

NEW MASSES

APRIL 6, 1943

15c

in Canada 20c



DEBATE

"IS COMMUNISM A MENACE?"

EARL BROWDER VS GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

OUR BIG CHANCE IN EUROPE

by THE EDITORS

WARNING!

Morris A. Greenbaum
Certified Public Accountant

Telephone: Algonquin 4-7575

207 Fourth Avenue, New York

March 26, 1943

Weekly Masses Co., Inc.
104 East 9th Street
New York City

Gentlemen:

We have audited the books and records of your company for the two months ending February 28th, 1943. We have paid particular attention to your budget for 1943, and can report that expenditures and income, to date, correspond well with the controlling schedules of your 1943 budget.

Though some items of primary cost -- printing, paper -- have increased greatly over 1942, you have kept the total costs well below that of last year. This is due to the drastic cuts and other savings your management has instituted in accordance with your budget.

There is, however, one particular problem that requires your immediate attention -- your shortage of working capital. Upon inspection of the attached statements, you will notice that in January your requirement to cover the accumulated deficit for previous operations was about \$40,000.00. Now, the condition is still more serious, as the ratio between the current assets and current liabilities is at the point where further operations are almost impossible unless a substantial amount of new capital is obtained.

To illustrate:

- a. Note payable to the printer ... \$5,250
- b. Short term loans \$5,000

Due April 7, 1943

Due April 15, 1943

And your liquid funds to satisfy the above indebtedness consist of but a few hundred dollars in the bank. Briefly, you need within the next two weeks \$10,250 to honor the above notes -- otherwise, I cannot see how you could continue operation.

Respectfully submitted,

Morris A. Greenbaum
Morris A. Greenbaum
Certified Public Accountant

MAG:DI

DEADLINE: APRIL 15

Dear Reader:

The letter we reproduce on the page opposite came in the mail the other day. We are publishing it because it concerns every reader of our magazine. It is addressed to the Weekly Masses Co., Inc. That means you.

It says in effect we must raise \$10,250 by April 15 or we will have to close our doors.

We had hoped that our drive, by this date, would have covered the debts Mr. Greenbaum mentioned. It has not.

We need that \$10,250 within the next fortnight to be able to go on after April 15. This is the critical moment of our drive. This is IT.

If you haven't given as yet, we believe you will by return mail. If you have, we believe you will see your friends and get them to give. Some readers who realize the magazine's peril are already canvassing their friends, raising whatever they can to rescue their magazine.

Time and again, most editors confronted with NM's difficulties would have thrown in the sponge. We never have because we believe our readers refuse to accept the word impossible.

Because we believe that, we won't say die. We believe you will send in that \$10,250 rather than see your magazine close its doors.

We have always been right before. Are we right now?
You tell us.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joseph North". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Editor.

(Please see coupon on page 27.)

NM SPOTLIGHT

Front Lines



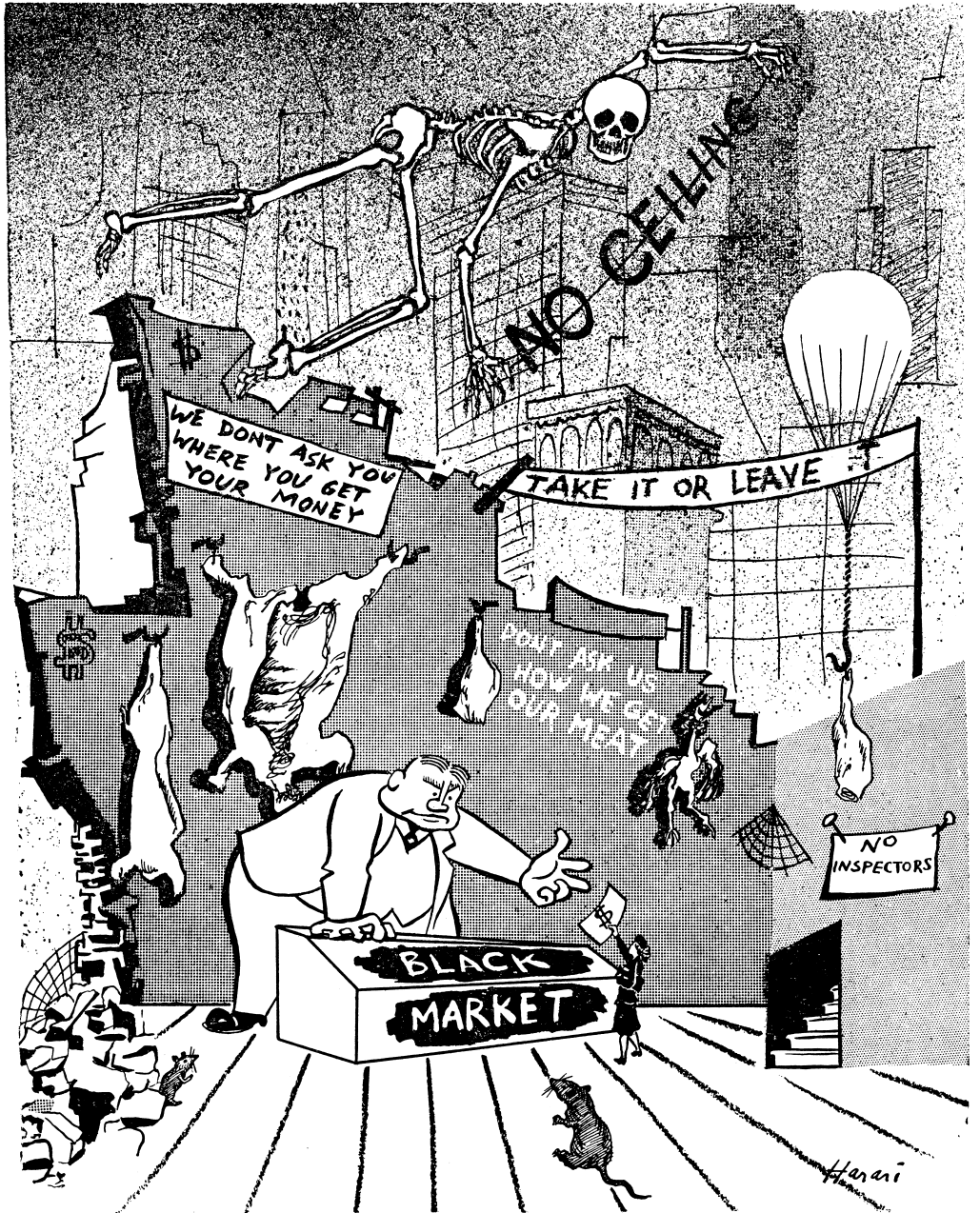
FROST and mud are the two greatest enemies of an army's mobility. The effects of the former can to a certain extent be obviated by mechanical and chemical improvements in war materiel and by the physical improvement of human material.

The effects of the latter are more difficult to fight. In mud and slush it is the human and animal "motor" that has to take over from the internal combustion engine. An army's speed becomes limited by the speed of a trotting horse, at best. Skis have to be cast aside. Motor vehicles are tied to the highways. Beyond the rail-heads armies are reduced to a walk. Forward makeshift airdromes and landing fields become unusable. Rivers which for six months of the year, when in a liquid state, present tactical obstacles (although in our days far less important than they were before), and which for four months, when in a solid state, often present excellent avenues of maneuver, for two months in the year are neither solid nor liquid and, because of that, are often impassable. Neither ice, nor bridge, nor boat will carry troops across.

SUCH are the conditions facing both opposing armies on the Eastern Front. These conditions helped stem the German push on the Donets. But they also helped slow the Red Army's progress in the center. It looks at first glance like an "even break," but it is not, because the Wehrmacht still has numerical superiority in men and machines. Behind the sea of mud in the East the German High Command is doubtless mustering a huge force in order to make another early summer bid for the strategic initiative.

Deprived of practically all help from its allies, the Red Army did not have time to crack the Smolensk complex in the center, the Lake Ilmen complex in the North, and the Dnieper position in the South, before mud came.

True, the results of the Red Army winter campaign are good, but they are not good enough to make this a four-year war. And they could not be, as we repeatedly pointed out before. The Ides of March have come and gone without a Second Front.

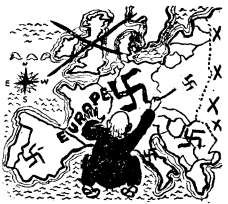


ONE GOOD look at the map of the operations in Tunisia makes it clear that Rommel's position is hopeless. He is being squeezed in a vise between the forces of Generals Patton and Montgomery. It is indeed exciting news that Montgomery has outflanked the Mareth Line, that Rommel's troops are running for cover and that Gabes has been taken by the Allies.

One word of caution is necessary for those who think that the German General Staff is composed of a bunch of

"fighting fools." Von Paulus at Stalingrad, after his position had become hopeless toward Christmas, held out until February 2 because he was *delaying* the Soviet push to the Dnieper. Rommel and Arnim are holding out in Tunisia because they are *delaying* an Allied invasion in Europe. Von Paulus was giving his side time to mount the Donets counterblow. Arnim and Rommel are giving their side time to mount a counterblow somewhere. This counterblow will probably fall during the time when mud in the East works for Hitler. And it will fall on *us* if we don't strike in Norway, France, or Spain in April.

Hitler's Competitor



QUESTION: When are proposals for a "Pan-European Union" dangerous for the future peace of the Continent?

Answer: When they come from the mouth of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi who in the twenties proposed such a bloc against the Soviet Union. Last week the Count was back on the job when he headed the Fifth Pan-European Conference in New York. Ordinarily the meeting would not have mattered much. But coming as it did in the midst of international discussions seeking to cement relations among the Allied powers, it reflected the reactionary trend among certain circles in the State Department as well as among some governments-in-exile. In the past many liberals had been members of the Coudenhove-Kalergi organization, believing that it was working for a democratic Europe. But recent diplomatic adventures, notably the Darlan and Kaiser Otto episodes, made these liberals wary. Among the first to resign from the movement was Jacques Maritain, a leading French Catholic writer and scholar, and Count Sforza, former Italian Foreign Minister. Maritain strongly dissented from the Union's policy of excluding Russia from future European cooperation and reprimanded the organization for looking toward the restoration of monarchies.

IT is hardly surprising that among the chief speakers at the closing session of the conference was William Bullitt. His remarks this time were cagey and cautious. Apparently public criticism of his "donkey and carrot" speech had some effect. But one could sense between the lines his deep hatred for the Soviet Union. The Count also spoke and again he lifted the curtain on the evil plans of the politicians who brought Europe to ruin. The essence of his words was a continuation of his old theme of a Europe organized apart from the USSR, Britain, and the United States. In a book *Europe Must Unite*, published shortly after the outbreak of World War II, he is not only fanatically anti-Soviet, but also anti-American. He appealed for a European federation and the organization of the European market "against the intolerable competition of America's spacious grain factories" and "against cheap imports from Asiatic and American industrial centers." The running theme of the movement's official magazine, *Panuropa*, during the twenties was that the continent must "close its economic front against Russia"; Europe must organize "a single army against the Russian danger." In

1925, during the Union's first conference in Vienna, several participants objected to the inclusion of fascist Italy. The Count replied that "the people of every country are entitled to the government they want" and remained adamant when others insisted that the Italians never wanted the sawdust Caesar.

One of these days we can expect a legal battle between the Count and Hitler as to who really invented the "New Order" for Europe.

Grist for Goebbels



HERR DOKTOR GOEBBELS did not need a seat on the platform of the Ehrlich-Alter meeting the other day: he got good and sufficient word of it from his agents in this country, and undoubtedly the Nazi short-wave is crackling with news of the affair as you read this. The Hearst press has had its holiday; Coughlinite Father Edward Lodge Curran is gloating; all the anti-Sovieteers are rubbing their hands in satisfaction. And Hitler benefits.

When Goebbels launched his anti-Soviet campaign anew, after the Russian victories this winter, such trumped-up "causes" were to be expected. It belongs on the same disk with the "border" talk, with the revival of *cordon sanitaire* propaganda, with the effort to transform the Atlantic Charter into an anti-Soviet declaration. The profuse protestations of David Dubinsky and his Social Democratic associates that they did not aim to harm Allied unity by this meeting, should delude few. You can't say "assassin" and "ally" in the same breath and make sense. The hundred Jewish trade union leaders in New York made that abundantly clear in their statement: "Whoever encourages the anti-Soviet agitation around Ehrlich and Alter, intentionally or unintentionally, is helping the Nazi enemy, is helping the Nazi strategy of divide and conquer." And fifty prominent New York citizens, including Assemblyman Irwin D. Davidson, asserted they "reject the attempt to use the Alter-Ehrlich case to create hostility between America and the Soviet Union."

This whole campaign scouts the meaning of the Moscow fifth column trials as millions have come to understand them, and as former Ambassador Joseph Davies makes very plain in his book *Mission to Moscow*. It defies the common sense and patriotism of the majority of unionists and the public generally which reacted as did the readers of *PM*—of seventy-one who wrote letters on the matter, only seven took the Dubinsky slant.

Shocking in the episode has been the attitude of that part of the press which has carried notices of the pumped-up protest. One knows too well where Roy Howard and the Hearst press stand. But when *PM* says no information is available, we can only recommend—as did Bruce Minton, our Washington editor, in these pages last week—that they go elsewhere than to the Polish Embassy in Washington for their information. Mr. Minton revealed facts which are available to all—and yet that data has not, as yet, been published in the commercial press.

For the unbiased American the issue is clear enough—the Soviet Union did not go the way of loyalist Spain, or Popular Front France—because it rid its nation of the fifth column. Recall the hullabaloo anti-Sovieteers raised then—but that did not deter the far-sighted Soviet people from doing what was necessary. The epic stand of the Soviet Union in this war is abundant proof.

[Incidentally, Mr. Minton's article, which we received by wire as we went to press, carried an error due to hasty transmission. The name Elie Faure should have been Paul Faure.]

North of the Border

A DECISIVE battle in the war of production is being fought in the provinces of Canada. It is about to be decided in Ontario, chief industrial center of the Dominion. The issue is a plain one: the right of Canadian workers to collective bargaining and to unions of their free choice. Formidable forces are ranged on each side. The rapidly growing trade union movement, both AFL and CIO, has been joined by church leaders, community organizations, and many democratic public figures, including some of the more progressive win-the-war employers. On the other side stand the open-shop employers, led by the steel and auto magnates and the powerful International Nickel Co. which mines ninety percent of the world's nickel in its company town, Sudbury.

The fact that this vital issue must be fought in the midst of the war is a sorry reflection on Canada's labor laws. The Dominion has no national legislation covering the right of collective bargaining and a free trade union movement. Property and civil rights are Provincial prerogatives within the meaning of the British North America Act of 1867, the written Canadian Constitution. The federal government has so far evaded the responsibility of enacting national legislation. Consequently the Provincial governments are



faced with the necessity of providing these elementary guarantees under pressure of a sweeping demand arising from the needs of the war effort.

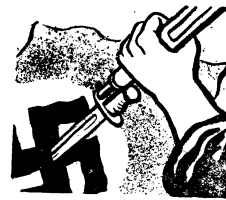
IN THE province of Manitoba a collective bargaining bill was recently defeated; in British Columbia patriotic forces won a great victory two weeks ago when they secured a number of amendments to previously unsatisfactory labor legislation. In Ontario the issue is pending. A Select Committee of the Provincial Legislature has heard testimony regarding a proposed Collective Bargaining Act; its recommendation is now awaited. Almost all unions have presented briefs and argued the case for increased production through a recognition of labor's crucial role. Groups representing a clear majority of public opinion, particularly in the towns and cities, have petitioned for a codification of labor's rights.

Ranged against these popular forces

has been a powerful lobby of big wartime employers like Ford, Chrysler, Inco, and the Steel Co. of Canada. They have presented every picayune argument at hand to show that the principles which labor demands are in violation of the "democratic rights" of the employes to "do what they wish" about joining unions. These employers' well paid lawyers have constructed a shoddy camouflage for company unionism, regrettably on the increase in some big plants—even though some employers, like Ford, have already been compelled to sign agreements with the unions.

UNLESS the Ontario legislature passes the pending bill, needless strikes will result in production inefficiencies and delays. It is in the interests of all the United Nations that Ontario follow the example of British Columbia in protecting its own workers and in paving the way for federal legislation such as America's National Labor Relations Act.

. . . And South



SCORE two important victories for the democratic forces of Latin America—and one for the Axis. A provincial election in Argentina un-

expectedly went against the Castillo dictatorship; in Colombia the Liberal Party gained against the pro-Franco, pro-Nazi Conservatives; but in Ecuador reaction asserted itself to break up a Congress of Labor called to unify the trade union movement.

The setback in Ecuador is particularly serious because of the prominent role played by the reactionary section of the Catholic Church. The events leading up to this unfortunate episode have been reported by the Council for Pan-American Democracy in the current issue of *The Americas*. Last fall the Ecuador government, and President Arroyo himself,

Exclusive!

Underground

THIS is the report of a young Croatian guerrilla fighter who was a member of a Yugoslav Partisan unit, was caught by the Nazis while he was on leave, and sent to a labor camp.

"One day Nazi troops surrounded our whole district. Every able-bodied male was arrested and taken to a labor camp. We were then sent by boat to Vienna. The people there seemed to be very sad. In the outer districts many men and women quietly greeted us.

"First we were taken to the camp at Moedling. All the men there, numbering about 1,000, were Yugoslavs. The soldiers who guarded us were not too bad. They were from an Austrian detachment. Ten days later we were sent to Berlin. We spent three days on a dirty, broken-down train with only a loaf of bread for every six prisoners. In Berlin we were met by units of the *Arbeitsdienst* (Labor Service) and Elite Guards. The latter were completely brutalized and constantly beat us.

"A few days passed by and then we were shipped to a small town in Mecklenberg. Here again we were guarded by an Austrian detachment, several of whose members gave us

cigarettes. One day the Austrian soldiers were relieved. One of them told me: 'You will be going to Norway. From there you may be able to escape. I am being sent to the Eastern Front. From there no one can escape!'

"We then worked near Stettin. In the neighborhood there was a camp for Russian war prisoners. In the evening we could hear them sing 'Chapayev' and other songs. We sang our Croatian and Serb songs. Sometimes we even sang the same songs as the Russians. The Elite Guard was infuriated and threatened to shoot us. The food here was terrible. We lived on rotten potatoes and a few carrots and beans. In fifty days eighteen men died of starvation and exposure. They were buried in a big hole near the toilets.

"**F**INALLY hundreds of other Yugoslavs including ourselves were shipped to Bergen and then to Korgen in Norway. There we were forced to build roads under the guns of Elite Guard units. Those who were too weak or sick got a blue paint mark on their trousers. They were 'shot while trying to escape.'

"There were about 800 men in

our group. All of them had been Yugoslav Partisans. We all wanted to escape but it was extremely difficult. Finally, with three others, I figured out a plan. We started an argument and began a mock fight. One of the Elite Guards who watched us enjoyed it immensely. Suddenly we stopped fighting and threw him from a rock. Norwegian peasants and fishermen helped us in our escape. Near the Swedish frontier we were stopped by a Nazi patrol. One of our men was shot, but the rest of us escaped.

"At one time during our escape we were sheltered in a hut which had once been used by several Russian prisoners of war. They had made their way from northern Norway to safety in Sweden. We were told by Norwegians who helped us in our escape that scarcely a week goes by without Nazi patrols hunting for escaped Russians. The Norwegians who help in these flights do so at great risk to themselves and when they are caught they are promptly shot. We were told of deserters from the German army, mostly Austrians. There is a special concentration camp for 'unreliable troops' near Kirkenes in Norway."

pledged full cooperation with the labor leaders on the scheduled unity Congress. However, the Archbishop of Quito protested against holding the Congress, forbade the participation of Catholic workers, and called a rival meeting under Church leadership. Next, it was learned that a fraternal delegate from Colombia was arrested and held for deportation, charged with "interfering in political matters." Two leading members of the Socialist Party of Ecuador and the president of the Federation of University Students were also arrested and reports suggest that the same fate was meted out to other delegates. After one session the labor Congress was closed by government edict, and the government then threw its support to the Catholic meeting.

IN COLOMBIA, however, liberal elements in the Catholic Church joined with President Alfonso Lopez' Liberal Party to bolster the political majority of the democratic forces by soundly defeating the Conservative Party led by Laureano Gomez, pro-Franco Catholic leader of the opposition. The Colombian government had recently signed a Concordat with the Vatican separating the Church from the State. Laureano, purporting to speak for the Catholic Church, sought to line up all the priests in the country to repudiate the Concordat. In the conflict the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Silvani, and the new Archbishop of Bogota sided with President Lopez against the reactionary Laureano. The results were substantial gains for the Liberals in the House of Representatives and in the fourteen departmental assemblies. A leading Communist, Gilberto Vieira, was elected to the House for the first time in Colombian history.

Encouraging news comes from Argentina where the overwhelming majority of the people are preparing for a showdown with the pro-fascist Castillo dictatorship in next fall's balloting for president. Provincial elections were recently held in Entre Rios, the province immediately north of Buenos Aires. The Union Civica Radical Party elected its candidate for governor with a 3,000 majority over Castillo's man and won control of the provincial legislature as well as minor offices. Considering Castillo's tactic of arresting progressives, banning their press, and trying to fix elections, this is a signal victory of the people.

Stealing in Steel



THE officers of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp. could have been knocked over with a feather when they heard the revelations before the

Senate Truman Committee—revelations that quality and strength analyses of steel delivered on government contracts had been deliberately faked at the company's Irvin, Pa., plant. Yet, despite astonishment and sorrow, company officials managed to keep their heads. In fact, J. Lester Perry, President of Carnegie-Illinois, reappraised the "regrettable incident," contending in the end that the delivered steel plates were "entirely suitable for their intended uses." He wound up by justifying dishonest practices; without, incidentally, offering to recompense the government for the company's neat plundering.

This is not the only instance of corrupt practices that endanger the nation. Recently indictments were brought against the Anaconda and Phelps Dodge companies for delivery of defective materials. The fact is that certain of the largest industrialists have shown themselves cynically indifferent to the war. Their thinking has not been in terms of delivering a complete and speedy defeat to the Axis, rather, it has been in terms of super-profits made easy by the national emergency.

IN ONE sense, the blame must rest primarily on the failure of Congress and the administration to approach the all-out war in a planned manner. Any attempt to cure the abuses by making an "example" of individual companies cannot be expected to root out the disease. To begin with, government agencies concerned with war production are overstuffed with dollar-a-year men who handle contracts for their own industry and their own companies. They think in as-usual terms—even now—eager to protect their companies' war position, eager to hang on to manufacturing processes which have proved profitable in the past. They exercise weighty influence on the inspection services of the armed forces. They resist government control; they want to be left alone to produce as they see fit at the margin of profit they consider a minimum incentive for their companies' services.

This is contrary to planning. Quite clearly, such methods lead to bottlenecks, confusion, dislocations—and dishonesty. Centralized control—which presupposes planning—alone can overcome the present chaos. What happened to the WPB's proposal to send its own inspectors into war plants, particularly into the 1,000 plants now using 80 percent of all critical raw materials? Why have not labor-management committees been given more encouragement? It is not enough to set up these committees on paper. Above all, passage of the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill for an Office of War Mobilization would assure an immense step forward to a planned and centralized economy. As things stand today, failure to plan retards the war effort.

Inevitably, it leads to cynical and vicious practices of which the faked reports at the Irvin plant are only another example.

Raghead Rackets

SOME days ago a woman investigator for one of our large hospitals came into court with a complaint against a gypsy. Under pretense of freeing her from "evil spirits" which were making her ill, the gypsy had freed the woman from her life savings—using the ancient and naive trick known as the gypsy switch. The \$9,000 once recovered, the victim tried to withdraw her complaint, fearing that the evil spirits would otherwise come back to plague her!



This grotesque story is far from an isolated instance. Astrology magazines crowd our newsstands, astrology programs infest our radio; every pulp magazine carries the expensive advertising of half a dozen self-styled wonder workers and prophets; many people in responsible positions dare not act without the advice of their private magician. Other forms of magic being illegal in New York, divination by tea leaves is extensively practiced, and if you don't look like a cop the seeress will surreptitiously read your palm for you. The occult is a million-dollar business.

The Society of American Magicians (representing the entertainers who use legerdemain and ventriloquism on the stage), long the leading crusader against those who use magician's technique to defraud, estimated in 1932 that fortune tellers, astrologists, spiritualists, and similar quacks preyed upon 30,000,000 people yearly in the United States alone, and took these people to the tune of \$125,000,000 a year. And there has been a frightening increase in such things in the last five years. This picture of primitive superstition would disgrace the cannibals of New Guinea, who at least believe in only one system of superstition at a time.

The private criminality of this method of exploiting superstitious terrors is obvious; the prophets rob and demoralize thousands. What is less often considered is the social crime. Our enemies work industriously to confuse the issues of the war; the true genesis of fascism, the meaning of fifth column activities, are too often left unexplained in the press. For one man who is taught a scientific explanation of his world, half a dozen are exposed to a vague belief in the powers of the air. In a time of crisis, consequently, the swamis and miracle men grow fat; they destroy morale, they mis-educate, they offer an easy escape from social responsibility—the easy way to defeat.

OUR BIG CHANCE IN EUROPE

By the Editors

THREE months have hastened by since the first of January. Each day of the fateful ninety was filled with anticipation, with confident hope that the rich opportunities proffered us by the Red Army would be grasped without hesitation. Now a new spring has arrived and if militarily we are not exactly where we started months ago, we are certainly not many steps ahead.

The tide turned in our favor last November. It seemed as though Rommel and his troops would be swiftly buried in the silt of the Mediterranean. Then came the ugly Darlan incident stemming from an enigmatic diplomacy which perverted initiative, harassed offensive operations, darkened the political atmosphere under an umbrella of confusion and anxiety. That was bad enough. But what was worse was to watch the favorable tide slowly ebbing away to the profit of an enemy who could not match the coalition's total resources, yet was able to rescue himself at the very moment when it looked as though the last scene of the last act were about to be played. This is the frightful conclusion to be drawn after seeing Hitler pulverized on the Eastern Front and then squirming back again into the Donets.

BUT we still have our big chance even though it is not as enormous as it was at the turn of the year when the Red Army moved at its greatest pace and tempo. Not to embrace the opportunity which our Soviet ally is providing us would be indescribably tragic in itself. It becomes even more so because it means the weakening of the huge, invisible army fighting in the hills, in the forests, in every nook and corner of the continent. From France to Czechoslovakia, from Yugoslavia to Norway, millions ask for decisive action on our part. Hitler is now draining France of every able-bodied man who can in any way assist an Allied offensive in the West. Is it to our advantage if the Nazi is given the time with which to replenish his manpower from the prison-house of Europe? Time here is abetting the Wehrmacht and it is small wonder that last week C. J. Fernand-Laurent, a French Catholic leader now in the United States, warned that the "French are strained to such a pitch that they cannot hold out much longer. . . . If there is an Allied landing within the next month or two it will be aided by a powerful uprising. But the landing must take place soon." Unless we heed the call of France's valiant guerrilla fighters, Hitler will raze the country to the

ground, speed the ruin and torture of its youth—a fate which the French people will hold against us for decades to come.

YET there are those who speak of an offensive in 1944 or 1945 as though our underground allies can sit back and wait in comfort for the day of deliverance. Think of it. Project yourself into the life of the little bands in the hills of France's Haute-Savoie district, or the mountains of Yugoslavia or the fiords of Norway where Nazi bombers rain hell each day, where Nazi Elite Guards direct huge man-hunts for those who blast their troop trains, destroy their munition dumps. And then think of the bitter disillusionment and frustration which would overtake you with the words—"Wait, good friends. There is plenty of time. We shall be coming to your rescue next year and if not then perhaps a year later." How would you feel if you were in their boots? Your patience would be rapidly waning and the exhortations to hold on would become utterly without meaning. The Nazis do not wait.

They do not wait, and for our allies abroad as well as for ourselves we must have a second front immediately. It will do little good to flood the air waves to Europe with vague promises that by 1945 the United States will have an armed might of 11,000,000 men. "News of this



Lord Strabolgi. In response to a query from "New Masses," this member of the British House of Lords cabled us as follows: "Second front in Europe obviously required at earliest possible moment. There is no dispute about that. The only question is whether there is excessive Anglo-American caution in professional circles. If so, it is the duty of Anglo-American political executives to do some prodding."

kind," said Ferdinand Grenier, the French Communist deputy now in London, "is rebroadcast by all the Nazi radio stations, with skillful comments added, to reduce to despair those who have been asking themselves every morning they woke for two years—how much longer will our sufferings last?"

The Nazis do not wait, and all the good will in the world for Europe's invisible armies cannot take the place of a large scale offensive. Nor is it for their sake alone that we must act; nor is it solely the need to fulfill our commitments to the Russians. It is decisive for the whole outcome of the war; to prevent Hitler from achieving a stalemate. Every moment given him to strengthen his coastal fortifications, to regroup his forces, means that American casualty lists will be filled with the names of men who could have been saved. No, it will not do to accuse those who speak up for a second front now of throwing military discretion to the winds in order to help the Soviet Union. The same charge was leveled at those who fought for collective security years ago. Now the world knows the truth; collective security was in the interests of all the democratic nations. Will we have to wait for more catastrophes before divisive elements are stopped from muttering that a second front at this moment is a dark Kremlin plot? "Dr. Goebbels knew very well what he was doing," writes the former Foreign Minister of republican Spain, Alvarez del Vayo, in last week's *Nation*, "when he revived the bogey of Bolshevism in Europe. . . . It is all right, for example, for the *New York Times* to publish editorials advocating a second front—particularly if such editorials appear at a moment when it looks as if the Red Army might reach the German frontier before a British-American expeditionary force can land in Europe. But if someone from the left calls for a second front with equal eloquence and the same arguments, he is at once branded as a pawn in Moscow's game." The summit of irony will be reached when *Life* magazine is charged with being an agent of Moscow for having published a special issue devoted to the Soviet Union and for commenting editorially that "our first task which must take precedence over everything is to launch a fierce attack on the continent of Europe."

No saner words were spoken than those of Soviet Ambassador Maisky in London several days ago when he observed that "the future of our relations is being forged in the course of this war" and that

we must now "concentrate all our efforts and all our energies on complete victory in the shortest possible time." Continued delay in opening a second front has muddied the waters of our foreign affairs for it has given the appeasers and isolationists the time with which to press their own policies and create chaos where order and clarity should reign. Very recently Maj. George Fielding Eliot wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune*, "... a major objective of American and British policy is now to cement closer relations with the Soviet Union both for prosecution of the war and for postwar settlements. Nothing would be more likely to bring this about than an Anglo-American offensive in western Europe which would, at least to some extent, prevent the Germans from drawing further on their forces there for use in Russia and also make the German High Command extremely reluctant to send any more reinforcements from its main reserves to the Russian front." Here a con-

servative commentator gives the key to unlock all those so-called mysterious doors to greater unity among the leading Allied powers. And the same conservative, Republican *Herald Tribune* thought it timely to emphasize in a recent editorial that "the cold fact remains that if one subtracted from the present situation the victories of the Red Army, and then subtracted again the victories of the British under Montgomery, there would be nothing left, and the current optimism would be dissolved in the certainty of a long hard struggle. . . . The United States is still, so far as offensives go, in the advertising, not in the fighting phases of warfare. . . . We have an immense latent strength; we have yet to bring it to bear where power counts."

To bring our full weight to bear where it counts. No one can rest or sleep the night comfortably until we have fulfilled our pledges and wiped away the growing stigma that we are letting others do most of the fighting for us.

THE JOB AT HOME

WHAT is the home front doing to speed the invasion of Europe on which our victory depends? The factories are working day and night turning out the stuff to smash the Axis; the farms are producing huge quantities of food for our armed forces, our allies, our civilian population; millions of men and women are straining to do their part. Yet all is not well. There are dangerous sags and breaches in the home front, confusions and conflicts that become a brake on offensive action. And in recent weeks much of this has grown worse.

The other day 2,000 retail butchers in Brooklyn engaged in a tumultuous demonstration because they were denied supplies of meat. Police were called and they restored "order." This incident is something for all of us to ponder over. Things have come to a sorry pass when in the midst of total war American small businessmen, sober and conservative-minded folk, are driven to such demonstrations. What can their thoughts be as they watch favored large retailers getting meat while their own stores are empty? And what can the thoughts of hundreds of thousands of average people be, people who work in war plants and in offices and on farms, when in this, the wealthiest nation in the world, meat suddenly disappears or is obtainable only at exorbitant prices? Are they likely to be the sort of thoughts that help win the war?

There is a great danger in permitting such resentments to grow, a danger already manifested in the results of the last election. And let no one be so ignorant and supine as to imagine that synthetic police

"order" is anything but the ghastliest kind of substitute for morale.

Food is one of the munitions of war. The dislocation of a nation's food supply can be as damaging as a major military defeat. Behind the crisis in food lies the crisis in our war economy and the crisis in Congress. Without clear policy, without effective leadership, without the strong will of the people and of the labor movement in particular, there will be more crises and breakdowns. And this diverts energy from the preparations for the second front and provides pretexts for defeatists and muddleheads to delay the knockout blow.

The mere substitution of Chester C. Davis for Claude Wickard, or of Mr. X for Mr. Y in some other agency, will not fundamentally change matters, though able and courageous administrators are of course essential. There is no lack of food in the country or of the means of expanding the production of food. What is lacking is the machinery for organizing the output and distribution of food, the production of war materials, the mobilization of manpower and other aspects of our war economy in a planned, coordinated fashion. And what is also lacking is the force that will rout the locust plague known as the "farm bloc," which is the scourge of farmer and city dweller alike and the ally of national defeat in this war of survival. The meat shortage is artificially created. Responsible for it, responsible for the mushrooming black markets and the wobbly price ceilings are the congressional "farm bloc," representing the large landowners, and their comrades-in-plunder, the big packers and canners. And it is these groups that have forced on the

administration the policy of too little and too late in regard to rationing.

Today the "farm bloc," working with assorted defeatists, is engaged in a new assault on the nation's food supply through the Bankhead and Pace bills. The first, already passed in both houses, would bar deduction from parity ceilings of benefits paid to farmers. The second would force the inclusion of farm labor costs in the parity formula. Together they would, as Price Administrator Prentiss M. Brown pointed out in a letter to the Senate, force the nation's food bill up between seventeen and eighteen percent.

These congressional mobsters have their allies throughout the country. In the South governors like Dixon of Alabama and Jones of Louisiana spew defiance at the administration's war program. And in Colorado Gov. John C. Vivian has taken a step which borders on the treasonable: he has suspended the operation of the Selective Service Act by ordering an immediate halt to the induction of all farm labor. No doubt he took his cue from the passage by the Senate of the Bankhead-Johnson bill which would grant blanket deferment to all farm workers, essential or not, and would attempt to freeze them to their jobs.

It is of course a simple matter to point an indignant finger and let it go at that. But mere indignation won't win the war. To lose the battle on the home front might mean losing the battle for America. At best these continued obstructions to an all-out effort will greatly prolong the war, exact a huge tribute of blood and sacrifice, and render the problems of the peace much more difficult. The administration has been too prone to stand aside and let a handful of willful men in Congress do as they please. Nothing so well demonstrated the bankruptcy of this policy as the Senate vote on the bill repealing President Roosevelt's power to set a \$25,000 ceiling on individual net income. Here was an open challenge to the President's war powers, a challenge which, if successful, could be extended to other areas. Yet the whole administration leadership capitulated to the obstructionists and voted with them against the President.

BUT here again mere finger-pointing will solve nothing. For the major responsibility falls on the men and women of America, on those who fight and those who toil, on the nameless little people who dream and grope and through a fog of fear reach out for the high valor that is their heritage. It is these men and women—all of us—who must provide the tough armor to enable the President to drive through all opposition—drive through to the second front without delay. This is the great moment. Everything is at stake. History's iron is white-hot. This time we must not fail.

I BELIEVE...

I BELIEVE that an examination of American history and a weighing of the present situation indicates that there is a vital element missing from American life whose absence may lose the war. In the two great American crises of the past, progressive patriots had an *organized* voice and it is not too much to say that without this organized coalescence of many voices into a single, fighting entity both the Revolution and the Civil War might have been lost.

Where is that voice today? It is not in the Republican Party, although an important segment of it backs policies that will win the war. It is not in the Democratic Party whose southern wing is the citadel of those racial policies that will do more to lose the war than to win it. There are important pro-war forces in both, but the point is that neither presents a unified program which answers the needs both of victory and all the people. That voice is not in labor because it is still regrettably divided and because it has not attracted to it its natural ally, the working farmer. The Communist Party, although increasing in numbers and prestige, is still too small to organize and centralize the many win-the-war voices into a single one. Where, then, is the voice that speaks alike for the farmer and for labor, for the small businessman and the people of the professions, the voice that is capable of rallying all of these and has formulated a fighting, unifying program whose every plank has been judged by only one criterion—will it help win the war? And can we win the war without such an organized voice?

The fact is that the win-the-war forces are without a unified organization and therefore without a unified voice or unified policies. Instead there are a hundred organizations and a hundred voices and the result is weak, confused, contradictory, and almost without effect. A feeling of uneasiness, of demoralization results, in which millions wish to back the President and the decision at Casablanca to invade Europe but scarce know how to go about it. They instinctively feel that a resolution passed by a trade union or a neighborhood group, that a letter to the President, is not enough—that the problem is a complex and multiple one which can only be met by a people's organization specifically designed to win the war. Millions know that you can't fight fascism by aiding fascism, millions are against the appeasement of Franco, are uneasy and distrustful of various schemes of collaboration with fascists, worried by those who glibly speak of a third world war, this one directed against the USSR. Millions dimly feel an identity of interest, the farmer with the trade unionist, the storekeeper with his customer, the middle class with labor, and millions feel that their common, vital interest is winning the war—and that how it is won and the way it is won will decide their fate. But they stand passive, and are even prone to demoralization, because there is no instrument directing them, or with which they can arm themselves in their earnest desire to stand behind the President in fighting the war to a victorious conclusion.

IF AMERICAN history teaches any lesson it is that no political struggle can be won without organization. And if it teaches any other lesson it is that war is political, that war is the waging of politics by violent means. If it reveals anything it is that unorganized, assorted good wills are not enough. Millions with their hearts in the right place will be of no avail until they are organized to act. The organized, unified force fighting for

American freedom in pre-Revolutionary days was the Sons of Liberty, and it was truly a people's national organization. From it came the Committee of Correspondence, whose primary function was the organization of unity and coordination between the thirteen states fighting for independence. Both of these organizations gave way to the Continental Congress which throughout the Revolution provided a forum, a center, and a rallying point for progressive patriots to formulate and organize victory. Where is that forum, that rallying point today? Is it the present Congress? Each member of the Continental Congress had pledged "his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor" to victory and each would have paid with his life had victory not been won. There are congressmen today who will get medals—or who should—if Hitler wins.

But the Civil War provides the best lesson. The political organization that won the Civil War was the Republican Party or perhaps it might be more accurate to say that it could not have been won without the Republican Party. This was because the Republican Party was born of the same forces that later brought the Civil War. It was dedicated in its founding to opposition to any extension of the slave system and it united in itself the industrial north and the agricultural west, the chief win-the-war forces in the Union. Out of it came the Congressional Committee for the Conduct of the War. This committee was tireless in ferreting out fifth columnists, in opposing and ousting northern generals who secretly favored the enemy, in fighting for the inclusion of Negroes in the armed forces of the United States, and in fighting generally for the progressive political fundamentals which were necessary before a successful military fight could be waged. But where is the parallel today? Where is the militant organization, either in or out of Congress in either major party, which consistently and tirelessly fights appeasement? Or which consistently and tirelessly fights all those assaults on the welfare of the people which threaten our victory in the war?

THERE is none. Unless we honestly believe that victory can be won without organization and unity of progressive, win-the-war forces, I believe steps should be taken immediately to form a national win-the-war organization. I believe a national win-the-war convention should be called. I believe that labor should take the lead in doing so because I believe that the existence of labor is at stake, that it has by far the most to lose if we are defeated, that it has much to lose in the immediate future unless Congress is subjected to the organized pressure of all win-the-war forces. I believe that such a convention should formulate a complete win-the-war program, one protecting the people's welfare and one therefore all out for victory. I believe that it should oppose all forms of appeasement as a menace to American lives, that it should advocate real coalition warfare, a real coalition peace, and speedy carrying out of the Casablanca decisions. I believe it should include dirt farmers and small businessmen, Negroes and labor, and I believe it should press for representation of trade unions and real farmers in the government. I believe that this convention should form and finance a permanent people's lobby in Washington which will be more broad than anything similar in the past and more militant than any present force in pressing for victory.

Americans in the past have always found it necessary to organize for victory. Unless we wish to depend on a Congress which does not know or feel the real desires of the people we must do so once again—now when our country faces the greatest threat in its history.

DEBATE

"IS COMMUNISM A MENACE?"

EARL BROWDER VS GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

Following is the full text of the debate held under the auspices of "New Masses" on March 21 at Manhattan Center, New York, on the subject "Is Communism a Menace?" George E. Sokolsky, New York "Sun" columnist, spoke for the affirmative; Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, for the negative. More than 4,000 people heard the debate and hundreds had to be turned away for lack of space. The meeting was chairmanned by Joseph North, editor of "New Masses." Arthur Upham Pope, chairman of the Committee for National Morale, was originally scheduled to preside but illness prevented him from attending. He sent the following telegram, which was read to the meeting:

"Please accept my many apologies to you, Mr. Sokolsky and Mr. Browder, for not being able to preside at the meeting this afternoon as I had promised. An unexpected, disagreeable, and unmanageable illness has made it entirely out of the question, which I greatly regret because I believe a debate such as you have arranged is an important way of clarifying public issues and forcing people to listen to both

sides. It is a vital article of the democratic faith that the valid idea, if given a free chance in an open arena, will ultimately win. The audience is fortunate in being able to hear two outstanding advocates of two apparently hopelessly conflicting views. They are certain to hear some brilliant debating. I hope they will not regard the affair as a sporting event—a mere duel between two first class minds—that they will not listen merely to hear their own prejudices flattered and confirmed, and will not be misled by dogmatism or imagination, magic of diction or logical manipulation. What counts is the truth and idea behind the affirmations. Problems presented today are vital for our security and our future. They will be decided correctly and promptly insofar as the general public can maintain a devotion to the truth, are willing to lay aside partisanship and preconceptions, and get a firm hold on realities. The debate today ought to benefit every auditor, but there are obligations on the audience to be fair minded and objective, as well as on the speakers to present their views with their utmost eloquence, clarity, and sincerity."

tions of individual human freedom—that is, the liberty of the individual man and woman. And to an American, liberty is best defined as the right of each individual to think, to speak, to write, to move about, to work, to refuse to work, to worship God or to reject God according to his personal conscience. Government plays no part in these liberties, except that it is obligated to protect and defend them, and for their defense a free juridical system is provided which rejects the authority of the administration of the state to a greater right and a more important position than the smallest person—even than a person actually accused of crime. These rights were not granted Americans by any government. They were the rights of Americans upon this continent before the government of the United States came into existence. They stem back into remote periods of English history. They were reinforced by Magna Charta. They were stipulated in the Declaration of Independence. They are enshrined in the Constitution of the United States. They are part of the American soul; they are as fundamentally religious in our land as the worship of God.

In the American system, the government's role is secondary to that of the people.

The government is, in fact, a creature of the people and has no continuity of its own, the people—all the people who are citizens of various states—bringing an administration into existence at indicated intervals. In fact, by a constitutional amendment the people can alter the form and activities of government and there are provisions to nullify the decisions of every public official, so that no class, no group, no individual, can establish a dictatorial authority if the people are vigilant of their liberties and exercise their rights. We have no class dictatorship. We recognize the existence of no class. We are a nation of individuals. We have no peasant

MR. SOKOLSKY

IN THE first place let me say that human beings can live under any form of society. Mr. Browder and I have witnessed millions of human beings living in China under conditions of medieval feudalism. Mr. Browder and I have witnessed others living under various developments of Communism in Soviet Russia. And we have both known in this country the capitalism of a Republican administration and the confusions of a mixed economy under the New Deal. And we have witnessed happiness and misery, love and marriage

and tragedy, overriding ambitions and the hurt and humiliation of personal failure, under all these economic and political systems. The capacity of the human mind to adjust to his environment and to have faith in his own way of life is unlimited.

But the question is, how does a people prefer to live? What do they regard as essentially right and wrong? What do they insist is menacing to their way of life?

The American people have been upon this continent for more than three centuries. Their roots are deep in the tradi-



Earl Browder

try, no proletariat, no dominant ruling power. We have only individuals who possess votes and can use them. If the people fail to vote or to vote according to their consciences, if they permit others to usurp their rights and authorities, only the people are to blame.

IN BRIEF outline, that is our political system and we want to keep it that way. Year after year, for at least a century and a half, the American people, including all of you in this room, have had a chance to alter that system—by secret ballot—and the vastest majorities of Americans have rejected any suggestion for alterations of the fundamentals of this system. Socialist, Populist, and Communist parties have with invariable regularity been rejected by the American people. The ballot is the only means available to the American people for such decisions.

As we developed as a nation, the American people have become intensely nationalistic. At times this nationalism has reached unfortunate proportions as, for instance, our early anti-Irish prejudice, our anti-British, anti-Chinese, and general anti-foreign biases. But the fact is that Americans have been and are nationalistic. To them, this is God's own country. They love it as the best country on earth. They regard every group, every party, and every individual as menacing American life and the future existence of this country who owe a political, an ideological, an emotional loyalty to any other country. Americans regard every hyphenate as a menace.

But no one can be true to American ideals who would deprive another American of his right to his particular ideals. An American has the right to believe whatever he chooses to believe. He may be a Republican or Democrat, a capitalist or a Socialist, a Communist or a fascist—and it is no one's right to interfere with his private aberrations.

The belief in Communism is not a menace to the United States. But the activities of the Communist often become a menace—but not because the Communists would

change our political system or our economic system. When Communists are also American citizens they have a right to try to change both our political and economic systems—as much right as I have to try to prevent them from succeeding. It is not that which makes of them a menace. It is something quite different.

What then is it that makes the Communist a menace? It is for exactly the same reason that I would call an American who puts British or Chinese or French or German or Turkish or any other policy and interests ahead of those of the United States. I put it strictly on nationalistic grounds and I am positive that the vast body of Americans feels exactly the same way about it. The Communist Party of the United States has been, until it recently declared itself otherwise, part of an international political instrument of Soviet Russia. Its activities in the United States were dominated and controlled by the interests and purposes of Soviet Russia. Its position, as regards domestic American policy, was determined by the will of Soviet Russia.

No matter how much we may respect the heroism of the Russian armies in the field; nay, let us go further, no matter how dependent we may be upon the Russian armies in the field, no American can serve both the United States and Soviet Russia at the same time, just as no American can serve both Great Britain and the United States or Germany and the United States. Before the United States entered the war, there were Americans who were pro-Nazi. They had a complete right to believe in the Nazi way of life; they even were entitled to think that the Nazi way of life was superior to ours. But the moment they accepted orders from any agency of Germany for any reason whatsoever, their conduct denied them the right to the respect and consideration of Americans. We can have only one country, one allegiance, one loyalty. It must not, and the Americans people will see to it that it never will, be a divided loyalty.

NO ONE will deny that at this moment the Communists support the war effort. But the facts in the case are perfectly clear. When Germany invaded Poland, American Communists were against the magnificent British loyalty to Poland because Soviet Russia was opposed to it. When Russia invaded Finland, the American Communists supported Soviet Russia even against the American national guaranty of the independence of Finland. During the period when Stalin and Hitler were at peace, during the period when England alone without allies was taking the worst strafing that any country ever experienced, American Communists were opposing what they called an imperialist war because Soviet Russia opposed that war. Never shall their slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," be forgotten in any appraisal of their

attitude toward the war—no, not even though today they shout "The Yanks Are Coming." Never will it be forgotten that when even the most isolationist of congressmen were voting supplies to our Army and Navy, the only member of Congress who voted against every measure for the national defense was one who invariably marches with the Communists and who is the most praised of national legislators by the Communists and their press.

Then came June 21. Then came Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. Immediately the American Communist position changed. What had been a bad war became a good war. What had been a war for imperialism became a war for democracy. The picket line in front of the White House was withdrawn. Anti-war demonstrations ceased. And what is more—the strikes ceased. Unions that had been antagonistic to the national defense became friendly to the war. Those who called Franklin D. Roosevelt a warmonger and a tool of British imperialism suddenly discovered that he was the apostle of democracy.

But it was not for the United States that these men and women changed their minds. We were not yet at war. We had not yet been attacked by the Japanese. It was because Soviet Russia changed that the American Communists changed. They were opposed to the war when Soviet Russia opposed the war; they favored the war when Soviet Russia favored it. Their criterion was Soviet Russia. Their loyalty was to Soviet Russia.

I do not question the right of an American to believe that we ought to pursue one foreign policy or another. Most Republicans were as opposed to the war then as the Communist Party was. But when a political party becomes the instrument for the policy of another country within ours, when that policy influences the votes of legislators, when it affects the attitudes and activities of labor unions, then that party is a menace to the United States, and it makes not the slightest difference whether that other country is our ally or our enemy. Americans cannot have divided loyalties.

I WANT to turn now from this subject to altogether another, and that is the danger that we face in America of a revolution by attrition, of a revolution by a gradual indoctrinating of succeeding generations with ideals and conceptions of life which are alien to our tradition and history. I do not deny any men the right under our Constitution to organize for that purpose. But I do proclaim my right and the right of millions of other Americans to oppose their efforts, to attack them, to fight their growth, to ferret out their associates and followers, and to labor vigilantly and valiantly to vitiate the effectiveness of what we regard as a positive evil.

Ours is a religious people. We believe in God. Although there has always been a

separation of church and State since the United States came into existence, there has never been a separation of the American people from religion. The church and the school were the first public buildings erected in every village and hamlet. Our Congress is opened by prayer; our national motto is "In God We Trust." And these words are sung in our national anthem. It is inconceivable to an American that religion is opium for the masses. Faith in God is the principal social guidance of this nation—it is the soul of our tradition.

But the Communist Party rejects religion as romanticism devised to confuse the multitude. Earl Browder, in an address before the Union Theological Seminary, made that position clear:

"The Communist Party takes the position that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate to keep the lower classes passive, to make them accept the bad conditions under which they have to live in the hope of a reward after death. From this estimate of the social role of religion it is quite clear that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion. We Communists try to do the opposite of what we hold religion does. We try to awaken the masses to a realization of the miserable conditions under which they live, to arouse them to revolt against these conditions, and to change these conditions of life now; not to wait for any supposed reward in heaven, but to create a heaven on earth; that is, to get those things which they dream about as good things, to realize them in life."

In the same address he said:

"As for the religious workers, the Communist Party does not make the abandonment of their religion a condition of joining the Party, even though it carries on educational work which is anti-religious."

In reply to a question, Mr. Browder said:

"When workers come into the Party still actively religious, we accept them, not because we accept their religion, but because we know that the process of discarding religious beliefs, which are in the last analysis reactionary, is a more or less protracted one. We expect religion to be eliminated only in the course of a few generations of the new society, the socialist society.

"We do not consider this religious belief a private matter among revolutionaries; for those who join the revolutionary movement will have to submit all their beliefs to criticism. As members of the revolutionary movement, everything they think and everything they say affects the development of this movement which they have joined and of which they have become a part. While we do not exact of them that they give up their religion, we will subject their religious beliefs to a careful and systematic criticism, and we expect that the religious beliefs will not be able to stand up under such criticism. We would not, for example, place in the most responsible leading posi-

tions of the movement people who had strong religious beliefs. We consider that they would be dangerous because they would be left open to social influences which would endanger the direction of the masses they would have in their charge."

And I have one more quotation:

"I would not want to hold out any hopes that the Communists will be converted to religion. For us as Communists the question is answered and, while we always examine all evidence that is brought forward scientifically, we have no reason in our experience to believe that any future evidence will modify our conclusions. We would not want to give the slightest indication that there is any prospect of a rapprochement between Communism and religion as such."

Now, that question is settled for most of us, too. But it is settled altogether differently. We accept the Fatherhood of God. We accept the Brotherhood of Man—not as some political mechanism to be employed temporarily as a means for the pursuit of political policy, but as the inevitable corollary of the Fatherhood of God. Without religious faith our civilization loses all meaning to us.

You ask me, is Communism a menace? How else can I reply when Mr. Browder, himself, has provided the evidence that the American Communist Party actively labors to destroy the spiritual and intellectual basis of American civilization? As long as Communism belabors religion, teaching youth to despise the ideals and beliefs of their fathers, attacking the moral foundation of the family as the center of society, then Communism is a menace to American civilization and to the future of this country. The permanent antagonism of most Americans to Communism rises from this religious issue.

WE LIVE today in a mixed economy. No one can describe it. It is not capitalistic; it is not fascistic; it is not socialistic. The kindest phrase for it would be "a transitional period." Transition to what?

The New Dealers would say to a "mixed economy." If by "mixed" they mean "mixed up," "confused," I would agree with them. Nor is it on the war that the blame can be put for this confusion. You Communists might with some justice say that it is due to the contradictions within the capitalist system. But those contradictions did not prevent that same capitalist system from functioning with progressive benefits to the whole people for a century and a half. Out of that system developed the highest standard of living in the world. Out of that system developed both the arsenal and the granary of democracy—an arsenal and a granary that is now not only supplying our troops and our people but those of Great Britain and Soviet Russia—although territorially Soviet Russia is vaster than the USA and in manpower



George E. Sokolsky

and natural resources even greater.

I do not begrudge the aid we are giving any people; on the contrary, I am proud that my country and my people, living in liberty and still under a predominantly private enterprise system, can do it. I am proud that we are the givers, not the takers. But in that pride is a wholesome respect for the capitalist economy which still—in spite of the confusions of government—continues to function so efficiently. The system works despite the sand thrown into the machinery by politicians and economists who dare not be capitalists because that seems unpopular for the moment; yet, who dare not be Communists because that is so generally unpopular. Perhaps if these political opportunists, these servants of expediency, last long enough they will end up full-fledged fascists. But they won't last that long.

Now, I have some understanding of the Communist process and I repeat that human beings can find life under it as livable as they might know. Those who stand appalled before a socialistic economy and imagine that it is the work of the devil seem not to realize that most economic systems are pretty awful. Men would probably be happiest living alongside Walden Pond, feeding on the fish or birds he can catch and gazing heavenward for inspiring lassitude. But we, none of us, really want to live that way. We pursue our ambitions. We seek to improve the economic and social status of our families. We desire access to the wealth of the world that we may own the maximum of goods and the maximum of services that may be acquired by our own efforts. Thus far, only the capitalist system has made those maximums possible for the greatest number of people and made them possible over the most prolonged periods.

If we take as a base the decennial period of 1870—immediately following the Civil War—and move along to the decennial period of 1930, before the present war, we can portray in panorama the startling progress of American capitalism. The population in that 1870 decennial period was



On the platform. (Left to right) George E. Sokolsky, Joseph North, and Earl Browder

about 38,000,000; today it is 132,000,000. In the 1870 period those under fifteen years of age amounted to thirty-eight percent of the population; fifteen to sixty-four years of age, fifty-seven percent; sixty-five years and over, three percent. In the 1930 period, under fifteen years of age were twenty percent; fifteen to sixty-four years of age, sixty-seven percent; sixty-five years and over, thirteen percent. These figures represent improved living conditions, improved health, greater security, decreasing deaths of mothers in childbirth, better housing, and a general superior way of life. I shall admit that all the benefits of capitalism have not been applicable to all people but I do insist that these benefits were available to more people in the United States under capitalism than anywhere upon the face of the earth under any other system of life. The general level is higher and the particular level is higher and capitalism maintains that there can be no ceiling to a standard of living.

IN THE 1870 period the value of manufactured production amounted to \$3,000,000,000. In the 1930 period it reached upwards of \$70,000,000,000. In the 1870 period, power production represented 2,000,000 horsepower; in the 1930 period, 43,000,000 horsepower. In the 1870 period the railroads of the United States showed about 53,000 miles; in the 1930 period there were 262,000 miles of railroad, 27,000,000 registered automobile

vehicles, of which 23,000,000 were passenger cars.

The national wealth of the United States in the 1870 period was estimated at \$24,000,000,000; in the 1930 period it was \$329,000,000,000—the highest in all the world.

I can go on illustrating the achievements of capitalism in the United States in particular after particular, and I am sure that no one will deny them. I think that our major difference of opinion and judgment is as to the future and as to the process for continuing and extending these benefits. I can well understand that a party which had formulated its philosophy upon conditions in czarist Russia would find no hope for capitalism, for there was neither capitalism nor hope in czarist Russia. There was only poverty and misery for most of the people. That has not been true in the United States, just as we never experienced the political despotism of czarist Russia.

Stalin said once:

“The Seventeenth Conference of our Party declared that one of the fundamental political tasks in connection with the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan ‘is to overcome the survivals of capitalism in economy and in the minds of men.’”

Earl Browder once said:

“We are a small party, but we play a great and growing role. What we think, what we say, and especially what we do, have an influence a hundredfold, five hundredfold, beyond our membership. Large

strata of the population guide themselves by what they see our Party doing.”

HERE then is a small but powerful party whose influence is admittedly much larger than its membership and which is devoted to the extermination of the capitalist system. It would substitute socialism. But the American people do not want socialism. They desire that capitalism should again be made to work. They have differences of opinion how this should and can be done. But there is no difference of opinion as to whether they would substitute Communism for capitalism, as to whether they would adopt the Russian way in preference to the American way. This has been proved over and over again in every opportunity that the American people have had to vote for socialist or Communist candidates for public office. If in 1944, the American people elect Earl Browder to the presidency of the United States, we should have indisputable evidence that they are prepared to accept a Communist economy. But to date, the American people have clearly rejected that option.

I am a conservative and a Republican and therefore would be opposed to refusing the Communists the right to be on the ballot. I do not fear the consequences of their appearance on the ballot. I do not regard that as a menace. But I take Mr. Browder at his word that his party's strength is far beyond its numbers and therein does exist a menace to our system.

When men follow an ideal, they should bravely stand forth as advocates of that ideal. When Mr. Browder was sent to prison I delivered an address among some so-called liberals—including many socialists—protesting against a political imprisonment. And they naturally booed me, for being liberals, they were confused. I respect Mr. Browder because he stands for what he believes and takes what comes with it. But I have no respect for those who call themselves Republicans, Democrats, New Dealers, and even no names at all, but who serve the Communist program in public and in private life. They are cowards and they are a menace to the United States.

Fortunately the Communist line of thought and action is so clearly stated in the *Daily Worker* and in the *NEW MASSES* that we can trace them by their conduct. This infiltration into the capitalist structure of Communist ideals and tactics and methods is definitely menacing to the rehabilitation of the capitalist economy for the United States. And most Americans want to see capitalism, private enterprise, a free economy functioning again unfettered by the confusions of a government that controls when it wishes to regulate and substitutes disorderly despotism for orderly controls.

THERE is one more word: Soviet Russia is today our ally. It is none of our business how the Russian people want their country managed and how they want to live. We may have academic opinions on the subject, but we have no right to impose our way of life upon any people. It is equally none of their business how we manage our affairs. We send no political missionaries to them. It is not their business to send any to us. We are allied to no political party in Soviet Russia; they must not be

MR. BROWDER

IN TAKING up the negative argument on the issue "Is Communism a Menace?" the most elementary considerations of fair play demand that I shall concede the fact that my opponent is placed under a handicap here today. It is true that, by background, training and natural inclination, he is eminently fitted to uphold the affirmative. Yet he is inhibited from making full use of the armory of arguments at his disposal, and to do him full justice we must take this into consideration. He is, so to speak, if one may vary the metaphor, fighting in today's ring with but one arm.

To make fully clear why my opponent does not come in fighting with right and left, with everything he has, allow me to quote his own words, published on April 14, 1942:

"It has been growing clearer to me that

allied to any political party in our country.

All Americans of whatever party or of no party at all are enthusiastic over the Russian achievements in this war, but it is no secret that many Americans—perhaps even most Americans—speculate on the prospect of a socialization of their own country as a result of our alliance with Soviet Russia. Some even feel that that would be too great a price to pay for Soviet Russia's military services.

I disagree with the writer in the *New Republic* who advised the Communist Party to commit suicide. Only a *New Republic* liberal could be guilty of such baby talk. Men who are convinced that their course is right will fight for it against any odds. I recognize in the Communist Party an enemy of everything I hold sacred. I recognize in it a menace even to friendly relations between the United States and Soviet Russia because it engenders suspicion where there should be trust and friendship. Recognizing it as such a menace, I do not ask the Communist Party to commit suicide. I only ask it to fight all its battles in the open so that the American people, by ballot, at a free election for free men, will decide which is to be the American way of the future—the socialistic internationalism of the Communists or the nationalistic capitalism of the Americans who adhere to a constitutional representative republic.

I WISH to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your generous attention. I know that I have said many things today that have offended most of you. But I was not invited here to a tea party and I know that you would prefer me to present my point of view candidly.

I am happy to have had this opportunity to present another point of view and I want again to thank you for your courteous and fine behavior.

it is impossible for private citizens to oppose the foreign policy of the government during war, even when that policy involves a conflict with conscience. After a quarter century of opposition to Soviet Russia, I now face the cold fact that to oppose the ally of one's country is to give comfort to her enemies. That forces me to decide that while my country is allied to Soviet Russia, I am allied to Soviet Russia, no matter what my private opinions."

We must applaud my opponent's patriotism which is so strong that it even overcomes his conscience. He is thereby inhibited from using his most powerful arguments in this debate, because to use such arguments would obviously give comfort to the enemies of the United States, and giving comfort to the enemy is the definition of treason. Such arguments,

therefore, are no longer to be made in public, but are relegated to the position of "private opinions."

This would seem to leave our debate in the position of a performance of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark appearing, and no one to carry on the play except the ghost, which in this case is the well known specter of Communism that disturbs the sleep of comfortable citizens.

At the risk of being accused of lack of sportsmanship, I must insist upon calling Hamlet to the stage to speak his lines. The Soviet Union today, in blood and fire, is preserving civilization for all of us, and is giving to the world the most compelling negative to the question "Is Communism a menace?" Communism, not the disembodied ghost but the full-blooded Communism embodied in the Soviet Union, is indeed a deadly menace to the enemies of our country; but by killing millions of Nazis while our country still pleads its inability to get at the enemy to engage him in force, this Communism has proved itself in life to be the greatest friend-in-need our nation has ever found.

Is this central fact of history really an "accident," is it purely fortuitous, inexplicable, without rhyme or reason?

Or is it not rather the inevitable working out of the deepest forces of human progress?

THOSE who look upon the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition in this war as an "accident"—even an "unfortunate accident"—are thereby condemned to the unhappy conclusion that the universe is a chaos, in which effects exist without causes, in which there are no principles or logic, no reason and no sanity. Far deeper in fundamental understanding of the essential orderliness of history was the conclusion reached concurrently by the high councils of the Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Moslem churches in the Soviet Union, that Stalin had been sent to earth by Divine Providence for the express purpose of defeating the Nazi hordes of aspiring world conquerors. That is, at least, an advance of the human mind over elementary chaos and anarchy.

Even my opponent, with his twenty-five years of uncompromising hatred of the Soviet Union and at the cost of violating his conscience, is ready to proclaim himself an ally of the Soviet Union. Clearly, then, the Soviet Union is not the source of the "menace of Communism"—or can it be that a chief menace to our country can at the same time be a chief ally of our country? Can it be possible that what is necessary to our continued national existence is at the same time a menace to that same national existence?

It is not so long ago that we were being told that it is preferable to go down to defeat than to be victorious as the ally of Russia. We were told that no point of policy, no antagonism to Hitler, no enmity

to Japan, no aid to Great Britain—absolutely nothing could justify a choice between Hitler and Stalin, or quench the hatred against Soviet Russia. That course led Britain and the United States so close to defeat that we could “see the whites of its eyes”—and only then did we belatedly change our national course.

Now that the Soviet Union is our ally, since it has become treasonable to give public expression to that old hatred and it must therefore be retired to the realm of private opinion, a new fashion has sprung up. The Communists of the Soviet Union are okay, since they are indispensable, but that does not mean that we need tolerate them in the United States—or China, or France, or Yugoslavia, or any other country.

May I suggest that this new version is as false and damaging as the old one, in which hatred of the Soviet Union took front rank.

How about China? The Japanese Imperial Headquarters communique of last Wednesday gave the results of February fighting in North China. This showed that of 1,446 combat engagements, 356 were with Chungking troops while 1,090 were with the so-called Chinese Communist troops, that is, the former Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies; in these engagements were 97,000 Chungking troops and 111,000 Communist troops. These figures may be accepted as typical of the more than five years of active war in China.

ARE these Chinese Communists a menace, either to their own country or to the United States? In terms of fighting our common enemy, the Japanese, it looks as though the Chinese Communists are just about the best allies we have in the field now. From the viewpoint of defeating Japan, we should be sorry there are not more Communists in China. Perhaps the reason there were not more Chungking troops fighting the Japanese in February, is that about a million of their best trained soldiers were occupied for the past years in blockading the Chinese Communists. You see, Chungking does not accept the gentle suggestions from our State Department to join with the Chinese Communists and to fight against the Japs unitedly; Chungking prefers to follow the United States *example* rather than our *precept*. Yes, the old bogey of the Communist menace continues to fight on the side of Japan with great potency—it is worth millions of troops to the Mikado and his militarists. Tokyo rejoices every time it hears the words “menace of Communism” uttered in the United States.

Can this idea of the “menace of Communism in China” be useful in any way to the United States? Only under the condition that the United States wished to preserve the bridge to a common political idea with the Japanese, as the means of facilitating, if possible, a compromise ending of

the war in place of a victory. If that is the thought in any mind, then the “menace of Communism in China” will be tightly held, against any and all argument and evidence.

Are the Communists of France and Yugoslavia a menace? They are in the front lines of guerrilla fighting against the Axis in their countries. They are officially included in the Free French Council, and the principle of their inclusion has been endorsed by General Giraud. They are in the Cabinet of the Yugoslavian Provisional Government, along with all other parties, which government has regained about half that country from the Nazis. It is impossible to organize the mass struggle against the Nazis anywhere in occupied Europe without including the Communists, without rejecting the idea they are a menace.

Everywhere in Europe the United States is faced with the problem, *either* to recognize and deal with the democratic mass movement which includes the Communists as full equals, not a menace, or do business with all the secondhand fascist rats who desert the sinking Axis ship, with the seedy aristocrat remnants of a semi-feudal Europe, and with the profit-greedy profiteers ready to operate under any flag that promises them business. We must choose one or the other; we cannot have both.

Perhaps it is only or chiefly in the United States, then, that Communism is a menace. And that would be the strangest conclusion of all, overthrowing at one blow all the laws of logic of whatever school. For it would mean that where the Communists are strong, very strong indeed, in the Soviet Union, they become most desirable allies necessary to our national existence; where they are not so strong, but still enough so to lead armies in the field and be in governmental cabinets with other parties, as in China, France, Yugoslavia, there we say the “menace” must not be exaggerated. But in the United States God forbid that a single Communist shall be tolerated in even the smallest clerkship in Washington, or even allowed to work in the war industries! You see, according to this strange Alice-in-Wonderland logic, the Communists become more and more of a menace the weaker they are, and they are more and more warmly welcomed as allies and given the status of equal human beings as they grow stronger and stronger. The stronger the Communists, the less they are a menace; the weaker the Communists, the greater their menace—that is the strange axiom that emerges from an analysis of the current “menace of Communism” in the United States.

Doesn't it sound a little foolish? But there is a deep truth hidden here in this paradox. The weaker the Communists in any country, the more possible it is for interested parties to substitute a ghost, the specter of Communism, for the real flesh-and-blood thing. Everyone knows that

ghosts are very terrifying things so long as there are persons to believe in them. But when and where the Communists become strong, they are able at long last to force attention to the flesh-and-blood, and to expose the ghost for the fraud that it is. Which means that the only real danger is the bogey man, the ghost, and not the real Communists.

This ghostly character of the menace becomes clearer when we examine a description of “the Communists” as penned by an authoritative, authentic, and experienced purveyor of the Red scare. Here is a picture of American Communists from the pen of such an authority:

“Communists are not like other human beings. They are part of an international conspiracy which rigidly accepts orders from an authority in (a foreign capital, name deleted by the military censor). They have disrupted American industry. They have affected our schools, our universities, our theaters, our newspapers and magazines; they have corrupted our textbooks; they have debased trade unionism; they have bewildered and befogged and confused our so-called liberals.”

In a nation of more than 130,000,000, less than 100,000 Communist conspirators have been able to commit all these dire crimes. How did they accomplish such miracles? I will tell you. By hiding themselves. That is what we are told with a straight face! These Communists distributed millions of papers, pamphlets, leaflets, all of which inculcated support of the most worthy causes—but that was all camouflage, hiding their dark conspiracy to subvert, undermine, and finally to destroy by force and violence the great and glorious American way of life! For the real truth of these Communists, these hypocritical and rascally Communists, read the opinion of Attorney General Biddle in the Bridges deportation case. Or better yet, since that is a bad translation, read it in the original in the *Berliner Voelkischer Beobachter*.

These Communists are actually carrying out a second American revolution right under our noses, in secret! They do it by remote control. I quote: “The real center of this second American Revolution is the President himself.” Its method is a “Democracy that translates itself into a Rooseveltian socialism.” Yes, I have this on the highest authority, one I am sure my worthy opponent would hesitate to contradict!

Thus the Communists combine the qualities of Superman, Svengali, Dracula, Flash Gordon, and Dinky Dinkerton—all very blood-curdling and thrilling, and providing a comfortable living for the artists who draw the pictures and write the romances. And all with a very practical purpose, to advance the “private opinions” and interests of persons who have plenty of money to spend. There is a living to be made in spreading fear of the Red specter, by those with a talent for it and a conscience that knows when to take orders.

Let us turn our minds away from this "comic strip Communism" for a moment to ask what is it that makes revolutions, that grim reality for which the "Red menace" as currently presented is a comic relief. Let us assume that we all wish to avoid the catastrophe which is the companion of revolution, and ask ourselves how this can be done. The answer of history is clear: No ruling class in any nation has ever been overthrown by revolution unless and until it had brought disaster upon that nation by false policies, mistakes, shortsighted and overreaching greed, and incompetence. No people ever took the path of revolution until its ruling class had blocked every other path to the solution of its problems. No revolutionary party or leadership ever gained power or mass following, except as the direct result of the crimes of the old ruling class. Therefore, the first step to avoid revolution is to give the people a reasonable hope of remedying the false policies and mistakes of their ruling class, of curbing their greed, of raising their competence for the tasks of the nation.

Herbert Hoover, the man who lives in pathological fear of revolution, is the man who brought our country to the brink of revolution in 1929-1932, precisely because he saw nothing but the Red specter, and hated every new thought as smacking of Bolshevism. Hoover's methods of combating revolutions actually multiplied them. But Franklin Roosevelt reduced the country's fever almost overnight when he replaced Hoover, precisely because he gave the people a reasonable hope of remedying their intolerable conditions, and because he did not fear the masses as bearers of the "Red menace." Of course, Mr. Roosevelt has paid the inevitable price, of being himself called a "Red." That is one of life's little ironies.

Now what about the real "Reds" in the United States, the members of the Communist Party? Strange as it may seem to addicts of the writings of Martin Dies

and similar detective fiction, most of the activity of the Communist Party is directed toward remedying the conditions that make for revolution. For example, the Communist Party for years stood almost alone in the fight for unemployment insurance and a federal relief system; advocacy of these measures was a sure sign of being an agent of Moscow, a standard "stigmata" by which to recognize a "dangerous and subversive Red." But suddenly, almost overnight, the main body of the country swung over to support of these measures, and their application turned the country away from revolutionary developments. Communists are continuously advocating better conditions for workers in industry, and to the degree that these things are achieved the workers are reconciled to the existing system and rendered immune to revolutionary impulses. The Communists are the most zealous and selfless workers for the removal of conditions making for revolutionary unrest among the masses; the Communists are in this sense the truest conservatives in the population.

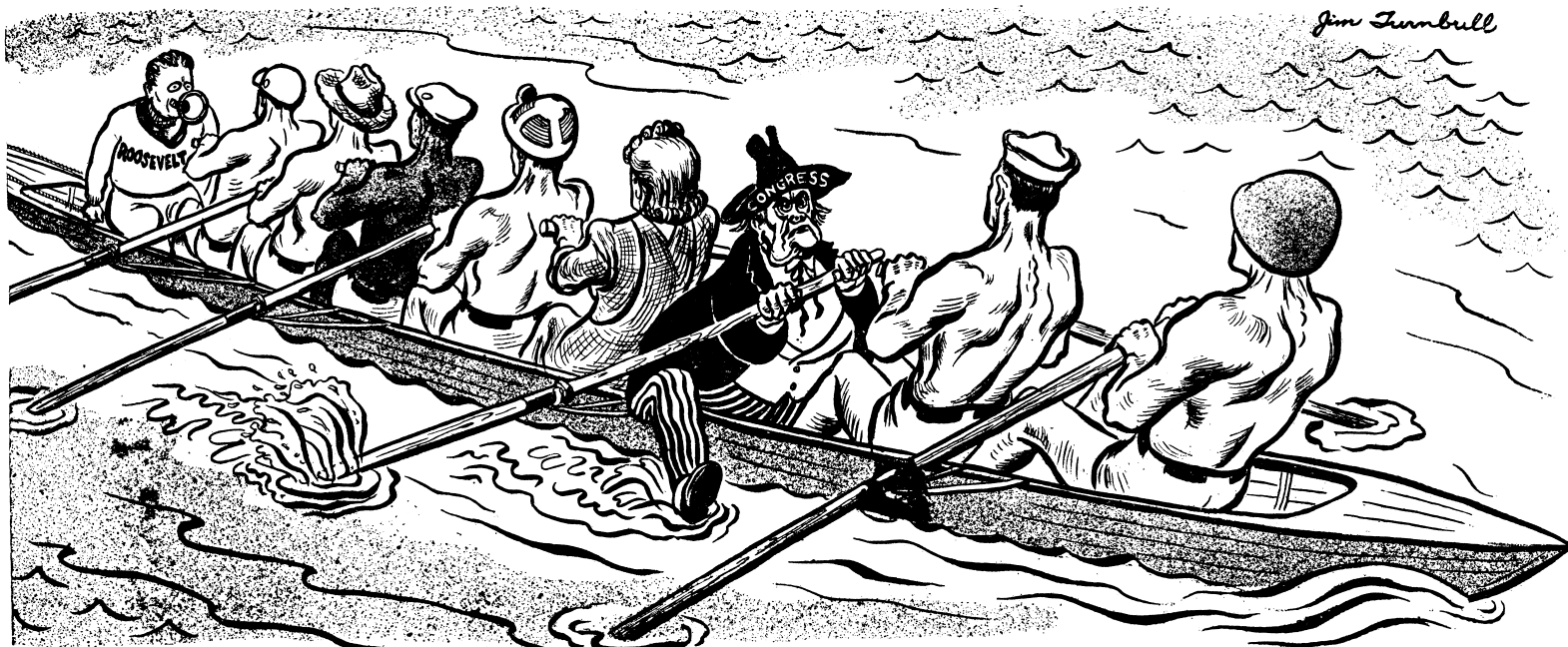
ALLOW me to go even further in challenging the popular misconceptions as to the Communists. We "Reds" and "Bolsheviks" have much more confidence in the strength of capitalism in this country than has, for example, Herbert Hoover. I am sure that in this same sense I have more faith in capitalism than has my opponent in this afternoon's discussion. Mr. Hoover, in his latest book, laid down the thesis that American capitalism cannot endure if a different system, such as socialism in the Soviet Union, is maintained in any important part of the rest of the world. I am sure that Mr. Hoover does capitalism an injustice; that system is not such a fragile flower as Mr. Hoover would have us believe. It will not curl up and die of chagrin at the sight of socialism, even a successful socialism, in the Soviet Union. It is in fact a stubborn system, this American capitalism, with much strength and

will to live. It cannot be subverted by anything except incompetence in its own ruling circles, the refusal to face the new problems of the world and work out their solution.

Let me hasten to add, however, that there are alarming signs of incompetence in our American ruling class, particularly in that part of it most afflicted with the "Red scare," most fearful of the "menace of Communism." This phobia is running wild, "purging" the ruling class of its brains, so to speak. It is most dramatically expressed in the laws on our statute books, denying to the government the services of any man intelligent enough to learn something constructive from the experience of the Soviet Union and courageous enough to admit it in public, on the putative ground that so much intelligence and so much courage are "subversive" to the American way of life. We have an elaborate secret service in the country and a congressional network searching out such persons and eliminating them from the public service. This puts a premium on stupidity and hypocrisy in public life.

If one wants to get a faint inkling of how disastrous this is to our national intelligence, how it becomes a threat to our very existence, remember how the only American official who reported from the Soviet Union, before the war, the true strength of that country's army, was recalled and retired to "inactive duty" on suspicion of having been contaminated with "Bolshevism." As a nation we drastically punish anyone so bold as to tell us the truth about the dangerous world we live in.

It is easier to see the mote in the other fellow's eye than the beam in our own. So just imagine for a moment that the Soviet Union had taken a similar attitude toward the United States, refusing to learn anything from us, punishing anyone who learned from us, and holding completely false opinions about our strength. Clearly, such a Soviet Union would have



been "duck soup" for Hitler, and would have disappeared from history before this. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union pursues an opposite course. It put in its post of chief leadership the man who proclaimed his basic policy as "the combination of the wide Russian revolutionary range of action with American efficiency." Under such leadership the Soviet Union has studied, minutely and sympathetically, every phase of American life with the conscious and declared purpose of adapting its lessons to their own problems and needs. That is why the Soviet Union became strong, that is why the Soviet Union became our most valuable ally in this war of survival. The United States would be much stronger if it had as healthy an attitude toward the Soviet Union as the Soviet Union has long had toward our country. For it is truth, even if the truth is subversive, that we do have something to learn from the Soviet Union, especially in the most difficult of all the arts, the art of survival.

Up to this point I have said nothing directly on the question of the merits of Communism as a social, economic, and political system. I have contented myself with pointing out how the universal facts of life confound and put to shame that medieval witchcraft imported into the twentieth century as "the menace of Communism." Now, having paid my respects to the venerable ghost, it is in order before concluding to say a brief word about Communism (or more accurately, socialism), as the theory and practice of human progress.

THE Communist, or socialist, movement has from its inception with the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 been democratic: In the words of the Manifesto, the Communists "labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."

The Communists recognize that the basic factor in the rise of the democratic forces in society was the break-up of large feudal landed property, and the distribution of this fundment of the national economy among large numbers of smallholders who work their own land. Our own Thomas Jefferson placed so much stress upon this economic foundation for democracy that he molded all his policies upon the aim of preserving the small landholder as the central and major factor in the nation, being convinced that only thus could democracy be perpetuated. But the Communists, faced with the fact that Jefferson's agrarian democracy was rapidly being undermined, and overshadowed by modern industry with its great accumulation and concentration of capital on one hand and its massing of propertyless wage workers on the other, set out to find a path by which democracy could still be given an economic foundation and thereby perpetuated.

Theoretically, there are two ways of

buttressing democracy with economic foundations; one way is to break up modern largescale industry and go back to individual handicraft production, but this way is practically impossible; the second way is to vest the ownership and operation of largescale industry in the hands of the community, organized in the state, for the benefit of society as a whole. The first way is retrogressive, and even if possible would be a return to a more primitive civilization; the second way is progressive, is an advance to a higher type of civilization, and is the way of Communism or socialism. There are no other possible ways of perpetuating democracy, for without democratic control of the basic national economy the political forms of democracy cannot long endure.

This is the democratic argument for socialism or Communism. If the further development of democracy is our chief goal, then the necessity for some form of socialism is clearly established.

It can be and has been argued, by advocates of the existing system of capitalism, that democracy even though desirable must be subordinated to efficiency in operation of the national economy, and that efficiency and democracy are incompatible. Socialism is rejected on the grounds of inefficiency; capitalism is maintained on grounds of efficiency.

In the period when capitalism was the only operating system, and socialism was only an abstract project, this dispute could be answered only theoretically. Since but a minority of human beings are equipped for theoretical investigation, the verdict of the dispute was overwhelmingly for capitalism, the going concern. Socialism got its chance to show what it could do in the Soviet Union only because the capitalism of the old Russia had completely broken down under the strain of war, it was no longer a going concern, and there was present a party equipped to show that country a new road.

Before the present war broke upon the world, the new socialist system had already developed a lively rivalry with capitalism on this issue of the relative efficiency of the two systems. Socialism had displayed

amazing efficiency, by transforming one of the most backward lands into the most advanced in Europe, and second only to the United States in the whole world. This fact has led the ideologists of capitalism to shift the emphasis of their arguments from relative efficiency, which is susceptible of accurate measurement, to the more abstract virtues less amenable to precise evaluation.

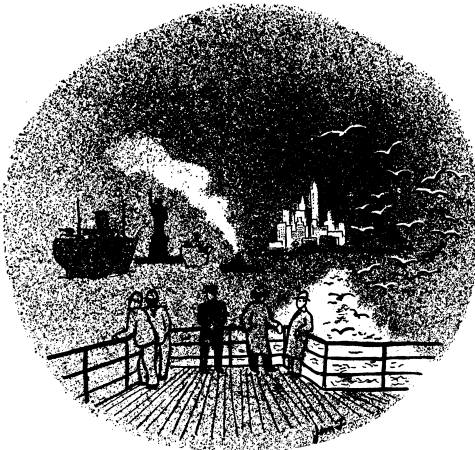
Now the war is putting a more difficult test to socialism, the test of survival against the most furious onslaught of the total military resources of Europe unprecedented in history.

SOON after the Nazi attack upon the Soviet Union, a certain eminent authority anticipated the day "When Moscow Falls," and proceeded to explain the significance of that event. "There need be no excuses and no explanations," he declared, "except that incompetence, despotism, lack of managerial capacity, lack of initiative, government by fear and purge, left the giant helpless and incapacitated. Troops will rebel against Stalin and they will, of course, have the assistance of Germany. We must be prepared for the shock of the elimination of Soviet Russia from the war altogether. We must prepare ourselves for a Russian Vichy."

Now, twenty months after this prediction and analysis, Moscow has not fallen. If our eminent authority is prepared to say that Moscow will yet surely fall to the Nazis, then he may logically, however wrong in fact, continue to maintain his analysis to some extent. But what happens if and when he admits that *Moscow is not going to fall*? Then his words of July 1941 become an admission of the opposite to what he had intended. If the fall of Moscow would prove incompetence, what does the successful defense of Moscow prove if not competence? Despotism is similarly transformed into democracy, lack of managerial capacity into its presence, lack of initiative into bold initiative, and so on. Since the giant proved to be not helpless and incapacitated, then it must be admitted that he has all the positive virtues which had been specifically denied on the assumption that Moscow was to fall.

Of course, neither the one nor the other can be accepted as true merely because the eminent authority's logic demands it. Perhaps the gentleman's logic from the beginning was cockeyed, so that nothing can be proved thereby one way or the other. But the problem is an interesting one for us here today, at any rate, since the author of "When Moscow Falls" is with us on this platform and will have the opportunity to tell us right out of the horse's mouth just what conclusions he thinks we should draw from the failure of his prediction.

In conclusion, let me say that regardless of one's opinion as to the merits of Communism, one must reject the nursery fable of "the menace of Communism" because that new system can come to Amer-



ica only by the conscious choice of a majority of the American people. One must reject the fable because it is harmful to the war effort, it distorts our foreign policy, it is an obstacle to victory. One must reject it because it is a means of weakening national unity for the war. One must reject it because it is the chief propaganda weapon for our enemies, the Nazis and their Japanese partners. One must reject it because it stultifies our national thinking. One must reject it because it is a palpable falsehood, twin brother of anti-Semitism, and like that vicious cult dug out of the graveyards of the Middle Ages to poison the atmosphere of our twentieth century, to halt the progress of mankind, and to throw the whole world back into barbarism.

MR. BROWDER'S REBUTTAL

THE main points raised by my opponent in his main presentation require certain additional discussion which I have not previously prepared. Chief of these points is the question of loyalty to one's nation, of divided allegiance, of the relation of American citizens to the Soviet Union, of American Communists to the Soviet Union.

In general let me say that it is quite true to speak of the attitude of the American Communists as being one of unswerving belief in the Soviet Union, its progressive role, and its eventual close alliance with our own country. To that belief we have been unshakably loyal. It is worthy of examination to see whether that loyalty, the belief in the Soviet Union, has been compatible with loyalty to our own country. A concrete evidence which has been cited and which is generally cited as a final proof of the lack of fundamental loyalty of American Communists to their own country is the fact that in the winter of 1939-40 the American Communists supported the Soviet Union against Finland. When this is cited as proof of a lack of loyalty of American Communists to their own country, it assumes that their loyalty to our own country demands that we shall join in mistakes of our own country or it assumes that support of Finland was not a mistake on the part of the United States.

IF WE demand that American citizens prove their loyalty by supporting mistakes, then we are granting to Hitler the right to demand the loyalty of all Germans no matter what his policy is. We can appeal to the people of Europe to fight against their quislings and against Hitler only on the ground that there are issues on which national destiny is at stake, when men must rise up and make decisions even against their own governments. And we are appealing to Europe today on precisely those

grounds. Therefore by this fact we are rejecting the slogan of "our country right or wrong" if it means "our government right or wrong." We are demanding that our country be right. If it is assumed that it was not a mistake to support Finland then it is assumed that it was correct for our country to take a position which if it had been successful would have insured the fall of Leningrad and probably Moscow to Hitler, and is in complete contradiction to the happiness that most Americans feel that Leningrad and Moscow stand and that Hitler will never get hold of them. Even before the fate of the world was decided at Stalingrad, it was decided in the breaking of the Mannerheim Line.

It is cited against the Communists' loyalty to our own country that we were not prepared to join England in the war when England stood alone. When England stood alone and we opposed America's joining her, the reason why England stood alone was expressed by Sir Nevile Henderson, British ambassador to Berlin, in his book, *Failure of a Mission*, pages 259-60, where Mr. Henderson said: "I raised this point with Hitler himself when I saw him at Berchtesgaden on August 23 . . . that if an agreement had to be made with Moscow, I had rather Germany make it than ourselves." What American can honestly say today that America should have joined the war on such a policy and, as a matter of fact, America did not join the war until after that policy had been reversed and a policy of coalition with the Soviet Union had been adopted. The only way in which American Communists reflected Soviet policy at that time was that like the Communists of the Soviet Union, we Communists in America did not want our country to be made a catspaw. Like the Communists of the Soviet Union we demanded that if and when America got into this war it must be in coalition with our natural allies, not fighting for the destruction of one of our natural allies. If that is disloyalty, then make the most of it. In my opinion that is the highest loyalty to our own country.

ANOTHER point that is made is the question of Communists as the enemy of religion. Since the church in the country where Communism is a going concern has adjusted itself to that system and finds itself much more religious than it ever was under the old system, it would seem that the religious test of the menace of Communism is at least beginning to fall by the wayside. I venture to predict that in the Western democracies, to the degree that intelligent men in the church begin to study more seriously the current questions of the day, not giving up their religion and wishing for their religion the greatest possible perpetuation in the future, they will begin to stake out their claims for a place for their religion in a future socialist society. To the degree that they do so they will cease to

identify the fate of religion with the fate of capitalism, because the limitations of capitalism are still much sharper than the limitations of the future of religion.

I do not think that anyone will be able to arouse any great antagonism from religious people toward the Communists because of our outspoken opinions on the philosophical side of this issue. I know from reading the history of the past that there have been sharp antagonisms on religious issues in days gone by that are today hardly a memory. There is nothing that Mr. Sokolsky can quote from me with relation to this question of religion that half so sharply arouses feeling as quotations that can be made from Thomas Jefferson. And yet Thomas Jefferson today has very high standing in the churches of America.

I just want to quote what Jefferson said in the heat of argument of his day when the church was opposing the development of American democracy. Thomas Jefferson wrote in a letter in 1816:

"I am not afraid of the priests. They have tried upon me all their various batteries, of pious whining, hypocritical canting, lying and slandering, without being able to give me one moment of pain. I have contemplated their order from the Magi of the East to the saints of the West, and I have found no difference of character but of more or less caution, in proportion to their information or ignorance of those in whom their interested duperies were to be plaid off." (Letter to H. G. Spoffard, 1816.)

"Their security is in their faculty of shedding darkness, like the scuttlefish, through the element in which they move, and making it impenetrable to the eye of a pursuing enemy, and there they will skulk." (Letter to Van der Kemp, 1816.)

I am not repeating these words of Thomas Jefferson as applicable to the church of today. There has been much enlightenment in the church since the time of Jefferson, and for this the church has to thank Jefferson very much.

Perhaps the day may come when adherents of organized religion in the United States will even acknowledge my services to them in the same sense.

IN CONCLUSION, let me say this: Communism is no menace to America unless democracy is a menace. Communism cannot be applied in America except by democratic decision of the American people. Those who fight against Communism on the grounds that it is a menace are not fighting it on the grounds of merits; they are fighting to prevent the American people from ever having the opportunity to make the democratic choice of Communism.

We discussed the merits of Communism today not to raise the issue that we propose America shall now change over to the road of Communism or socialism. America is involved in a war of survival which she en-

ters as a capitalist nation. No one is more clear on this question than the Communists of the United States—that America must win this war as a capitalist nation. This war is not for Communism or socialism in the United States; this war will not bring socialism or Communism to the United States. Socialism for this country could arise as a result of this war only if America failed to do her part in this war. But America, participating in the common victory of the United Nations as a capitalist country, will enter the postwar world with capitalism having gained the credit of being able to participate in the survival of this country and will have a better chance of survival before the democratic court of opinion of the American people, which verdict will be rendered after the war and on the basis of experience.

I can promise for those who are fearful of the powers of survival of American capitalism, that all policies in the interests of the people which will make the people more ready to accept the continuation of this present system will be policies that receive the support of the Communist Party because we are fighting for the interests of the people at all times, and if gaining those interests of the people under capitalism wed the people to capitalism, we accept that without question.

We are perfectly willing to support a capitalism in the United States after the war which is compatible with the interests of the people and which takes into account the necessary problems of the people. We are content to see this debate worked out in the field of life as to which is the more conducive to the welfare of the masses of the people—capitalism or socialism—by the experiences which the world will present to us, because surely, after this war the most powerful capitalism in America, having won the joint victory against fascism, will continue to operate. The great socialist system will continue to operate, and if these two countries—the Soviet Union and America—can exist peacefully, in collaboration to preserve world order, which is a policy which we press with full vigor and with full conviction, then the possibility will exist that the great debate between socialism and capitalism can be decided on the whole, peacefully.

MR. SOKOLSKY'S REBUTTAL

I THINK we have achieved something of distinction today. Mr. Browder made a speech—an eloquent speech—for the survival of the capitalist system which I think would do justice to any capitalist and which no one would have believed had he not heard it. Of course we believe that the capitalist system will survive in this country out of this war. Our concern is that the war is being used by elements in this country to effect very slowly

and gradually a distortion which may imperil the survival of the American way of life. Again Mr. Browder made in his rebuttal a very fine contribution to his own beatification. It is quite possible that we might have a St. Earl Browder. We have not yet achieved a St. Thomas Jefferson. But the religious question is a serious one because to most people in this country the problem of the survival of the family, the problem of the survival of their particular religious and social life is of greater importance than even an economic or political question.

Now Mr. Browder makes the point that those of us who oppose Communism have turned or are turning from matters of precise evaluation to a general discussion of what might be called imponderables, but the imponderables are precisely what are most important. For instance, I don't know how many thousand people are in this hall, but they are of varied opinions, the largest number of whom I should say are non-conformists to the general pattern of American life and American ideas. On the other hand there are persons here who are bitterly antagonistic to the majority in this hall. Yet this meeting is held freely. I see no policeman in the hall or on the stage. I doubt whether there is an agent here of any branch of the government, and if he is, it doesn't make any difference either to Mr. Browder or to myself. We are free, completely free and fearless of government, and fearless of any power of the State. We are free to pursue our conscience as we desire. Now it is that imponderable that is of the greatest importance to most Americans, but we witness no such freedom in the State which you offer as a guide to us. This debate could not be held and no debate of this nature has been held in Soviet Russia since the Communists took over. That is a question that is close to us. It isn't a question of what economic system works, or of what political system works. I suppose the most efficient political system is one where the government can chop off the heads of everybody in opposition. That is efficiency. Death is complete efficiency! What is important is the right of the individual to his own life, to his own thought, to his own liberty without let or hindrance from government, and that we don't want to lose in the United States.

ON THIS question of alliance with the Soviet Union at present or in the future, may I say that the United States has been allied in the course of its history with many queer peoples. We have been allied with czarist Russia; we have at times been in relationship of the closest comity with countries that were anti-democratic, if you wish; certainly with countries that were not republics. We never ask our allies their politics, or religion, nor their economic system if we needed to use them in our national interest. We anticipate that they will use us in their national interest. Allies come and allies go,

and it doesn't make the slightest difference what they believe as long as they are of service to us and we are of service to them.

Our job is to win this war by whatever means we can—by whatever means we can—and our job is not to concern ourselves too much with the ideological positions and alterations of view of those who help us win the war. We don't do it anyhow, whether you agree with me or not. We shall take what we can get and save American lives. And that's the way we are.

Now, Mr. Browder raises the question of "My country right or wrong" and it is a very good question to raise because it involves an organized political party within the country determining for itself whether the foreign policy of the country is sound or not and acting accordingly. A country pursues a foreign policy which serves its interests. When Germany and Russia were at peace, that peace was not based upon any desire to serve the United States. It was based upon a desire to serve Soviet Russia and that's quite right. That's what it should have been. Russia should serve itself and we should serve ourselves. When a party, any party, within the government of the United States undertakes an independent foreign policy, a foreign policy which may in its judgment be correct, but is not in line with the foreign policy of the country, of the government, the foreign policy that at the time is actually being pursued, it can imperil the purposes and conduct and the very existence of the country. Suppose every group in the country were to determine for itself what the foreign policy of his country is to be. The German Bund did so determine and they pursued a policy which was harmful to this country. Suppose there were a great body of people in this country who were sabotaging, if you want to use that word, our present policy. We should find ourselves in very grave peril. We certainly were imperiled when the preparation for the defense of the nation prior to our entry into the war was a matter of the private policy of a political party functioning within the country. That is intolerable at any time and would not be permitted in Soviet Russia. And actually, in pursuit of what I am saying, the Soviet Union conducted a series of trials and pledged to destroy what they called a fifth column in their country.

We are not going to solve this problem here today. The best that I can hope to do is to indicate to you that there is another point of view in this country and to claim for it the majority of the American people. But I agree wholly with Mr. Browder that in this country this problem will be solved in a democratic manner by the ballot and as long as we can solve it by the ballot and not by intrigue, not by infiltration, not by stealthy indoctrination of our children, we shall solve it inevitably in such a manner that America will survive as a country in which private enterprise functions for a free people in a democratic representative republic.

PAINTINGS by GROPPER

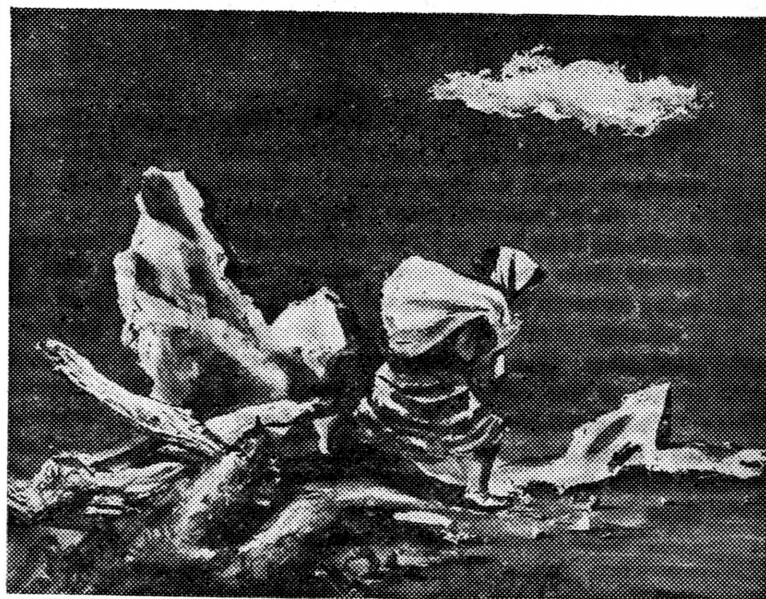
THE photographs on this page represent only a small sample of the exhibit of William Gropper's paintings now being held at the ACA Gallery in New York City (26 West Eighth St.). The exhibit opened on March 14 and will be continued through Saturday, April 3.



Armchair Strategists



Fish



She Will Return



(Left) Bataan; (Above) Aggressors' Retribution

MILWAUKEE STORY

A tale of war production in three different plants, and the lessons thereof. Management-union cooperation and planning—and the results in output.

Milwaukee, Wis.

WISCONSIN is justly proud of its reputation as the "dairy" state and of the fact that today its agricultural products play such a vital part in the war effort. But besides cheese, butter, and milk, this state produces everything from needed lumber in the northern part of the state to submarines at Manitowoc which wend a tortuous route down the Mississippi to the Gulf. Everything from tannery products to cranes, motors, small and large, huge turbines and machine tools which keep many a larger plant in the country in production. Everything from guns and munitions to tanks and the most essential airplane parts.

The city of Milwaukee, famous for its beer, has always been an important industrial community, producing over half of the \$3,500,000,000 worth of war goods turned out in the state in 1942. Of the factories in this city only one, according to Detroit or California aircraft standards, could be characterized as large—the Allis-Chalmers plant. But dozens employing from 500 to 5,000 workers, and dozens more that are even smaller, are doing essential war work and making an invaluable contribution to the country's production. War industry here is living proof of the adaptability of small and medium-sized plants to the needs of America's battle for survival.

With two or three notable exceptions there has been comparatively little factory construction. Some factories have sprawled over into empty buildings; others, for added space, have taken over plants formerly devoted to less essential consumer goods. By and large, expansion of output has been gradual and steady, encountering no such crucial manpower and housing shortages as forced thousands into trailers and hovels in San Diego or made housing facilities unattainable in Detroit. Not that there aren't housing problems which threaten to become serious. But the cause lies largely with a past generation of real estate conservatives who preferred to preserve values of old houses rather than make them a glut on the market by building new ones. Considering the winter temperature which often drops below zero, the city has an extraordinarily large number of antiquated, ugly buildings which, the advertisements say briefly, possess "stove heat"—no furnaces.

Since the city is ringed with factories, a transportation system that was barely adequate when things were "normal" and people had unrestricted use of private cars,

is today strained to the bursting point. You can stand at corners throughout the city and watch four or five streetcars go by, groaning with straphangers, before one stops for passengers.

IN REGARD to manpower the pinch is being felt largely on the farms. Though the War Manpower Commission of this area, through its labor-management subcommittee, has announced that by May 37,000 more workers will be needed, the community is not as yet searching desperately for them. Skilled workers, however, are in demand as is evident from the number of flourishing industrial schools, both publicly and privately owned.

True, dislocations both of manpower and production itself have occurred. But because of the city's industrial status as a manufacturer of critical machinery and heavy industrial equipment before the war, they have been of a relatively minor nature with the glaring exception of one plant, described in greater detail below.

Perhaps the most effective way of illustrating both the achievements and shortcomings of war industry in this area would be to describe the production problems of three representative plants.

The Seaman Body plant (Nash-Kelvinator), which employed 3,000 Milwaukee workers before the war, shut down with a resounding bang on Jan. 30, 1942. Resistance to conversion on the part of management, which thought that such pressure would guarantee the continuance of peacetime production, resulted in the complete by-passing of this plant in the first flush of war orders. When the plant was forced to close, employment of the workers elsewhere was made almost impossible by the company's refusal to give them needed "releases" except for a month at a time. Other employers were reluctant to offer work since they knew the men would be called back the moment the plant turned to war production.

FROM that time until November 21, ten months later, the plant was in process of conversion. Suddenly, on that day, the Navy canceled its contract with the company. Thanks to lack of planning, a large part of the \$32,000,000 in government advances which had been spent to convert this and another company plant in a nearby city was wasted, as well as the even more important tooling up operations representing hundreds of thousands of man-hours of highly skilled labor. At last, on Jan. 11,

1943, it was announced that the plant had another contract, though the date on which operations were to begin and the amount of additional conversion necessary were not made known.

A SECOND example is the Allis-Chalmers Corp. Here, on Dec. 8, 1941, one day after Pearl Harbor, the union proposed to management the establishment of joint production committees in every department. The union contended that the bulk of suggestions for improvements in production can come only from the men in daily contact with the machines.

The president of Allis-Chalmers, Walter Geist, has never denied attending the secret meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers' Resolutions Committee at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, last September 17. This was the meeting, described by Bruce Minton in the November 17 issue of *NEW MASSES*, which declared war on the New Deal and cheered a speaker who urged a negotiated peace with Hitler. The company, following the lead of its president, Walter Geist, was, needless to say, not enthusiastic about the proposal for labor-management production committees in every department. It stalled as long as it could. When a labor-management committee was finally established last April the company at first stripped it down to a "slogan" committee. After continued pressure from the union, management consented to participate in a "minor time-saving committee." Only since November has the company agreed to join in divisional labor-management committees—still a long way off from the departmental committees that can tackle production problems at their source.

While most divisions of this huge plant have not had to convert since they already manufactured products, from small motors to tremendous turbines, needed by the country's war machine, it failed completely to convert the one department where this was necessary, the tractor department. As a result, millions of dollars worth of machinery today stands idle while hundreds of skilled workers have been transferred to do unskilled work (at half the pay) elsewhere in the plant.

Meanwhile Allis-Chalmers has continued to manifest hostility not only toward the union, but toward expanding war production. It has been attempting to cut piece rates far out of proportion to any shortcuts devised, thus penalizing increased productivity. Moreover, its production

plans are chaotic: employes sometimes put in twelve hours a day, seven days a week, only to find themselves reduced shortly after to five-day, forty-hour weeks and even departmental layoffs. The company's complete indifference to the needs of production efficiency is indicated by the fact that in 1941 there were as many grievances in the plant as in the four previous years combined, while in 1942 there were twice as many as in 1941.

Perhaps the company's conception of its role in our country's great battle can best be summed up in the words of a "brief" which the expensive legal staff presented in December 1942 to the impartial arbitrator in connection with a grievance of the workers:

"Over the years laws have been enacted limiting the *absolute right* of the employer to run his business as he chooses. . . . These laws [the Wagner act, Minimum Wage acts, safety laws and others] stimulated collective bargaining and the making of collective bargaining agreements. Like statutes, collective bargaining agreements may impose restrictions upon the *inherent rights of the employer to run*

his business as his best judgment dictates." [Emphasis mine—A.H.]

Now for the brighter and more generally prevalent side of the picture, take the Harnischfeger Corp. Here relations between the management and the workers in the past were turbulent and a number of strikes took place. Today, however, the management-union agreement contains the clause: "It is the intent and purpose of the parties hereto that this agreement will improve and promote industrial and economic relationships between the company and the union." The last two words replace "the employes" in previous contracts. But that in itself is little more than a symbol of accomplishment.

Production at the plant, with virtually no plant expansion, has been tripled through the use of three shifts plus a fast developing incentive-wage setup. As far back as March 1942, as soon as a labor-management committee had been established, it got right down to production problems and the company made the following proposal: A certain job now takes three hours; pay for it is three dollars; if

that job can be turned out in one and a half hours, we'll pay, not three dollars, but four dollars.

The union, suspicious after its years of strife with management, turned down the offer with the excuse that rushing a job would make the product poor. Despite company assurances, union leaders failed to understand that the saving in overhead and in more efficient use of existing machinery made this added incentive payment not only possible, but profitable for the firm. As a counter-proposal the union requested that management "take the lid off" on piece work production. (Previously no piece worker was paid more than 120 percent of his minimum or "day" rate.) The company agreed, at the same time guaranteeing in writing that there would be no piece rate cuts as a result. Production mounted—and continues to mount, though serious storage problems have had to be overcome in view of the limited space available for the huge cranes that the Harnischfeger Corp. manufactures.

And finally, almost a year after the company's original added incentive proposals, a plan of this kind is being adopted, first in a small subsidiary of the company but undoubtedly soon to spread throughout the entire plant.

THE experiences of these three and many other plants were discussed at a recent production conference of the county CIO which was attended by representatives of forty-five local unions in war industry.

The general conclusions of the conference were that the attainment of maximum production requires: the establishment in every plant of properly functioning labor-management committees; the extension of incentive-wage plans; the recruiting of additional women workers with the necessary provisions for child care; and centralized planning on a national scale along the lines proposed in the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill.

A few days later the Milwaukee *Journal*, with the largest circulation in the state, ran a favorable editorial on the proposed Office of War Mobilization and praised the Tolan committee reports and the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill.

The discussions at the conference offered one more proof of the basic need for centralized planning if production is to keep pace with the offensive action in Europe promised by President Roosevelt following Casablanca. And, with this in mind, labor in Milwaukee, through the County Industrial Union Council, CIO, recently called "for the speediest realization of the plans for offensives in full coalition with our British and Russian allies."

ALFRED HIRSCH.



"I might be able to LIVE on \$25,000 per year—but what would happen to my initiative?"



SPAIN AND BRITAIN

The Franco menace to the United Nations. Thomas J. Hamilton's "Appeasement's Child" reviewed by Joseph Starobin. . . . R. Palme Dutt's new book, "Britain in the World Front."

APPEASEMENT'S CHILD: the Franco Regime in Spain, by Thomas J. Hamilton. Knopf. \$3.

IT WAS well for a correspondent of the *New York Times*, who covered Franco's side of the Spanish war, then lived in Spain for two years after the fall of the republic, to have written this book. Hamilton has a magnificent contempt for Spanish fascism which comes from familiarity with its ways and works. And above all it is the vindication of Hamilton's profession. His stuff to the *Times* was uniformly lousy. This book is so uniformly good that the difference can't be due to the censorship alone. It may be another instance, like James Reston's *Prelude to Victory*, where a man doesn't really begin to write until he has left Sulzberger's island of Circe.

Franco's *camarilla* fought the republic in the name of Spanish independence. Hamilton saw the German tourists arriving, the fat-necked, red-faced "sausage-makers," as Ilya Ehrenbourg calls them, who dropped into the Barcelona airport and disappeared into the ubiquitous but unseen fifth column. He tells stories of the fawning obeisance to Eberhard von Stohrer, the former German ambassador, the insolence of Hans Lazar, the German press attache in Madrid, advising Spanish newspapermen just what to write and how to play their articles.

Franco boasted of bringing order and efficiency to Spain. Hamilton details the fantastic and criminal confusion in the distribution of food, the incredible *estraperlo*, or black market, the venality of officials like the automobile inspector, whose way of learning whether applicants for a license knew how to drive was to have them ferry him around Madrid to get the inspector's shopping done.

Franco promised a new unity for Spanish society. Hamilton relates at length the quarrels in the bureaucracy, the generals fighting the Falangistas, the monarchists vying with the Carlist *tradicionalistas*, the industrialists of Catalonia and the Basque country being knifed by the representatives of the grandees. And then the conflict of the Auxilio Social with the women's section of the Falange, while people roamed the streets with hunger. Or the barbaric "Law of Responsibilities" under which hundreds of thousands of

Spaniards were shot for no more than sympathy with the republic. Often this was for sympathy that long predated July 1936, a fantastic throwback to the days of Torquemada. And it is, at this very moment, taking innocent lives of a people who suffered at least a million dead in the war. Hamilton tells of the young student from Murcia who got up before the SEU, the students' organization, and suggested it was time to try to win over the anti-Franco youth. For which he was rudely reminded to say no more lest he too be investigated as a *rojo*.

FRANCO persuades our present ambassador, the medievalist Carlton J. H. Hayes, that he is restoring a "peace economy." Hamilton saw the economy working—if that's the word for it. While thousands of poor live in wrecked hovels, the pimply youths in the "institutes for reconstruction" make fantastic plans which never go beyond the draughting-board stage. But the grandees get their estates back, where the peasantry works at the master's whim as in the days of Philip II. The Church hierarchy regains its grip on all civil life, throwing the nation back to the days of the Counter-Reformation. In January 1941 the country lacks enough flour for two weeks more of bread, and only a shipload from Argentina saves it. It would take a Goya to describe that lonely child whom the Hamiltons met on the road to Carmona, wandering to the next village in search of a morsel of bread. Spain used to produce enough wheat for itself, but Hamilton found the whole nation literally lusting for bread. All classes, even the tattered duchesses, were wolfing down food when they could get it. Food was the subject of all conversation at the state functions of the diplomats, and the soirees of the aristocracy alike. A wondrous "peace economy," when the wife of our former ambassador is detained at the border for carrying out a loaf of the flour and sawdust that passes for bread lest the whole world learn what really goes on within Spain. And all the while, the energetic Nazis roam through Navarre, literally pillaging the countryside. In the Bay of Biscay German tankers lie in the coves refueling and replenishing the Nazi submarines. Not to mention the preoccupation of Franco himself with his armament plants

and munitions works as though Spain had not had enough of war.

It is a bitter book beneath the surface of factual detachment that befits the American Rhodes scholar. There is a healthy contempt in it for this tattered hag of Spanish fascism, its breath stale with five centuries of bigotry, impotent to restore the past grandeur, capable only of making the life of the Spaniard "poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

Most of the final chapters are devoted to Franco's foreign policy. Hamilton's findings are already familiar to the thinking American. Ideologically, Franco is at one with the Axis: his fear is the Axis fear of everything democratic, enlightened, rational, in Europe, and for that matter the world. Hamilton believes that if Germany were on the verge of losing, or, on the other hand, if Hitler were winning decisively, Spain might enter the war on Germany's side. As it is, Hamilton considers that Spanish neutrality is objectively of aid to the Allies. But that is not anything for which we ought to be appeasing Franco, he says. Spain has not remained out of the war in gratitude for the oil or flour we have been sending. It is because Franco fears the impact of open war on his own people, that fear which unites all factions of the ruling class, despite the continual struggle among the aristocracy, the generals, the Falangistas.

Hamilton is caustic with British appeasement, though rather naive in occasional admiration for the craftsmanship of Sir Samuel Hoare's diplomacy, especially during the critical summer of 1940. He considers American diplomacy, which is now apparently more active in Spain than Britain's, as foolhardy to the point of being very dangerous. His famous expose is already well known: how the fascist gangsters stoned the American embassy, almost forcing our former Ambassador Alexander Weddell to give the Falangista salute, after which the ambassador promptly offered a \$100,000,000 loan to the Caudillo. And when the latter, with characteristic arrogance, declined the offer, the \$100,000,000 credit finally found its way to Spain via a guarantee of Argentina's central banking reserves. As for the effect of the Falange on Western Hemisphere unity, Hamilton saw that in his visit to Chile, following upon his departure from Spain.

Many a Falangist dreams publicly of reviving Isabella's empire, regaining the Philippines and the Caribbean, uniting all the Latin American reactionaries through *Hispanidad*, and humiliating the damyankees.

IN THE end, the author speculates that Hitler and Mussolini will return to the scenes of their first crime. He doubts that Franco will be much more of an obstacle than Marshal Petain, and he does not place too much importance on the demotion of Serrano Suner. Laval also was dropped out of the Vichy government in December 1940, only to return in his present role in June 1942.

But the real issue is not only whether Hitler and Mussolini will return to the scene of their first crimes. The real issue is whether American policy toward Spain is not a proving-ground for postwar policies that powerfully reactionary forces would like to spread in Europe. Hamilton does not shirk this question. If, by supporting Franco, the United States is indicating what it has in mind for other countries of the continent, he thinks we are in for a brutal awakening. For there will never be security in the Mediterranean, in

North Africa, or in Latin America as long as the forces behind Franco exist.

The State Department's appeasement policy is not only a moral monstrosity, a mockery of the Four Freedoms, but it is doomed to isolate America from the Spaniards themselves. And however weak the Spanish people may be, Hamilton believes we shall never get away with it in the vital core of Central Europe, whose fate will determine the whole postwar development of world politics.

So this is a book to be read. It has any number of weaknesses. Some of them are details. Others, like praise for Indalecio Prieto, one of the worst of the republican figures, only reveal how much more Hamilton knows about Franco than he does about the politics of the republicans.

But the healthy essence of it is that Hamilton debunks once and for all the myth that the Spanish war was an issue of Communism rampant: it was, as the Spanish Communists insisted, an issue of whether the democratic transformation of Spain, centuries overdue, would be recognized and welcomed by the West in its own self-interest. Read the book, but don't weep. Spain has had enough of tears.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

England's War Lessons

R. Palme Dutt's latest book, "Britain in the World Front," is a true study of an ally. Reviewed by Morris U. Schappes.

BRITAIN IN THE WORLD FRONT, by R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers. \$1.60.

HERE is the first book by an Englishman to be published in the United States which enables Americans fundamentally to understand and appreciate our British ally. Americans can learn from it the lessons of the British war experience—lessons we must speedily take to heart for the sake of victory.

Despite terrific handicaps to be noted later, the British have forged ahead, through the fires of a just war, to the point where they have achievements to their credit that Americans could well emulate. There is organic trade union unity in Britain; the problem of labor unity that Dutt discusses in his last chapter is on a higher level than America's, for it involves the question of organic political unity. Should the Labor Party convention late this spring accept the Communist Party's application for affiliation—an application rejected by the National Executive Committee but supported extensively by Labor Party affiliates and rank-and-filers—the spur to American labor at least to achieve trade union unity would be considerable.

British labor also has organic connections now with the Soviet trade unions, and has profited from the tie, while America's Mat-

thew Wolls and some others in the AFL still enforce a shameful and dangerous separation from this inspiring and instructive contact. The influence of British labor in the government, from the War Cabinet itself down through the Joint Production Committees in the factories, is greater than American labor's, which is restricted to an



R. Palme Dutt

“advisory” capacity. Dutt makes sharply clear that often these strategic positions held by laborites are not utilized sufficiently and boldly for the solution of Britain's military, political, and production tasks, but American labor is not yet even in command of the positions themselves.

In regard to its relations with the Soviet Union, Britain has a twenty-year treaty of amity and postwar cooperation with our Soviet ally, while we have only a lend-lease agreement continually under fire from defeatists.

Britain is further advanced in its effort to plan and integrate production—although Dutt points directly to many serious weaknesses—than is our America, with its partisan political maneuvers to prevent even an elementary overall rationing of civilian consumption. Taxation? In our Congress, voices inaccurately charge that Roosevelt's executive order to limit salaries to \$25,000 net (after all tax, insurance, and other deductions) was copied from the Communist platform of 1928. Britain has a \$16,000 limitation, and an excess profits tax of 100 percent (even though Dutt points out that there is an unduly inflated norm above which profits are regarded as excess). There is wide public and parliamentary discussion of a Beveridge report in Britain; here Edward Rickenbacker denounces labor before state legislatures and sneers at New Deal reforms as “regimentation.” And, although Britain has its defeatists, pro-fascists, and Red-baiters, it has no such Hitlerite official propaganda center as the Dies committee.

PALME DUTT, in a book written primarily for a British audience and first published in June 1942, draws none of these comparisons. But they will be glaring to the American reader. Dutt is certainly not trying to hold the British war effort up as an example to anybody, but so uneven is the development among the United Nations, with the exception of the Soviet Union, that many of them can benefit from the British example.

Americans confront two kinds of unwholesome propaganda about the British. The first is that of appeasers and defeatists ranging in type from Senator Wheeler to Norman Thomas who continue to regard this war of national liberation as an imperialistic war because of Britain's role in it, and who demagogically exploit the Indian situation for their own disruptive ends. The second stems from official British circles (such as the British Ministry of Information) and from “friends of Britain.” These groups think they can offset anti-British propaganda by painting a glamorized picture of the British Commonwealth of Nations in which Britain is almost made out to be more socialist than the Soviet Union and yet firmly founded on capitalist “free enterprise” in the service of mankind. And the *New York Times* publishes futile and

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incoherent debates between Harold Laski and a Conservative MP on whether Britain has a ruling class!

In contrast, Dutt does not gild the British lion; nor will the Norman Thomases be able to use any part of his book except by distorting it. Dutt is a Marxist and Leninist of the first order; he has already contributed much to the education of the American progressive by his two classics, *Fascism and Social Revolution* (1934) and *World Politics* (1936). NEW MASSES readers know his erudition, his keenness, and comprehensiveness, from his articles in these pages (a condensation of the illuminating chapter on India in this book was published in NEW MASSES, Sept. 15, 1942). His Marxist realism generates confidence; his program stirs to action. In the longest chapter in the volume, "The Face of the Enemy," he brings up to date his analysis and description of fascism begun in his earlier book with new material on the system and philosophy of fascism and the operations of the "New Order" in subjugated Europe.

The chapter on "Strategy for Victory" contains most brilliant writing on the relation of politics to warfare. "Why, for example, was German imperialism the first to elaborate the methods of 'total war' and the blitzkrieg?" . . . "Why did French imperialism, which held military supremacy at Versailles and for so long enjoyed the reputation of the first military power in Europe, become ossified in military technique and sink to the military decay and unpreparedness revealed in 1939-40? . . ." "Why did the French army, which held complete dominance in 1919, equally in tanks and air power against a disarmed Germany, emerge in 1939 with 3,000 tanks against Germany's 7,000 tanks (Dalladier's figures) and 1,030 planes against Germany's 10,000 planes (figures of the Air Minister La Chambre)?" . . . "Why did British imperialism, which emerged from the war of 1914-18 seemingly at the highest point of its strength as a world power, with its German rival seemingly crushed, so rapidly sink to the position of precarious weakness revealed in 1939 and its sequel?" And Dutt answers these questions in unsurpassed pages.

IN THE latter half of the book Dutt analyzes the internal situation in Britain and its effect upon the war effort. What British imperialist monopoly-capitalism did to Britain's productive plant both in industry and agriculture is a caution to read about. But the ability of Britain's ruling class to extend itself and to make up in part for some of its own ruinous past is encouraging from the viewpoint of the war and provocative of thought about the postwar period. Lenin had already observed in his *Imperialism* (1916) that Britain in 1899 showed the symptoms of parasitism connected with the export of capital, deriving, in that year, five

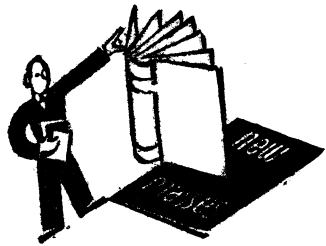
times as much income from foreign investments as it did from foreign trade. By 1929 the Soviet economist Varga indicated the proportion had risen to *sevenfold* as much from foreign investments as from foreign trade; this in what was historically the greatest trading country.

In Dutt you get the full horror, tinted as it is by the consciousness of the United Nations' needs in the war, of the picture of "the peacetime 'scorched earth' policy of the British monopolists." In steel "the British Iron and Steel Federation, the most powerful cartel in the country, directly dominated by the Bank of England, brought down the number of blast furnaces from 394 in 1929 to 200 in 1937, and the number of furnaces in blast from 157 to 134. . . . Since the war steel production is officially stated to have fallen 'slightly below the maximum pre-war rate of 12,500,000 tons.' (*Financial News*, Oct. 8, 1941.)"

In shipbuilding, by a sea power: "Between 1918 and 1938 British shipbuilding capacity was brought down from 3,000,000 tons annually to 2,000,000 tons; dismantled shipbuilding plant was sold as scrap at scrap prices to Germany; skilled workers, today desperately needed, were dispersed."

In agriculture: "Between 1918 and 1939 over 2,000,000 acres were allowed to pass out of cultivation, the decrease in arable land being over 4,000,000 acres." But this situation needs more background: "Between 1871-75 and 1939 the arable area of Britain fell from 18.2 million acres to 11.8 million, or a drop of one-third; the area under crops . . . drop of two-fifths; the area under wheat . . . drop of one-half." This conversion of English soil from essential to unessential uses necessitated, in 1939, the importation of two-thirds of English food supply, *requiring 30,000,000 tons of shipping space* (O, ye shipping bottleneck!). Dutt cites authority to show that there are 16,500,000 acres of reclaimable land. Data officially released (February 1943) since then asserts that 9,000,000 acres have been reclaimed, that England now imports only one-third of its food. Considering the handicaps, that's a fine achievement. But Dutt also and especially considers the possibilities. His program includes "making Britain as nearly as possible self-supporting in food" because "the key to shipping lies in food policy."

Reflecting on the way in which the attraction for British monopoly-capitalists of superprofits derivable from colonial exploitation brought about the systematic dismantling of part of British capitalism's production apparatus provokes this thought on a postwar possibility: even without a colonial empire (most of which is gone or going, and may never return to British or any other domination), a flexible British finance-capitalism, desiring to maintain itself, could still do so by expanding domestic



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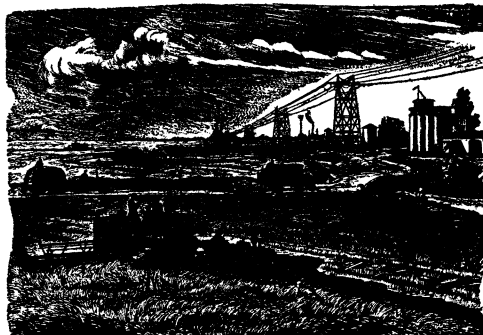
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agricultural and industrial production. During the war the British people are learning how much they can really produce when a national war effort demands it; after the war, the people will be insisting that the government see to it that the capitalists maintain this high peak of production. The essence of imperialism being not the possession of colonies but the monopoly stage of capitalism, could not British monopoly still eke out an "honest" living by the old-fashioned methods of producing for profit instead of seeking still greater profits by curtailing production? While such an expansion of production could never be as unlimited as it would be under socialism, which would break down all tendencies to restriction, it would still make it possible for a vigilant people to improve their condition. If this could be achieved as a result of the efforts of the people and the government, it would facilitate peaceful cooperation between a socialist Soviet Union and a capitalist Britain and the establishment of cooperative relations among all countries.

THE Tory die-hards' alternative is to identify their very survival with the survival of colonialism. And yet it is not up to them alone to decide whether, for instance, India is to continue under British domination. The Axis has something to say. So have the Indian peoples. And all the United Nations have an interest in the problem because it is connected with the military strategy of the United Nations. The ability to distinguish between the essential and the vanishing is of course not easy for a ruling class to maintain. In the past the British ruling class has, when compelled to, been flexible in this respect. The dread alternative may well be our common defeat.

But there is one feature of Dutt's book that will give every reader, British or American, a feeling of the seriousness of the problems confronting the peoples. Written before the June 1942 pacts for the opening of the Western land offensive, the book is clamorous for the second front. But 1942 has gone, Casablanca has come, weeks have gone since Casablanca, and Dutt's words on the second front are still timely. The people must move more massively to affect strategy and timing. Palme Dutt's *Britain in the World Front* will help them move.

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WITH BULLET AND WHIP

"Diary of a Nazi," a Soviet film of Hitler terror in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia. Privation, humiliation, death—and unconquerable resistance. Reviewed by Joy Davidman.

THE letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. A great many war films, wishing to convey the atmosphere of war, give you several reels of high explosive, aerial photography of bombed cities, a dozen of our battleships blasting away at two dozen of the enemy's. All very good reporting, and curiously unreal. For you have only one man's eyes to see with; and one man in war does not make an impressive newspaper survey; he sees the little bit of ground or sea or air it is his job to cover, and the little heap of dead schoolgirls where the Nazis have passed. *Diary of a Nazi*, the new Soviet film at the Stanley, abandons the massed tanks and the air formations to concentrate on a starving girl in a Warsaw street, a Czech truckdriver, an old fisherwoman firing the thatch of her house to light the way for the Red Army. And this is war; here are the real terror and the real courage.

A Nazi post is captured, and the regimental records are discovered. It has an eventful and shameful history, this regiment; much experience in shooting down women in the streets of Poland. One of its "cases" begins in Warsaw on a rainy day.

The illusion of reality is superbly conveyed here. Naive film-makers try for that illusion by painstaking reconstruction of background; to give you Paris, they flash from the Eiffel Tower to the Arc de Triomphe to Notre Dame, swoop over the rooftops to Montmartre, close up on an attic window and announce smugly in superimposed print: Paris, 1930. Skillful film-makers use suggestion and association; *Diary of a Nazi* gives you the heartbreaking sense of living in conquered Warsaw, merely through a crowd of hunched shabby people, walking under umbrellas through the rain, each one offering the other something for sale. An ashtray, a cap, a baby's sweater; they hawk every scrap that they have, and there are no buyers. Do you have to be told in elaborate detail that they are starving?

And a thin girl begins to read a Communist leaflet, calling for resistance to the Nazis. The moving umbrellas swing round in a flurry, they converge; there is a huddle of umbrellas round a single spot in the rain.

A member of the "Super-Race" appears

—porcine, with the Hitler mustache that is obviously a point of vanity. With him is his super-son, a fourteen-year-old with an offensive swagger. The gross man, the repulsive child, are only there for a moment; yet they give us the picture of Hitlerized education that *Hitler's Children*, with all its careful documentation, never quite succeeded in giving.

But this is the story of Poles in a section of Warsaw; they are shot by the dozen in revenge for one German officer killed, they die crying for revolt, they spring forward suddenly against the leveled guns and annihilate the squad of Nazi soldiers sent to destroy them. The girl who stirred them to action lies dead; but others go on speaking. These are the people waiting to rise against the Nazis; waiting through day after bitter day of hunger and typhoid, whips and bullets; to whom we offer the sustaining comfort of a vague promise—decisive battle in 1944, perhaps. These are the people who are dying while we delay.

And there is the Czech peasant, driving his truck with a pistol at his head—driving a Nazi regiment sent to massacre a rebellious village—driving it over the great cliff, where once before other Czechs de-

stroyed other Germans. There is the Czech girl, chained up in a dog kennel for the pleasure of Nazi soldiers. Finally there is the Red Army, an army not only of men with guns but of old women and boys and songs and memories; the army which puts the Nazi regiment where it can commit no more horrors.

Diary of a Nazi brings the war as savagely home to you as if you got a Nazi whip across your face. Its complete realism is partly due to the great tradition of Soviet acting, a tradition quite at variance with the romantic individualism of our own screen. Ginger Rogers may play a salesgirl, but it is always an extra-special salesgirl, with more charm, better looks, a greater talent, or even a more deserving character than her companions; emphasis is always placed on her uniqueness; and this emphasis is inseparable from the star system. But the Soviet actress is part of a cooperative group; and the salesgirl she might play would be one of a group of equals; the emphasis is on individual dignity; but not a dignity attained through invidious contrast with the surrounding population. *Diary of a Nazi* illustrates this democracy of acting. Its old woman and fisher-boy are



The children learn you'g. From "Diary of a Nazi."

heroes not by contrast with the neighbors, but equally with the neighbors.

But *Diary of a Nazi* owes its overwhelming beauty and power to something even deeper than this tradition. Its people are fighting; they are not making excuses. They have no need to romanticize their actions; to cheat themselves into a sense of duty done by wearing jewelry in the shape of a V or Victory Lipstick in the shape of a bomb. *Diary of a Nazi* is about the simple facts of privation and humiliation and death, and of unconquerable resistance. That is why it is a true and convincing and exciting war film.

"FOREVER AND A DAY" was made by practically all the British actors in Hollywood as a gift to the infantile paralysis fight. They put it together in their spare time, under the leadership of Sir Cedric Hardwicke, and they obviously had a whale of a good time doing it. Here, if you like, is a truly cooperative project; actors, directors, and writers all working together with no profit involved. Stars appear joyously in bit parts; glamour is exchanged for gusto. In consequence, *Forever and a Day* is one of the liveliest pieces of entertainment Hollywood has produced in a long, long time.

An exception must be made of its framework. A good portrait in a rotten bad frame, *Forever and a Day* is the story of a house in London from its building to its destruction in the blitz. A twentieth century beginning and ending, during a current air raid, provide a limply acted and lachrymously written chunk of drivel about the dear old place. It appears to be a film convention that houses are to be loved in proportion to the number of people who have lived there before you; consequently the twentieth century owner of this old place wanders on about the sacredness of the ancestral ghosts, some of them admittedly rats. Sentimentality about the past, merely because it is past, is hardly a reasonable or even healthy reaction to the contemporary world.

Fortunately *Forever and a Day* shows no such sentimentality when it really comes to grips with the past. Its admirals and butterfly collectors and Victorian ladies are played far more for human failings than dignity, and their tragic moments consequently gain in sincerity and force. C. Aubrey Smith, condemned to stalk through so many Hollywood films as a grim Profile of an Elder Statesman, has a field day with the bloodthirsty, lovable, and absurd admiral who built the house; Ian Hunter and Jessie Matthews contribute exquisite satires of the Victorian incumbents; Ida Lupino and Brian Aherne are all over the place as a parlormaid of the nineties and her young man; and Cedric Hardwicke lays aside the dignified villainy of his usual role to be a magnificently comic plumber. Even Queen Victoria's Jubilee appears as

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a ludicrous collections of horses' hoofs and military boots to the little housemaid who can only see it from the basement.

Forever and a Day becomes something more than good fun, however, because war runs through it like the tolling of a bell. The admiral's boy is killed at Trafalgar, and what might be slushy is kept dignified by Mr. Smith's beautifully restrained playing; more than a century later a young flyer is killed in the first world war, and Roland Young provides perhaps the film's finest moment in his portrayal of that boy's father. There is a sense of the continuity of life in this film, unifying it far more than its unnecessary introduction and conclusion. Altogether it is an arresting example of what Hollywood personnel can do in a cooperative endeavor, and a worthy contribution to social progress. One might suggest that American actors follow the example of the British by similarly making and donating a film to the fight against rheumatic fever—a far more deadly and menacing disease than poliomyelitis, and one who dangers are too often overlooked.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Soap Opera

An unhappy Rockefeller . . . and very little else. . . "Playboy of Newark."

"A POLOGY," a new play by Charles Schnee, which opened at the Mansfield Theater on March 22, has all the outward trappings of a Thornton Wilder. Inside, it is a daytime soap opera. For when you take away the slide pictures of prehistoric animals, the wandering narrator, and the semi-scenery, you are left with straight radio serial hoke.

There is this poor little rich kid, see, who grows up to be an unhappy Rockefeller, all cold and alone, sipping his hot milk. In between you have the poor little rich girl, and the poor little poor girl. Plus the college roommate who hides his unrequited love, the dear old Fraulein, the phony Italian janitor, and the comic store detective. The narrator apologizes in the beginning for telling the story of one man's life when the headlines scream with total war. Now there's nothing wrong with telling an individual story, provided that single life touches with any significance on all our lives. But Albert Warner, the central character, is completely unbelievable. No Rockefeller was ever so paper-thin. At the age of thirteen little Albert asks his father: "Daddy, are we millionaires?" Pause, and Daddy takes the cigar out of his mouth to murmur thoughtfully, "I guess so sonny. Never thought about it before, but I guess we are." Later the clue to the whole play is given in this charming philosophy of ambiguity when the father remarks: "Maybe there's an answer somewhere and we haven't found it yet. Maybe there's an

answer and we'll never find it. Maybe there just isn't any answer."

In the course of the play the present people's war for national survival and liberation is declared to be merely a continuation of the 1914-18 war. That last one "fought the first battle of this war." Schnee himself says this in the character of the narrator who addresses the audience directly. And at the end of the play, when the middle-aged Moneybags decides to redeem his past life by joining the army, he does so in a vague capacity as a very high officer. He worries about wanting to enlist when his whole former life has been a refutation of this new position. "Don't worry," he is comforted. "You don't have to have a reason for what's right. After all, does pain have a reason? Or fear?" I always thought your finger hurt because you cut it.

The acting is more than adequate, but even the combined names of Elissa Landi, Erin O'Brien-Moore, Theodore Newton, and Thelma Schnee (the author's sister) were not enough to save it. An Apology is in order indeed. BEN WEBSTER.



AS IF one Saroyan were not too many, the Provincetown Playhouse gave out the other day with a large secondhand soapbubble of whimsy about the screwy people who, it seems, infest Huntington, Long Island. Following the hackneyed and always false plot of *The Passing of the Third Floor Back* and many, many others, this *Playboy of Newark* deals with a religious swindler who took innocent people's money to build a second Noah's ark. But, it seems, he left sweetness and light behind him where all had previously been family fights. Also he returned the money in time for the final curtain.

This sufficiently meaningless idea was further enlivened by impromptu vaudeville in which the entire cast cavorted round the kitchen and juggled the dishes. There was an old man who talked to invisible chickens and dreamed of going to Utah—again and again and again—there was a magic lantern show in which the population of Huntington ooh'd with ecstasy over enlarged picture-postcards. Too much brooding upon the simplicities of suburban life had apparently convinced the author that outside of New York there are no movie houses.

Mr. Saroyan seems to have persuaded some of our aspiring playwrights that the symptoms of mental arrest, displayed by a dozen or so abused actors, are all that is needed to make a play. At any rate, *The Playboy of Newark* contained nothing but ceaseless and unfunny babble; no structure, no emotion, no knowledge of people, no ideas, no incidents, no sense. The only thing to differentiate it from the work of the Maestro was that Saroyan, at least, writes out of his own peculiar mind; while *The Playboy of Newark* appeared to be

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written not out of conviction but the wistful hope that if this sort of thing made money for others, it might stretch to cover the author's nakedness. The tragedy is that a competent cast and as able a director as Sanford Meisner should put so much hard work into such ineptitude. J. D.

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A recital with audience appeal. . . .
Folk dances from Spain.

ARGENTINITA and her company gave their only recital of the season at Carnegie Hall on Sunday, March 21. The program included sensitively reconstructed folk dances from the provinces of Spain, gypsy improvisations, some Garcia Lorca dance songs, a version of Ravel's "Bolero," and a Peruvian folk dance. Argentinita possesses little of the fiery temperament and violence of a Carmen Amaya. Instead, she creates on a more subtle and delicate plane, utilizing impeccable taste in costuming and a quiet theatrical quality which has its unique charm—and certainly great audience appeal, judging from the "Oles" which a well-filled house gave her after each number. The most sensitive numbers were those set to Garcia Lorca's music and words: "Fiesta" and "Zorongo Gitano."

Pilar Lopez, Argentinita's sister and assistant artist, dances with more display, but less feeling for the form.

The men, Jose Greco and Manolo Vargas, were adequate as contributing artists. I can't say as much for the pianist, Alejandro Vilalta.

FRANCIS STEUBEN.

Still Counterattacking

IT IS good news that "Counter-attack," Philip and Janet Stevenson's splendid drama of our Soviet ally's resistance to the Nazis, is not only still playing but has moved to a new theater, the Adelphi (54th St. east of 7th Ave.) and is now showing at popular prices. People who have not yet seen the play should not miss this opportunity—some New York critics notwithstanding, "Counterattack" is a rousing piece of drama, authentic and inspiring.

ORDER L-240

Dear Reader:

Perhaps you have never seen the War Production Board announcement of December 31 last: Part 3133—Printing and Publishing, General Limitation Order L-240. It requires magazines to reduce their paper consumption by 10 percent of the amount used in 1942. NEW MASSES, of course, took steps to conform fully to this order. We now bring L-240 to your attention—because you can play a crucial role in enabling us to follow the letter and spirit of the order without curtailing our role in helping to win the war.

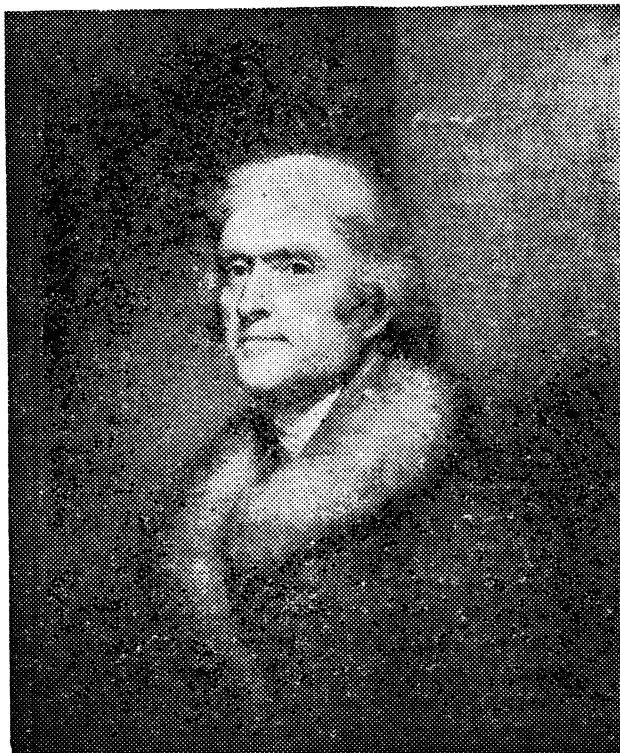
For L1240 COULD mean, simply, that NM must print only nine copies in 1943 for every ten printed last year. It COULD easily mean ten percent less readers. But WITH YOUR HELP, this will not happen. Will you give that help? You can do it in either one of two ways. But please chose one and follow it regularly:

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Business Manager.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ANNIVERSARY ISSUE



OUT NEXT WEEK

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A. LANDY: "MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY"

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