

# CAN THE WEHRMACHT KEEP GOING?

by COLONEL T.

NOVEMBER 2  
1945

# NEW MASSES

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## THE TRUTH ABOUT BELGIUM

by HENRI DE MAAS

## EARL BROWDER:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

## YOUR TAXES AFTER THE WAR

by J. R. WILSON

*Also in this issue: Koestler's Devious Defeatism, by Joel Bradford; Zita's Boy, by Albert Wiener; The Irresponsibles, by The Editors; Stage for Action, by Harry Taylor; Gropper greets the New Year.*

# BETWEEN OURSELVES

**F**RIENDS, gather round the wassail bowl  
While we push up the Nazi casualty toll

Quaff a hooker for those who fight  
And also for those who paint and write.

The editors—North, Magil and the others—  
Can't knit or bake you a cake like mother's,

But what we can do, which we do in great cheer,  
Is wish you a happy and gladsome New Year

Which includes all our readers wherever they are  
In Brooklyn, Troy, or in Zanzibar

In Chicago, in Kansas and even in Erie  
Who read us for fact and also for theory.

In victory too we extend our hand  
To all the supporters of Teheran.

Friends, an extra glass for Morris Schappes  
Whose parole calls for downing some extra schnappes.

The season's best to all the West Coast  
(Whose numbers add up to quite a host):

To Ruth and Bruce and Marge De Armand  
And all their friends who are bright and *charmant*—

The Lawsons, the Rossens and the HDC,  
And its members who fight for democracy.

The Chodorov brothers and Ring, Jr.,  
Lardner  
To say nothing of Johnny and Virginia Gardner

And even though we have no mike  
We shout our greetings to Joe and Ike,

The United Nations, including Winnie,  
To Lillian Hellman and the good Col. T.

Bill Gropper, L. Berman, the Kukriniksi,  
The Fasts, Sam Sillen and the Red Army,

To Helen Keller and Helen West Heller,  
Plus Ehrenburg, who is quite a feller.

To our many, many friends of old—  
Davidman, Giles and Michael Gold.

To our contemporaries, so numerous to mention  
(If only we had a friend named Jensen!)

The Wilners, the Garlins and Crockett Johnson.

There's more to come, so your tankards refill—  
Did I mention Paul Robeson or even Joe Hill?

Or the Bradfords, Joel, Mister and Madam?  
Christophorides, or Lapin, Adam?

And what about some lads named Soyer—  
Or the prolific Richard Boyer?

So drain your glass and not too slow  
There's still Dave Platt and sportsman Low Ajay and Marcantonio;

Newberger and Katz on legalities bent,  
Whose pages and briefs keep us all innocent.

And once again to the spirits yield  
For Starobin and Freddy Field,

For Browder and Minor and Gurley Flynn  
And their endless supporters who fight to win.

For Foster and the *Daily Worker* too,  
And the unions who labor for us and for you.

Since we have so little space left to go on  
We include all the others in one huge "and so on."

**I**N CLOSING this salutation to all  
We invite you to come to Webster Hall  
To partake of our New Year's Eve Costume Ball. J. F.



## NEW MASSES

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## THE TRUTH ABOUT BELGIUM

By **HENRI DE MAAS**

*As we go to press the cables carry news of continued Nazi advances into Belgium. Simultaneously dispatches tell of the offer of Fernand DeMany, general secretary of the Front de l'Indépendance, of Belgium, to remobilize the Belgian resistance groups for Allied use against the Nazi advance. The offer has been rejected by Maj. Gen. Erskine, head of the Allied Military Mission in Belgium. We believe this refusal is a mistake that arises from the policy which led to the tragic events in Brussels several weeks ago. The article below throws the spotlight on events in Belgium, explaining the position of the resistance movement in that country, and the errors that have been made by the Allied authorities in dealing with the Belgian patriots.*

THE present German offensive has revealed the bankruptcy of Belgian Hubert Pierlot's attitude towards the Belgian underground army and his refusal to accede to resistance leaders' proposals to use it as the nucleus for reconstruction of a new army. That blind policy is today costing precious American lives, has opened the gates of Belgium to the enemy only three months after its liberation and proves the Belgian resistance movement's correct policy—"Every effort to win the war will also win the peace."

In every liberated country the first open clash between reactionary leaders and the resistance movement has occurred over the question of the secret armies of liberation which were encouraged by the Allied military leaders and by the governments in exile and which in all cases swelled into a people's army. Only in France has the underground army—the FFI (French Forces of the Interior)—been accepted as an integral part of the new army. And in France divisions of these experienced and brave fighters have helped clear Alsace of the enemy, are pinning German garrisons in the Atlantic coast ports and are keeping open and defended against German surprise attack—including airborne sabo-

tage attack—vital highways, railroads and bridges on which Allied armies in the field depend for their supplies in the midst of battle.

In Greece and in Belgium the liberation movements, which admire and respect their underground armies as the cream of all their efforts for liberation, urged that these men be used to prosecute the war against Germany and to assist in the occupation of her territory. They have urged that their governments make a real contribution to the speedy victory of the United Nations cause, and take their share of casualties and national effort in liberating their nations from German control. The reactionary governments of both Belgium and Greece have rejected this policy, and opened their frontiers to invasion and their internal front to enemy agents.

EARLY in 1941 British and Belgian officials in London agreed to the creation of a nucleus of fighting Belgian underground forces, to be known as the *Armée Secrète*. This clandestine organization was formed of officers' cadres from the old army, but contained genuinely anti-Nazi elements. They were

dropped certain military supplies and provided with means of communication.

In the beginning this force was given a limited objective, to maintain a careful counter-intelligence service and keep the Allied armies informed of all German moves in the country. But the people of Belgium demanded further action, the slowing of enemy exploitation of Belgian agriculture and industry and of troop and munitions movements in the country by carefully planned sabotage.

Premier Pierlot refused Belgian underground proposals to enlarge the army to give it mass backing for such sabotage work. On the pretense that this would endanger the property and lives of innocent Belgians, Pierlot and his reactionary government acquiesced in the full German exploitation of their country. This led eventually to the export to Germany of hundreds of thousands of the best Belgian workers as slave labor.

Pierlot in 1942 showed his dangerous attitude on this question. Late in 1941 the Belgian underground smuggled one of its leading men, Senator Henri Rolin (Socialist) out to England. A courageous reserve officer who had fought in both World War I and II, Rolin was named Minister of War. He immediately proposed the formation of a mass underground army, to be directed by specially trained Belgian officers who had managed to reach England, and of special Belgian army units which would accompany the Allied armies in the liberation offensive to help the final organization of the mass national uprising.

The reactionaries of the Belgian government in exile, fearing that the armed uprising of the nation would create a "dangerously unstable" situation at the moment of liberation, turned this plan down. Pierlot fired Rolin as Minister of War, assumed that post himself, and put through an alternate plan by which individual Belgians joined British units.

Belgian youth who managed to reach England fought courageously as pilots in the RAF, as specialized paratroop soldiers and as infantry and artillery men in small units not exceeding regimental



Weinzweig

strength. The Belgian reactionaries in London refused to let their countrymen take a leading part in the liberation of their own country.

Worse still, as the date of invasion approached, the Allied command, seeking maximum internal support inside the occupied countries, tried to induce Pierlot to allow it to use the small cadres of the Belgian *Armee Secrete* as the nucleus for mass arming and guerrilla operation of resistance units inside Belgium.

Pierlot refused, although special liaison officers of the Belgian liberation movement had made a number of dangerous missions to England to point out that more than 100,000 men had been organized into compact, unarmed units trained and prepared for guerrilla intervention in the coming liberation campaign. All they needed were arms. Pierlot refused to allow Allied strategists to supply these arms, explaining that it would create a dangerous situation in the country.

Only under pressure did Pierlot permit arms to be dropped secretly in some quantity to the *Armee Secrete* in the months preceding the western invasion campaign. In this way the *Armee Secrete* managed to increase its armed members to almost 15,000 men. Their activity, despite much opposition from some of the old-line reactionary officers, was finally coordinated with the liberation clandestine organization, and joint sabotage and division attacks on German units were carried out by their combined forces. In this way some German arms were acquired to permit the arming of some of the vast potential army of underground fighters.

When General Eisenhower, in the midst of the campaign through France, appealed to Belgian patriots to assist the progress of Allied armies by striking at the enemy's rear communications, the Belgian underground made one last desperate attempt to get sufficient arms by parachute to carry out this logical policy. The arms never came. Pierlot had again objected and the War Office in England, from which arms shipments were made to underground forces, did not act.

THE underground army in Belgium, at the moment of liberation, did not exceed 20,000 armed men out of a potential force of 100,000. All differences which had formerly existed between the *Armee Secrete* and the *Front de l'Independence*, Belgium's national liberation

front, had been ironed out. *Armee Secrete* units armed by Allied parachute drops and liberation men who had armed themselves by heroic attacks against German forces combined their operations in the *Armee Blanche* (the White Army). But even to the last day they were never given a direct contact with Allied operations, so that their blows could have maximum effect, as the French were able to do through their FFI commander, General Koenig, sitting at Allied Supreme Headquarters.

Yet the White Army fought with great courage and startling success. Improvised military plans were executed, and the maximum disorganization and damage inflicted on the German armies falling back from France.

ALLIED military authorities admit that the Belgian underground was instrumental in preventing the Germans from carrying out extensive flooding operations which could have made Belgium into a water defense line such as the Nazis finally established in Holland. It was the audacity and courage of a small but powerful White Army force that liberated and held the vital port of Antwerp, saving its extensive port installations as an isolated island in the midst of German forces. Only days later were the Allied armies able to push a relief column through to Antwerp and to secure the port. Allied leaders have paid a tribute to those heroic Belgians who had saved Antwerp, key to maintenance of the Allied front when it came up against the German Westwall positions.

When the Pierlot government returned to Belgium, they found White Army units providing valuable assistance to the Allied armies which had pushed on with all forces that could be spared to attempt a breakthrough of the German defenses. White Army sentinels guarded all road and railway bridges against possible sabotage by parachutists or agents left behind by the retreating enemy. They provided a security police well informed of German Gestapo methods and personnel, weeding out enemy agents—both German and Belgian—who had been deliberately left behind to keep the German High Command informed of Allied movements. And the Allies found the White Army working in the closest and friendliest contact with all the Belgian liberation movement and clamoring for an energetic political program for Belgium's participation in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Belgian White Army, like the

liberation movement, called for the quick formation of a Belgian volunteer army, based on the experienced fighters of the underground front, and purged of all reactionary and backward officers from the old Belgian army who had been compromised with the Germans and had been idle for four years. They urged a real program on Belgium's big armaments industry to supply both the new Belgian army and the Allied armies in the field.

When Hubert Pierlot arrived with his entire government staff in two RAF planes especially provided to rush them to liberated Belgium, he refused a request from all leading political, intellectual and administrative personalities for inclusion of a representative number of ministers from the national committee of the *Front de l'Independence*, which had directed all anti-German activities inside the country throughout the occupation. The central committee of the *Front de l'Independence* was composed of some of Belgium's leading personalities, and had the confidence of the masses of people, whose opinions it truly represented. In the end, Pierlot accepted only one minister from the committee, DeMany.

Instead of accepting *Front de l'Independence* cooperation in establishing a really representative government, Pierlot charged that the organization had become too influenced by Communist views. He sought to get leading members of the *Front de l'Independence* into secondary government jobs, and quickly sent some of them abroad on government missions.

While Belgium's underground fighters, after many years of direct struggle against the Nazis, the Gestapo and their Belgian collaborators and hirelings, warned that the last stage of the war would be hard and bitter and that Belgium's role in the peace would be based entirely upon Belgium's contribution to Allied success, Pierlot and his government, showing their usual lack of foresight and judgment, insisted that the war was almost over and that Belgium need think only of reconstruction and resumption of peacetime action.

WITHIN one month of their return the government had taken a number of decisions which clearly revealed this naive and dangerous outlook in practice.

1. While boasting that Belgium had been the most vigorous country in taking action and arresting collaborators—



it was claimed that 40,000 collaborators were in prison awaiting trial—every legal technicality was employed to postpone rapid justice against leading collaborators, more than 200 of whom had been caught turning over Belgian patriots to the Gestapo. Most collaborators had been rounded up by the *Armee Secrete* and the White Army, and Pierlot soon ordered that they should desist from all arrests. Great public indignation over the slowness of trials was aroused throughout the country. (By the end of November only four collaborators had been sentenced to death and all four, caught *flagrante delicto* in the execution of patriots—were still awaiting two further appeals in the courts.)

2. The freezing of all currency, which first won popular approval in the belief it was aimed against profiteers, soon proved more beneficial to industrialists and other monied groups and caused a freezing of the normal commercial activity of the country. Whereas all currency turned into the banks could only be released up to 3,000 francs per month, an exception was made in the case of those who could prove possession

of bank accounts *before* permitting them to draw up to ten percent of their former bank accounts. Belgium entered the war in 1940. Only rich people and a small section of the upper middle class held bank accounts in Belgium in that period. Ten percent on big fortunes gave tremendous sums at once to leading business men, bankers, industrialists, and the upper section of the bourgeoisie. Many farmers and a majority of Belgium's small shopkeepers had never had bank accounts, and were unable to buy their current requirements. Instead of becoming a major blow against the black market, these financial measures only nourished it. In many communities grocers were unable to supply their customers with the simplest staples of life, such as bread, sugar, milk, etc., because they could not pay cash to the retailers. Black market operations were soon flourishing more widely than under the Germans.

3. The government absolutely refused all demands of the trade unions and the *Front de l'Independence* for the nationalization of certain key war industries, whose owners had openly produced to

the maximum for the Germans, and who had begun a violent sabotage of all efforts to revive production for the Belgian and Allied war effort.

To these significant failures of the government, all so clearly indicative of government efforts to return the economy and life of the nation to pre-1940 conditions, was added the final decision to disarm the *Armee Secrete*.

The army officers in the *Armee Secrete* urged the government to hasten the rapid organization of their forces into the Belgian army, and to take steps to revive the non-existent army. Refusing to face the political changes that would be necessary to reshuffle the antiquated, reactionary army cadres, the government turned down the suggestion. The *Armee Secrete*, now merged into the open White Army, continued to patrol highways, to guard bridges and to catch German agents and hidden Rexist (Belgian fascist) collaborators who were a danger to the nation. Embarrassed by this activity, which had won mass support, the government decided to rid itself of the White Army, and ordered its members to hand over their arms to the police—who had survived throughout the war as loyal agents of the same forces which Pierlot represented. When mass public demonstrations—composed of the people, not the members of the White Army—took place, Pierlot, frightened, forced Allied military authorities into publicly backing his decision by painting an alleged picture of revolution and public disorder. Despite the tales which were circulated to sustain this lie, Allied military authorities have had to admit that no incidents occurred between the White Army and their own troops.

Today Belgium is paying the price of a blind, reactionary government which made no provision for the vigorous prosecution of the war, or the elimination of Nazis and their agents in the country. The role of Spaak, whip of the Socialist party and government minister of Foreign Affairs who holds the balance of power in the Pierlot government, cannot be overstressed. The young leader of the party, Spaak has been intent upon building his personal power. He has imposed his control over the party, and is rapidly trying to extend it to the trade union movement. His anti-Soviet, appeasement policy is known to all Belgians. His has been the dominant influence in Pierlot's refusal to deal with the *Front de l'Independence*—Belgium's resistance movement.

# CAN THE GERMANS KEEP GOING?

By COLONEL T.

SECRETARY of War Stimson has said that he has full confidence in General Eisenhower's ability to stop the current German counter-offensive. And Mr. Stimson added that in case of success the war might be shortened instead of being lengthened. In my opinion Mr. Stimson is absolutely correct.

Obviously, day by day and hour by hour analysis of the current operation is impossible because of the complete news blackout imposed by SHAEF. This blackout is indispensable inasmuch as the enemy, deprived of aerial reconnaissance by our superiority in the air and by the foul weather, often does not know where we are and even where some of his own troops are. At this writing we know, however, that the first wave of the German push consisted of about fifteen divisions, of which six are reported to be tank divisions. All in all probably not more than 150,000 men and 1,000 tanks. The offensive developed on a sixty-mile front, between the Roer and the Moselle. On the fourth day (December 10) it had stabbed inside the lines of the First American Army to a depth of twenty-five to thirty miles in the center of the Belgian sector (Stavelot on the Warche River). It would seem that the Germans are attempting to wedge themselves between General Simpson's Ninth US Army and General Patton's Third, splitting General Hodges's First. General Eisenhower's strategic reserves are most probably still somewhere west of the big bend of the Meuse, or west of the Namur-Sedan line. The decisive battlefield in the present operation will most probably be the quadrangle formed by the Meuse and the Chiers Rivers and staked out by Liege, Namur, Dinant, Sedan and Arlon. This *place d'armes* is cut in two from north to south by the zigzag course of the Ourthe River which thus offers an intermediate frontal defense position. The flank, or "bolt," positions are the lines of the Meuse between Namur and Liege and the Vesdres between Liege and Eupen in the north and the double line of the parallel rivers Semoy and Chiers in the south. *The holding of the two bolt positions is the most important thing right now.*

The Germans having had the initiative, because they did the attacking, had a head start over us. Because of that

our large-scale counter measures involving the maneuver of strategic reserves will take time and may not become apparent before a week from now. (I write this on December 22.) Thus German advances in a westward direction should not be taken with undue alarm. In a situation like this "*the flank's the thing.*"

This is all that can be said at this time about how things are going. However, the German convulsion may be viewed in perspective from the observation point of military history. We yield to none in circumspection when it comes to historical parallels. However, such parallels may be useful from time to time, especially when precedents pile up on one side for a number of years.

Nobody doubts that the war has entered the phase which, with a number of reservations, can be likened to the spring of 1918. German manpower reserves are low. Germany is isolated in its lair. An overwhelming coalition stands arrayed against it. (Instead of being "out," Russia is overwhelmingly "in" the war.) Germany has lost the seas. It has lost almost all its allies and satellites. Inside Germany havoc from the air has doubtless been wrought, even if not to the point advertised by our civilian air experts. In these two latter

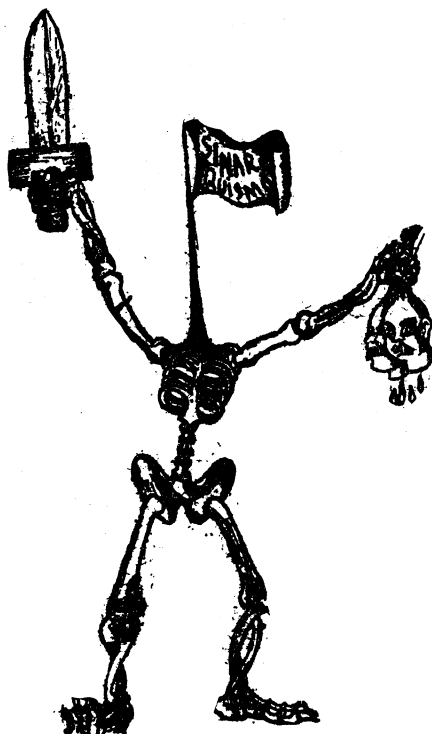
respects the 1944 situation is worse for Germany than it was in early 1918.

The present German offensive can be, in a general way, compared with Ludendorff's offensive in March-July, 1918. Let us see what happened then, basically: Early in 1918 the Allies, after a lot of arguing, had rejected Sir Douglas Haig's offensive plan for the summer and had decided to remain on the defensive until 1919. However, Foch offered a compromise plan which envisaged some offensive action in 1918. Anglo-French frictions developed on the question of the creation of an "inter-Allied strategic reserve" of thirty divisions. The Haig-Petain feud blocked the creation of such a reserve. The question of a united Allied High Command was not solved, either.

Aware of this situation Ludendorff decided to strike, with the primary objective of routing the British. On March 21 he launched an offensive in Picardy between Arras and La Fere. He struck with three armies, using sixty-two infantry divisions, 6,600 guns and 1,000 planes, on a front of some fifty miles. The Germans rampaged for a week, penetrating the Allied front to a depth of thirty miles in the center. On March 26 the Allies agreed on a unified command, which was entrusted to Foch. On March 27 the goddess of war stopped smiling on the Germans. True, General Gough's British Fifth Army was shattered, but Foch plugged the hole with reserves. On April 4 the German offensive petered out. A salient was created, but that was about all. The Allied front remained unbroken. Amiens was not captured. The Germans simply did not have enough men to carry through.

Ludendorff followed up with an offensive in Flanders on April 9. Here he used thirty-nine divisions against thirty-five Allied divisions. He achieved tactical success, punched another salient into the Allied front, but failed to rout the British and throw them into the sea (which was his basic idea). Between April 27 and May 27 Ludendorff rested and recovered from his failures.

On May 27 the German Aisne offensive began on a forty-mile front, between Rheims and Soissons, with twenty-five infantry divisions, 4,000 guns and 700 planes, against eleven



From "Futuro"

French divisions. On the first day the Germans forced the Aisne and penetrated to a depth of twelve miles, crossing the Vesle and capturing many prisoners and booty. On May 29 they had forged to a depth of twenty-five miles, crossing the Ourcq. On June 10 they had reached the Villers-Cotteret Forest and the Marne at Chateau-Thierry. The total penetration was about forty miles deep. On June 11 the French, who had been steadily accumulating reserves around the German-made salient, counterattacked vigorously with four divisions and 150 tanks. The German offensive petered out, due basically to lack of manpower and materiel. It was clear that the Germans could not sustain a large offensive.

The last gasp came on July 15 when Ludendorff launched another attack on both sides of Rheims. It was heralded by the German High Command as the last offensive to achieve victory. But all the enemy could muster for this Marne blow was seven divisions and 2,000 guns. Although he crossed the Marne, Ludendorff nevertheless understood that the jig was up. On July 17 he broke off the offensive. On July 18 the French struck at Villers-Cotteret. The end had begun. Thus we see that the Germans struck with hopes of victory when their strength was obviously inadequate. *Thus we see that a German offensive is not necessarily proof of German strength.* Furthermore, the present German leadership is much less sane than that of 1918.

LET us now turn to the present war and examine German offensive operations in its period following the turning point of late 1942 at Stalingrad (and El-Alamein). Leaving out of our considerations such small-scale actions as the German counterblows at Krivoi Rog, Uman, Proskurov, Kolomea, Tukkums, Praha, Kassarine Pass, at the Falaise Gap, etc., let us examine the character, strength and results of the major German counteroffensives, of which there were four during the last two years—not counting the present counteroffensive in Belgium and Luxembourg. These offensives were launched at Kotelnikov, on the Donetz, at Kursk and Zhitomir. (Since then, i.e., during the last year, there have been no major German offensive efforts in the East at all.)

In December 1942, von Mannstein struck with seven infantry and four tank divisions at Kotelnikov in order to re-



### Black Market Annie

**The government's trying to starve us,  
Giving the Army good meat,  
When after a thirty-mile march the boys  
Are surely too tired to eat.**

**As for Lend-Leasing I really can't see  
Why our allies should rate it:  
They've fought on short rations so long  
They'd never appreciate it.**



lieve von Paulus encircled at Stalingrad. The offensive was a complete failure and Mannstein was thrown back as far as Rostov.

In February 1943, the German High Command launched a great counteroffensive between the bend of the Dnieper and the Donetz in order to stop the progress of Malinovsky to the Dnieper and counteract the threat thus posed to all the German troops in the Donetz Basin and in the Kuban region. The Germans used twelve infantry, twelve tank and one motorized division. The counteroffensive lasted about a month and pushed the Red Army back about seventy miles on a 100-mile front. This was the only successful defensive-offensive operation the Germans have launched in the last two years. It eliminated the Soviet bulge south-west of the Donetz. However, it failed to force the Kursk salient back.

The next German offensive was launched on July 5, 1943, against the Kursk salient, which had survived the German onslaught six months before. Two groups with a total of fifteen panzer divisions and fifteen infantry and motorized divisions went into action. Later they were reinforced with another score of divisions. The offensive lasted

little more than a week and came to grief, with the Red Army starting its own offensive which carried it to the Dnieper three months later.

The last big German offensive effort was launched west of Kiev in November, 1943. Here von Mannstein attacked with ten panzer and more than ten infantry divisions on a front of about 125 miles (along an arc) and achieved a penetration of up to thirty-five miles. The unsuccessful effort lasted about six weeks and achieved only a defensive success: the German armies inside the bend of the Dnieper were saved from encirclement.

THUS we see that all the German offensive efforts of the latter part of World War I and during the past two years of this war never hastened German victory, but only retarded somewhat German defeat. As a matter of fact the last Ludendorff offensive probably hastened German defeat considerably; remembering this the German High Command has not attempted any large-scale offensive action on the Eastern Front, i.e., against the most powerful opponent, as they had done in the west in 1918.

The present German counter-offensive in Belgium and Luxembourg should be viewed in the light of these precedents. Its objectives are not victory in the purely military sense, but a possible political victory through prolongation of the war and the exploitation of inter-Allied friction. Its aims are also: disruption of the offensive plans of the Allies for this winter, keeping the decisive battles from German soil and, of course, weakening the Western Allies as much as possible. This is the best the Germans can achieve.

However, by their bold plunge into the fighting space described in the beginning of this review, the Germans are creating wonderful opportunities for the Allies, who can cut off the entire German salient roughly along the Liege-Arlon line and stage a new "Stalingrad" near the site of the classic "Sedan."

The present German drive should shock us all out of any trace of complacency, but it should not be permitted to plunge us into an abyss of gloom. The thing is serious, but the situation is not desperate by any means. After all, two-thirds of the Wehrmacht are tied up elsewhere. Ludendorff in March, 1918, had almost the entire German Army at his disposal in the West, and failed.

# THE IRRESPONSIBLES

By THE EDITORS

THIS has not been a very joyful holiday season. How could it be? While the enemy can still gather men and thrust them forward on a fairly wide front, the Christmas-New Year tidings will not be the happiest. They should be the occasion for the most hard-headed thinking. Santa Claus is a child's delight but mature men and women will have to remember that the one gift he does not bring is victory. The reminder may hardly seem necessary. The obvious, people say, need not be pounded down with a hammer. But is it really so obvious? If it is, then why the shock and surprise expressed by so many when the Nazis plunged back into Belgium?

Military surprise is one thing. Our commanders expect it, can deal with it and we have no doubt that they have a few counter-measures up their sleeves. In time we shall know what they are and we have every confidence that von Rundstedt will be reeling back to where he came from. The Russians have done it a dozen times before; it happened in Africa, and look where Rommel is now. That is hardly the point, however. The point is, were not too many people deluded by thinking that the Wehrmacht could never again challenge the Allied forces in the West? But they are, and therein lies a story.

It should by now be clear that Hitler and Himmler, faced with the prospect of defeat, will fight with everything in their far-from-depleted armory. They will move to take advantage of every fissure in the Allied wall and they will try to blast that fissure into a yawning chasm by exploiting unsettled issues wherever and whenever they appear.

They are using without doubt the screaming over the State Department re-organization. *PM* should remember that. For it is the fracas which *PM* helped start over Mr. Stettinius' appointments that has also been the occasion for fresh outbursts of anti-coalition talk. Departing from the Senate in all his evil glory, Mr. Nye chose to say that the United States will fight the Soviet Union within the next ten or twenty years. Senator Wheeler from one corner of his mouth asked, during the final debate over the State Department appointments, that our government exclusively dictate terms of peace to Germany, and from the other corner said that the Red Army is lying down on the job of fight-

ing in Poland. Not a word, of course, on the heroic struggle it took for the Red troops to get where they are in Poland. We do not expect anything better from Wheeler, but misguided liberals who have printing presses and paper to play with should ask themselves whether it is their job to set the stage on which a Wheeler or a Nye can strut his stuff.

It is not *PM* alone which provided the backdrop for the performances over which Dr. Goebbels rubs his hands with pleasure and shouts bravo. There are also those breast-beaters who take the Greek crisis as meaning the arrival of doomsday. Just to recount briefly what has been said in the last three weeks in the course of the Greek incident is to see the kind of ammunition which certain commentators, correspondents and editorialists have wittingly or unwittingly been feeding the enemy's propaganda machine. In the *New York Times* there have been several stories by Raymond Daniell from London and Herbert Matthews from Rome on how the Balkans have been turned over lock, stock and barrel for the Russians to dispose of as they please. Teheran, according to them, was a conference to distribute booty. For others, the Soviet-French pact was nothing less than the division of Europe into power blocs and spheres of influence. Mr. Churchill's statement that Poland return to the USSR territory that rightfully belongs to her has brought another word into the arsenal of fright and alarm—partition. Miss Anne O'Hare McCormick in her *Times* column ends a dissertation on Greece by saying that there is real doubt now in Europe over the possibility of permanent peace. Other wise ones write that the United States has no foreign policy.

Could Hitler require anything more than these tortured outbursts? What are people to think when from all sides they are bombarded with these evocations of nonsense? It hurts American morale and it thereby helps Hitler. There are no two ways about it.

YES, there are serious problems still to be resolved by the Allies. But if they are discussed in an atmosphere of frenzy then the result is more frenzy, more heat without light. When we take issue with Mr. Churchill on Greece it is because such a policy hurts the progress of the war. When we take issue on the

disarming of the resistance forces it is because that hurts the war also. If the Belgian patriots had their arms now the Germans might not have got as far as they have. But for all that we do not throw up the sponge and wail that all is over. We do not cast aspersions on our Allies; we do not say that they are reneging. At rock-bottom we know that liberated Europe is so qualitatively different from what it has been in the past that no single individual or policy on the Allied side can undo what has been achieved. It can only delay.

It is also from this point of view that we see the French-Soviet treaty. We see it not as an obstruction to Dumbarton Oaks or an effort to undermine collective security. We see the treaty as a legitimate instrument for restraining Germany—a purpose for which Dumbarton Oaks is also designed. Both complement each other with the treaty providing a strong girder to uphold an international peace structure. For specific areas of the world who will say no to two or more powers uniting, within the framework of a universal plan, to prevent aggression? No one should be frightened out of his wits by the reckless use of such phrases as power blocs and spheres of influence. The question must always be asked: power for what? influence for what? and not in terms of silly abstractions. We are using power to destroy Hitler and we will have to be ready with power to keep Hitlers from popping up. Can those who are frightened by the idea suggest any other way?

All this takes us back to our first paragraph. If many people here are surprised by the renewed German offensive it is because they thought everything was in the bag for us. However, the Nazis do not think so. They know that American morale is being injured by well-intentioned people who do a lot of irresponsible writing and talking. Instead of concentrating their talents on a single goal—victory—and conditioning all their discussions by that one objective they are creating all sorts of diversions. These link themselves to the deliberate sabotage practiced by Hitler's friends and the net is to give Hitler opportunities for political offensives alongside his military. The new year should find us more vigilant than ever against a repetition of the events which are seeing the old year out. We owe that much to our soldiers.





TO A  
VICTORIOUS  
NEW  
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TO A  
VICTORIOUS  
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YEAR

W. H. P. P. P. P.

## A MAN TO REMEMBER

THE twelve months have roared by since Art Young was around. They have vanished as he has vanished and yet they are here as he is here. A great man is never gone and a great time leaves its indelible mark. There is a fine contemporary tang to the word "eternal." We are alive in days that are leaving an eternal mark and Art was a man of those days. You can use that resonant word unashamedly in thinking of him.

He went on quietly after writing the words "And now, Teheran" on his 1944 New Year greeting cards that he mailed to his multitude of friends and I wonder what he would say had he stayed on this twelve-month to see what the days would bring. Well, Art was a man with a habit of seeing first things first, and I can imagine what he would have recalled this end week of the big year 1944, esconced in his shabby room of the hotel on Gramercy Park where he once sat around with O. Henry and his cronies of an earlier day.

He would have thought, I wager, as the bells tolled in the New Year, of that bright June morning when he sauntered down to the corner newsstand (for he disliked the din of the radio) to read of the first assault on the beaches of Normandy. And he would have lit his cigar and ambled down to the park bench and pondered the news, listened to the passers-by talking of the news. "And now, Teheran," he would have thought. And later, a week or so, he would have seen the newsreels of the landing, and have observed that unforgettable shot of our men on the PV boat about to make the landing on the French coast and have seen the GI pat the shoulder of a frightened comrade in front of him just as the doors of the boat were about to open on the sands swept by bullet hail. And Art's sharp eye would have stored that shot away forever, knowing that in that glimpse he had seen the quintessence of fraternity and he would have nodded his gray old head, unsurprised. That's the way it is, that's what Art expected and that GI's hand comforted his own frail shoulders, bowed with the weight of three-quarters of a century.

And, sitting back on his chair, in front of the newspapers and his drawing pad, he would have recalled the night of November 7 when he overcame his distaste for the broadcasters and listened in to the polling of the states. "The people," he would have said, sucking his cigar, "the people. They come through." And he would have thought of June 6 and November 7, two days big enough to hold a century, and they happen the same year. "Some year," he would have mused, "Some year."

And I can see Art chewing that omnipresent cheroot over the headlines of the Maidanek camp and thinking of those rows upon rows of children's shoes, the children he loved so well, the kids he drew looking up at the stars from a slum street and saying the stars are as thick tonight as bed-bugs. And he would have pondered at the depths to which man can go, as deep down as the heights to which he can

ascend. He would have considered the essence of fascism and he would have further confirmed (though God knows he didn't need further confirmation) that the course he had chosen, and America and the free world had chosen, was the only course. That the annihilation of the baby-murderers was No. 1 on the world's agenda and if that took toil and endless sacrifice, well it took toil and endless sacrifice. For there, at Maidanek, was the alternative.

And I can see him sketching the Acropolis and thinking of Praxiteles and Socrates as the Spitfires zoomed over their descendants and he would not have lost his balance. He was, in the deepest sense, an optimist, for the latter is a man who has no illusions. He knows that no good thing comes unbidden; that it comes from toil and sweat and tears and that that is the price we have to pay for the prerequisites of manhood. For there was in all of Art a deep sense of the practical, some of that self-sufficient midwestern common sense, and he figured that no good thing comes unhampered, that there are inevitable tank-traps on the line of progress, and that you had to overwhelm those traps in whatever ways they demanded. And those ways are endlessly varied. He knew that, every instinct told him that. He knew that words on paper with signatures affixed register a reality and register a hope; and to make that reality realize its total potential required battling for the hope. And Art was a battler.

I like what Bob Minor wrote about Art in our memorial issue last year assailing those who, over Art's ashes, contended that he was a combination of Puck, St. Francis of Assisi and Bayard Le Chevalier. "The truth is otherwise," Bob wrote. "Bayard? Maybe. Art was a man of war."

SO WE remember Art; for these reasons the love for the man continues in this maelstrom of tremendous events. Art was a man of the people, and from them he derived his strength and his greatness. He is eternal as they are eternal. He never faltered in his devotion to them and he knew them in their big and little moments and he could never grow disillusioned for he had no illusions. A big man has no illusions about the people, any more than he can have about the seasons. He was a yea-sayer, as Walt Whitman was, as Jefferson and Paine and Lenin were, and you could never disillusion them. They knew man in his contemporaneity and they knew him in his promise and they never got sidetracked. Art never got sidetracked. For he was no perfectionist, chasing after will-o-the-wisp stuff, and everything he felt had earthly reality. "I have seen the future and it works," Lincoln Steffens had said, and Art drew that. "And now, Teheran," Art had written on the eve of his death, and he knew what that meant, he accepted it, and he would have fought for it, doggedly, unreservedly, had he stayed on. I know he would have shown a perspicuity becoming many a younger man, for his instinct for reality was profound. He accepted the truth and he rejected the false. That is praise enough for any man. There is something about him that reminds me of the old rabbi Ehrenburg told of, the ancient buried alive by the Nazis and chanting as the wind played through his beard, "Green grass lives longer than Nebuchadnezzar." Art said that all his long life and got millions to understand that, and that is why we will always remember him.

# YOUR TAXES AFTER THE WAR

By J. R. WILSON

POSTWAR taxation seems destined to be no less controversial than taxation during and before the war, reflecting varying objectives, approaches, philosophies. Three postwar tax plans monopolize the limelight. One, proposed by the Committee for Economic Development, leans heavily on *Production, Jobs and Taxes*, written by Harold F. Groves, Professor of Economics at the University of Wisconsin. The "Twin Cities Plan"\* was prepared by Minneapolis and St. Paul businessmen as "a realistic approach to the problem of federal taxation." The Ruml-Sonne plan is embodied in a memorandum prepared for the National Planning Association by Beardsley Ruml and H. Christian Sonne and entitled, *Fiscal and Monetary Policy*.\*\*

The main features of the three plans, as compared with the existing federal tax structure, are shown in the accompanying summary, omitting qualifying details. (See chart on page 12.)

All three plans were developed, according to the authors, with the objective of maintaining production and employment at high levels. The crucial consideration is the taxation of corporate profits, now subject to graduated normal and surtax rates reaching forty percent, and an excess-profits tax of ninety-five percent (a postwar refund of ten percent is provided, and an eighty percent ceiling for income and excess-profits taxes is in force).

The CED plan and the Ruml-Sonne plan rely on the *individual* income tax as the principal source of federal revenue. The Ruml-Sonne plan would repeal the excess-profits tax and the normal and surtax, but would substitute a small franchise tax of five percent and a sixteen percent tax on undistributed profits. The CED plan abolishes, in effect, corporate taxes through the device of applying a stockholder's "withholding" tax at the source in the same way as the withholding tax on wages. The only levy on corporate profits would be a sixteen to twenty percent rate—the same as the proposed individual normal tax rate—and in the stockholder's personal return, any dividends received would be exempt from the normal tax, but not from surtaxes. The Twin Cities plan would repeal

the excess-profits tax, but retain the normal and surtax at forty percent; however, forty percent of the dividends received by stockholders would be exempted from income taxation.

Thus, in varying form, the present mode of taxing corporate profits and stockholders' dividends would be drastically altered under each plan. Business is, in fact, concentrating its main batteries on the elimination of corporation taxes. So drastic a proposal bears the closest scrutiny—the burden is on its advocates to establish their case "beyond a reasonable doubt."

Professor Groves neatly states the case for abolition: it would "result in a reduction of prices, or an increase in wages, or an increase in the peacetime rate of corporate profits or some combination of these effects. Any or all of these results would encourage expansion of investment, output, or employment."

Corporate taxes are based on net income. Even within the same industry, the relation of net income to unit cost for one corporation will be different than for other corporations. Hence the relation of tax to unit cost will vary with different corporations, and this will be true for different industries. Clearly, no single statement of tax incidence or impact will apply to all industries or to all corporations within an industry. A two-cent cigarette tax per pack—constant for

each unit—is very easily passed on in the price structure; not so the very variable incidence of net income taxation. The range of income tax burdens on particular industries is very substantial. Such a variable element cannot materially affect the price structure, where prices are determined under competitive conditions. And where prices are determined under monopoly conditions, neither the tax factor nor the ordinary expenses of production determine the price. Monopoly prices, economists admit, are usually determined on the basis of "what the traffic will bear." None of the plans considers the effect of cartels, patent pools, and other price-fixing devices of industry which have created innumerable rigidities in the system. The era of *laissez-faire*, economists tell us, is only an historical memory—monopoly capitalism is sovereign.

The argument is advanced that by increasing the amount of corporate profits, after taxes, greater funds would be available for paying increased wages. There is arithmetic logic in the proposition, but—

Suppose a corporation's profits, *before* taxes, is \$100,000 and the tax rate is forty percent. It pays \$40,000 in taxes, and its profits, after taxes, are \$60,000. If it should grant a \$30,000 wage increase, its profits, before taxes, would be reduced to \$70,000 and its tax bill would be \$28,000. This leaves it a profit, after taxes, of \$42,000. The wage increase of \$30,000 actually cost the corporation only \$18,000 since its tax bill was reduced \$12,000 (i.e., the government, in effect, bears \$12,000 of the cost of the wage increase).

Now assume corporation taxes were abolished. A wage increase of \$30,000 would cost the corporation exactly \$30,000. Is a wage increase *more likely* when the cost to the corporation is \$30,000, rather than \$18,000—when the payment comes out of its own pool of profits? The opposite is, indeed, more likely: a corporation subject to a ninety-five percent tax might have little objection to wage increases since the wage payment is practically offset by an equivalent reduction in taxes.

True, there will be cases where corporate entities, enjoying extra profits, will be inclined to disburse higher wages. And the existence of high profits would



Art Young's last New Year's card

\* Published by Twin Cities Research Bureau, 332 Cedar St., St. Paul, Minn.  
\*\* National Planning Association, 184 East 64 St., N. Y. C. or 800 21 St. N.W., Washington, D. C., 25c.

REMEMBER P  
→  
THIS CARD



Art Young's last New Year's card

afford labor organizations an added argument for higher wages. But higher profits are not automatically converted into higher wages. They are only one element in a complex situation. Wage levels are determined not by tax levels but by the strength of labor organizations, the conditions of the labor market, and by government policy as expressed through legislation and the rulings of special agencies.

THE argument is pressed that additional profits, flowing from the abolition of corporation taxes, would be used for reinvestment in more plants and equipment, generating more employment. This is an attractive selling point. Yet what certainty is there that the increased earnings will be ploughed back? Recognizing that the extra profits may be merely accumulated, the Ruml-Sonne plan actually proposes a tax (sixteen percent) on undistributed profits (incidentally, the effectiveness of such a low rate is doubtful). The CED plan refers to "proper precautions against unreasonable accumulation of surpluses."

High profits, in and of themselves, do not stimulate the volume of capital expenditures, business activity, or employment. Years of high profits have not invariably been followed by business activity. Corporate profits reached unprece-

ented heights in 1916-19 and 1928-29, yet these were followed by steep declines in business activity. Boom profits often lead to depression, not prosperity. There is no more highly variable economic factor than the rate of investment of surpluses. Investments will not be made unless the possibility of expanding markets exists. There is no economic law which compels the automatic investment of accumulated earnings into capital goods. The surplus may be diverted into sundry channels: buying out competitors, attaining financial control of other corporations, strengthening monopoly controls.

The corporate tax abolitionists have not sustained their case. Abolition provides no assurance of full production and full employment. A sounder approach is available. Mass purchasing power is the most reliable incentive for the expansion of business activities. The maintenance and expansion of mass markets must be assured. The economy can best be stimulated by foreign and domestic markets promising stable albeit moderate rates of profit. High but unstable profit rates, which may flow from repealing corporate taxes, will not assure an expanding economy. Pregnant with meaning is Prof. Groves' admission that "fear of losses is often of more concern to the businessman than the hopes for a very

high positive profit." Stability, not boom profits, must be the objective.

In the postwar period the foreign market will be of decisive importance in maintaining the high wartime levels of production and employment on which stable profit rates will largely depend. But the expansion of the domestic market will also be essential, and ultimately the domestic market will also have to absorb the products with which foreign countries will pay for our exports and for the amortization of the credits we extend to them. High wages, farm prices at approximate parity, extended and increased social security, slum clearance and housing developments, public works, and the elimination of those levies which cut into purchasing power nourish the domestic market and are therefore as much in the interest of the corporations and wealthy individuals as of the consumers. As Harry Hopkins pointed out in the October issue of *The American* magazine: "America's economic future and sustained prosperity lie more in expanding the consumption and raising the standard of living of her masses than in any other single direction."

In a future article I will present tax proposals for the reconversion period and for the period following reconversion—it is important to distinguish between the two.

COMPARISON OF THREE LEADING POSTWAR TAX PLANS WITH EXISTING FEDERAL LAW

	Existing Law	Committee for Economic Development	Twin Cities Plan	Ruml-Sonne (National Planning Association)
<b>Corporation income taxes</b>				
Normal and surtax .....	40%	16-20%	40%	Repeal
Excess profits tax .....	95%	Repeal	Repeal	Repeal
Franchise tax .....	None	None	None	5% (New)
Tax on undistributed profits .....	None	None	None	16% (New)
<b>Other corporation taxes</b>				
Capital-stock tax .....	\$1.25 per 1,000	Repeal	Repeal	Repeal
Decl. value excess profits tax ...	6.6 to 13.2%	Repeal	Repeal	Repeal
Dividend received from corporations	15%	Repeal	Repeal	Repeal
Extra tax on consol. returns .....	2%	?	Repeal	Repeal
<b>Individual income taxes</b>				
Exemptions - single .....	\$ 500	\$ 500	\$ 600	\$ 500
Exemptions - married .....	1,000	1,000	1,400	1,000
Credits for dependents .....	500	500	400	500
Normal rate .....	3%	16-20%	10%	16%
Surtax begins at .....	\$0-2,000 @ 20%	\$2,000-4,000 @ 3%	\$2,000-4,000 @ 6%	\$2,000-3,000 @ 1%
Surtax maximum .....	Over \$200,000 @ 91%	\$1,000,000 @ 52%	Over \$300,000 @ 50%	Over \$200,000 @ 50%
Dividends received .....	Fully taxable	Exempt from normal tax	40% exemption	Fully taxable
Interest on future govt. securities.	Partially Exempt	Fully taxable	?	Fully taxable
Retail sales tax .....	None	None	5% (New)	None
Excise taxes .....	Various	Repeal all except liquor, tobacco, possibly gasoline	At 1943 rates	Repeal all except tobacco, alcohol, possibly gasoline

# COPPERHEAD FIELD DAY

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THE fight against Senate approval of the President's nomination of six assistant secretaries of state is over, and despite the overwhelming vote for confirmation, our soldiers, our allies and the enemy witnessed the very unity-splitting spectacle which Sen. Tom Connally warned against. If the New York newspaper *PM*, which was chiefly responsible for stirring up this rumpus, is displaying an understandable chariness in telling how Messrs. Langer, Wheeler, *et al.*, availed themselves of *PM*'s crusade to oust the appointees, those gentlemen are more generous in giving credit to *PM* for establishing a sound-board.

In a story in *PM*, December 20, James A. Wechsler alludes to the "liberal bloc" fighting the appointments, forgetting such sturdy liberals as Sen. James M. Tunnell of Delaware, who refused to turn against President Roosevelt. Mr. Wechsler tells us that the "liberal bloc" members "were literally fighting alone." But this bloc, "lacking any effective and coordinated means of expression . . . was helpless when the President cracked down. The Senate liberals, facing an alliance that ranged from Republicans to Communists, could not hold out any longer." I. F. Stone mourns in the same issue of *PM*: "The disappointing aspect was the failure of labor and liberal organizations to take an active part in the fight. Notably conspicuous by its absence was the CIO-PAC and the NCPAC."

BUT if labor and liberal groups were conspicuously inactive, there was no lack of company of a different sort. From some of the Senators who seized the opportunity created unwittingly by Senators Claude Pepper, Joseph Guffey and others who responded to *PM*'s campaign, I heard interesting tributes to that paper.

Sen. William Langer (R., N. D.), whose activities were described so well by John L. Spivak in his series on pro-fascist and seditious groups in *NEW MASSES* last spring, was prompt in introducing into the *Congressional Record* on November 28 a *PM* editorial by Max Lerner attacking the appointment of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. as Secretary of State. His was the lone vote cast against Stettinius' appointment. Langer

told me that of course he would have opposed the assistants' nominations anyway, as they represented Wall Street, and that made them objectionable to him *per se*. "But I think *PM* has put up a good fight," he said. "You know, if they're a team, as Stettinius called them, they're going to be dominated by Stettinius."

Sen. Burton K. Wheeler (D., Mont.), mingled his praise for *PM* with a little criticism that while actually its attack on "some third or fourth secretary" was an attack on the Roosevelt administration, "it hasn't enough guts to admit it." "I think *PM* did a good job in showing them up [the nominees], but I think they greatly exaggerated. If they're going to make a fight, why in the name of God did they make it on Stettinius, or some assistant way down the line? That's childish. That's the trouble with these liberal-radical publications. Why don't they go to the top?"

He said he thought all the appointments "lousy," but that he voted for them "to make Roosevelt solely responsible for our foreign policy."

I asked if he thought that the fight on the appointments provided an excuse for his and others' speaking their minds on foreign policy, and he said, "Oh, yes." Conscious of talking to *NEW MASSES*, Wheeler said, "I'm not one of these Red-baiters; I was one of the first to advocate recognition of Russia." The embittered Senator then went right on to say, "How can we talk of the peace when we don't know what Stalin is going to do? And I can't denounce Great Britain for what's happening in Greece when the Russians are killing people in Rumania and Bulgaria."

I happened to be sitting near an Army captain in the galleries during Wheeler's remarks on the floor in the course of the debate on the State Department appointments. The defeatist Senator thought it "high time that the President of the United States told our enemies what the terms of the peace will be." Then he tried to show that his concern was not wholly for our enemies. "The longer we continue saying to these people, 'We are going to demand unconditional surrender,' whatever that means, we are costing the lives of thousands upon thousands of boys every day." The captain, unable

to take any more silently, said aloud, "What do you want—to fight it out now, or wait twenty years and fight it out?"

But there was more. "The way we have been talking about unconditional surrender just does not make sense," said Wheeler. "That is not only my view, it is . . . the opinion of leaders all over the world." On the other side of me someone whispered, "At least in Germany."

IN THEIR zeal to purify with the label "liberal" the attack on US foreign policy—just at the time, it might be added, that Stettinius' hands-off stand on Greece and all liberated nations logically should have got applause from all liberals—*PM* writers Wechsler and Elizabeth Donahue on December 15 were describing Sen. Robert M. LaFollette as a liberal. Wheeler set the record straight, as did LaFollette in his own attacks against "our two principal allies" and his request for a vote against the nominees as a vote against our foreign policy. Wheeler introduced into the record an article from the LaFollette family's weekly *Progressive* magazine—"War by One Man's Will—the Dangers of Dumbarton Oaks," by Oswald Garrison Villard, another "liberal."

\* Milton Murray, in another *PM* story on the Senate's final session of the year, wrote: "Much of the record was unclear, however, as Sens. Gerald P. Nye (R., N. D.) and Robert R. Reynolds (D., N. C.) took the floor for swan songs that lined them up behind the 'team'—except for Nye's dissent on MacLeish." Patiently Nye explained to me that he was not "behind the 'team.'" "If I had had the choice I never would have appointed the team," he said, "but I always give appointees the benefit of the doubt."

Senator Nye differed from some of his confreres in evaluating the role of *PM* in what Cissie Patterson's *Washington Times-Herald* (December 19) called "the raging Senate controversy, principally confined to the Democrats," which "brought frank acknowledgment of a split within the party over its leftist control." Said the Senator: "*PM* hurt the cause of those who were trying to defeat those men." Why

was this? I asked. "Because their crowd represents more the Russian interests than any other interests; they have a larger sympathy there."

Yet, I pointed out, *PM* said the liberals were opposed by "an alliance that ranged from Republicans to Communists." Nye snorted with derision. But he threw a bouquet of sorts to *PM*, although indirectly, in summing up the fight over the appointments. "The whole action would revert to the disadvantage of the President, I should judge," he said. "People will now look for the Wall Street crowd in spots to influence the peace." And if it hadn't been taken up and publicized that would not have been the impression, he felt. "It will make the government more conscious of its American obligation," he said.

**N**YE's contribution on the Senate floor to the expression of views on US foreign policy lasted more than an hour. He also introduced an article from the *Progressive* magazine, and another by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, who several months ago invited George W. Hartmann, head of the Peace Now movement, to speak in his church. Nye used his own words, however, in the following apologia for Hitler: "We were told that we had to enter this war in order to keep Hitler from seizing control of the world. Well, I am content to leave it to the historians a generation hence to say how much actual danger there ever was that Hitler would seize control of the world. But I am sure, knowing the power of British propaganda, that within twenty years from now—perhaps within ten years—we shall be told that we must go into another European war to keep Russia from seizing control of the world."

**I**N THIS atmosphere of blaming the State Department and our government for all ills, lame duck Sen. Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina was among the most jubilant in taking advantage of the heaven-sent opportunity created by the liberals. He was the old buoyant demagogic Bob as he hasn't been since Pearl Harbor. It was hard to tell which cheered him most—the spectacle of split unity in the pro-administration forces, or the knowledge that the First Army was being forced back. He began by saying he had listened to Nye's speech, and that he "was reminded of the times when the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. Nye), the Senator from California (Mr. Johnson), and other

Senators, including myself, were debating about lend-lease" and other matters. "When we were fighting to keep out of the war . . . the Senator from North Dakota was called a Nazi, a Copperhead, a rattlesnake, a traitor, and other names as well. I was present during those times and I was called the same names. But it looks now as though things are changing."

The galleries were crowded, with standing room only in some sections. There were many men from the services. I saw a major in the Air Force and his pretty wife stare at the pink-faced Senator with expressions of concentrated hatred and disgust. He went on blithely, reading from an editorial in the *Times-Herald*, taken from the *New York Daily News*, which began: "We isolationists, long covered all over with shame by various persons and groups, seem entitled to lift our heads a bit now, and wipe off some of the shame."

**S**EN. Albert B. (Happy) Chandler (D. Ky.), who was as vocal as anyone in fighting the nominations in the State Department, voted against three of them, particularly attacking Will Clayton, "and if I could have voted against all together, I would have." He was not listed by *PM* as one of the liberals, though *PM* quoted him with apparent approval, but Happy explained to me that he has always thought of himself as a liberal. He has long been among the most outspoken critics of Britain and Russia and earlier in the year crusaded for concentrating all our forces in the Pacific. He is not a reader of *PM*, "but some nice young man brought me a copy of it, and from what others said, I'm sure *PM* did take a prominent part in the fight."

Presumably it was after the visit from the nice young man that Happy arose in the Senate and began, "Mr. President, I sometimes wonder who won the election which we recently held. . . . It was said that the common man would be given a better chance. . . . Instead of poor folks obtaining jobs, the Wall Street boys are obtaining jobs, and we our clearing everything with Harry Hopkins." This was only a slight distortion of the *PM* line. *PM* thinks that the liberals won the election, not the common man.

"We started with materiel and products, but now we're going to be giving maximum casualties in two hemispheres," Chandler told me. "If the Atlantic Charter doesn't mean anything,

if it's just a war between fascist and imperialist powers, we have not done very much. It may be that Churchill and Stalin will decide they don't need us, once they're free, and will carve things up between them. I think it's a good thing to let the American people know what's happening. I'm against all this secrecy."

**U**NLIKE Senator Chandler, who said he objected to the State Department selections because they represented higher income brackets, Senator Tunnell of Delaware has an outstanding voting record on labor and other domestic issues, as well as on foreign policy. Tunnell viewed the entire hullabaloo as contributing to national disunity, "particularly at the time when our troops are facing a counteroffensive." He pointed out that David Stern, publisher of the *Philadelphia Record*, which took the *PM* line on the appointments, was friendly to Guffey. "It was poor judgment politically, I said all along. And did you notice how the isolationists reacted? They were on top of the earth. They haven't been so cheery in a long time. I defended the appointments. These men, every one, had been in the government. Besides, this was the President of the United States asking that we accept them. The attack on them came at a time when there is a chance it may lessen their usefulness."

Tunnell defended Will Clayton, whose position is that we cannot continue to grow any crop, even cotton, if we have to maintain a high price through a large subsidy. Actually Clayton's position is approved by Foreign Economic Administration experts and others who see any other as entirely out of line with the multilateral trade agreements which former Secretary of State Cordell Hull stood for. Yet *PM* in its anti-State Department crusade has devoted hysterical pages to championing the views of Sen. John Bankhead and other cotton states Senators who want to keep the South tied to the uneconomic cotton production that is the concomitant of tenant farming, low-wage farm labor and other evils of the South. Clayton would have cotton grown in western prairie states with mechanized aids. We could get cotton from Africa and South America, and that would solve some of the problems of what to import for the machinery and factory products we expect to ship in huge amounts in the postwar period if our sixty million job program is to be fulfilled.



# ZITA'S BOY

By ALBERT WIENER

THE other day a young man with a little dark moustache arrived in Rome. He came from the United States and his name was Otto Hapsburg. There would have been little interest in that handsome and well-dressed European had it not been for the fact that the small circle in which he moves always addresses him most respectfully as "Your Majesty." What is nostalgic Otto seeking in Europe? He is visiting old friends, one of his friends with tongue in cheek, may tell you. Or: his doctor thinks "Otto of Austria" should go to some spa in Switzerland, to recover his health.

But when the Hapsburgs travel these days they have definite objectives. The truth is that "Empress" Zita, his mother, sent her boy abroad to get back the throne of Austria. Thus the old children's game, *Der Kaiser schickt Soldaten aus*, was slightly changed. This time the (ex-) Kaiserin sends her soldier out.

Few Americans know who Zita is. She is the widow of Charles I, the last Emperor of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Without her machinations, Otto would still be a third-rate exile. It was she who taught him how to "out-smart" the democratic leaders; it was she who kept in touch with the reactionaries of all countries, urging them to help her restore the Hapsburg throne as a bulwark against "Bolshevism." And it is she, a most faithful friend of the Vatican, who has used this friendship in certain high Vatican circles to have them "recommend" Otto to the Austrian people. Of course, she realizes that most Austrians detest her and her family, and that many Viennese walls are crowded with phrases indicating the people's hatred: "We've got to get rid of the Nazis and we'll get rid of Otto too." But "this is not 1918" and "Otto is not such a weakling as was his father, blessed be his soul," she thinks. This time the Hapsburgs won't yield their power.

Will Zita's ambitious dream ever come true? It is, perhaps, too early for any prognostications, but certainly not too early for uttering a serious warning. This writer, born in Austria and a student of Austrian affairs, knows that the Hapsburgs will never abandon the idea that that country, as well as the other

parts of the erstwhile monarchy, is a sort of personal property of the dynasty. I was a child when, in the fall of 1916, my father lifted me up to see the funeral of Emperor Francis Joseph I, and I still remember the funeral carriage with the coffin drawn by eight black horses toward the Kapuzinergruft, the traditional tombs of the dynasty. Riding in the cab behind the funeral carriage were the young Archduke, Charles, and his attractive slender wife, Archduchess Zita, already known as a strong-willed energetic person.

BORN in 1892 near the Tuscan sea resort of Viareggio, a daughter of Count Robert of Bourbon-Parma, Zita is of French-Italian descent. When, in 1911, she married Charles, the son of Archduke Otto and a grandnephew of the octogenarian Emperor, there was little hope that her husband, who was five years her senior and an officer in the army, would ever inherit the Empire. For there was an heir to the throne

in the person of Archduke Francis Ferdinand d'Este. Ironically, this man, whom she hated because he blocked her way to becoming the Empress of Austria-Hungary, had much in common with her. He was a staunch reactionary, a believer in absolute monarchism. It was Francis Ferdinand who coined the slogans "*Wenn ich koennte, wuerde ich die ganze Monarchie schwarzgelb anstreichen*" ("If I had the power, I'd paint the whole monarchy yellow and black"—these being the colors of the Imperial Flag) and "*Los von Rom heisst los von Oesterreich*" (Away from Rome means away from Austria). Had not Gavrilo Princip murdered him and his wife at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, a slightly modernized version of that Ferdinand II who tried to liquidate Protestantism and all liberal thought during the Thirty Years' War would have ascended the Hapsburg throne in 1916.

Charles I was a weak person who tried to save the crumbling monarchy with palliatives. But the actual ruler was Zita, who endeavored to establish a rule of her own with the help of reactionary Vatican clerics. Those who tend to dismiss Zita as a funny middle-aged adventuress, as a pathetic figure in hard-boiled Washington (where she was recently very busy) forget that she was the driving power behind one of the major steps taken by her short-lived husband. In 1921 she induced her husband to regain, if not the whole Empire, at least Hungary where the counter-revolution had been triumphant; and in the spring, and again in the fall, Charles dashed from his Swiss exile to



Zagat

Hungary, vainly trying to occupy the country with the aid of monarchist officers. There was some fighting and quite a few Hungarians lost their lives in behalf of Zita's ambitions, until a British gunboat brought the couple to the island of Madeira where Charles died a half year later at the age thirty-five. After his father's death Otto, then ten years old, became the head of the family. Because of her excellent relations with Alfonso XIII, king of Spain, Zita succeeded in having him invite the whole family—Otto has two brothers and five sisters—to live in a palace at Lequeitio in the Basque country. And then from 1929 until 1940 the Hapsburgs lived at the castle of Steenockerzeel near Brussels. Otto attended the Catholic University of Louvain. With his mother's assistance, he communicated with the pro-Hapsburg chancellors of Austria, especially the prelate Seipel, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, and received delegations of Austrian and Hungarian monarchists who were laying the groundwork for a monarchist putsch.

In these crucial years Zita was the embodiment of optimism. After they had been chased away from the throne, she declared: "Otto will come; and when all our own family has gone, there will still be Hapsburgs enough." Later, when the financial status of the Hapsburgs was anything but encouraging, she asserted: "Even if my son is reduced to having only one servant, that one must call him 'Your Majesty'."

SHE did not, however, confine her hopes to Austria only. In June 1937, while war was raging in Spain, she sent her oldest son to her brother, Prince Gaetan of Bourbon-Parma, who had fought on Franco's side and lay wounded in a hospital in San Sebastian. Otto called on his uncle, wearing the red beret of the Requete volunteers, supporters of Franco. What did Otto seek in Spain? Some said that he hoped Franco would let him occupy the vacant throne. But Franco decided otherwise.

Zita and her handsome boy Otto are tired of castles that do not belong to them, and of hotel rooms paid by wealthy followers. In January 1940, The London *Daily Express*, reporting on Otto's activities during the first months of this war, said: "According to reliable information received in Britain today it appears that Otto, pretender to the Austrian throne, has given up his plans for forming a new Roman Catholic Empire, comprising Aus-

tria, Bavaria and the Palatinate. . . . The Archduke has now got a new proposition. He wants to form a Roman Catholic Empire comprising Hungary, Slovakia and part of Bohemia. It is believed that his mother, ex-Empress Zita, laid this plan before Mussolini who is said to favor it to some extent. It is also reported that Otto has the support of Spain."

But Otto and Zita seem to change their plans rather quickly, for only a few months later, in April 1940, shortly after his arrival in the United States, the "Kaiser" made the following statement to interviewers visiting him at the swanky Ritz Carlton Hotel in New York City: "My great aim is, of course, a federation of small states in Central Europe, along the Baltic—Czechs, Slovaks, Bohemians, Poles, and of course, Austrians, which would unite against German and Russian aggression."

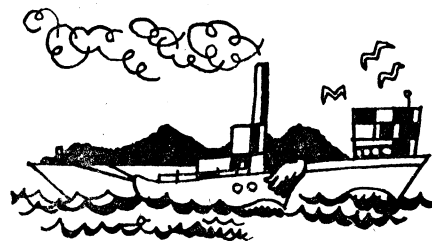
It is easy to see why certain circles in the United States and Britain are rather fond of the Hapsburgs: they would like to see a Hapsburg empire established not so much as a protection against Germany but as a sort of bulwark against the USSR. They would like to oppose Russia with a federation of states whose pivot would be another Austro-Hungarian union with Poland as its northern anchor and Italy as its southern anchor. These circles are especially fond of Otto for he has promised them that he would wipe out any people's movements in Austria: "There is no room in my country for a liberal movement" he asserted some time ago, adding: "Austria must be kept free of a discontented proletariat and the radical element that makes it so."

Yet, even with the many-sided propaganda started by Otto's friends in this country and in Great Britain, the achievements of Otto and his mother are rather insignificant. The "Military Committee for the Liberation of Austria," launched by six monarchists in the United States on Nov. 20, 1942, Otto's thirtieth birthday, did not find more than twenty-nine persons willing to volunteer in the "Austrian Battalion," as part of an American Army forma-

tion. The battalion was disbanded and Otto's dream of marching into conquered Austria at the head of his own army came to an end.

BUT in November 1943, the Hapsburgs felt profoundly worried when they read that passage of the Moscow Declaration that dealt with Austria: "They [the governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States] declare that they wish to see reestablished a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves . . . to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace." They realized that the signatory powers in Moscow had decided to let the people of liberated Austria vote on the kind of government they desired to have rule them, and the Hapsburgs know pretty well that the overwhelming majority of the Austrians would veto their return. Shortly afterwards there came the Soviet-Czechoslovak mutual aid treaty which, while primarily designed to stamp out forever the traditional German policy of "*Drang nach Osten*," would also curb all Hapsburg aspirations.

But Otto and his mother have not given up hope. Last October Otto left the United States by plane for Europe. As the Red Army moves closer to Austria, Otto must feel that it is high time for action. I do not know exactly what sort of trouble he will start in Europe. But it is not hard to imagine. As I have said, there may be some groups in this country as well as in England who would prefer the restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy under Otto to the establishment of a truly democratic-progressive Austrian republic. We must not underestimate the Hapsburgs. They have influential friends, especially among those who see the "Bolshevist" bogey everywhere. It is not too well known that in Rome a group of Austrians recently established an Austrian Action Committee, headed by two arch-reactionaries, Baron Egon Berger-Waldeneegg and Bishop Alois Hudal, men who would be willing to play ball with the Hapsburgs as they previously flirted with the Nazis. While this Action Committee *per se* may be a farce, this and other small reactionary groups outside Austria, may endeavor to help Otto worm himself back into the Schoenbrunn Castle. The Hapsburgs, especially Zita, should be watched. Zita knows where to pull strings, and she won't fail to pull them.



# NOVEMBER 7 AND THE FUTURE: II

## Earl Browder Answers Some Questions

Shortly after November 7 Earl Browder, president of the Communist Political Association, gave his first analysis of the elections at a gathering of a group of friends of NEW MASSES. Because of the importance of Mr. Browder's remarks we published the main text of his speech in last week's issue (December 26). The questions and answers following that speech are published below.

**QUESTION: Isn't it time that the electoral college was abolished, or perhaps it is time to instigate a movement for a reform of the electoral college?**

I THINK there is a great deal of sentiment in the country for an improvement of our electoral machinery. I am not so certain that that improvement necessarily hinges upon an abolition of the electoral college. I think that we must always keep in mind that there is a very positive progressive historical origin of the electoral college system, and that any effort on a large scale to bring a fundamental change in that might distract attention from more pressing issues and make it more difficult to get the broadest possible unity for the most important issues of the day.

I think that in the way of electoral reform it is most important to establish guarantees that the electoral college cannot be used to falsify the election returns as was threatened in the conspiracies that were hatched by the Republicans and the Southern Democratic agents of the Republicans. If we can go that far, that is all that is immediately pressing in the way of reform of the present electoral college system.

Much more important than that, I think, is the establishment of the principle of a uniform system of elections for federal officers through all the states. Especially the principle of universal suffrage to every adult person in all the various states. That would be a much greater contribution to democracy than any basic reform of the electoral college.

**QUESTION: What should be the role of the liberals who have been fairly active in the campaign and who are opposed to tying up with the PAC? Just what direction should these forces take to unify themselves and get unity of action? Would another party be the answer?**

I CAN no more than indicate a general approach to this question than anyone else. I think it is quite true, as you indicate in your question, that a large and important section of the population wants to continue the political activity begun in the election campaign. But as they indicated, some do not want organized relationship with the trade union movement, and there may be any number of other potential divisions in the broad progressive democratic camp. I think that each group should try to find the organizational form that fits it best. They should act as activating and directing groups and not try to have any formal organizational amalgamation. It has got to be a very wide effort of political organization to get this democracy of ours functioning, united at the point where it counts decisively, in the ballot box. We must discourage every project of organization of new parties. I think the lesson of this election campaign points towards reducing the number of parties and not

increasing them. The Progressive Party was practically eliminated in Wisconsin. On the other hand the Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota amalgamated itself with the Democratic Party and thereby secured a democratic victory.

**QUESTION: What do you think Wallace's position will be in the new administration or what effect will he have?**

I HAVE no information as to what Wallace's official role will be. I assume he is going to play an important role, both in government and in the political life of the country, and I think that most democratic-minded people are going to welcome that fact. I think Wallace has a very big role to play. He has proved himself an important man of leadership in the democratic currents of America. I think he demonstrated by the way in which he took his personal political set-back in this campaign that he is a solid man who can be trusted. I think, however, at the same time it is no more than right to say it is probably fortunate for the country and for Wallace that he was not nominated in this past election.

**QUESTION: Why were the country and Wallace fortunate in the way things turned out?**

I THINK it would have been much more difficult to have secured very important additions to the Roosevelt cause in this campaign if Wallace had been the vice presidential candidate. I refer specifically to such circles as are represented by the *New York Times* and Walter Lippmann. It is a fact that circles of business and finance had developed a prejudice against Wallace that in many cases is more rabid than their prejudices against the Communists, and for these circles Wallace on the ticket would have been almost the same as Browder.

**QUESTION: Do you not think that Wallace came out even stronger after the role he played in this election?**

PERSONALLY he came out much stronger as a person in the leadership of the country. For the first time, he now stands on his own feet. He will play an important role in the country in his own right.

**QUESTION: What will be the role of the Willkie Republicans? There is talk of their starting a movement away from the Republican Party.**

IT WOULD prove a mistake for the Willkie Republicans to leave the Republican Party at the present time. My opinion would be that the Willkie Republicans stay in their own party and organize a fight around the slogan "It's time for a change."

**QUESTION: What significance do you attach to the vote of the Liberal Party?**

I ANALYZE the Liberal Party vote in the state of New York as perhaps fifty to sixty percent Willkie Republicans, people who were making the first serious shift in their lives and were very timid about it and therefore they found the place that was most strongly like the house they left.

**QUESTION:** *The votes were practically not even counted before we began to hear about the possible appointments to the Surplus Property Board of some more reactionaries, some of Jones' men and so on. What should be our attitude towards the administration when they again begin to compromise with reactionary appointments?*

**T**HIS is an old question and depends on whether you want an administration in Washington which is going to do everything that we think ought to be done, or an administration which is able to get the country united about it. I dislike the condition as much as anybody, but I am realistic enough to know that the Roosevelt administration must have behind it the united effort of the majority. If I had been in charge of all appointments I might do it differently. But I wouldn't have a majority behind me. We must accept the fact that any majority coalition in this country at the present time will have conservatives in it.

**QUESTION:** *Would you say that applies to the State Department too? As for instance, in the case of representatives to Spain and other countries?*

**I**HAVE not been one of the great critics of the State Department, although a couple of years ago I had to make a couple of retractions of accusations I made against the State Department. I am glad I had to make these retractions and to have them justified by subsequent events. The recent withdrawal of Stilwell from China is proof of the fact that our government is really trying to carry through the policy I was accusing it of not carrying out. More and more as I have studied the State Department I have found it is continuously improving its work. From my point of view and to my great surprise, I have had to come to the conclusion that Cordell Hull has been systematically moving toward that improvement, and my conclusion is that the man who was looked upon as behind the liberalizing forces has proved to be the main stumbling block there, and I speak of Sumner Welles. His record out of office proves that his role in office was an obstructive one as far as his policies were concerned. (I still remain a pessimist as far as Mr. Berle is concerned!)

**QUESTION:** *I believe in calling a spade a spade, Mr. Browder. It seems to be an American tradition to forget statements made by certain individuals against others. I am for bringing out and talking about Dewey's statements made during the campaign. What about this tradition?*

**I**HAVE a great respect for American tradition. But there is one tradition I want to fight, and that is the tradition where during an election campaign false statements are legal and when the campaign is over they are forgotten. I don't think we should continue that tradition. I think it should be established that this be not permitted and what has happened is not forgotten. I know you are talking against the tradition of so-called sportsmanship in politics. But questions of government are not a game.

**QUESTION:** *There was a bit of discussion during the election about Mr. Dewey being kept in Albany, and many of the Democrats said that they were content to have him there. Should that attitude be maintained or should it be discarded?*

**A**S FAR as I am concerned, I withdraw the support I gave Mr. Dewey for the office of District Attorney in 1937. My opinion is that he is a bad District Attorney.

**QUESTION:** *I have read in the newspapers about Mr. Browder's discussion with Mr. Willkie in August of this year. Would you be willing to discuss any of it at this meeting?*

**I**WOULD be very glad to discuss how we happened to meet. He invited me to his home and during the visit we understood that I would not in the course of the election campaign make any direct quotations of his discussion with me. One does not speak in an election campaign for any man. I spent two hours with Mr. Willkie. They were very interesting. I can't make a complete report on this, but I would be very glad to give you my impressions for about five minutes.

I got the impression in the two hours of our conversation that Mr. Willkie was a man of great integrity and forthright speech and a man who was growing visibly before your eyes. He spoke to me very fully and frankly about his attitude toward the election campaign. Since it is no longer a question of not speaking for him during a campaign, I can say that Mr. Willkie had no respect for Candidate Dewey and indicated that in his opinion the Republican platform and the candidate adopted in Chicago are both bankrupt. I had one difference of opinion with Mr. Willkie in the course of that discussion. You see, we generally clicked pretty well on almost every question we discussed except one. I said that I thought the election struggle was a very close one and that there was grave danger ahead. Mr. Willkie said that in his opinion Dewey hadn't a chance then or at any time to be President, whether in that election or in any other. In my judgment he was very optimistic about Mr. Roosevelt's reelection. I think he said this so that it would keep the pressure off him and he wouldn't have to give an opinion on how he felt. He was frankly and deliberately waiting to make up his mind until it was absolutely necessary for him to speak. He was entitled to wait on the question of how to best facilitate his future contribution to the political development of America. I most emphatically agree that he was questioning himself at that time as to how he could best be able to discharge the role of keeping his contacts with the mass of the people in the Republican Party, to get them into a greater unity for the country after the election was over.

On the basis of my judgment of the man in the two hours of discussion of the political scene in America and the relationship of forces, I was firmly of the opinion that when the campaign developed further, if Willkie had been healthy and active, he would have been with us in the last weeks of the campaign and he would most certainly have come out for Roosevelt. This is my own opinion. Again I must emphasize what he repeated to me, as to thousands of others, that he had not made up his mind and was determined not to make up his mind until the last weeks of the campaign. Which, most unfortunately for the country and for the world, he never had the opportunity to do.

**QUESTION:** *Is it permitted to ask how that conference happened to come about?*

**I**RECEIVED word from a mutual friend that Mr. Willkie would be glad to see me at a certain hour, and he was there. I am very happy to say when I left, he shook hands

with even greater cordiality than when I came in. I was very happy with the interview and our mutual friend said that Mr. Willkie expressed himself as having spent a most interesting evening. Mr. Willkie had demonstrated before that he was not afraid to meet Communists and talk to them. He was a man who had nothing but contempt for the Red-scare technique, and he was of the opinion that Communists had to be taken on their merits like everybody else in the public life of the country, while he was very emphatic in declaring that he had no agreement with basic Communist doctrine. He had a serious evaluation of Communists as individuals and as a group in the solution of practical problems of the day. He welcomed that cooperation.

**QUESTION:** *Do you happen to know if Eric Johnston expressed his views in the election?*

**E**RIC JOHNSTON gave his support to Dewey. I was very happy to notice a certain lack of zeal in his participation in the campaign, which confirmed my judgment about the general feeling in the Dewey camp in this election campaign. This feeling was that there was no great sense of urgency that they had to elect Dewey—or else.

**QUESTION:** *Isn't it possible that a man like Eric Johnston had ulterior motives on his own part? That he doesn't want to be too closely identified with any faction that is so controversial at this stage of the game? There are comments that he aims to be President.*

**H**E SHARES that with a vast number. It is no longer distinctive.

**QUESTION:** *Was his [Eric Johnston's] coolness a matter of conviction or a politic one?*

**I**HAD the impression that Mr. Johnston's attitude was very similar to that of the *Herald Tribune* in New York. The *Herald Tribune* was in the peculiar position of turning its policy in the political campaign over to the business office. The best editorial brains connected with the *Herald Tribune* and the ownership (I think it is not revealing any confidential matters) were privately for Roosevelt. The question of what the position of the paper itself was to be was a matter referred to the business office as a question that had to be decided according to the considerations of how this institution as an investment could be best maintained.



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**QUESTION:** *Would you be willing to say a few words on the danger to our unity involved in the question of postwar military training?*

**T**HERE is a great deal of unclarity on this question. We have a tradition of pacifism. This makes it difficult to accept military training in peacetime. In my own opinion this is one of the harsh necessities in a very unsatisfactory world. In order for America to be able to live in peace and take its proper role in making military service unnecessary in the future, it is necessary to keep this country militarily prepared, which basically means giving the mass of the youth of this country basic military experience and training in peacetime as well as in wartime. And this must be so until we are certain that the peace is so firmly established that it will not again be challenged. There are many arguments, but I don't think I have the time to go into the topic more fully now. The role of the progressives in this is difficult. Reaction will attempt to capitalize on this before the 1948 campaign is upon us, to capitalize on the mass sentiment, and I think it will be necessary for the progressive camp to have this question clarified sufficiently that it will not disrupt its unity.

**QUESTION:** *Do you think that the class consciousness shown by the labor movement in this election will cause the press to assume a more liberal attitude than they have had heretofore?*

**I**CANNOT see any signs that will give me any right to predict a more liberal press in the United States, except as we bring it about by helping to close up reactionary papers and start progressive ones. The press of the United States is an interest by itself. It doesn't represent the nation. It doesn't represent the masses of the people. It doesn't represent business. It represents itself. And it has its own special business in politics in serving the reactionary elements. The true interests of monopoly capital today are represented by Roosevelt and not by Dewey. And yet the newspapers went overwhelmingly for Dewey in this campaign, so they are not good representatives of monopoly capital. There is no sign that this monopoly will be broken in any way, except as it is being broken by the larger number of newspapers that have some degree of independence and by the rise of a great trade union press which most people don't see and have very little knowledge of. The greatest progressive force in this country is the trade union press, especially of the CIO. It has a circulation of millions and is very influential. It is a weekly press, however.

**QUESTION:** *What do you think of President Roosevelt's denunciation of Communist support, and do you feel it was necessary to assure the result of the election?*

**I**GOT the impression that this was something which Mr. Roosevelt personally considered unnecessary, but it was forced upon him as a practical necessity at the last moment by his party advisors. I got that impression precisely from the hastiness and clumsiness of its formulation, which was quite unlike the President. The President is usually very precise and the opposite of clumsy, and this particular statement was mechanical and clumsy. I judged from it that this was a necessity only because it was considered a necessity by some panicky Democratic machine leaders.

# ART AND THE NEW WORLD

By **ILYA EHRENBURG**

*Moscow (by wireless).*

THE term "fascist medievalism," which we sometimes come across in newspapers, does not really express the true nature of fascism. The fanaticism of the Middle Ages was the fanaticism of faith; the fanaticism of fascism is the fanaticism of superstition. With the Middle Ages we associate the cathedrals of Chartres and Rheims, *The Song of Roland*, the *Roman de la Rose*, mystery plays and troubadours. But fascism is symbolized by Maidanek with its scientifically perfected furnaces, by colossal portraits of the Fuehrer, by Goebbels in the guise of Apollo and by Pomeranian cattlebreeders who fancy themselves as Pythians.

Fascism and beauty are incompatible. And not only because fascism destroys the monuments of art: although it has destroyed so many that Europe has grown impoverished—Novgorod, Rouen, the castles of Perugia, the palaces of the Loire, Leningrad, the frescoes of Ghirlandaio, canvasses by Picasso; not to mention the lives of artists, poets, actors and musicians. The destruction of works of art is older than fascism. Paul the Apostle smashed the images of the gods. But the older destroyers were also creators. They destroyed in the name of new ideas which in the years of their potent infancy labored to create a place for themselves. In order to create the Good Shepherd, the artist of the early days of Christianity first destroyed the statue of Pan (even though it was from that statue that he drew his inspiration). The Apostle Paul not only mutilated statues; he also created a high form of poetry. Fascists destroy, but they create nothing and can create nothing.

Rosenberg, the theoretician of fascism, wrote a book, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. The fascist myth is based upon prejudice and associated with blood. It is a paltry myth. The complexity of human culture is reduced to concern for cattlebreeders. According to fascist theory El Greco cannot be a Spanish artist because Greek blood flowed in his veins. If fascists are to be believed, Levitan was not a Russian artist or Pissarro a French artist; they had the wrong blood in their veins and their canvasses are to be destroyed. The shade of Rachel must vanish from the French stage. A German student and philologist to boot assured me that there never

was a poet by the name of Heine. That is what fascists have done to Germany.

Wretched myth! What have the fascists to add to the pedigree of cattlebreeding? Cultural autarchy. All they talk about is the national roots of art. Of course everything springs from some real soil, and it was not mere chance that the cannibal was born in the German Tyrol. But art is not a vegetable; it is a tree whose branches tend to spread across the garden fence. Does Shakespeare belong only to the English, or Tolstoy only to the Russians? Could Rome have existed without Greece, and could the artists of Flanders have worked without light that came from the South? The Muses have no need of passports or visas, and if art is entrusted to the tender mercies of customs officials, it will die.

THERE is another fascist myth: the cult of the "superman"—Nietzscheanism adapted to greedy burghers and maniacal brewers and sausagemakers. On close examination, this "superman" proves to be a creature bereft of elementary human qualities, a creature that can scarcely even be called anthropoid. Fascism is essentially inhuman—not only in its bloody deeds, but also in its mythology. Bestial instincts combine with automatism; a savage fashions a gas chamber for wholesale asphyxiation.

Fascism has not created any art; it cannot. It has destroyed beautiful buildings, statues and pictures, and leaves behind an ersatz art like poisoned water in a well.

The Red Army has saved the world from the fascist army. We must also save the world from fascist superstitions—myths which poison the mind with miasmas of decay. The world is blacked out. Not only the city lamps—the world is desolate without beauty. The tasks of Soviet art are enormous. The Red Army has not only saved our country; it has saved humanity. And humanity looks with hope towards the country which brought its liberation.

Our art must be worthy of our army and our people. It cannot shut itself up within its national boundaries. It remembers the testament of October, the significance of Russia to all humanity. Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Mous-

sorgsky, Tchaikovsky were beacons to mankind. Yet in those days Russia could scarcely claim a cultural hegemony. Now that the torch is in our hands, let it be frankly admitted that our art is not yet ready for the role assigned to it by history. In these days ordinary things are not good enough and though the light in our window may be dearer to us than any other, let us remember that it must now illumine the path for humanity.

Some think that an exacting conscience and beauty are incompatible. What a mistake that is! The heartless artist has never been able to approach true beauty, beauty which according to the legend blinds eyes of miscreants. Everybody knows that there are many remarkable men in our country, that it is a land of epic deeds. But can bad portraits of heroes enrich us spiritually? Can a poor play about lofty deeds exalt us? What we need is not to depict but to create, to fill our land and world with fine paintings and statues and to create heroes of fiction and tragedy. Not, however, to induce people to wonder which actual person is intended by the actor on the stage, but in such a way that people will call real persons, for greater precision and definition, by the names of characters in fiction and in plays.

What we need is creation; and we need it doubly after the impoverishment which fascism has brought upon mankind.

ART will heal spiritual wounds suffered in these terrible years and will help our people to build up a life worthy of their deeds, the life of victors. People have saved art from the gravest perils and at the cost of their blood. Let art recompense them with color and sound and perfection of form and by expanding and deepening life. Let us stop to examine shoots, footmarks, and the track of the march of the common everyday life in order better to see clusters of trees and stars and eyes of man. The torch is lowered and struck against the ground in order that it may burn brighter.

*The preceding article by Ilya Ehrenburg appeared in the Soviet art newspaper "Sovetskoye Iskusstvo."*

# NM SPOTLIGHT

## China's Imperatives

THE Kuomintang dictatorship has once again shown an obstinate refusal to accede to the needs of the Chinese nation in its desperate situation. The recent negotiations with the Communist Party have broken down because of the blind fear of reaction of anything which may weaken its stranglehold. The backwardness of China, its feudal and colonial characteristics are grist to the reactionary mill. Whatever threatens that backwardness, whatever spells reform, is stubbornly opposed. That is why, if China is to join with us in a coalition against Japan and if China is to take its place in the security councils of the United Nations, the dictatorship must be broken.

While the bureaucracy has refused to give an inch, China will not thereby collapse. Happily the Chungking dictatorship does not have the power to destroy the nation. It can only put obstacles in the way of progress and victory, it cannot deny them. The initiative must now come more forcefully than ever from the Chinese people themselves. It is they who must resist this small clique of internal enemies. The Communists have called for a national convention for the purpose of forming a coalition government. The Communists have also announced that they will soon launch a counter-offensive against the enemy in

the North. This is a cry which will be taken up by many patriotic forces throughout the country. It is a cry against which no decadent bureaucracy can long stand. It also becomes more and more clear that the policy of the United States must adjust itself to a situation whereby it gives encouragement and material support to any and all groups within China willing or able to fight against Japan. If this cannot be done through Chungking then it must be done directly with each one of these groups. We need not fear the disintegration of the country through such decentralization. The process of fighting against Japan will bind all groups into one nation as could no other force.

## The Right to Work

THE people's election mandate endorsing the President's program for full production, 60,000,000 jobs and the Economic Bill of Rights is already taking shape. The Murray War Contracts Committee's bill for full employment prepared for submission to the new Congress is both a concrete step toward carrying out the election mandate and an answer to the cynical question: "Who won the elections?" The committee proposes a congressional declaration to the effect that "every American able and willing to work has a right to a useful and remunerative job," that this

right can be translated into reality through joint action of business, labor and agriculture acting through their government. This important principle is supplemented by proposals for the necessary organizational machinery and the assignment of responsibility for realizing this far-reaching aim.

The core of this plan provides for an entirely new type of national budget to be prepared annually by the President for submission to Congress. This budget would estimate the total number of jobs needed for the given year, the volume of production necessary to create these jobs, and the estimated investments by industry and expenditures by the consumers and the government required to realize the proposed volume of production and consumption. Central emphasis is placed on the encouragement of private industry to provide the maximum possible employment, with federal expenditures to take up the slack, if any, in various ways. A joint congressional committee is to be selected and charged with the responsibility of supervising the general plan and of coordinating the work of all congressional committees dealing with budgetary and economic problems. The policy of the national budget thus becomes the national economic policy for all the branches of the government.

This is a rough draft of a practical program of social regulation of our complex economy, designed to serve the best interests of all classes and groups in the nation. The omissions and weaknesses incidental to the plan are less important than the broad social principles on which it is based. The committee regards its main proposals as a draft subject to discussion and amendment. In addition, the committee proposes reconsideration of vital reconversion decisions in order better to protect labor and small business. All progressive forces in Congress, business and the labor movement will follow the discussions on this bill with keen interest.

## Reversing the Clock

EVERY year at the AFL convention there comes a moment when William Green makes a speech about labor unity. It is always the same speech, but

On December 21, Premier-Marshal Joseph Stalin was sixty-five years old. There have been few leaders in world history who have served mankind with as much devotion and understanding as he. "He is a man," said Mr. Roosevelt last year after the Teheran Conference, "who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia." We take this occasion to wish Mr. Stalin long life and good health. We know that millions join us in this heartfelt tribute.



## For Spanish Democracy

**A** MASS meeting is being held at Madison Square Garden on January 2—the opening gun in a campaign to break relations with fascist Spain. The political situation within Spain at the present time makes it possible for Americans and democrats everywhere to help in destroying fascism there. It would be dangerous and utterly without reason to have spent so much in wealth, energy and men to defeat fascism all over the world only to allow a breeding place for the Nazi war criminals and their ideology to remain to poison the peace and prepare for World War III. The question of fascism in Spain is, in effect, an American problem, for we know that the peace and security of our nation, its whole postwar program, depends on how completely fascism is destroyed everywhere.

The meeting is being held under the auspices of the Nations Associates. Cooperating organizations are the CIO, American Business Congress, Union for Democratic Action, League for Industrial Democracy, American Educational Fellowship, American Labor Party, CIO City Council, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, American Committee for Spanish Freedom, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, United Committee of South Slavic Americans, American Slav Congress of Greater New York, United States Student Assembly, American Newspaper Guild, and the Free World Association.

the ardor with which it is delivered is undimmed. Mr. Green appeals to the wayward children of the CIO to return to "the house of labor"—meaning the AFL. Having gone through his routine, he then turns to the business at hand which, like as not, may turn out to be something designed to widen the cleavage in labor's ranks.

Last week President Philip Murray addressed to William Green a letter making concrete proposals for joint action by the two great labor organizations. This letter urged that the AFL and CIO work together for a common legislative program to assure that the election mandate given President Roosevelt and the new Congress is carried out. "Surely," wrote Mr. Murray, "our joint interest in obtaining a revision of the national welfare policy to provide necessary relief to the workers of the nation, in passing legislation which would provide adequate protection for human needs during reconversion, in securing the enactment of adequate legislation to assure social security, and

60,000,000 jobs at decent wages, in repealing any federal or state anti-labor statutes and defeating any attempt to extend such laws, affords a common basis for action."

Mr. Green is not exactly famous for the speed with which he acts. He generally likes to weigh every step carefully and not move till his executive council has pondered the problem and given him the green light. But this time he replied so fast it hardly seemed possible that he had read Mr. Murray's letter to the end. Mr. Green's answer in substance was No. The meaning of this was clear enough, but it became even clearer two days later when the press carried headlines such as "AFL Olive Branch Received by Lewis." The olive branch to labor's and America's enemy, John L. Lewis, the big stick toward the CIO—this is the policy of the labor bourbons who misrepresent the AFL membership.

The AFL unions of course will also give their reply to Phil Murray's unity offer, and it may prove to be quite different from Bill Green's. One answer

has already come: from the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, whose legislative conference voted unanimously in favor of joint legislative action with the CIO and other labor groups. It looks as if Mr. Green's latest attempt to turn back the clock may suffer the fate of his ban on AFL-CIO collaboration in the election campaign.

## Milestone

**J**IM CROW, already a bit groggy from the blows he has received during this war, took another one on the chin last week when the Supreme Court in two cases unanimously ruled that under the Railway Labor Act railroad unions must give full protection to the rights of Negro workers even though they are barred from union membership.

The principal case concerned Bester W. Steele, a Negro fireman on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in Alabama. Under the terms of an agreement which this road and others signed with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in 1941, an agreement whose purpose was to reduce the number of Negroes employed as firemen, Steele had been replaced by a white worker with less seniority. The Alabama Supreme Court upheld this discriminatory act. The United States Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Stone, has now reversed that decision.

The Supreme Court decision takes its place with the outlawing of the Texas white primary as another milestone in the battle to win full citizenship rights for 14,000,000 Negro Americans. The ruling supplements and strengthens the order issued more than a year ago by the Fair Employment Practices Committee to twenty southern railroads and seven rail unions to cease all discriminatory practices. That order specifically directed the setting aside of the 1941 agreement, which has now been virtually declared illegal by the Supreme Court. Only four of the companies and four of the unions have thus far agreed to abide by the FEPC order and the whole problem is still being studied by a three-man committee appointed by President Roosevelt. The President's statement in appointing the committee that no discriminations should prevent "the fullest use of our manpower in providing the strength essential to the major military offensives now planned" now gains added cogency as a result of military developments on the Western Front.





# KOESTLER'S DEVIOUS DEFEATISM

By JOEL BRADFORD

*This is the third and last of a series of articles by Mr. Bradford on Arthur Koestler, paladin of intellectual defeatism. They have appeared in consecutive issues of NEW MASSES.*

ROMANTICISM is not dead, but it is sadly changed. The daffodils at Grasmere long ago gave way to the flowers of evil at Paris. In our day the entire realm of botanical metaphor has disappeared beneath a torrent of physiological—I would almost say, anatomical—imaginary. What Wordsworth was able to perceive in the meanest flower that blows, Mr. Koestler is able to perceive in the ectoderm.

Nor has fortune been kind to that fair and fatal lady who used to corrupt the lives of nineteenth-century poets. As Heine's *ungluecksel'ge Weib*, she was at prime. As Swinburne's Dolores, she had grown thinnish of mind and remarkably unpoisonous. In these present years she seems not to trouble Mr. T. S. Eliot at all.

Are we to suppose that there are now no ladies fatal and fair, or that literary gentlemen have become incorruptible? I think that either hypothesis overstrains belief. The malicious wanton of a hundred years ago has lost shape and body, and has become a secret, insinuating, dispiriting, psychological force. She is Neurosis, and her admirers are men who have acquainted themselves with the vocabulary, if not the science, of Dr. Freud.

Romanticism, moreover, has always had a curious effect upon philosophy. While empurpling pages which might otherwise be a dusty gray, it has transformed the theory of knowledge into a study of the psychology of knowing. It has chosen as criterion of truth, not the correspondence of the idea to reality, but the passion with which the idea is felt. At the same time, the growing morbidity of romanticism gave to these innocent, if mistaken, exercises a pre-occupation with pathology. After Schopenhauer, von Hartmann, Nietzsche, and Bergson, knowledge itself begins to appear a disease of sensitive minds.

Lastly, there has always been, and

there remains, the phenomenon of romantic melancholy. Romanticists, of course, were not the first to muse upon the sad futility of life. What is novel in them is the pleasure they take in those musings. The great Romantics had reason to be unhappy, and in any case they did not substitute tears for action. But their literary ancestors played at melancholy because it was picturesque, and their descendants praise it because it is politically useful. In 1722 we have Thomas Parnell and the voice which

*... sends a peal of hollow groans,  
Thus speaking from among the bones.*

In 1944 we have Arthur Koestler and the mute intelligentsia: "the sensitive membrane vibrated wildly; but there was no resonance-body attached to it." Sounding or voiceless, the phenomenon, in these two epochs, is a fraud.

I HAVE dwelt thus upon the general nature of Romanticism not because I have any distaste for romantic literature nor because I wish to provide Mr. Koestler with a classification. I have dwelt upon it, rather, because, once we perceive the whole body of ideas, we can also perceive how it may be manipulated for certain purposes. Furthermore, it will become clear that a writer who has these purposes in view gains a considerable advantage by placing himself in a recognized tradition.

Let us begin with this question of neurosis. Now, it is true that neurotics exist. It is likewise true that neurotics (some of them, at any rate) can be cured. It is true, furthermore, that those who are cured have a firmer grasp upon reality than those who are not. If we grant, as seems reasonable, that it is a good thing for a writer to have a firm grasp upon reality, we can infer that those writers who are neurotics would do well to be cured before they write.

This argument is logically impeccable. At the same time, it is eminently not the way in which romantics would argue the question. They love the psychological ills which, real or imaginary, beset them. "My very chains and I grew friends." They are therefore not ambitious to be cured. Resisting the conclusion which our argument produced, they are forced to attack at least one of the premises. Consequently, they would probably deny either the assertion that neurotics have an inferior grasp upon reality or the assertion that it is good for writers to have a firm grasp upon reality.

These denials give rise to the second and third parts of romantic ideology. For the assertion that neurotics do *not* have an inferior grasp upon reality will lead at once to the notion that neurotics have a special insight into truth by virtue of the neurosis itself. And, again, the assertion that writers do *not* need a firm grasp upon reality will lead to the view that reality is not worth grasping and that the writer's task is to provide mankind with a refuge and an escape.

These doctrines will be found in Mr. Koestler's writings, though in that emotionally dilute and pseudo-scientific form which he affects. Does Romanticism hold that knowledge, at its deepest, is private and almost incommunicable? Well, last January 9, in the *New York Times*, Mr. Koestler wrote at some length about a division of mankind into the laughing multitude and the screaming few. (The adjectives, I must insist, are his.) The laughers are the common run of men. The screamers are the prophets, the men of anguished wisdom, whose warnings of danger the laughers do not heed. Mr. Koestler classes him-



Eugene Larkin  
Larkin

## Culture Enlists in the Future

THE artists, writers and scientists are in American political life for keeps. They aren't content with the speeches they made, the pictures they painted, the songs they sang to help reelect Roosevelt. They're going on from there.

"Politics is an expression of our daily lives and our political future is in our own hands," Jo Davidson, the sculptor, says. "The war is still to be won; the battle for peace and security is still ahead. The immediate future presents a challenge that is as great if not greater than that presented by the election." And so out of the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences, of the campaign period, has grown the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, with Mr. Davidson continuing as chairman.

How will the committee help to mould that political future? This is its program: swift victory; lasting peace; full employment and a decent standard of living in postwar America; extension of democracy here and abroad; and the strengthening of international unity through interchange of ideas between the men and women of the arts, sciences and professions of our country and the United Nations. The committee plans to issue a regular publication, conduct meetings and forums, produce radio programs and participate in political campaigns. It will "campaign for legislation which is good and against that which is bad. It will seek out that which is detrimental to our democracy and play the strong light of publicity upon it." There will be subcommittees of theater, radio, literature, films, art, science and technology, music, education, medicine and journalism.

The best representatives of the arts and professions have found their places here, as they did during the campaign. To name but the members of the temporary executive council, there are Mr. Davidson, Fredric March, Herman Shumlin, Beatrice Kaufman, Van Wyck Brooks, Louis Calhern, Dr. Frank Kingdon, Mady Christians, Norman Corwin, Dr. Moses Diamond, Philip Evergood, Moss Hart, Lillian Hellman, John McManus, William Morris, Dr. Alonzo Myers, Dr. John P. Peters, Nelson Poynter, Robert Rossen, Harlow Shapley, Paul Robeson and Yehudi Menuhin.

Culture itself is enlisted in the fight for the future, and that future looks brighter than ever before.

self as a screamer, to which denomination his literary style fully entitles him.

Now, the screamers possess a special degree of knowledge, intimately apprehended and profoundly felt. Particularly do they feel the essential horror in things. There are two planes of experience: a trivial, on which we usually live, and a cosmic, where all is tragedy. To the second plane we seldom rise, though the screamers rise thither somewhat oftener than others. We may know our inkwells with perfect intimacy, but the spiral nebulae, because of their immense remoteness, have for us "a lower degree of reality." And when we come to the Absolute, comprehension breaks down altogether.

It is not clear whether Mr. Koestler is blaming men for their limited awareness or science for its cold austerity. Apparently, however, there is this la-

mentable dilemma: if we seek passionate knowledge, it will tend to be of trivial things; whilst if we seek knowledge of great things, it will tend to be unimpassioned. The dilemma can readily be demolished, for Plato's lofty imaginative passages will destroy the first horn and Spinoza's *Ethics* will destroy the second. Mr. Koestler, however, loves to be impaled, and therefore lets the horns alone.

The belief that there are higher degrees of knowledge accessible only to neurotics strongly resembles the medieval belief in saints' voices heard clearly and imperatively in the mind's own ear. The further belief that neurotics are especially apt material for the novelist's art corresponds with the medieval lore of saints and demons, though it lacks the innocent ingenuousness which will there be found. After three hundred years of conquests by science and reason, the cult

of irrational things can never seem quite healthful.

WHAT precisely is this knowledge of which neurotics are so rapturously possessed? In two of his novels, *Darkness at Noon* and *Arrival and Departure*, Mr. Koestler gives us some concrete examples. Let us now examine them.

*Darkness at Noon* was written in order to convince readers that the old Bolsheviks had been grossly abused by the upstart Stalin. The hero of the novel is one Rubashov, said by the author to be a composite of "the victims of the so-called Moscow Trials." Rubashov is an interesting character, and, in a queer sort of way, Mr. Koestler tells the truth about him. As portrayed here he is no more of a Bolshevik than Mr. Koestler is, and his knowledge of Marxism is absolutely zero.

According to the story, Rubashov was, prior to his arrest, an agent in Germany of a somewhat doubtful body known as the "Central Committee." In this capacity he expels from the Party (not so doubtful) a member who had been advocating an anti-Nazi alliance between the Communists and the "moderates."

Now this policy was, as a matter of historical fact, precisely the policy followed by the German Communist Party and endorsed by the Communist International. Therefore, either Mr. Koestler's account falsifies history, or his hero acts in direct opposition to established policy. In the first case, the falsification is slander; in the second case, Mr. Koestler has provided us with a valid reason for Rubashov's arrest. The validity of that reason grows in power when you realize that Rubashov's divisive actions help to strengthen the Hitler regime—the mortal enemy of Rubashov's homeland and of all mankind. Mr. Koestler meant to exhibit an alleged Communist tyranny. What he actually shows is Trotskyite betrayal.

In the course of expelling the errant member, Rubashov delivers himself of the following nonsense:

"The Party can never be mistaken," said Rubashov. "You and I can make a mistake. Not the Party. The Party, comrade, is more than you and I and a thousand others like you and I. The Party is the embodiment of the revolutionary idea in history. History knows no scruples and no hesitation. Inert and unerring, she flows toward her goal. At every bend in her course she leaves the mud which she carries and the corpses of the drowned. History knows her way.

She makes no mistakes. He who has not, absolute faith in history does not belong in the Party's ranks."

In this passage there is not a single sentence which is true, except the one which says, "You and I can make a mistake." Nor is there a single sentence which bears any relation to Marxism, except the relation of being different. It is most un-Marxian to regard history as a half-personified force which moves with inevitability and carries Communists to victory on its coat-tails. An entity which contrives to be at once "inert" and "flowing" must surely be the most remarkable phenomenon of any century. And it is impossibly un-Marxian to regard "the Party" as infallible. Here is what Lenin had to say—whom even Mr. Koestler will allow to have known a thing or two:

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party, and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and towards the toiling masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the conditions which gave rise to it, to study attentively the means of correcting it—these are the signs of a serious party; this means the performance of its duties, this means educating and training the class, and, subsequently, the masses." (Lenin: *Left-Wing Communism*. Quoted by Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Part II. Lenin's emphasis.)

THE attempt to pass Rubashov off as a Communist and a Marxist is thus wholly preposterous. It can have deceived only those who are as ignorant of Marxism as are the hero and the author of this novel. At all events, it is not a very encouraging display of the political knowledge accessible to neurotics. The "cosmic plane" may contain tragedy, but it does not seem to contain much truth.

If Rubashov is distinguished by his ignorance, Peter Slavek, the hero of *Arrival and Departure*, is distinguished by an extraordinary feebleness of mind. He has, however, a far from feeble neurosis. If the reader will permit me, I should like to review this neurosis, for it has exceptional pungency.

Peter suffers from a guilt-complex—the complex which, according to Mr. Koestler, all intellectuals acquire. He hated his brother almost from babyhood. When he was not quite three and his brother a baby in the cradle, he tried to put out his brother's eyes. Two years

later he succeeded by means of an accident with a boat hook. He felt no guilt about this, only a kind of joy; but at the same time he felt he ought to feel guilt. Then he began to feel guilt for not feeling guilt, and he spent the rest of his life trying to incur blame so as to provide a basis for the guilt he felt for not feeling guilt. He got into "the movement." His mother died of fright, and for a time he had the pleasure of blaming himself for that. He was tortured by the Gestapo, who gave him an unexampled opportunity for the incurring of guilt by turning informer. Unluckily, they had gagged him. He could utter no word, and the great moment passed in frustration.

Peter has the neurosis, all right. To what knowledge does it give him access? The reader will have to be a dream interpreter to discover what Peter really knows, but it is quite clear that he is the least knowledgeable character in the entire book. In one of the major episodes Peter is completely vanquished by the argumentation of a Nazi agent named Bernard. Bernard's "arguments" pass from assertions that radical intellectuals are declassed and suffer from neurosis to some of the giddier assertions of geopolitics and racism. Peter is impotent before these arguments. He can only smile.

I think we have all seen that smile. Condescending, cynical, provocative, it is what passes as a substitute for proof among people of Peter's kind. Not until I read *Arrival and Departure*, however, did I realize the poverty of intellect which lies behind that smile. Such people know nothing, because they have learned nothing. They luxuriate in feelings, because they have no ideas. I fancy this is why Mr. Koestler tells us in his *Partisan Review* article that "intelligence alone is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition to become a member of the Intelligentsia." Intelligence not necessary? How extraordinary!

SO MUCH for the contention that neurotics have access to special knowledge. We come now to the final doctrine of romantic ideology, namely, that action is vain because the world is incurable. Mr. Koestler departs slightly from the pattern in that, although he thinks the world pretty hopeless now, he believes there have been epochs of opportunity. One such epoch was that of the *Narodnaya Volya*, the Russian intellectuals of the 1870's who put on peasant's clothes and harangued the countryside. "They found," says Mr. Koestler, "no

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competition in the shape of trade unions and labor politicians." It was a veritable "paradise for intellectuals with pedagogical yearnings."

The wilderness were paradise now! One may remark in passing that this same *Narodnaya Volya* provided Lenin with his first political antagonists. In view of the mincemeat which he made of their theories, these intellectuals must seem to have fallen short of the ideal. Much more striking, however, is the fact that Mr. Koestler regards trade unions as obstacles in the path of an intelligentsia. Intelligentsias, one must then conclude, function best when there is no organized labor movement.

But, although the proletariat's own organizations are an obstacle to intellectuals, the class itself is, according to Mr. Koestler, a necessary ally. "An intelligentsia," says he, in words which require no comment, "deprived of the prop of an alliance with an ascending class must turn against itself and develop that hot-house atmosphere, that climate of intellectual masturbation and incest, which characterized it during the last decade." I am willing to let every writer speak for his own climate, but I am curious to know how the intelligentsia is to ally itself with the proletariat, without, however, allying itself with the labor movement.

Yet even this feat turns out to be useless, for, as Mr. Koestler says, the proletariat has "sleeping sickness." It no longer "ascends," having come under the baleful influence of the Third International. "The collapse of the revolutionary movement has put the intelligentsia into a defensive position; the alternative for the next few years is no more 'capitalism or revolution' but to save *some* of the values of democracy and humanism or to lose them all."

It is all very bad—too bad, in fact, to be true. For the historical moment at which Mr. Koestler assures us we are shipwrecked is the very moment when the ship is making for fairer harbors than it has yet visited. The moment at which Mr. Koestler wants to "save some" of the values of democracy is the moment when more of them can be achieved than ever before. Mr. Koestler is a motorist who uses the accelerator going downhill, and in level country applies the brakes.

What would an intellectual do if he accepted Mr. Koestler's contentions? Obviously he would do nothing. He is told, first, that as a member of the intelligentsia he has a "functional relation" with neurosis. We say to him, "Get yourself cured." But Mr. Koestler

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SCIENCE & SOCIETY

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has told him that neurotics have keener insight than other people, and he therefore does not wish to be cured. We say to him, "That keener insight does not exist." But Mr. Koestler has told him, thirdly, that insight isn't needed anyway, because the situation is hopeless. We say, "The situation, on the contrary, is very hopeful." He smiles.

ONE cannot, of course, prove that Mr. Koestler intended to paralyze intellectuals like a modern Medusa, but that, nevertheless, is the effect. There is no persuasiveness in his argumentation, but there is a great deal in his deft manipulation of prejudices. He is far too clever to parade the vulgar forms of racism; but when he twice refers to the Soviet government as that "semi-Asiatic dictatorship," I can see many a head nodding sagely in assent. He is far too clever to reveal any sympathy with fascism; but his own doctrine of the neurotic frustration of intellectuals, as set forth in *Partisan Review*, is one which, with admirable frankness, he puts into the mouth of the Nazi Bernard in *Arrival and Departure*.

There is, above all, that tone of restless stridency. "You may not understand this," he seems to say, "you don't understand it, you can't be expected to understand it; but you've got to believe it, you've got to believe it." It is remarkable that his New York Times essay, which ostensibly had to do with Nazi brutality, actually turned into a long lecturing of his readers upon their intellectual inadequacies. I should have thought that the ill-success of Jeremiah and Cassandra and the other bilious prophets had long ago revealed the weakness of such devices. But Mr. Koestler (and Mr. Lewis Mumford, too) are more certain of the general depravity of their readers than they are of anything else.

There is something appalling, too, in the display of universal hate. A man of limitless dissatisfactions, Mr. Koestler hates "Stalinists," labor leaders, Labor Party executives, social philosophers, civil servants, and existing sexual mores. Doubtless in future works the list will be extended. But, surely, a shipwrecked mariner who hates with equal passion all his rescuers will have little else to do but drown.

These purely negative emotions, however massive in the feeling or grand in the utterance, must some day exhaust their charm. I should expect that Mr. Koestler's readers will come at length to shudder before a futility so vast and



*Lenin*

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overpowering. Because one man or even one group of men is bankrupt and planless, we need not all wander eternally without destination or guide.

And in fact we do not. For the American intelligentsia, whatever its taste for siren and melancholy sounds, is still in love with knowledge, still unpersuaded that knowledge has no part to play in human affairs. American culture, as three centuries have set it forth, has no soil capable of nourishing the weedy growths of defeat. If in that garden some plants are seen to droop, it is because they have lived out their brief and purple time, and now hang fruitless toward the inevitable dust.

I should be sorry to increase Mr. Koestler's neurosis by one little inch, but I must foretell for him this further frustration: he will never capture America.

## Behind Russia's Lines

THE ORDEAL, by Arkady Pervertsev. Harper. \$2.50.

ARKADY PERVENTSEV is a war correspondent for *Izvestia* who covered the defense of Sevastopol from a naval bomber in the Black Sea. He has been badly wounded in the line of duty; he has seen fighting on many fronts, but the subject he has chosen for his latest novel is the battle that goes on twenty-four hours a day behind the lines.

*The Ordeal* is an impressive attempt to dramatize the problems faced by the workers of an airplane plant in the Ukraine when the Nazis advanced on their town. Dubenko, the director, had prepared for this emergency. Before the invasion he had scouted the hinterland and had selected a mining village in the Urals out of the range of Nazi planes. It is to this dreary spot, thousands of miles east of the sunny Ukraine, that the entire factory is transferred. Every piece of machinery is loaded on flatcars under enemy bombardment; the factory itself is blown up by the men who built it. Two months later the first plane is finished in the new plant in the Urals.

What happens during these two months is a story so gallant, so heroic that one feels justified in describing it with that overworked word "epic." At first the people's reactions are far from heroic. They can hardly believe that they will have to abandon and destroy their beloved town and plant which they have built with their own hands. They fear the enemy; yet they hope that their homes will not have to be given up. There are rumors that the natives of the

Urals are as strange, gloomy and unfriendly as the hardy mountain climate. But by the time the Germans are in the suburbs of the town, all doubts and fears have disappeared. Fear of the Nazis has turned to cold hatred; anger at the enemy is the only emotion which motivates their actions. For they have seen the refugees passing through their town, their women and children have been slaughtered by Nazi bombs, their sons have given their lives at the front, their families have been scattered, their homes destroyed.

Although this is a grim and purposeful book, Pervertsev is often carried away by his love and knowledge of the people he writes about. He introduces episodes and characters which lighten this account of daily heroism and self-sacrifice. There are such heart-warming individuals as Mayor Lob, broken out of the Red Army for drunkenness, eagerly taking his chance to make a comeback; Maxim Trunov, an old scout of the Civil War days; Valya, Dubenko's wife, who finds that the prerogatives of married life are denied her; she must always yield to the needs of the factory. And many others: some brave, some cowardly, some wise, some stubborn; but all united in one fixed purpose—the destruction of the enemy.

Pervertsev's writing is simple. He is not a Sholokhov or a Leonov in search of symbols, images or metaphors. His material requires only the direct words of a man who knows his subject matter thoroughly, and who can make others feel proud of human accomplishments.

It is heartening to read Alfred Vanderbilt's column in the *New York Post* of Dec. 19, 1944. Writing from Albuquerque, N. M., Vanderbilt says: "Most people here are overwhelmingly in favor of the Soviet, the next to FDR, Joe Stalin is the most popular world figure. . . . Nearly everyone I come in contact with has been reading Arkady Pervertsev's inspiring novel, *The Ordeal*."

Yes, Americans will be "overwhelmingly in favor of the Soviet" as long as they can find out the truth about our Russian allies from such books as this.

T. C. Foxx.

## Morale in U S Armies

MORALE EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN ARMY, by Philip Foner. International. 20¢.

THIS little booklet contains a survey and an estimate of wartime political and morale education in the Continental and the Union Armies during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, with some

pages devoted to the War of 1812. It is not, as the title might imply, a discussion of present-day army orientation work. But it would be an excellent guide to those in charge of current Army education. Dr. Foner presents quotations from Washington's general orders to the troops that reveal his keen awareness of the need for political clarity in the Army. Excerpts from the more popular of Tom Paine's *Crisis* papers are supplemented by other less well-known material.

During the Civil War the problem of Army morale took the form of a struggle against the Copperheads. The best troops invariably were the most enlightened politically. Dr. Foner writes of a famous regiment which received systematic political training by a friend of Karl Marx. For Col. August Wil-

lich, its leader, was a member of the Communist League and a veteran of the 1848 revolution in Germany, where Engels fought under his command.

Political or morale education in the Union Army was a substantial factor in winning the final victory. Illuminating passages are cited from the educational material sent to the Union troops by religious, patriotic, Abolitionist and labor organizations, and much of it, with minor alternations, could be used effectively today. Dr. Foner contrasts this activity with the sterile Confederate morale education, the character of which confirms the fact that only a progressive and just war can make an effective appeal to the best instincts and aspirations of all decent people in and out of uniform.

RALPH BOWMAN.

## STAGE FOR ACTION

A UNION meets somewhere within a radius of thirty miles from Times Square. A hundred men and women have assembled after work-hours to discuss the doings in their shop. After perhaps an hour, the chairman raps for order and announces, "We will now interrupt the business of this meeting with fifteen minutes of entertainment brought to us by Stage for Action." Without more fuss than lights out at the back of the hall, a troupe of actors takes over the small platform—and suddenly the tired men and women sit up; they laugh, they feel, they identify themselves in the playlet so that they grow angry or are gratified, or as sometimes happens, forget themselves sufficiently to enter the argument before them. In any case, the skit makes them *think* and it makes them *do*. And when the applause is over, the chairman corrects himself: "This has been no interruption of our business. In reality, it has been an extension of it into the field of broader issues." Perhaps, even as the discussion begins, the actors are already out in the street trying to get a cab to take them to another playing date.

This has been the pattern of Stage for Action for the past year. As often as not its audience has been a church congregation, a consumers' council, a Y, a tenant's league, a community organization, a woman's club. It has played before forty people and it has faced 3,000 at a performance. Its presentations have included farce, drama, living newspaper, comedy and fantasy. And

everyone of them has been designed to make people *think, feel, and do* something on the issues of the day. Truly the stage used importantly, seriously, educationally for the people: Stage for Action.

Of course, SFA is not a new idea. Its granddaddy is the agit-prop of the early Soviet Union and of the second Reich in the brief period when Germans could still indicate interest in their national affairs. More recently it was preceded in our country by the Current Theater and the traveling units of the New Theater which sought to dramatize the problems of the middle thirties.

Nevertheless, there is much that is new in SFA. For one thing, it is professional in every department: its writers, actors, composers and lyricists, producers and directors earn their living in the commercial theater of stage, screen and radio. For another, it tries to avoid doing what a pamphlet or a speaker could do better, striving to get its message across strictly in terms of theater entertainment values. The determinant factor, however, is that it is a child of this particular period: of a time of growing community consciousness, of powerful trade union organization, of widespread and increasing desire among people for more light and guidance on the social, economic and political facets of the day. And this little matter of arriving with a right idea at the right moment may extend SFA's usefulness into the incalculable future. In fact, this combination of right idea and right time has been so

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For full details on the contest consult the column on page 29.

dynamic that SFA is on the way to becoming a national organization, with affiliates forming in Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and on the West Coast.

THIS is not to say that SFA is an all-fired smash success. It could be, it should be—but it is not yet. It is receiving guidance and money and enormous quantities of free work from many of the best people in the theater; some trade unions, such as the National Maritime Union, the United Electrical Workers and the State, County and Municipal Workers have recognized its educational value with a yearly subsidy; many individuals and some community organizations have backed their deep interest in SFA with cash. But it needs much more trade union support than it has received, both in terms of subsidy and billings. SFA has a terrific potential of usefulness, not only as a progressive lever among working and middle-class audiences, but among theater workers also. And when it gets to be known, its short shows should be a guarantee of full membership meetings, something many union executives rarely accomplish for all their earnest planning.

SFA's first plays were a fourth term one-acter by Ben Hecht, *The Untitled* by Norman Corwin, an abridged version of Chodorov's *Decision*, and *That They May Win*, an audience participation playlet by Arthur Miller. Of these, the sturdiest proved to be Miller's play on price control and child care. After a year, it is still going strong, having come through several revisions to fit it to changing requirements. *Decision*, after a lapse, is back in the circuit. The plays which followed these first four were Les Pines' very popular get-out-the-vote farce, *Joseph McGinnical*, *Cynical Pinnacle*, *The Man With The Limburger Mustache*; a living newspaper mystery show for FDR's reelection, written by Ken Crossen and played by two companies, sometimes three times a night; *All Our Tomorrows*, a dramatic piece on social security by Gerald Savory and Harry Granick, still very much in demand; and Pete Martin's *Three Cornered Attitude* on postwar employment which was readied too late for the election but is now very much a hit wherever shown. In preparation are scripts on the no-strike pledge, on fifth columnists at work in an industrial war town, on Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, on the poll tax, on new housing and on Teheran perspectives.

It should at once be apparent that SFA is today's theater of the people. It



did an important job during the election; it is off to a good start in the second year of its existence. The progressive movement needs it especially in this period when issues beg for definition in every medium of expression. But in order to live, SFA needs more cash support and most certainly, a vastly increased demand for bookings. Its charge per performance is amazingly low, averaging twenty-five dollars and less. When the several thousand civic, community and trade union organizations in Greater New York realize that this is their theater, mobile enough to come to them, designed for their deepest interest, a membership builder, an entertainer, a provoker of discussion and of action, SFA will have no trouble in carrying its small budget.

HARRY TAYLOR.

## On Broadway

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As Ma and Pa they're a perfect riot!  
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A style so risible, you can't defy it.  
Virginia Gilmore, John Dall try it;  
They are the lovers—oh, how they pet!  
But you're yelling for story? I can't deny it—

Pardon me, please, but I forget.

The cast is hilarious. Under Moss Hart  
The evening is fast, the evening is slick.

Norman Krasna writes like a sweet-heart:

His people are human, the laughs all click,

Boy meets girl and he takes the trick.  
Frederick Fox has the cutest set—

You're bawling for story? Why the panic?

Pardon me, please, but I forget.

See *Dear Ruth* and you'll not rue it.

It's gay, titilicious, a perfect bet—  
The story? You insist I revue it—

Pardon me, please, but I forget.  
H. T.

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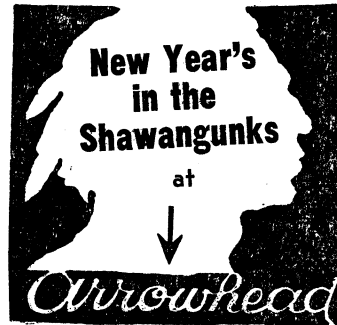
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