harris' *American Labor* (Yale University Press, \$3.75).

The main weakness of Mr. Harris' general history of labor is his insistence that American workers are unaffected by what the author calls "the ideology of the class struggle." In Mr. Harris' eyes, American capitalism:

did not divide society into "two great hostile classes." Instead it created a vast and powerful middle class, itself divided into lower, middle, and upper groups, with strong pro-capitalist leanings and which in standard and behavior has dominated, and today still largely dominates, American psychology.

But that is where Mr. Harris crawls out on a limb. No one denies the existence and importance of the middle classes. No one would deny that the upper group has strong ties with the capitalists. But the middle and lower groups—the overwhelming majority—must ally themselves to that class offering them greater security and a greater prospect of survival. By its very nature, the owning class, once it embraces monopoly capitalism (the

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stage already reached by American capitalism) drives toward greater concentration of ownership, and in so doing, attempts to annihilate workers' organizations and to depress the standard of living of those it exploits. In other words, the objectives pursued by the capitalists are basically opposed to the best interests of the workers. Such an antithesis bespeaks the existence of two classes—two groups striving for conflicting (and of necessity, irreconcilable) ends. What confuses Mr. Harris is his inability to recognize that even though some workers still lack full realization of the conflict between their interests and those of the employers, the divergence nevertheless has reality, and serves to split America into antipathetic economic groups or classes. Despite Mr. Harris' denial of class antagonisms, the rise of the union movement, the militancy and successful building of workers' organizations occur when, however incompletely, the disparity of class interests becomes the basis of working-class action.

The middle classes are not the balance of power, as Mr. Harris seems to think. They are torn between two groups, each of which has a definite goal to attain. The middle classes lack a goal of their own. They face the dilemma: should they ally themselves with the owners or with the workers? The solution is practical enough—which class offers the middle-class employee greater inducements? For the top middle-class group, probably an alliance with the owners promises immediate benefits. But the top group is a small minority. Can the owners assure the middle and lower sections security? Does the drive against the unions—conducted not for the fun of it but for the very real purpose of lowering wages, lengthening hours, and, by smashing the unions, ridding the workers of their unified power to demand and force concessions from the owners—does this drive benefit or menace the majority of middle-class people? Obviously, if the workers' standard of living is undermined, the middle classes will soon find their own standards threatened. The salaried employee, ever haunted by a lack of security, finds that when his interests are not supported and reinforced by vigorous working-class organizations, he is powerless to resist the pressure exercised by the owners.

In addition, the middle classes must preserve democracy in order to survive; would anyone today trust American democracy to the good graces of the National Association of Manufacturers? Or would American democracy be safer in the hands of unions politically allied with the middle classes? The workers, we know, mean something far different from what Wall Street means when they speak of freedom. The class that gains freedom defines its meaning and how it is to be exercised. Where can the middle classes place their faith, with which class can they ally themselves for mutual protection? To go along with the owners is to aid the class that exploits the salaried employees, the small and middle farmers, the small business men and the professionals no less than it exploits the

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workers. To go along with the working class is to confront the exploiters with a strong defense for the preservation of the security of both the workers and the middle classes, the security that rests in strengthening organization and democracy—and in the recognition of class antipathies.

Mr. Harris' book is a bird's-eye view of labor that omits the steel workers' struggles, that underestimates the importance of independent political action on the part of labor and the middle classes, and adds up to confusion.
 BRUCE MINTON.

Maker of Universes

The story of Albert Einstein, told by H. Gordon Garbedian.

EINSTEIN, in many ways, is a symbol of our times. A great seminal mind—his discoveries are derided by the Nazis as "Jewish mathematics." A recluse by temperament—he has left the ivory tower of pure research to raise an eloquent voice in behalf of freedom and humanity. In his person he typifies the frustrations imposed by a decaying social order, which persecutes and hampers genius because of the accident of birth. But Einstein, although not in the most clearcut manner, also represents mankind's refusal to truckle to the new barbarians, and its determination to preserve the heritage of civilization. That is why this shyest of men urges his fellow scientists to function as citizens, to participate in the political struggles for democracy.

H. Gordon Garbedian's biography of Einstein (*Albert Einstein*, Funk & Wagnalls, \$3.75) was published on the occasion of the subject's sixtieth birthday. It tells the story of this maker of universes—the quiet youth, the revolutionist in science, the world hero, the exile from fascism. It draws a very human portrait of the man—how he endured poverty, how he suffered from the jealousy of rival scientists, how he won scientific triumphs, how he came to devote himself to the cause of peace and democracy. The story is well worth telling, for it destroys the Sunday-supplement caricatures of a superman that have been presented to the general public. And incidentally, Mr. Garbedian, in two simple chapters on relativity theory and its ramifications, shows that these discoveries can be grasped in their essentials.

There are two defects in the book. First, the author has a tendency to create imaginary scenes and dialogues that are nothing but poor fiction. Second, his adulation for his subject makes him go in for exaggerated praise. Einstein himself would object to statements declaring that the twentieth century will merely be remembered as a footnote to the work of its "Newton." Of course, Einstein has written a lasting page in scientific history. But he will also be remembered for his efforts to rally scientists for the new social order that our century has already begun to construct.

DAVID RAMSEY.

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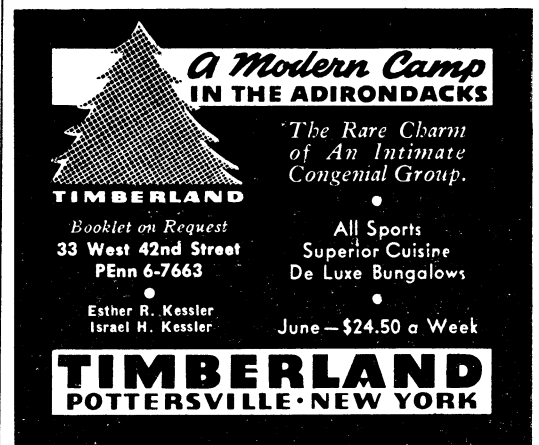
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Music of the Perisphere

Where is the American composer in the World of Tomorrow? He has a big spot in the world of today. Mr. Whalen, Olin Downes, and Dr. Damrosch.

AMONG the whirligigs of modern science which are jostling around at the New York World's Fair, walks a well preserved old gentleman with white hair. He represents culture, and in particular, the culture of music in America. Olin Downes (chairman of the World's Fair music committee) and Mr. Whalen put their heads together and found that the American music of tomorrow could be no better represented than by—look again—Walter Damrosch! Now that's the kind of view of tomorrow which makes me want to reach out for the prussic acid, but luckily it's not the whole story of the future. For despite Mr. Damrosch, I think that American music has a much surer and brighter tomorrow than the International Business Machine Co., which is getting more attention from Mr. Whalen.

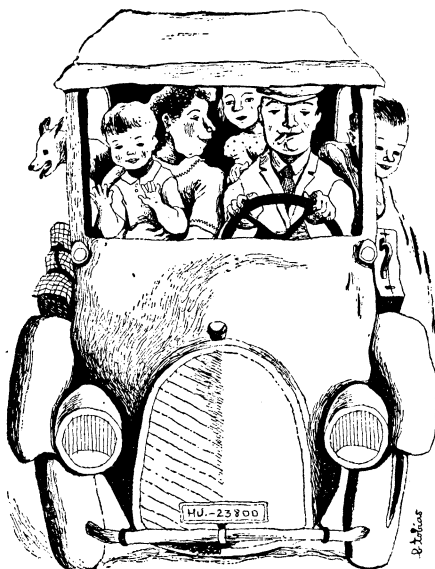
Mr. Whalen may not know it, but there really is a future for American music. There will be very little evidence of this in the many music programs so far scheduled—though the contemporary goings-on of composers in Brazil, Rumania, and Switzerland have already been heard. And once again the ridiculous calumny will be abroad that there is no such thing as American music or American composers; for if they do exist, what better time for hearing them than at an international fair ostensibly designed to record the progress of the past and to indicate the paths of tomorrow.

Curiously enough, the diversity of types found in the ranks of American composers would well lend itself to such a program. Musically speaking, we have all shades of opinion represented, from the most dire conservative to the most experimental radical composer. Furthermore, these two opposite poles have done such good work at joining for common good under the aegis of the American Composers Alliance that representation from both factions would be welcomed by all. Years of obscurity and neglect have taught the American composer that the problem of one, no matter what his musical theories, is the problem of every composer.

There are some who persist in saying that the American composer exists only in the sense that he is a person who happens to write music—that, as yet, there is no American music. This is so patently false that it is beneath discussion. I can name at least twenty-five American composers whose works (for esthetic, not national, reasons) should be heard. There are at least seventy-five more who deserve hearings. This is the point at which wiseacres say, "France, for instance, is content with having a handful of distin-

guished composers . . . here you name a hundred. It's not possible." But America has a population of some 130,000,000, and considering the discouragement to American composers, it's amazing that we have even this small percentage. The scene is further confused by the fact that there is so little outlet for the composer. Up until the time of the Federal Music Project and the Composers Forum Laboratory, there was even less. And the fact that these agencies uncovered so much talent is good enough proof that opportunities for hearings would reveal an astounding wealth of American creative talent.

Recent activities illuminate the status of the American composer. Carnegie Hall in New York was the scene of a concert of music by some of the Guggenheim award recipients, including Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, Roy Harris, Paul Nordoff, and William Schuman. It was a well arranged, well played concert under the auspices of the Federal Music Project of New York City. Had this concert been played in Paris, had the composers been French, had the quality of the music been the same—there would have been a furor of acclaim which would have been heard across the Atlantic. One of our Sunday papers would have had a long article about the occasion, and how well it boded for the future of French music. It was a mild stir here—already forgotten. It got pretty good coverage from the press, though the chief music critic of the *New York Times*, undoubtedly exhausted from a week of Brazilian and Swiss music, couldn't make it. That paper was represented by a second-string critic who is well known for his animosity toward all modern music.



Beatrice Tobias

The rest of the press was there except for Mr. Samuel Chotzinoff of the *Post*, which carried no review at all, in keeping with the paper's policy of "no news is good news." As a concert, it deserved wide discussion. Some of the music showed genius, some of it merely talent. It would be silly to think that any country or any group could provide a full evening of top-flight music. However, there were fewer dull moments in this concert of American music than in other all-something concerts being heard these days. And as a full evening demonstration of what is being done in American music, it was actually thrilling. It seems deplorable that such a concert (and others like it with wider representation of composers) should not be included in the programs at the World's Fair music auditorium.

The frequent appearance of "under the auspices of" on the World's Fair programs gives us another insight into the composer's problems. Greece, Switzerland, England, Rumania, and other countries are finding it possible to financially underwrite programs of representative native music. The aforementioned Dr. Damrosch became apoplectic about the Coffee-Pepper Fine Arts Bill some months past. (He later pulled a fine arts bill of his own from out of his sleeve, one that carefully disregards the WPA arts projects which have done more for American art since their existence than any other single American cultural activity. It was the mention of the arts projects and union wage scales which disturbed the good doctor.) Yet the existence of a Federal Fine Arts Bureau would have made possible the government sponsorship of concerts of American music for the World's Fair. As it is, public sponsorship concerns itself with five thousand free lavatories while the American composer is assured of nothing but the usage of these, along with an opportunity to hear "interesting new works" by his European confreres.

If the World's Fair makes no other contribution, it will at any rate serve to illustrate clearly the position of the American composer in the eyes of government officials and official musicdom. How long American audiences will allow the latter to lead them by the nose into musical fashions and fancies of their choosing remains to be seen. The American composer has something to say to the people of America, and once the path is clear between the creative musician and his audience, the reception may surprise even those who have been putting their faith in some of Europe's bankrupt musical stock.

JOHN SEBASTIAN.

Brookfield Ham

Mr. Chips and a matter of advertising ethics.

THE trouble with *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* is that it isn't sentimental enough. When Chips' middle-aged marriage is destroyed by the death of his young wife in childbirth, the author completely flubbed his opportunity to keep the tears coming. He has the baby die too. How much more tearful it would have been to have the baby live, a hopeless cripple, who could never bat for Brookfield. When the Great War comes Tiny Tim Chips could watch the other fellows going off to Flanders and his heart could break slowly for a reel or two. This would make Alexander Woollcott positively speechless, something the present version has failed to do. In the company of other leading literary figures, including Ed Sullivan, Mr. Woollcott is satisfied too easily in his banzais. But Frank Nugent of the *New York Times* is the ungrateful dog. MGM took a big ad in the *Times* on the opening day, with Mr. Nugent's picture in it and a headline reading, "Hello, Mr. Nugent! May We Quote You?" Mr. Nugent, the malcontent, delivered a review right beside the ad, and you could scarcely find six adjectives worth quoting in it. I have already sent the producers a picture of myself with my head in Leo the Lion's mouth.

Mr. Chips taught sixty-three years at Brookfield school, loved by generations of boys, instructors, headmasters, and gatemen. During this time there were several wars, kings, inventions, and changes of makeup on the part of Robert Donat. Also a lot of sad violin music. It is all so God damn English it will make the tea come to your eyes.

I have strictured before, in the case of a creaker named *Housemaster*, on the subject of the public schools of Britain, upon whose playing fields wars are won and slaves put down. Here the hoary traditions are presented with subtlety. British statesmanship is transparently crude but the literary men can fog the dirty work up with some charm. Mr. Hilton's servile Chips and his celestial subdivision, Shangri-La, are worth a flotilla of warships named *Furious* and *Glorious*. *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* teaches resignation to one's lot, slave abnegation to Chamberlain's England, and it propounds with hypnotic effect. The picture reaches the audience very directly, employing a simple human tragedy to assert the traditions of tory England. I don't want to—how do you say it—concretize too heavily on this point, because the moral is implicit in the picture, not stated.

The casting and acting show excellent theatrical taste. Robert Donat, as Mr. Chips, converts a tour de force into a touching performance. Miss Greer Garson, a new one, gives warmth and understanding to an unbelievable character, the inexplicable wife of Chips. The boys and a jolly German instructor, played by Paul von Hernald, are a fresh, robust contrast to the Chips bathos.

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can pose such a concept, was reached in the opening-day ads, aforementioned. Each New York daily had a sizable ad near the review, with a photo of the critic of the paper shaking hands with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's lion under the display line, "Hello, Mr. Barnes! May we quote you? *Goodbye, Mr. Chips.*" Through the error of some insubordinate employee NEW MASSES did not get this ad so we will give it free. "Hello, Mr. Dugan! May We Quote You?" Sure, fellows. Goodbye, Mr. Drips.

CUFF NOTES

The Ben Hecht—Charles MacArthur academy of beautiful letters, which I am sure accounts for at least half of our national gross output, is currently represented in the cinema department by *Gunga Din*, *Wuthering Heights*, and *It's a Wonderful World*. The last-named comical firecracker fails to explode although the fuse burns fitfully at several points. Advertised as containing no politics whatsoever, *Wonderful World* is as good a point as any to end the screwball cycle once and for all. I'm not asking, I'm telling.

The Kid from Kokomo is a Warner Bros. venture in the whacky metier, featuring May Robson's drunk act, Wayne Morris' prize-fighter act, and Pat O'Brien's Pat O'Brien act. If you have missed these turns before you might like this reasonable facsimile thereof.

JAMES DUGAN.

The Magazine Show

Revue Little Showshop satirizes American periodicals.

MODEL 3 of the Revue Little Showshop moved off the assembly line last week into the Village Vanguard (N. Y.). Called *The Magazine Show*, it supersedes their Newspaper and Hollywood shows, and will be put on regularly twice a night from Wednesdays through Saturdays at the cellar cafe on Seventh Avenue South.

Like other shows, the Revue's newest satirizes one of our most popular American institutions—the magazine. Slick and pulp, pocket and standard size—*Esquire*, *Vogue*, *True Detective*, *Life*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Reader's Digest*, *Cue*, *Stage*, *Downbeat*—all are given a quick once-over in a potpourri of songs, sketches, and gags. *The Magazine Show* is just as keen, funny, and tuneful as the group's other revues. A few of the numbers rate with the best you've seen in TAC or any Broadway show. These are the take-offs on the little homemaker besieged by subscription salesmen, the three drama critics reviewing one play, and the Young Man with a Kazoo. Don't miss them.

Almost the most satisfying part of an evening at the Vanguard is the knowledge that these quality revues show what collective work can do. The five Revue—Adolph Green, Betty Comden, John Frank, Judith Tuvim, and Al Hammer—are all youngsters under twenty-four. An idea sprouts from among

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ARTIST'S SKYLIGHT, working studio; 14x16 ft.; cool; running water; elevator; near 14th St. & 5th Ave.; sublet through summer; \$18 mo. Call St. 9-6946 before 10 a.m. or write N. M. Box 1589.

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NEED ANY TIRES (New or Used) or a battery for that car? See Joe Litt, friend and comrade. 140 West End Ave., cor. 66th St., N. Y. C.

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MONTH IN THE COUNTRY. Young woman writer seeks inexpensive, secluded place, with some life evenings. N. M. Box 1594.

EXPERT STENOGRAPHER (experienced authors, publicity, advertising) wishes to exchange her part-time services for country room and board. N. M. Box 1595.

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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; ME3-4218.

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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.

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MOUNTAIN FARM CLUB. Informal ease Memorial Day Week-end. Beautiful surroundings. Cozy rooms. Good Food. Very low rates. Write Elmwood Farm, Hunter, N. Y.

YOUNG MEN—Spend vacation at camp with all sports, fine home-cooked meals—comradely atmosphere. \$18 weekly for early reservations. N. M. Box 1591.

BARLOW FARM, Sherman Conn. 65 miles N. Y. City. Ideal weekends, vacation. Tennis, Swimming, Fishing, Many Sports, on premises. Low rates. Free booklet.

ONE HOUR from New York! Rockland County's scenic hideaway amid gorgeous Ramapo Mts. Expert cooking. Restful, comradely. \$17 wk.; \$3 day. Get-a-Rest Inn, Pomona, N. Y. Phone Spring Valley 67F2.

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VOLUNTEERS

NEW MASSES would be grateful for volunteer clerical help in its circulation campaign. Apply Room 1204, 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

GOINGS ON

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.

DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT, Benefit Disabled Veterans Fund. Rex Ingram, Bunin Puppets, others. Auspices: Pharmacist & Dentist Anti-Fascists. Sat. nite, May 27th. Irving Plaza, 15th St. & Irving Pl. Subs. 49c.

VILLAGE VANGUARD REVUE—"wittiest sketches in town"—says Theodore Strauss, N. Y. Times. 2 shows nightly—10:15 & 12:15 except Mon. & Tues. 178—7th Ave. So., near 11th St. 75c min. chge. CH 2-9355.

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them, they put it on the production belt, stand by it, and with sketches, lyrics, music, sets, costumes, lighting, direction, and acting, build it up into a smoothly functioning vehicle of social satire that takes you for a swell joy-ride.

MILTON MELTZER.

Anti-Nazi Melodrama

"The Brown Danube" misses the real story of Hitlerism.

THE season has been visited by a number of well-meant anti-Hitler plays because it is pretty obvious that this is a popular idea among the customers. In each case the playwright's inadequate understanding of the social nature of fascism has killed his play. *The Brown Danube*, newest of the species, is written by a newspaperman, Burnet Hershey, who avows some familiarity with Hitler at work. Mr. Hershey didn't get the real story. He picks a family of Viennese nobility who have had to flee from *Anschluss*. The daughter of the family, long dreamed of by a Nazi lout who now has her in his fell clutches, is saved by her canny papa's alteration of birth records to make her admirer appear a Jew by birth. The Nazi buck backs off and lets the von Tornheims escape.

When enterprising playwrights, sincere or otherwise, get the idea that you can't make a good play out of Hitlerism with *Graustark* and *The Birth of a Nation* as a reference, then the theater will be near to the tremendous drama there is in the ravages of fascism. There will be the melodrama Mr. Hershey wants; he can have his railroad train setting and guns barking, maybe a luscious princess or two, but there will have to be some common victims in it also. Among the program credits are hats by Lily Dache, shoes and stockings by Bonwit Teller, and gloves by the Wear Right Glove Co., the last manufactured in Nazi Germany.

BARNABY HOTCHKISS.



Selma Freeman Ramsey

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Ralph Bates, Paul de Kruif, Robert Forsythe, Ruth McKenney, Dorothy Parker, Donald Ogden Stewart

ROOM 1204, 461 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

May 30, 1939

Dear Friend:

Your splendid response to our appeal for funds to save New Masses has deepened our conviction that the magazine occupies a vitally important place in American life.

The sacrifices which you have made to insure the survival of New Masses prove that the phrase "America's Indispensable Weekly" is not a routine exaggeration of advertising.

We are grateful, and we know that the editors are grateful, to you for your warm and generous cooperation.

The magazine has moved out of the immediate danger zone. It still needs money, to be sure. But it can now more freely concentrate upon a problem which is in the end far more important. It can now seek to extend the scope of its readership and influence.

We are convinced that the advance of democratic ideas in America may truly be registered by the advance in circulation of New Masses.* An increase of 10,000 readers during the summer months will not only insure financial stability; it will also be an effective instrument for unifying the people of this country at a time when all sorts of divisive forces are attempting to undermine unity.

Your enthusiastic support has enabled the magazine to survive very difficult days. Your support must now be translated into an active drive for a substantial increase in circulation. To this drive we pledge our support. We are confident that you will do the same.

[*See pages 2 and 27.]

NEW MASSES, 461 FOURTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.
Here is my contribution to the *New Masses* drive
for \$30,000.

Amount.....

Name.....

Address.....

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Ralph Bates
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