

NEW

HOW TO WIN THE PEACE

by *HENRY A. WALLACE*

MASSES

June 19, 1945

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WHAT KIND OF RECONVERSION?

by *VIRGINIA GARDNER*

LEVANTINE POT AND KETTLE

by *WILLIAM BRANDT*

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: San Francisco: Words and Reality, by Frederick V. Field; The Art of Being an Artist, by Joel Bradford; The C.P.A. Evaluates Its Course, by the Editors; The Rise and Fall of Juan Maria, a Short Story by Mary Garrison; Freud and Literature, by Isidor Schneider; Labor Digs for Facts, by Richard Gray.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE HAD a post-luncheon appointment the other day for an interview with Jonathan Fenn Weil, age thirty-three months. Jonathan, our readers may remember, was the prime cause in the leave of absence which Barbara Giles Weil took from the managing editorship of *NEW MASSES* in the spring a year ago. We should like to report that while we always find it hard to understand how anyone can voluntarily terminate his life in suite 388 of 104 East Ninth, Jonathan Fenn seems to be as good an excuse as one could muster. Jonathan was happily rocking away in that on-the-knees-and-hands stance peculiar to his age when we arrived, and after sizing up the situation decided he didn't like it. He took a couple of looks at us with his black eyes and set up a protest that bore witness to a healthy, lusty babyhood. When it became clear, however, that the visitor was not going to deprive him of his regular afternoon trip to the park, he withdrew his objections and smiled at us with such an engaging smile that we promptly forgot politics. We strolled alongside the Taylor-tot (a sort of cross between a kiddie-car and a baby buggy) while Jonathan made various happy but otherwise unintelligible comments from time to time. All in all we had a wonderful time, including the adventure of the Friendly Wire-Haired Terrier, who was bent on greeting Jonathan in his own doggy way. Jonathan didn't object, but his mother did.

EVERY now and then the postman performs for us the office of Robert Burns' "Giftie," and provides us with a special little mirror to show ourselves as others see us. This week the review makes its way to us from Port Elizabeth, South Africa. NM had been arriving in big bunches, sometimes fifteen at a go, very late. And with world events packing a month's worth into a week as they frequently do these days, last summer's crises seem long ago and far away when they get to South Africa. So our correspondent in the course of explaining the state of affairs went on to indicate certain dissatisfactions with us as well. "We in this country," he wrote, "are brought up and nurtured on the moderate and sober literary style of writing as practised in England, even when the contents are very critical and hard-hitting, as an example: the *New Statesman* and *Nation*. The explosive and sensational style of writing so much in vogue in your country is not only unappreciated here but we find it actually jarring. . . . I take it that every journal caters to the tastes of its readers, for I find that such journals as the *New Republic* or *Foreign Affairs* provide a style of writing more compatible with our

taste." So, with a cordial "Wishing you luck in your own vast country," and a word of regret about missing our "excellent cartoons and artistic sketches," our South African correspondent bade us farewell. We knitted our brows over this one for quite a while.

ABOUT this time every year Washington Square, which is only a few blocks around the corner from us, blossoms with its annual art show. It takes on a sort of carnival atmosphere with the paintings being set up all along the sidewalk, hung to the railings and along cornices. A couple of agile little men in berets set up umbrellas at the MacDougal Street end of the square and for a sum sketch your portrait (on the funny side) or snip your silhouette in less time than you used to take for a paper doll. For focusing attention, having your silhouette cut is a mean rival to the more orthodox position under the spotlight. We always

enjoy this event. Most of the stuff on show would never make the Metropolitan, even under socialism, but somehow it belongs to everybody, hanging out there in the sun. No apartment house manager ever turns up to object to his property being decked out with commercial wares, and the gallery of critics tramps the round in everything from Artcraft pumps to old work shoes. As we walked by the bright gobs of color hung around the old four-story houses on the south side we found ourselves looking up at the houses where some of the artists live and paint (in something more than a garret) and thinking with considerable wrath about the outfit that has bought a whole block of these handsome old houses to "improve" the property with a nineteen-story setback and all sorts of kitchen and bathroom aperturances as part of its postwar plans. The Sunday strollers, many of whom live in the dark, many-family apartments on Thompson and Sullivan Streets, will have even a little less sunshine. And who knows whether the manager will let its elegant front serve as an annual background to the happy aspect of civilization we enjoy this June day?

V. S.

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WHAT KIND OF RECONVERSION?

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

WHEN the quarterly report by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion to the President and the Congress, due June 30, is issued, it will be found that anticipated war production cutbacks for the next six months and for the year will be higher than the ten to fifteen percent of current production which Director Fred M. Vinson announced for the ensuing six months period on May 10.

For the first time the OWMR will have accurate and detailed figures from the military on which to base cutback estimates. The War Production Board never has been able to obtain any more than hand-to-mouth data on cutbacks up to this time. That the figures were due to be provided "right down the line" by the procurement agencies in the next few days, I was assured by persons in a position to know.

There is a good deal of difference of opinion here as to how extensive unemployment will be in the next year. There are differences within the labor movement, just as there are on policies which should be followed by WPB. But on two things there is agreement: the significance of Vinson's endorsement of the Wagner - Murray - Thomas - O'Mahoney full employment bill and his statement that government must assume responsibility for maintaining "high levels of production and employment" and encouraging the "maintenance of markets and consumer spending"; and the irresponsibility of some of the recent statements of WPB Chairman J. A. Krug.

The thing Krug said which irked labor more than anything else was his bland pronouncement at a press conference that 300,000 workers would just have to leave Detroit and go back where they came from. Vinson is reported to have muttered, when some of Krug's remarks were tossed at him by some labor people recently, words to the effect that "What are you going to do when someone just doesn't follow directives?" Be that as it may, Vinson has certainly not attempted to shrug off responsibility, but on the con-

trary, has told callers that his office definitely under the statute has the authority to form policy and issue directives on reconversion.

I have talked to labor people and government people in highly responsible posts on some of the various aspects of the nation's number one domestic problem, reconversion. Certainly there is no disposition on the part of the government to alter Krug's definite commitment to let things move freely without government controls, in the overall sense. At the same time I believe that such people as Vinson himself and his able assistant, Robert Nathan, are aware of the terrible dangers involved in letting things drift in a complete *laissez faire* fashion after warning signals have appeared. Vinson's great weakness seems to be that he is still worrying over inflation when it comes to wages. Rather than take the position that wage increases must be provided in order to maintain purchasing power, and then ruling on any price increases OPA recommends, he shies away from wage increases altogether.

President Truman, who took such a positive position in support of swift enactment of federal unemployment insurance legislation, had little to say when Pres. Philip Murray of the CIO recently talked to him on the need to provide a twenty percent increase in basic wage rates. The War Labor Board continues to huddle daily, it is said, over the question of reconversion wages. When I sought an interview with Chairman George Taylor, I was told he was too busy considering reconversion wage problems to see reporters. Meanwhile labor is supposed to take comfort in his widely quoted last word on the subject to the effect that he was putting his chips on good old collective bargaining.

Most hopeful item on the fairly dismal wage front now is the report that at a recent meeting of the OWMR board, attended by Taylor and by Office of Economic Stabilization Chief William Davis, the subject came up on the insistence of Philip Murray. The board, after some discussion, did gen-

erally agree that wages ought to be raised. Eric Johnston, head of the US Chamber of Commerce, supported the proposal.

WHILE the country will have to wait for the next quarterly report of OWMR to get a more definite enunciation of policy than has yet been made, one well informed person I interviewed put it like this:

There are two extreme devices which could be used by WPB during this period: (1) To let 'er ride, let everyone scramble for materials, let nature take her course. Hold on to your hats, big industry, here we go. Hold on to the seat of your trousers, small business and labor, or get it out of the way, before you get a kick where it hurts. (2) Have over-all complete programming for reconversion. Every time a ton of steel is released, redirect it. Every time a contract is cancelled, so direct the release of tools and materials and the shifting of manpower that the plant, labor force and equipment, will be used to the maximum.

But there is the well known happy medium which it is thought will be envisioned in the next quarterly report. This will call for, during the third quarter, the orderly programming not only of all war production but of essential civilian manufacture including trucks, railroad equipment, washing machines, and so on. What materials are left will be released on the free market.

"But isn't it a myth to talk about a free market open to all competitors in something like sheet steel, which is extremely short, when in fact the big auto companies will grab it all and there will be none left for the so-called low-end products of civilian consumption?" I asked my informant.

This was a danger, he said, and for that reason the auto companies were not given a green light for unlimited production, but only for a certain amount of production in the third quarter. Moreover, WPB definitely would take some steps—apparently they are vague as yet—to assure veterans and

small business some equitable distribution.

WPB has estimated there would be 100,000 tons of sheet steel available for free use out of 500,000 tons of production in the third quarter. But the Sheet Steel Business Advisory Committee met the other day, it was learned, and it was their opinion there would be nothing like that amount, but instead not even enough to meet programmed needs, let alone civilian consumption.

If this were true, my informant said, "the auto companies will give the steel industry all hell until they raise production." This, he said, would be more effective than directives. He pointed to all the directives issued to textile mills to raise production, and their sorry results. The auto industry, needing textiles for upholstery, probably would put pressure on the mills, too, with better effect. He was convinced that much more steel for unrated civilian production would be forthcoming than the industry now indicates. The steel companies to date have not been eager to step up production of sheet steel. Seven of their strip mills are operating at below capacity, labor sources said, which if put to full use could increase tonnage by 400,000 in the third quarter.

"What are the chances in your opinion of working out some system whereby priorities could be issued in cases where some serious unemployment problem threatened?"

It would not be practicable on a plant basis, my informant said, as everyone who owned a plant would come in with such a request. How about a community basis—say, if a group of industry and labor men from St. Louis, with community officials or associations represented, came in and showed that St. Louis would be faced with a critical unemployment problem? This would be more feasible; he said, particularly if it were not put on a basis of unemployment, but hardship, showing the community as a whole would suffer. There is provision now for priorities to be given in case of hardship. Several such cases are coming up, and a test will be made then, I learned. But Detroit needs, for instance, could not be met if to do so would mean there would be no materials left for unrated business.

So, while a certain

amount of relieving "hardship" may be accomplished through issuing priorities, in general WPB will make manufacturers go out and grub for materials, use initiative and ingenuity, develop substitutes, and press hard for increased production of the short metals and materials.

From another source I got the rather prim and pious pronouncement that so far as relieving unemployment in any particular locale is concerned, the government could not undertake to maintain the specific concentration of labor existing in any one place, that in some places where there was too much, perhaps it should be lessened. Which is a euphemistic way of putting Krug's more blunt statements. "All it (WPB) can do is to release industry from wartime restrictions as rapidly as possible," Krug said recently. "From then on, industry must take the initiative in the task of reconversion and reemployment." According to Krug's estimates, about 1,600,000 aircraft workers will be displaced; some 1,300,000 workers on ships; an estimated 1,800,000 on ordnance and signal equipment; about 300,000 on war chemicals, and 1,600,000 in federal war agencies. Yet he blithely declared he was willing to trust to industry's "resilience" to supply jobs for them.

LABOR's reactions to Krug's program, or lack of program, vary according to differing points of view on over-all unemployment. AFL Economist Boris Shishkin thinks 4,000,000 will be unemployed at the end of a year. Ted



The Food Expert.

Silvey, chief of the CIO Reconversion Committee, put unemployment at between 3,000,000 and 9,000,000 at the end of six months. *Business Week* predicted unemployment over the entire year at 5,000,000. Vinson estimated it would run around 1,500,000 during the first six months, would not exceed two to two and a half million at the end of the next twelve months (as of May 10), and that many unemployed would be out of work only temporarily. Up to V-E Day, more than 2,000,000 men had been discharged from the armed forces, of which more than a third asked for their old jobs back.

Other CIO people close to reconversion, however, take more optimistic attitudes than those of Shishkin and Silvey, at the same time stressing the need of long-range action, pressing for a Missouri Valley Authority, for the Bretton Woods and reciprocal trade legislation, a housing bill, plus immediate action on wages, travel pay, unemployment insurance, FEPC, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security amendments and the Wagner full employment bill.

Their idea is that unemployment will be spotty, not over-all, and that there is no limit to pressures for production of autos, refrigerators, housing, new construction and plant equipment. Even the auto industry is striving to get priorities on construction materials as well as machine tools and other equipment.

With this approach, some of the members of the CIO Reconversion Committee recently agreed to present to Nathan at a forthcoming meeting proposals for more positive measures than leaving all to private initiative, without demanding over-all programming and allocation of materials. For one thing, unless the government intervenes, shortages of key materials will be allowed to form bottlenecks, so that production cannot go ahead and surpluses of other materials will pile up. Thus WPB should take measures to increase steel output or make possible a wider use of aluminum by guaranteeing a low and stable price. If this is not done, makers of certain products more essentially needed than autos will be left in the cold while autos, aided by WPB's hands-off policy, get the steel.

They will point out that Canada is much further along than we are in orderly plans for reconversion, maintaining controls where needed to permit exports and to guarantee a housing program.

Likewise, labor will point sharply to the waste involved in allowing whole

communities to be left with shut plants, while workers go on relief or spend their savings in wandering about the country looking for jobs. Instead, housing, public works programs, and priorities for equipment and materials for plants which must have them to prevent unemployment blighting the whole community, should be provided.

Meanwhile delegations of workers from areas where cutbacks already have occurred will be the most effective means of answering such arguments as Chairman Robert L. Doughton (D., N.C.) has been giving to labor spokesmen on unemployment compensation. The House recently voted itself a raise of \$2,500 a year free of taxation, but Doughton appears to be convinced workers have fat savings which they might as well spend when they lose their jobs. He grows quite excited, according to reports, about the idea of twenty-five dollars a week unemployment insurance—although, of course, the Truman recommendation is for a minimum top of twenty-five dollars, to be awarded in proportion to a worker's earnings. Doughton, without much consistency, considering his version of workers' swollen wages, is said to have pointed out that twenty-five dollars is more than a lot of workers in his state get.

The New York City CIO Industrial Union Council has taken the lead throughout the country in forming a local reconversion committee. In some locales AFL and Railroad Brotherhood unions could work jointly with CIO, and in some, the Committee for Economic Development's local committees of businessmen which in many cities have labor advisory members, could be involved. In Nassau County, Long Island, a meeting of the CED and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers is planned.

Of all the unions, probably the UE is the most active in planning for reconversion. It carried out a series of five remarkable community conferences in the Midwest to mobilize plans for peacetime economic expansion. In common with the rest of labor and the progressive movement, however, the UE acceded to the administration's hush-hush policy on reconversion inaugurated when it became apparent that the defeat of Germany would not come about by November or December. Now labor is faced with the necessity of making up for lost time in pressing for unemployment compensation. Despite the urgency of Truman's message, no one in Congress yet has introduced a bill. A tough fight lies ahead.

SAN FRANCISCO: WORDS AND REALITY

By **FREDERICK V. FIELD**

San Francisco (by wire).

OUR own ambassador to Moscow, Averell Harriman, has personally undertaken to feed anti-Soviet poison to the big press boys. He has been ably assisted by the State Department's so-called experts on Russian affairs. In the American delegation itself Governor Dewey's confidante, John Foster Dulles, has broken all the rules of ethical conduct in leaving Big Five meetings to give to the press his private version of events in those meetings. The security conference would have completed its job a week ago had the political atmosphere remained clear. But as Ruth McKenney noted in *NEW MASSES* several weeks ago, the clouds gathered over the beautiful city of San Francisco on the morning of April 30—the day Argentina was admitted. There has been heavy, cold fog here ever since.

The role played within the conference by those determined to form a vast anti-Soviet, anti-democratic alliance is well exemplified by the activities of one of their leaders. Senator Vandenberg employs a devious, multi-pronged strategy. He is always dangerous, and never more so than in defeat. You will not find reflected in the new organization's charter any of the Michigan Senator's work. You will find it only in all those aspects of the conference not written down in documentary form. Let me give you an example. One of the specific objectives Vandenberg had in mind during the first days of the security meeting was to have written into the charter a provision whereby all the treaties and arrangements which have liquidated Hitlerism might be revised. It was the old Herbert Hoover scheme for cancelling out the results of the victory of democracy. Vandenberg was beaten on this point. The four sponsoring powers united on an amendment which calls for peaceful change but which omits reference to treaty revision. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov at a press conference announced that the four powers had agreed among themselves that the bilateral treaties directed against Germany would not be subject to review or

revision by the new organization. This interpretation was later confirmed by an American spokesman. Vandenberg then became the champion of the joint four-power amendment. He identified himself with the opposite of his original position. Why? Because the joint amendment was, after all, just so many words and, as a matter of fact, they were words which given a reactionary interpretation might serve his purposes even better than his own original draft. The Senator has not for a moment accepted the American-Soviet interpretation of these words. And as the interpretation will not form part of the new organization's charter Vandenberg doubtless feels entirely free to continue agitating for his particular program.

The same may be said of a dozen other points in the new charter. What do the words "human rights" or "justice" mean? They mean one thing to us and to the democracy-loving people of the world. To a Vandenberg they mean another opportunity to advance reaction. Labor legislation, after all, is regarded by such demagogues as a denial of "human rights," for does it not serve to regiment the worker? The most serious mistake we can make is to become complacent just because the United Nations charter reads well. To have accomplished that much is a victory. No doubt of it. But it is only a partial victory in the struggle to establish and maintain world security. A difficult road lies ahead. Unless the cordiality and the unity which alone accounted for the great triumph over German Nazism can be reestablished the security organization will not be much more than an interesting piece of paper.

If we have learned anything out here in San Francisco it is that words, written or spoken, are not an adequate substitute for correct action. The words which are being written into the new charter are good. But so were the words written into the Act of Chapultepec last February. The latter did not prevent the United States and other Hemisphere republics from immediately violating that document over the Argentine issue.

HOW TO GUARANTEE THE PEACE

By HENRY A. WALLACE

Yalta produced a clearly worded formula for the broadening of the Warsaw government of Poland. That did not prevent Prime Minister Churchill and the American State Department, after the death of President Roosevelt, from so distorting the meaning of those words that the intent of the Yalta agreement was violated. One must not, therefore, place too much reliance on the mere wording of the world security organization charter. Without a necessary cordial political atmosphere, without a whole series of actions to carry out the spirit of the new charter, it too might contribute little to security.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union wants this cordial atmosphere and is willing to make every concession consonant with genuine peace and security to achieve it. Last week the USSR fought hard in defense of the principle of unanimity among the Big Five. But when it seemed as though the success of the security conference might be jeopardized, Moscow was willing to compromise provided freedom of discussion would not be used in the Security Council against the USSR.

But the fact of the matter is that the influence of reaction has become so strong and political bungling has become so prevalent that many are increasingly skeptical about the immediate prospects of the organization.

A security charter is not enough, particularly when the unity among those powers primarily responsible for world security becomes featured by the cracks in its structure rather than by its solidity. Those cracks are exemplified by the seating of Argentina; the failure to seat the democratic Warsaw government; the creation of an American bloc of twenty-one votes in direct violation of the principle of global organization; the snubbing of the World Federation of Trade Unions; the emasculation of the trusteeship proposals.

Political crises reflecting the deterioration of the coalition also had their repercussions here. What is happening in China is felt keenly, for it is obvious that the internal situation of China continues to fall apart politically, thanks in large measure to the betrayal of the Roosevelt-Stilwell policy by Ambassador Hurley. The disgraceful Trieste affair has had its effects and the imperialist rivalry over Lebanon has shamed decent men here to the core—and, for that matter, so has Churchill's Red-baiting. In other words, the finest security charter will mean relatively little if the politics within which the charter operates move in a reactionary direction.

The following address was made by Mr. Wallace in acceptance of the annual award given by the "Churchman," an interdenominational Protestant magazine, for promoting good will and understanding among peoples.

IN JUNE of 1942—just three years ago—Franklin D. Roosevelt in accepting the *Churchman* Award wrote, "The road ahead is dark and perilous." German arms were pushing irresistibly eastward in North Africa and the Japanese were driving west from the Southwest Pacific. India was so threatened that some observers predicted that the two enemy armies would soon shake hands there.

Roosevelt himself never underestimated the strength of the enemy. That is why in 1941 he set our war production goals so high. That is why in 1941 he laid the foundation of the Russian lend-lease protocol. That is why he had such frequent meetings with Churchill. That is why he and Stalin so instinctively understood each other. That is why he never ceased to push the Good Neighbor policy in Latin America.

The Good Neighbor policy meant so much to President Roosevelt that he asked me as Vice President in June of 1942, in attending on his behalf the conferring of this award, to make an address dealing with the unity of the Americas. No President of the United States ever did so much to promote good will and better understanding with our Latin American neighbors as Roosevelt. The masses loved him. They cheered him in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires in 1936. And on April 12, 1945 the Argentine people mourned him as they would the passing of a father.

Pan-Americanism was the cornerstone of President Roosevelt's foreign policy but it was not the whole building. He certainly never intended to use Pan-Americanism as a threat against other nations. He never looked on Pan-Americanism as a regional instrument of power politics. Rather he felt it to be the prelude to world democracy. More than any other man he knew that those

who write the peace must think of the whole world or else condemn their children to nationalism, regionalism, imperialism, confusion, and finally to World War III.

He understood and loved the Latins. He respected and admired the British. He instinctively felt at home with Stalin. He was a vigorous champion of the rights of subject peoples and planned for their ultimate independence. He was a defender of freedom for small nations and yet he knew that unbridled freedom results in anarchy and imperialism. He believed in independence but he believed interdependence to be just as necessary. He was willing to give up a little sovereignty for a lot of peace. Roosevelt was the Number One Citizen both of America and of the world. No one had such a vantage point as he from which to survey the whole world.

If Roosevelt were with us here tonight he would rejoice in the victory in Europe but he would be looking on victory only as a prerequisite of enduring peace. He would be as realistic about peace in 1945 as he was about victory in 1942. He could still say today as he did three years ago, "The road ahead is dark and perilous." He would not underestimate the strength of the enemies of peace. These enemies of peace are those who are deliberately trying to stir up trouble between the United States and Russia. They know that the United States and Russia are the two most powerful nations in the world and that without both of them in the world organization, permanent peace is impossible.

Before the blood of our boys is dry on the field of battle these enemies of peace try to lay the foundation for World War III. They proclaim that because the ideologies of the United States and Russia are different, war between the two is inevitable. They seize upon every minor discord to fan the flames of hatred.

These people must not succeed in their foul enterprise. We must offset their poison by following the policies of Roosevelt in cultivating the friendship of Russia in peace as well as in war.

I know this is the policy of President Truman. I am also satisfied that it is the policy of the vast bulk of the American people.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT had the rare gift of closing his eyes to little discords while at the same time he focused his attention on the big possibility—namely, permanent peace through world organization. President Truman is following the Roosevelt policy to the letter. He is keeping his eye on the main chance for world peace.

And so I say that while Roosevelt is gone, his spirit still lives. And as long as he lives in the hearts of his countrymen there will be peace with Russia and such an accord between these two great nations that we will preserve the peace of the world.

Russia, in the eyes of many of the so-called backward peoples of the world, is the symbol of economic democracy based on universal education and jobs for everybody. The United States is the great world leader of political democracy based on freedom of religion, freedom of information, freedom of expression, and the right of small nations to separate existence. The safety of the United States and the peace of the world depend on her ability to go all out postwar for full production and full employment. We must demonstrate here in the United States that we cannot only excel other great nations in the art of political democracy but that also we are making rapid progress in the science of reconciling the political freedoms with the need for full use of all manpower, all resources, and all technologies on behalf of the general welfare. We cannot lose an iota of the traditional freedoms as we learn the science of full use. That means education and a cooperative spirit, the kind of spirit in peace which this great nation has shown in war. To inculcate this spirit is the function of all agencies of information. And especially it is the function of religion.

We cannot reconcile the political freedoms with the science of full use without men of good will in all branches of life. It is the function of religion to change the heart and of education to inform the mind. Both education and religion are now met with a challenge greater than they have ever before faced. That challenge is the dilemma of democracy—namely, how to get full production, preserve the fundamental freedoms, and then go on to point that production and those freedoms toward objectives which are worthy of man's

spirit. In all this there can be no compulsion except that which comes from the earnest search of man's spirit to discover the divine purpose of the universe. Abundance is good but by itself is not enough. Peace is good but not enough. The rights of man are good but not enough. It is not even enough when the whole world is blessed with abundance, peace and the fundamental freedoms. As a matter of fact, the world in unity cannot attain to abundance, peace and freedom without recognizing one thing more. And that one thing is both very simple and very difficult—it is the fatherhood of God and the fundamental decency of man.

That, to me, is the importance of the *Churchman's Award*. It is given for promoting good will and understanding among all peoples. Those of us who, like Roosevelt, have traveled among many peoples know that the languages and customs of all nations are matters of the most profound interest.

The souls of the people are reflected in the customs which have come down out of the past. How often I have heard Roosevelt toast a distinguished foreigner at a White House banquet and in so doing display the most intimate insight into the psychology of other peoples! In brief, Roosevelt believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

That Roosevelt, as President, should receive at the time of the world's greatest need the *Churchman Award* in 1942, was altogether fitting. That I should receive the same award three years later is for me a great honor and an occasion for soul-searching and humility. I hope that I, and all of us, can effectively help President Truman in his great task of working toward the Roosevelt purpose, the Woodrow Wilson dream, the prophet's vision in developing an effective mechanism for promoting good will and understanding among all peoples.



"Just one more little war—for ME?"

THE ART OF BEING AN ARTIST

THE easiest as well as the politest thing that can be said about a controversy is that it is healthful, but the most significant thing is the fact that the controversy exists. For where there is controversy there is disagreement, and where there is disagreement there is, in small or great degree, social dislocation. Many a problem which remains the occasion of windy utterance will be found solved when these dislocations are removed.

The debate about artists and society—a debate in which many tempers but few lives have been lost—concerns just such a problem. The artist plays no essential part in the production and distribution of economic goods. His place in society is therefore not automatically fixed; he is not willy-nilly a bourgeois or a proletarian. Like intellectuals and professionals generally, he feels himself independent of social conditions. He can (he thinks) choose one side, choose to change sides, or choose to take no side at all.

At the same time, he cannot escape the bare human necessity of eating, of clothing himself, and of finding shelter, not to mention his special need of acquiring the tools and skills of his art. He therefore finds himself independent of society and dependent upon it simultaneously. It is a sort of umbilical connection: he is attached to the maternal system, while not being structurally a part of it. His situation is beautifully dialectical, and his problem is to find the synthesis which will resolve the contradiction.

Now, he will not find this solution in any esthetic theory, however ample and coherent. He will find it only in the movement toward new forms of social organization, and ultimately in that form which most perfectly unites the satisfaction of his economic needs with the exercise of his talents. Then, and not until then, will his dependence cease to be at war with his independence. Then, and not until then, will his imagination roam fully confident and free.

I think it would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of this fact. Consider, for example, what light it sheds upon the ivory-tower school. These gentlemen are commonly attacked for social irresponsibility, a trait which there is no doubt they abundantly possess. They retort, in turn, that they cannot commit themselves to any special social doctrine, or indeed to any doctrine at all, without impairing the beauty of their products. The artist-soul, laboring in giddy exaltation, must speak its own ecstasy of anguish or of joy. With this and other displays of eloquence and passion, the ivory-tower theorists have contrived a false issue: social-mindedness *versus* esthetic success, goodness *versus* beauty. The old adorable triad, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, they have schismatically destroyed, and have parcelled out the remnants to science, ethics, and art respectively. Each of the three is a value, and each has its own devotees. Well, then, say the ivorines, let there be equality and separation among them.

If a man tells you that, having created a thing of beauty, he is quits with the world (to which he feels himself little enough indebted, anyway), what will you reply? It will not do to deny that his creation is beautiful, for *ex hypothesi* it is. And moreover it remains a fact that a man of abominable social ideas—T. S. Eliot, for example—can write

admirable poetry. Once acquired, the skill of setting words beside words can withstand much corruption by reactionary views, emotional indiscipline, and even personal insincerity.

What will you, then, reply? You will reply that an artist who is careless of the human destiny imperils, by that very carelessness, the whole future of art. On behalf of a private and transitory freedom he risks the freedom of his contemporaries and of artists yet unborn. His freedom permits, if it does not require, other men to be slaves; and of all freedoms this is the falsest and most insecure. More critically yet, an artist of such mind, by every act and utterance, helps to make impossible a solution of the very problem he pretends to explain. For, as we have observed, the place and prerogatives of the artist can be finally determined only in a social system capable of harmonizing both, and it is precisely this system which our carefree theorist asserts to be no concern of his. The ivory tower shuts out many things, and among them all knowledge of why ivory towers exist.

I think that men who eschew the only solution of which a problem is capable will hardly be deemed to have contributed much to the enlightenment of mankind. This sort of obfuscation is not altogether accidental. It needs not much subtlety or cynicism to perceive the fascist motive underneath. When Leni Riefenstahl, Hitler's favorite actress, told her captors, "I am zee arteest; I cannot take part een politics," she made forever plain the inherent purpose of the doctrine. For if men seriously believe that there is no connection between art and politics, then all delights of line and color, of rhythm and sound, of imagery and meaning become mere anodynes for a pain which is left to be incurable. And the artist enjoys an exceptionally fatuous career spent upon occupations which successively narrow their own scope toward a limit, sad but certain, of zero.

So writing, I will confess myself reminded of Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones. The theory of artistic detachment had never a robust life, and it has lain these ten years rotting under the wind. Yet it is possible that the bones may start into life again: "There was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone." Undoubtedly there are prophets who ardently purpose such a resurrection. It is against them that I write and against those others who, wandering still along the valley, admire the bleached beauty of the bones.

It is pleasant to perceive that the most numerous and best among contemporary artists have long since begun to combine the practice of art with the practice of politics. Against the galaxy of talent arrayed under the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, the Dewey forces could muster last year but a handful of tenth-rate scribes. And not even these could intone the ancient chant of art for art's sake, for every one of them had used his art no otherwise than as a source of bountiful income.

Old as the controversy is, and encumbered with dead ideas, reflection upon it may usefully suggest that being an artist is itself an art. It is the art not alone of watching over the creation of specific beauties, but of increasing the number and security of creators. It is the art of being an artist, while knowing oneself to be a man.

LEVANTINE POT AND KETTLE

By WILLIAM BRANDT

WHAT should be immediately apparent about events in the Levant is that by a sudden twist Syria and Lebanon have become one of the shifting focal points of imperialist rivalry.

However, if this war has a historical meaning and if it means anything in the historical perspective of the last 150 years, there is much more to the episode than meets the eye. It is but one fleeting moment in the general process of French liberation and developing European democracy. In the course of modern history, the democracy of Western Europe emerged as a precariously established balance between British conservatism and French emancipation. Ever since the French Revolution, it was of decisive importance for the fate of Western European democracy whether British conservatism or the popular movements of France gained the upper hand at any given stage.

Churchill is guided and even obsessed by British imperial considerations. He is not there to liquidate the Empire—as he himself explained during the war very frankly. But this is a much too negative expression of his chief objective.

Between not liquidating the Empire and holding the Empire together, there is quite a margin in which any-

thing can happen. Churchill went on record positively that he is there to liquidate the Italian Empire and, at the same time, he has written off France as an imperialist power (as witness General Smuts' famous speech last year about France having ceased as a great power for a long time to come).

Britain's is a world empire that cannot exist without the world environment of satellite empires. After the Napoleonic wars Britain generously handed back the Dutch East Indies to Holland. Absolute colonial monopoly would defeat its own purpose and if the lesser empires were protected by the British, the uncontested supremacy of the British Empire was, in turn, safeguarded by the existence, under British sway, of the lesser empires, Dutch, French, Spanish, Belgian, Portuguese. Absorbing other empires directly would accelerate the disintegration of the British Empire. This is what General Smuts may have meant when he talked about the lopsided position of the British Empire among the great powers. Churchill's secret negotiations and agreements with Vichy, used by Petain and Laval to embarrass him now, the gist of which was obviously to support Vichy in maintaining French rule in the French colonies even under German-Japanese overlordship, find their explanation in this con-

ception. Likewise, his friendly attitude toward Salazar of Portugal and Franco of Spain.

WHEN De Gaulle transferred his seat of government from London to North Africa, the question immediately arose: *Shall Paris be liberated from the colonies? Or shall the colonies be liberated from Paris?*

The unsavory Darlan affair was the result of the British-American conviction that, at least under the conditions then prevailing, the preservation of the French colonies ranked higher in importance and urgency than the liberation of France.

De Gaulle, while a bitter adversary of Darlan and Petain, sided, apparently without being aware of the implications, with this British-American conception, which was justified at that time on purely military-strategic grounds. He wanted to restore *gloire*, which to his mind was more Napoleonic than French revolutionary *gloire*. (No Frenchman, least of all one of De Gaulle's class and background, can get around choosing between these two alternatives.) He wanted the French Empire reestablished, he wanted the French Army reconstituted.

The French people fought for a new France, first and foremost, and were not inclined to oppose De Gaulle's leadership, which advanced against the chief adversaries of a new France, Hitler and his French puppets. When the Free French invaded Syria, De Gaulle at first violently rejected Churchill's suggestion that he grant independence to France's Levantine possessions. He is said to have indignantly parried the suggestion with a counter-suggestion that if Churchill wished to be a champion of colonial independence, he should start with India. But there De Gaulle committed a double error: fighting Churchill on his own grounds—on those of imperial rivalry—and hence playing a losing game; and being oblivious of the danger of disrupting Allied unity.

The liberation of France brought the issue to a head. The Resistance fought for the real independence of the new France. Concretely, the relation between military and civil authority, between the army and the people, had to be settled one way or the other. De Gaulle wanted the Resistance forces disarmed and made a part of his pet project, a well-equipped professional army.



Gabriel in London "Daily Worker."

FDR on the Future

“VICTORY is essential; but victory is not enough for you—or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain—that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want—that in your schools only the living truth will be taught—that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

“The better world for which you fight—and for which some of you give your lives—will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning, and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.”—*From President Roosevelt's address to the International Student Assembly, Sept. 3, 1942.*

In this he found support from Britain and America. The people wanted a strong government of liberation, based on local self-government, by the administrative organs of the *Resistance*. De Gaulle wanted to restore the rigid structure of centralized authority and traditional French bureaucracy. In that, too, he was supported by the British and the Americans. The Soviet Union, first to accord diplomatic recognition to the De Gaulle regime, could not be used in this game of imperial rivalry.

Colonial independence had to become the watchword of French independence. Proclaiming the independence of Indo-China would have been and would still be the greatest French contribution toward winning the war against Japan. If it would mean, as a by-product, the promise of independence for Malaya, the Indies, etc., that would no longer be De Gaulle's business. At any rate, he would not be interfering in the British colonial domain directly, as does Churchill in the French.

In San Francisco, De Gaulle missed a golden opportunity. Instead of lining up behind the Chinese-Russian amendment providing for colonial independence, he sided with Britain and the United States opposing that principle.

The American delegation was not at all unanimous in this question and there might have been a distinct possibility of swinging the American vote by the positive vote of France, in which case it would have been Britain that was isolated. The outbreak in the Levant was in part precipitated by the negative vote in San Francisco. It gave the green light to De Gaulle to inter-

vene against the Arabs and it gave the green light to Churchill to counter-intervene against the claims of his French rival.

There is much talk nowadays about whether socialist Russia and the capitalist democracies can live peacefully together. The real question, however, is whether imperialist rivals can live peacefully together. The answer is *no*—unless they take into their council the one country that does not partake in imperialist rivalries, that is not interested in colonial possessions and spheres of influence, but only in world peace—the USSR.

THE liberation of France is not yet fully consummated and French independence is not really assured. The fate of European democracy hangs in the balance. The direct intervention of Churchill for the suppression of the resistance and liberation movements in Europe is dictated by the necessity of maintaining the British Empire under historic conditions in which popular democracy in Europe has become incompatible with Empire. The existence of the United Nations was based on the unwritten understanding that the peoples of Europe do not consider the existence of the British Empire a hindrance to their liberation and that, in turn, the makers of British imperial policy do not hold popular sovereignty in Europe to be harmful to the maintenance of Empire. It is this unwritten covenant that Churchill violated with his adventures in Greece, Belgium, Italy, Trieste and Carinthia. The question is not whether the socialist state and the British Empire can live together

peacefully, but whether European democracy and the British Empire can.

In this momentous issue France's position is a key one. France does, indeed, represent the problem of popular sovereignty versus empire. By affirming popular sovereignty and renouncing empire, De Gaulle would have made a decisive step toward the new greatness of France. In that stand he would have made Churchill yield. As it is, he unwittingly or wittingly obliged Churchill and allowed him to force his hand.

France's salvation lies in not being involved in imperialist rivalry and in not being afraid of popular movements.

One aspect of the controversy between the Gironde and the Jacobins at the time of the French Revolutionary Wars was that the Gironde wanted to wage a war of commercial and imperial rivalry against Britain. The Jacobins took over because Girondist leadership would have meant giving up the newly acquired national greatness and strength. The Jacobins declared themselves for a war of popular sovereignty. There the groundwork was laid for modern French and European democracy.

The successful fight for American independence was the result among other things of the serious British predicament of those times. Confronted with the three-cornered choice of entrenching its rule firmly in India, of beating the Napoleonic rival or of trying to keep the American colonies, far-sighted British statesmanship decided on the first two against the last. From then on, American statesmanship achieved its dazzling successes by making the most of its position: not being involved in imperialist rivalry and not being afraid of popular movements. America lost this position after the imperialist Spanish-American war. American statesmanship became naturally involved in imperialist rivalry and afraid of popular movements abroad. Only a strong, non-imperialistic, democratic France in Europe and a strong, non-imperialistic, democratic China in Asia can help America retrieve that position and reduce her fear of popular movements.

The emergence of such a France and such a China can be speeded on only by the collaboration of the US and the USSR—the “two colossi emerging in this war,” again to quote General Smuts. And only such a combination can reduce the hidebound antagonism between the British Empire on the one hand, and the liberation forces in Europe and Asia on the other.

THE RISE AND FALL OF JUAN MARIA

A short story by MARY GARRISON

JUAN MARIA was assassinated the other day. In a way this surprised me very much for, back in the old days when I knew Juan Maria, I would have laid odds he was born to be hanged.

On second thought, however, I was not far wrong. The difference is sometimes just a technicality depending upon who has control of the courts. An assassination by the underground is often the equivalent of a hanging that would have been legal in normal times. So, morally, I think I'm entitled to collect my bet with myself.

Underground? Oh, no, I'm not speaking of Europe. The underground that caught up with Juan Maria is pretty close to home. Of course there was no capital punishment back there in the old days of the republic. An Argentine got a life stretch on the bleak coast at Ushuaia. But let's not quibble about that, either. I've seen Tierra del Fuego.

Juan Maria had a neat, quick little bullet put in that place which is normally occupied by the human heart. He was laid out decently and politely with his feet together and his arms crossed on his chest. They found him reposing peacefully, considerably and conveniently on one of the graves in Chacarita cemetery. Even so, it raised a hue and cry that echoed from the Boca to Palermo.

He was only twenty-one—but then everything he did, he did fast. There are some people like that. Take Billy the Kid, for instance.

I FIRST knew Juan Maria when he was only seven. The son of our *portero*. Such a cute little tyke with an ingratiating smile and the devil in his eye. He used to stand in the doorway of our building and say things to me as I went out in the morning to do my marketing. His speech was the harsh metallic accent of the *porteno* who sounds his "L" like a "J," but the gamin grin on his face always made whatever he said seem cute. That is, it seemed cute until I started to learn Spanish and one morning understood what he said.

Then I remembered with horror the number of times I'd smiled back at him and patted him on the head. He knew things at seven that our boys sometimes don't learn until they're twenty. He sounded as if he knew them, at any rate,

and if you know the words it isn't long before you know their meaning.

When I recovered from my first shock I decided to take the matter up with his father. Inocencio, our *portero*, was a rather harassed, futile sort of chap who always seemed to have more work than he could attend to and was in a constant nervous fret.

I realized afterwards it was a waste of time. Inocencio collapsed and wept right in my kitchen, went down immediately and beat Juan Maria to a pulp, and then promptly forgot all about it.

But Juan Maria didn't forget. The next time I went out marketing he followed me around the corner and threw a pebble at me.

WE STAYED on at the apartment because, after all, it was comfortable and convenient—a double rarity there in those days. Besides, Juan Maria was being made to go to school with greater regularity and he trudged off in his white smock, with his load of books, before I went out in the morning.

It was a funny thing about those books of Juan Maria's. I saw them sitting on the table in the entrance hall one day while waiting for the elevator. He wasn't supposed to leave them there, of course, but leaving his books around was a minor offense to be completely ignored.

It wasn't meddling curiosity on my part that made me look at them. I was truly interested in finding out what subjects he was studying and what kind of books were used in the schools. So I picked one up.

The covers of all of them were muddy and ragged. Those books had really been taking a beating somehow, somewhere. But when I opened them up the pages were as clean as a volume in a book store. The backs weren't even broken and when I put them down they snapped shut again like brand new books. It must have been my horrid, suspicious nature that made me wonder if anyone had ever opened those books besides me.

This time I didn't say anything to Inocencio. I lay awake nights wondering what I should say to whom and was never able to decide. There didn't seem to be anyone to say anything to. Like a true moral coward I solved the prob-

lem by deciding it was none of my business.

Juan Maria was eight when he got his first black eye. It was a dandy. It was swelled up tightly shut and truly as big as a baseball. Only it wasn't black. It was a deep, contusiony purple in the center, shading out to olive green and bilious yellow at the edges. I still wonder how anyone could have that bad an eye and not lose it.

Strangely enough he didn't try to hide it with shame. He seemed really proud of it. There was an urchin smirk on that little face that said as plainly as the spoken word, "You ought to see the other guy." I didn't dare ask about the "other guy." But I was haunted by horrible visions of a mangled corpse.

Juan Maria was nine when the police came for the first time. I never did find out just exactly what happened. If you can compound the superlative then Inocencio was doubly harassed and fretted. For a full week he did things twice as incompetently and futilely and I couldn't speak to him beyond a polite "*Buen día*" or "*Buena noche*" for fear he would burst into tears. When he finally quieted down to a roar, I timidly broached the subject in as roundabout and devious way as possible.

I received a torrential and unintelligible flood of Spanish filled with imprecations against the unjust and corrupt authorities and strewn with phrases concerning the persecution of innocent babies. But I did get a hint of something to do with picking pockets of sailors in the bars on Leandro Alem. All a vile calumny of the worst order. Justice prevailed, however, and Juan Maria got off with a warning.

It was another year, Juan Maria was a hoary ten, before they caught him with a knife.

I witnessed some of that act. It was late afternoon and I was just coming home from a bridge party when I heard the yelling begin. Juan Maria rocketed around the corner and beat me to the door by a photo finish. I got sandwiched between him and the policeman. The hallway was instantly in an uproar. Inocencio was waving his arms and calling for the aid of his Maker. The policeman was waving one free arm and calling for another kind of assistance. The other arm had a firm grip on Juan Maria who was lashing out with both

arms and legs and not calling for any sort of assistance whatever. He was giving everyone within hearing distance very explicit instructions.

They finally got him subdued sufficiently to enable a search. The knife was in his back pocket. I saw them pull it out. It didn't take a scientific eye to note that it was bloody.

Juan Maria disappeared for a while. In fact, I never saw him again because, before he got back into circulation, we had packed our possessions and boarded a north-bound ship for home.

But I heard. Letters from friends of mine mentioned him occasionally, casually. There was some sort of a to-do concerning a house of ill repute. That was a little vague, too. Either he stabbed a girl in one or she stabbed

him. It wasn't clear either if he'd met her there or *put* her there. He was an old man of sixteen by that time.

There weren't many things like that, however. It's only the stupid who get into such fixes. Juan Maria had learned a trick or two and he kept clear of the law. But he never lacked funds. He even owned a car, something that means a lot more down there than up here where almost everybody has a car. He was a natty dresser, too, going around town in a sharp green or purple suit, a snappy, black felt hat and his hair, slick and gummy with pomade, hanging down to his coat collar. He must have become something of a catch from all angles.

It was only fairly recently that Juan Maria went into politics. Naturally that

news didn't come in a letter. That was word of mouth from someone fresh off a plane. He must have seen the error of his ways for he'd switched sides and become quite a power in the police department. It must have been very convenient. It must also have been a thrilling and satisfying life eminently suited to his taste. There is no greater joy than to be able to do what you want to do with impunity.

But his stock of impunity must have run out. Hence the peaceful pose on someone else's grave at Chacarita.

I read about it in the papers. The stories played him up as a martyr and a national hero. But, since news stories from there always sweat their way out through the Casa Rosada, you have to learn to read between the lines.

LISTEN TO THE RUMBLE

Two readers have put their ears to the ground and their pens to paper in response to NEW MASSES' invitation to its readers to tell us what they hear when they "listen to the rumble." (See Lucius Ballinger's "Listen to the Rumble," NM, May 22). We hope other readers will respond to a further invitation to tell us what the people are saying on the subjects which concern them most closely.

Michigan.

THE rain was hitting hard against our hospital window. The Negro cleaning woman, Sadie, was bustling about, and I found my attention turned to her as she sang a cheerful little song. It lightened my spirits and I talked to her.

All day fragments of our conversation came to my mind. "Do you know what punishment a Negro girl suggested for Hitler?" she asked. "She said he should be painted black and sent to America."

She related a conversation she had had with a man in one of the wards down the hall, who thought anti-Negro feeling in the South had died down. She got excited as she repeated tales of recent lynchings and described gross discrimination she had witnessed in her home state of Mississippi. One of the stories was about a Negro who took the chair in a soda fountain a white man was heading for. The whites took him out into the street, tied him to a car and dragged him all over the town until he was dead. She was indignant because so many people never saw, or made sure they would never see, articles in the local papers which would have enlightened them about anti-Negro sentiment.

"They close their eyes to these things," she said. "As for us, we don't want to intermarry, or even ask to associate with white people, but only to be treated as human beings. The way to fight against discrimination is not by thinking in terms of one race against another, but of one human being against another."

When she had gone my roommate turned to me and remarked that Sadie really "knew her stuff." I said that it was a pity more white people didn't know the details of this struggle. We both were silent. We were both thinking of Sadie and of her race, who just asked to be treated as human beings.

Mrs. A. M.

New Orleans.

A RECENT Sunday saw the first Negro parade ever to march on Canal Street—a Seventh War Loan Bond drive in which schools, Scouts, military, and Red Cross volunteer units shared, escorted by mounted white police.

The previous Sunday ("I Am an American Day"!) city police had refused use of a public park to a Negro civic organization, the Peoples' Defense League, which has met there for four or five years. Boiling but self-controlled, the organization withdrew to a church to hear its speakers—prominent Negro members of AFL and CIO unions—and to plan all-out support of the bond parade and sale.

Even though transport facilities for Hollywood's Lena Horne, who was to have led the bond rally, somehow couldn't be found—perhaps deliberately—\$260,000 in bonds were sold. The old-time Klux type tried to laugh it off: "A n—— parade." But many, especially the young, don't feel like that. A stout lady onlooker was overheard saying to her son, "Oh, you're just like them agitators." Another said, "Those are the real Americans, parading."

Negro organizations see the doors open to the future. They intend to walk through with dignity and in solid ranks, hand in hand with organized labor, and welcoming any who support the peoples' war and the bases of permanent world peace. That's why the bond parade got *first-page mention* by the *New Orleans States*, in an area where white papers do not print Negro news, unless about alleged crimes.

ELIZABETH COUSINS ROGERS.

LABOR DIGS FOR FACTS

By RICHARD GRAY

THE new and complex labor problems precipitated by the unique developments of our time will shortly require translation into research projects that can contribute to their solution. Inventory-taking is, therefore, on the order of the day for that small band of tireless research people who have for years served labor's needs.

First of the significant new developments worthy of the trained labor researcher's attention is the expanding net of relations being established between government agencies and trade unions. This trend is epitomized by the existence of the War Labor Board (WLB) at the present time, and will probably continue into the postwar period.

Before the WLB came into existence it would suffice if a union could succeed in wangling a contract from an employer. That done, the union's major task was ended. Today, however, union after union has found that a contract obtained after many months of negotiations may be set aside and invalidated because of its inability to pass muster before the board. Most of these heart-breaking failures are, of course, due to the antiquated, overly rigid formulae used by the WLB. Frequently, though, a measure of the responsibility must be placed upon the union's organization and the inadequate presentation of its data. Some of the union's difficulties could have been avoided had labor research men been set to the task of re-organizing labor statistics to meet the new demands: for example, the relatively simple matter of organizing union statistics to show the job wage-rate averages in the union, rather than merely union-wide wage averages, would have facilitated relations with the WLB by making the required statistics accessible.

Another development which requires increased research is labor's migration into new fields of activity, or its new emphasis on old ones. The most significant of the new directions taken is, in all probability, the development of labor's political action. Despite the national importance of this movement, hardly any efforts have been made by progressive social scientists or labor research people to acquaint the trade unions with the great mass of sociological material which already exists and

which deals with the different American regions and communities.

WHILE the American labor press is already in the throes of a great metamorphosis from which it is emerging as a new and more powerful force in American life, there is still vast room for its improvement and for the fuller realization of its potentialities. In New York City Local 65 of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Worker's Union-CIO is conducting an extensive survey of the union members' reaction to their newspaper, the *Union Voice*. The survey consists of personal interviews with about 400 members who were chosen in a scientific manner to guarantee that a representative cross-section of the membership would be reached. This sampling will make the survey's conclusions applicable to the union as a whole, without the necessity of interviewing the entire membership, which is about twenty to twenty-five times larger than the sample.

When completed, the survey will provide the editor with accurate information about the popularity of his newspaper's various features and, thus, with a basis for deciding which ones should be continued and which should be eliminated. On the basis of other material derived from a questionnaire, the survey will ascertain which sections of the union—classified according to age, sex, occupation, member's social status, etc.—are satisfied with the paper, and which are not. Thus, if it is found that older people tend to read the paper less than the younger ones, the editor might remedy this by including features in the

paper which would be of special interest to the older group.

This is to speak only of the direct and immediate usefulness of the research which is being conducted. Its indirect value is almost limitless. One of the most interesting parts of the survey is its last section, which measures the extent to which the membership has digested or rejected the union's program. This is done in the following way: A statement containing one of the elements in the union's program is presented to the member, to which he can respond in one of five possible ways. These are: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree. A numerical value is assigned to each of the answers, in a graded fashion. Thus, strongly agree is assigned a value of 5; agree, 4; uncertain, 3; disagree, 2; and strongly disagree, 1. If all of the elements in the union's program are positively stated, for example, "Workers should participate in politics through their unions," then a high score indicates relatively high acceptance of the union's program.

Of course, simply because the answer "strongly agree" is arbitrarily assigned a value of 5, while the answer, "strongly disagree" is given a value of 1, that does not mean that the person who gives the former answer has accepted the union's program five times as much as the person who answers "strongly disagree." Nevertheless, the arbitrary assignment of numerical values to verbal answers permits the relative position of two or more who answer to be more clearly seen. If, for example, it is discovered that the mean or average score of those who answer the questionnaire in Division "X" of the union is significantly below the average score in the entire union, it can be validly inferred that the union members in Division "X" have not accepted the union's program to the same extent as do the bulk of the membership. Furthermore, a closer analysis of their answers to this part of the questionnaire will reveal the specific aspects of the union's program which causes their general score to be lower than the average. Thus the union leadership of this "backward" division would know just which aspects of the union program require greater clarification.

Labor has many other problems, be-



Eugene Karlin

sides that of increasing the effectiveness of its newspapers, which can be tackled through research techniques. For example: the increasing necessity for the unions and union leadership to orientate themselves to the growing number of governmental labor policies and agencies tends to affect the structure and functioning of the trade union itself in many ways not yet clearly understood. A number of unions try to cope with this problem by turning it over to lawyers. As a consequence, the "legal technicians" often tend to assume too large a role in the union structure. Among those unions which foresaw this unhealthy possibility and insisted that their regularly elected officers master the techniques for dealing with government agencies there has developed another kind of problem. The union officer may spend too much time on relations with government agencies, thereby losing the skills which he had formerly developed for working with his rank and file. He may, in consequence, manifest an impersonal attitude toward the rank and file which can only result in the lowering of union morale.

Any analysis of this problem involves a study of the conditions which make for greater rank and file participation, or conversely, which lead to the falling off of activity; it involves also an analysis of the membership's recreational needs—so important in war-congested areas—as well as an analysis and search for effective leadership training programs. All these, and many other research projects could, if only given half a chance, more than repay the union that would sponsor them.

THERE are a number of broad restrictions on the development of labor research, especially labor research which attempts to study the type of problems mentioned above. For example, interest in labor's problems by academic social scientists often receives little recognition or reward considering the risks involved. While few, if any, of the social scientists who study factory organization have incurred the "displeasure" of the universities by whom they are employed, the same cannot be said of the social scientist who shows an interest in trade union study. Moreover, contemporary social research, of which labor research must be considered a part, necessitates the employment of fairly large staffs. This, in turn, requires financing. Many of the institutions which usually endow social research projects are closely bound to reactionary business groups, and out of fear of antagonizing the

latter the institutions develop prejudices against labor research.

In my opinion, one of the chief factors confining and hampering the development of labor research is a peculiar kind of anti-quantitative research attitude found among many progressive labor people. Much of this feeling is doubtless due to the sorry spectacle which the quantitative school, dominant among American social scientists, has made of itself. For this reason, as well as a number of others, progressive labor research people have preferred to survey and synthesize the already existent labor statistics, and other secondary materials, rather than come to grips with the raw materials comprising labor's problems.

Despite the weaknesses which must inhere in this type of research, there can be no question but that it has made an important contribution to labor. Perhaps the surest evidence of this is the highly justified (though unintentional) compliment paid to it by the reactionary Republican representative from New York, Ellsworth Buck. No sooner did he get to Washington, said Mr. Buck, than "the CIO and AFL made themselves known to me. Obviously competently-manned research bureaus lent a telling effect to their argument." There can be no debate among progressives about the desirability and usefulness of a type of labor research that can have a "telling effect" upon reactionary Republicans. The only question raised here is whether labor's new problems have not reached a level of complexity which could benefit from the application of supplementary research techniques.

Progressive research men have observed that quantitative methods and emphasis on technique have all too frequently functioned as a facade for those devoid of ideas and ideals. The enshrinement of technique has often been used as an excuse for the evasion of genuine social problems. When, however, quantitative research is used as a means for grappling with real problems, and without the intrusion of reactionary prejudices, there is nothing in the least objectionable in it.

A second factor retarding the development of American labor research is the archaic belief that this research is solely the province of economists and historians. Social scientists approach problems in different ways. Each asks a different series of questions, even though they may be studying the very same institution or problem. The economist engaged in labor research will, for example, tend to think in terms of standard

of living indices, job analyses, industrial statistics, and the like. The labor historian will study the emergence and growth of trade union institutions. Many urgent problems, such as those we have suggested, do, however, fall outside the province of economists or historians.

IF RESEARCH is to satisfy labor's needs it must enlist the interest and cooperation of those in other social sciences. The sociologists and psychologists must be made to feel that labor research offers them a place, and that they are not poaching upon an area which has already been divided into "spheres of influence" by economists or historians. There is more than ample room in labor research for original, creative and useful contributions by all the social scientists.

Not all the outmoded traditions preventing labor research from reaching its full stature are to be found among research men. Some of these traditions exist within the unions themselves. This writer has often heard the expressions, "but our union is different," or, "our union has special problems," used as an excuse for withholding support from a cooperative research project. Many unionists mistakenly believe that unless research work takes place right within their own union, and not within any other, they have little use for it.

Another attitude of some trade unions which may well be in need of reevaluation is an indiscriminating prejudice against "outside people" or "hired brains." It is an "indiscriminating" prejudice in the sense that all kinds of research people, regardless of their backgrounds are often viewed with skepticism, if not outright suspicion and distrust. This attitude, while it is waning, is still noticeable and is generally more prevalent in AFL than CIO unions.

To sum up: The times create many new prospects and problems for the American labor movement. They will create new problems in the sense that development in a new direction always requires the discovery and use of new social forms. These do not come easily but must be striven for. It is my belief that labor research which (1) overcomes the outmoded traditions I have mentioned, (2) masters the wide variety of new materials and techniques made available by all the social sciences, and (3) is conceived of as a means for arriving at solutions rather than merely documenting those already made can and will make a contribution to the solution of the many new problems confronting the labor movement.

NM SPOTLIGHT

One World Threatened

IT SEEMS that Rome, Italy, has become the new center for declaring war against the Soviet Union. Several months ago it was William Bullitt who issued a declaration from that city opening hostilities with Moscow and transmitted it to the American people through the pages of *Life*. Last week it was two American Senators, Burton K. Wheeler and Albert W. Hawkes, who tried to get 250 soldiers at a Red Cross club in Rome to gather up their tommy guns and promptly proceed against the Red Army. We take it that they failed but we do not believe that they have given up trying. They will try so long as American foreign policy remains muddled and so long as the State Department fails to crack down on a host of officials who have become the spearhead of political warfare against the USSR.

The Rome episode is only one item in the long list of "get tough" incidents. Just a few days ago several witnesses appeared at a hearing held by the House committee on postwar military policy. The *New York Times* of June 6 published the following as part of its report on the hearings: "several witnesses asserted that postwar training was essential as protection against a possible war with Russia, and Representative Allen, Republican, of Illinois, read a statement saying that the testimony of the last two days had already convinced him that such was the case."

Small wonder then that Soviet commentators have been asking questions. And the questions they ask boil down to how Americans would feel if such talk appeared in Soviet newspapers. But equally important is what Americans will do to counter this talk and how they will impress those in the highest quarters that it must be stopped immediately. The sad fact is that while there has been widespread dismay over the arrogance of our homegrown Goebels' since V-E Day, it has not been sufficiently organized nor has it been of great enough weight to jolt Washington on to a course of sanity. The trade unions have been all too quiet; progressive groups seem to be satisfied with passage of resolutions when their whole communities should be aroused

to action against the threat to the peace which rests fundamentally on continued American-Soviet friendship.

Fortunately last week several individuals in Congress bluntly spoke their minds in condemnation of the anti-Soviet tirades. Senator Walter F. George denounced "speculation" about a breach between the US and USSR as nothing less than "folly." Others were men of diverse political outlook. There was the New York Republican Joseph C. Baldwin; there were the liberal representatives Hugh DeLacy, Adolph Sabath and George Outland; and there were conservative southerners like John Folger of North Carolina and Wright Patman of Texas. Out of Congress there was the thoughtful speech by Secretary Henry Wallace which we publish in this issue. Their words will have affect only if they have the sweeping support of the millions who mean to have one world.

Cleaning Up Germany

THE Allied Control Council for Germany did not begin its work in the most cordial atmosphere. Its organization is, of course, a momentous development. On the Council rests the responsibility of rooting out fascism morally and politically in accordance with the Crimea agreement. And in purging the country of every remnant of the Hitler regime conditions must also be shaped for her democratic reconstruction. The British and Americans begin with the handicap of a bad AMG record in Italy with some of its blacker features carried over into Germany where secondary Nazi officials are still retained on the plea that there is no one else around with the necessary "know how." Our job is not to worry about technical proficiency; our job is to be proficient in cleansing Germany completely and that can be done only by living up to agreements made jointly by the Allies.

One agreement already violated, either wittingly or unwittingly, is the failure of British and American commanders to withdraw their troops from the zones occupied by the Red forces. There is no doubt that the necessary withdrawals will be made, but it is again

alarming to see the outburst of resentment by several newspapers here and in England over the Soviet's insistence that the occupation agreement formulated by the European Advisory Commission be fulfilled without delay. The demarcation of the different occupation areas has been known to leading diplomats and military figures for quite some time—certainly since the Yalta conference. What is not yet clear is the French zone but that is hardly to be blamed on Moscow. The explanation undoubtedly lies in London where the British Foreign Office is playing a grandiose game of pressuring the French over Syria and Lebanon. If Paris were not so adamant over a five-power settlement of the Levantine issue, the French occupation zone would have been announced last week along with the others.

At any rate, the stupid talk about Russian "secretiveness" in eastern Germany is of a piece with other such nonsense. Marshal Zhukov has plainly indicated how the Russians are proceeding to remold the areas under their command by allowing the establishment of anti-fascist political parties and the organization of trade unions. If there is any "secretiveness" it is to be found in western Germany where British and American officials still do not quite know how to eradicate the fascists.

Cartel Maneuvers

IMPORTANT as it is by itself, the government proceeding against Standard Oil of New Jersey have larger meaning in terms of destroying the German war potential. The facts of the case are simple. Standard Oil is eager to get hold of vital patents owned by the German chemical trust, I. G. Farben, and is suing the Alien Property Custodian to surrender several hundred of them which it claims it purchased from Farben in 1939. The government contends that the property custodian had every right to seize these patents because their purchase by Standard Oil was merely a wartime device which would be superseded in peacetime by a resumption of relations with Farben and would at any rate place Standard Oil in a monopolistic position in industrial synthetics.

What is immediately apparent and,

of course, no news at all, is the very warm relations between Standard Oil and the German monopolists who succored Hitler, brought him to power, and provided him with a war vehicle. What is not too well known is Farben's large interests in Standard Oil subsidiaries and there is every reason to believe that the patent purchases Standard Oil made were intended to protect the Farben investments during the war. In other words, German monopolies temporarily transferred abroad much of their interests to non-German monopolistic control. This took place through deals not only with American companies but with British, Spanish, Argentinian and Swedish firms. And the deep shame of it is that while some offices in Washington are trying to curb the cartels, other offices have in the past month appointed "experts" with German cartel connections to supervise German economy. One of these experts is Philip P. Clover, an official of a Standard Oil subsidiary with large investments in German industry. We should remember, as the recent Kilgore report showed, that it was Standard Oil's cartel ties with Farben that slowed up American war production of synthetic rubber for so long.

The critical question is whether it is government policy to permit American monopolists to renew and cement their old alliances with the German trusts. The issue is critical because unless there is a firm and unequivocal policy to prevent the resurrection of German monopolies through dummy combines bearing American names, then Germany's war potential will be left almost intact and German imperialism will have suffered nothing more than a temporary rebuff. We will be profaning the memory of our dead if these monopolists in Germany are not brought to account as war criminals and their power smashed beyond retrieving.

Home Front Saboteurs

SENATOR TAFT is a versatile man. Without blinking an eye he can shift easily from fomenting war against Russia to fomenting war against a stable American war economy. This is Wreck-the-Home-Front Week for Senator Taft and his colleague, Senator Thomas of Oklahoma, who have trained their batteries on the OPA. By the time this appears in print the Senate may have already acted on the bill reported favorably by its Banking and Currency Committee to extend the Price Control Act for another year. The issue is whether an already wobbly price control setup is

to be completely gutted by amendments which would make the government guarantee dizzy profiteering far beyond anything we have yet experienced.

The Thomas amendment, for example, would make it mandatory for the OPA to assure every food and cotton processor a profit on every item rather than a profit on over-all operations, as is the present practice. As OPA Administrator Chester Bowles stated, if this amendment is passed, prices would have to be based on the costs of the most inefficient producers. This would mean unlimited increases on every food item, on all woolen and cotton garments, on shoes and all articles made from cattle and hog hides. The Taft amendment goes even further. It would remove all controls from any commodity on which the producer is not getting the same profit as in 1941. [Since the above was written, the Senate approved amendments submitted by Sens. Kenneth S. Wherry and Henrik Shipstead which were even worse than those of Taft and Thomas. The Wherry-Shipstead proposal will wreck all food price control. It outlaws any price ceiling on livestock or any other farm commodity that does not give the farmer a "reasonable" profit above production costs. This is the method by which foes of the original price control act sought to destroy it. The measure now goes to the House: only vigorous protest can still rescue price control.]

Moves Toward Planning

POSTWAR prospects of full employment were considerably improved with War Mobilization Director Vinson's letter to Sen. Robert F. Wagner expressing full endorsement of the Murray full employment bill. In his letter Mr. Vinson reiterates the substance of Franklin Roosevelt's domestic views when he writes: "The government, acting on behalf of all the people, must assume responsibility and take measures broad enough to meet the issues. Only by looking at the economy as a whole, and adopting national economic policies which will actively promote and encourage the expansion of business and the maintenance of markets and consumer spending can we hope to achieve full employment."

The Murray bill provides for a new type of national budget, to be prepared by the President annually, containing an estimate of the number of jobs needed to supply all those willing to work. It would further indicate what proportion of new jobs private capital could rea-

sonably be expected to make available and the number of jobs the government, both federal and local, should create through useful public works. The budget would also estimate the necessary total national income to be expected for the given year. Joint Congressional committees would then meet to determine concrete measures needed to effect full employment. The Murray bill is an important departure toward social regulation and planning of the private enterprise economy. It is a concrete measure designed in part to realize the Economic Bill of Rights projected by Franklin Roosevelt. It has the wholehearted support of the organized labor movement. Vinson's full endorsement of the bill is a welcome sign that the administration is beginning to fight for full production and full employment.

But even the best plans for postwar employment perspectives stand little opportunity of realization unless adequate measures are taken now to carry through the reconversion to peace production without serious dislocation of the national economy. Virginia Gardner's article elsewhere in this issue throws some new light on this problem, indicating that there is a more serious and responsible approach to reconversion than in the recent past. Organized labor's uneasiness over reconversion problems were stressed again in William Green's and Philip Murray's talks with President Truman urging that he support measures for a twenty percent increase in wages in order to maintain the present take-home pay and thus prevent drastic reductions in the national consumers' income due to lay-offs and reduction of working hours. Mr. Green in his statement in behalf of the AFL pointed out that if wages are not increased there will be a total drop of \$23,000,000,000 in the workers' buying power after the defeat of Japan.

Housecleaning in V. A.

THE President's appointment of Gen. Omar Bradley to head the Veterans Administration is a step in the proper direction. Bradley will bring to his job the first qualification for effective work—warmth and human understanding of men out of battle. His predecessor, General Hines, was a nice old fellow who for more than twenty years specialized in making the bureau fraud-proof after its plundering by the hacks of the Harding administration. Hines placed overmuch emphasis on procedure and red tape while the veterans under his charge were more or less lost from

The "Amerasia" Case

THE "spy" case which spread luridly across the nation's headlines last week has set many Americans thinking. It broke, in New York, when the *Times* headlined a lead story from Washington with the scare-head "FBI Seizes Six as Spies." We learned that three publicists, a Naval Intelligence officer and two government officials had been arrested under provisions of the Espionage Act on a charge of alleged conveyance of state secrets which were published in *Amerasia*, a periodical which has distinguished itself for its authoritative coverage of Far Eastern politics. Some forty-eight hours after the newspapers had concocted a spy-scare, a scare amply trimmed with Red-baiting, it was officially admitted that the six were not actually "spies." The issue narrowed itself down to the question whether the defendants had misused confidential governmental information—a judgment which the courts will determine. Meanwhile, the country was filled with question-marks about the case, questions which alarm every thoughtful man and woman about the country's future, about our democracy, about a peaceful postwar world. Though most of the press had sought to whip up an atmosphere of frenzy which would overwhelm clear thinking about the matter, many alarmed voices demanded answers that dare not be ignored. Why, the *New York Post* asked, had the Espionage Act been invoked in this instance? Others asked the same question.

Behind these facts loom the outlines of the principal issue, one which has life-and-death bearing upon the country and its future. As the *New York Herald Tribune* said editorially, "the background of this distressing case is of concern to every American who has interest in foreign policy." It traced the origins of this case to the critical attitude of many American officials in China and Washington toward the Chungking government and to our shifting policy regarding relations with that government.

It is well known that *Amerasia* has vigorously and intelligently championed a policy which democratic Americans—including men like Franklin Roosevelt and General Stilwell espoused—that of a unified China in which the Kuomintang, the Communists and other democratic groups would cooperate at maximum for all-out war against Japan. The editors of *Amerasia*, like all American democrats, expressed alarm over the reversal of State Department policy since Gen. Joseph Stilwell left his Chungking post and the Grew-Hurley team took over. Evidence is more than abundant that the latter are plumping for a policy of all-out support to the Kuomintang oligarchs who have obstinately rejected cooperation with the Communists, rejected all

ideas of democratizing their government, and have instead, fortified their policy of bitter hostility to that section of China which today numbers between ninety and a hundred millions. Needless to say, this has serious implications for a democratic Asia, and contains within it the seed for the reconstitution of a reactionary Japan after V-J Day has come.

Has the State Department decided imperiously to quash all criticism of its policy by means of police terrorism? Does it seek to overwhelm all governmental, as well as public opposition, by means of arrests and prison sentences? Has its policy of overture to Argentina brought with it the political climate of Buenos Aires? After all, as many nationally known commentators have pointed out, what the defendants are charged with doing is far from uncommon practice. As I. F. Stone said in a strong editorial in *PM*, the State Department is "constantly leaking material to favored reporters and commentators like Arthur Krock, James B. Reston, Constantine Brown, Frank Kent, David Lawrence." A "very tiny handful" of progressives in that department he says, "leak stuff similarly to Drew Pearson, to Tom Stokes, to people like yours truly." The Department, he writes, "naturally" regards leaks in the former class "as legitimate discussion of facts and policy. But so does the other side. Is the leak to be a right-wing monopoly?" Is the root of this aspect to be found in the atmosphere of an undue and guilty secrecy in the State Department and other agencies, an unwillingness to be frank with the people and the press, which has evoked the common practice Mr. Stone describes?

And finally, in regard to this whole issue, it is worth noting, as Mr. Stone does, that nothing happened to the *Chicago Tribune* when, several days before Pearl Harbor, it published our secret war plans. And many commentators point to other instances like that of the article in the December 1944 issue of *Harper's Magazine* entitled "How We Dealt With Spain," by Ernest K. Lindley and Edward Weintal when the cover of the magazine stated to the world that the article was based "on official documents, including Ambassador Hays' correspondence." All this highlights the strange circumstances surrounding the action against the editors of *Amerasia* and the others involved. Is it any wonder people ask whether we are witnessing an effort on the part of the State Department reactionaries to gag criticism, to stifle any whisper of opposition to its policies, even if that entails undermining the country's most cherished institutions? Can it be that Mr. Grew's long stay in Japan has convinced him that the warlords of that country were right when they imprisoned men for "dangerous thoughts"? These are the questions the country is asking: the answers involve our destiny in more ways than one.

THE EDITORS.



Gen. Joseph Stilwell

sight. It was only in recent months after widespread criticism of the VA that feeble attempts were made to introduce changes. Now a House committee is supposedly investigating maladministration and the poor medical treatment provided in veterans' hospitals. The committee's chairman, the ineffable John Rankin, has done just about everything but explore actual conditions. He brought contempt charges against Albert Deutsch, who wrote for *PM* an excellent series of articles on Veterans' Administration bureaucracy and abuses in medical care. The charges were quashed; not even Rankin can hide from the public the fact that all he is interested in is keeping things as they are and ending the investigation in one happy whitewash.

There is no denying that the VA's medical program is far from adequate. That is a common opinion among objective physicians and social workers who have had contact with discharged men. Not all facilities of the administration are defective nor can all the deficiencies be attributed to the administrators, but the darker facets of the picture are alarming enough to cause real concern. Many believe that the VA tries to do too much and in consequence gets little done. General Bradley has a great opportunity to do a top-to-bottom housecleaning and prove that the veterans—there will be something like 15,000,000 of them in time—are more important than the file-card system.

New York's Mayor

As we go to press there is something of an unprecedented snarl in New York city politics. Governor Dewey, the Republican, intervened in the metropolitan picture to dictate that a rejected Tammany Democrat, Judge Jonah Goldstein, head the GOP mayoralty ticket. The Social-Democratic Liberal Party backed the choice, rushing into coalition with the Republicans in order to split the independent, progressive vote and to perpetuate its Red-baiting paranoia against the American Labor Party. (Judge Goldstein stands high in the estimation of the Liberal Party chieftains as the man who sent Morris Schappas to jail.)

Further to complicate the life of the GOP-Liberal Party coalition Newbold Morris, who had been designated as candidate for President of the City Council, withdrew from the slate after blasting the GOP choice of Goldstein as "dictatorship" from Governor Dewey, whose sole interest is to strengthen

his state machine. Morris called Goldstein a "discarded Tammany candidate," and indicated that he may run against the judge in the primaries. It is common knowledge that ambitious Judge Goldstein had originally been considered the likely choice of the Democratic machine politicians, but the rank-and-file of the party wanted Brooklyn District Attorney William F. O'Dwyer, who contends that the nation must stick by Roosevelt's policies.

Mr. O'Dwyer got the designation from the Democratic chiefs, but they added two unknown political figures to his slate for city council president and for comptroller. Mr. O'Dwyer rejected his two running mates, and as we go to press is meeting with Democratic Party heads to thrash out that issue.

The American Labor Party, at this moment, is scheduled to meet to draw up its full slate and to chart its course in the event O'Dwyer, with powerful backing among the ALP membership, cannot prevail in his demand for a stronger ticket. Meanwhile the electorate shows signs of considerable anger at the unprincipled jockeying of the Republican-Democratic and Liberal Party

Bretton Woods

The passage of the House bill authorizing US membership in the Bretton Woods bank and monetary fund is an important victory for the Roosevelt program for world economic collaboration. The overwhelming vote of 345 to 18 with which this measure was passed is a tribute to the active and energetic efforts of progressive and labor organizations to bring their urgent demands and requests to Congress for its passage.

The measure is now before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee for further hearings. The easy House passage of this bill should not create a feeling that the fight is over and won. It still must be passed by the Senate, where reactionary forces will make desperate efforts to kill it with amendments. Renewed vigilance and public demands for its passage must now be directed to the Senators.

chieftains. This has bred a growing movement to convince Mayor La Guardia to reconsider his decision not to run.

How it will turn out we cannot presume to prophesy. This much is certain: the GOP-Liberal combination that sought to carry the business off as partisans of "clean government" and opponents of "machine politics" are engaged in a sort of unwilling political strip-tease before the electorate. The Democratic machine politicians are also losing ground. We will report on the ALP decisions and further developments next week.

FEPC Backslide

IF WE don't watch out, we Americans will wake up on June 30 to discover that we have no agency for fair employment practices at all and that the great gains we made in the 1944 election campaign, when popular pressure forced even the GOP to pledge support of a permanent FEPC, are wiped out by the simple fact that there will be no money for such an agency. After the shameful business of turning up a War Agencies Appropriations Bill with no provisions at all for the temporary FEPC, and in the face of the fact that a bill establishing a permanent FEPC would have to be passed before the present agency expires on June 30, a vicious little bloc of Southern poll-tax Democrats and their familiar Republican allies have maneuvered three times in twenty-four hours to keep the bill for the permanent committee bottled up in the Rules Committee, where it has already lain for two months. President Truman made a powerful direct plea for the bill, calling any abandonment of "the fundamental principle upon which the Fair Employment Practice Committee was established . . . unthinkable." Neither this forthright action on the part of the President nor the delegation of progressive Congressmen, led by Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.), who descended on the Rules Committee's session has budged the brazen reactionaries who are holding up the measure. It is evident that the Rules Committee intends to postpone the permanent measure fatally by continuing its deadlock.

Only the most overwhelming popular pressure can guarantee that the democracy we voted for in 1944 will not be legally strangled. The necessary \$500,000 appropriation for the temporary FEPC can be restored in the Senate, and all Senators should get such a flood of mail and wires and delegations as to leave no doubt where the people stand. President Truman should be

backed to the limit in the administration fight for the measure, and urged if necessary to issue an executive order under his war powers. For the consequences of losing FEPC to winning the war and effecting a proper reconversion would be very serious indeed.

Here and There

MEMO to the State Department: Four prominent Nazis on a *Spanish* ship en route to *Argentina* with

home-bound *Argentine* diplomats were apprehended during a stopover in Trinidad. How about some repercussions?

• The glitter has dimmed from Pastor Niemöller, another of the German denouncers of that ol' Bolshevik menace, whom the *New York Times* called a "shining star." He admitted to having volunteered for U-boat service under Hitler, to not believing in democracy for Germany and to having stood up against the Nazis not for their Naziness but only when they attacked his church.

• In opening the Tory election campaign Churchill added to the evidence he has already given of unfitness for postwar leadership by reverting to the Bolshevik-bogey demagoguery by which he helped to destroy the peace after the last World War. Churchill policy at work can be seen in Greece, where British bayonets keep a reactionary minority in power whose repressions and political murders have aroused even the fellow reactionary, General Plastiras, to protest.

THE CPA EVALUATES ITS COURSE

By THE EDITORS

THE discussion that will determine the future course of the Communist Political Association has opened with the publication in the June 4 issue of the *Daily Worker* of the resolution of the CPA National Board, followed by the publication in *The Worker* of June 10 of the first comments by individuals. Though this debate is being conducted within the Communist Political Association, the questions of policy involved concern the entire nation and the world. The editors of *NEW MASSES*, after considering the material that has already appeared, have arrived at conclusions concerning the major points at issue. However, we feel it desirable to postpone the formulation of those conclusions so that they can be amplified in the light of further discussion.

We especially would like to get the views of our readers. In the meantime we present the highlights of the two most important articles in the June 10 *Worker*, those of Earl Browder, CPA president, who cast the lone vote against the resolution of the National Board, and of William Z. Foster, CPA vice-president.

Browder's article, which is his speech at the June 2 meeting of the National Board, states he can "accept the resolution's program of action as a basis," but that he objects to other parts of it. He argues against the criticism made by Jacques Duclos, one of the principal leaders of the French Communist Party, of the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States. Browder declares that "the dissolution of the Party and the creation of the Communist Political Association in place of it helped to win the election" and was therefore justified since "America had become a decisive point in the world

struggle . . . decisive for the whole course of world development." In Browder's opinion, "if we had decided otherwise, Roosevelt would have lost," although he states this cannot be proved. "But it can be proved," he insists, "that our action strengthened the Roosevelt forces." He defends the dissolution on the further ground that "it gives us a more favorable approach to the general question of electoral struggles in the future."

BROWDER then discusses what he calls "the key question of the world—the relations between America and the Soviet Union," which in his opinion "is not adequately dealt with in the resolution." He states his "profound conviction that coincidence of interest between America and the Soviet Union . . . will override and overrule the surface conflict of ideology and etiquette. . . ." He analyzes the world relation of forces "which makes it to the class interest of the American bourgeoisie . . . to take the course of Teheran and Yalta." The changed relation of forces that in his opinion make an enduring peace possible short of socialism consists in: "the emergence of the Soviet Union in alliance with America and Britain as the victors in the greatest of all wars"; the fact that the USSR was the greatest contributor to victory; the enormous wartime expansion of American economy, doubling our productive forces and relegating Britain to a secondary position, with only America and the Soviet Union as "great powers in the fullest sense of the word"; "the wiping out of the main bases of reactionary, anti-democratic power in Europe and the consequent rise of broadly based democratic governments of the people"; the impetus given by the war to "the na-

tional liberation movement of the colonies and semi-colonies."

Decisive for a durable peace, Browder states, is the collaboration of the United States and the Soviet Union and he presents what he considers the evidence that such collaboration is possible. "Only if the bourgeoisie has a class interest which coincides to some degree with the national interest," he declares, can this collaboration be achieved without fundamentally changing the monopoly capitalist structure of America. He declares that just as the British and American bourgeoisie collaborated in the war only after "collapse and failure of every other alternative policy, so also may we expect that they will move along the postwar path indicated at Teheran and Yalta only to the degree that all other alternative proposals are found to be closed to them, impractical to them, impossible of working." He finds that the American bourgeoisie has only two other alternatives: immediate transition to "a new war against the Soviet Union," or "an armed peace within which the main policy would be diplomatic and economic war against the Soviet Union, with military hostilities postponed to some indefinite future time. . . ." He analyzes these two alternatives and concludes that both would be disastrous for the bourgeoisie. He then asks whether there is "any serious basis for conceiving that it is possible for the bourgeoisie, the American ruling class, to have within itself enough intelligence" to reject both these alternatives and to follow the path of Teheran and Yalta. He concludes that "this possibility is not excluded," that "the American bourgeoisie from its own class interests under this relation of forces may take this path."

Browder asks whether "we should

not make this possibility the basis of a serious effort to mobilize all the forces that can be mobilized to realize it, and form a bloc, an alliance, with that section of the bourgeoisie which sees its true class interests . . . throwing the power of the labor and democratic mass movement to bear upon the more backward and reluctant sections of the bourgeoisie, thereby reenforcing the convictions of the more farsighted leaders of the bourgeoisie." He adds that "It is, of course, understood that the decisive force for realizing a lasting peace is a powerful labor movement with a clear policy at the head of all the democratic masses."

FOSTER in his article charges that Browder's ideas represent opportunism and a revision of Marxism, and that this revisionism "has the same class roots and goes in the same general direction as the traditional revisionism of Social Democracy." Its essence, he states, "is the belief that capitalism is fundamentally progressive and that the big bourgeoisie may, therefore, be relied upon to lead the nation to peace and prosperity." This theory, Foster states, caused Browder "to develop in his book, *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace*, a capitalist utopia which far outdid anything produced anywhere by the Social Democratic revisionists. Typically, too, he developed theories about the 'progressivism' and 'intelligence' of finance capital. In consequence, the policies he formulated on the basis of these wrong conclusions tended to subordinate the workers to the influence of reactionary capitalists." He presents eleven illustrations of the practical effects of Browder's theories:

"While our general wartime policy

of supporting the Roosevelt administration was correct, we made the mistake, under Browder's influence, of failing to criticize many errors and shortcomings of the Roosevelt government"—one example being the Communist defense of the appointment of Stettinius as Secretary of State; the failure to demand that "organized labor be admitted into the Roosevelt government on a coalition basis," this reflecting "the revisionist feeling that all was safe under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and that labor should not disturb the 'harmonious' class relationships by making unpleasant demands for representation in top administration circles"; Browder's rejection of proposals that "labor should demand representation at all international conferences held by the United Nations," a demand "now being pushed by the new World Trade Union Federation"; Browder's "acceptance of the two-party system virtually in perpetuity," which, according to Foster, was a major factor in leading to the dissolution of the Communist Party.

Among the other illustrations Foster gives were "Browder's serious concern that our party should not attack the trusts as such" and his insistence that "the only regulations of monopoly practices that should take place . . . were those which the monopolists themselves should agree to"; his "incredible proposals that in the postwar period the capitalists would voluntarily double the wages of the workers"; his proposal that "in the vitally important matter of developing American foreign trade," the government shall go no further in regulation: "than the capitalists themselves demand"; his "easy acceptance of their [the big capitalists'] slogan of

'free enterprise' " which was "in reality a demand for a free hand, economically and politically, for the monopolists"; his "belief in a postwar class collaboration for many years with the big bourgeoisie . . . [which] flowed naturally from the revisionist ideas that he was developing"; his attempt to "exorcize imperialism out of existence" and especially his failure to see any "danger whatever from American imperialism," as a result of which he "underestimated the hostility in the ranks of finance capital in the United States and Great Britain towards the USSR"; his "curt dismissal of the whole question of socialism in our country, not only as an immediate political issue (in which he was correct), but also in the sense of mass education (in which he was wrong)."

Foster finds that "these are not isolated, unrelated errors; they constitute a whole system of revisionist thinking. They involve violations of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and must be eliminated from our party theory and practice." He declares that "the resolution of the National Board constitutes a fundamental correction in theory and practice of Comrade Browder's errors. It furnishes the basis of the widest unity of the people for the realization of the democratic goals of Teheran and Yalta; it provides practical policies to help build the great national democratic coalition which in the postwar period must be broad enough to include the workers, farmers, professionals, small businessmen, and also those groupings among the bourgeoisie who support Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies, and who understand that the alternative to Yalta would be economic chaos, a big growth of fascism and a new world war."



FRONT LINES

by **COLONEL T.**

TOKYO'S YEAR OF FIRE

THE B-29 Superfortress rounded out a year of operational activity in the Orient on the eve of the first anniversary of the landings in Normandy, *i.e.*, on June 5. An examination of this activity for the past year is of great interest because the data disclosed may give us an idea of the cost and duration of the war against Japan.

Last week I pointed out some of the factors which permit us to hope that the

effect of strategic bombing on Japan would be greater by far than the effect on Germany. (Incidentally, in connection with my article of last week I wish to draw the attention of the reader to a misprint: in writing about the condition of the I. G. Farben plant in Frankfort-on-the-Main I meant that the mammoth administration building, *not* the mammoth plant itself, had been found intact. There is no information

as yet as to what happened to the plant itself.)

Let us see how our main air instrument in the Pacific war, the B-29, has been operating during the past year. It has been disclosed (the main source of facts and figures is an article by Foster Hailey in the *New York Times*, June 10) that the first experimental models of the B-29 were ordered back in the Summer of 1940, before Pearl Harbor.

However, it was only after Pearl Harbor that the obvious necessity of having planes with a longer range than the B-17 and B-24, prodded the production of the Superfort. The first "X-models" (experimental) of the B-29 were flown two years after the initial order, *i.e.*, at the time when we started our long and victorious march from Guadalcanal to Okinawa. The first planes were actually delivered to the Army Air Force at the turn of the year 1944, *i.e.*, eighteen months ago.

While a tune-up flight was made on June 5, 1944, with Bangkok as a target, it may be considered that the June 15 Superfort raid on the Yawata steel plants on Kyushu opened the year of strategic bombing of the Japanese Empire. During that year (*i.e.*, from June 15, 1944 up to and including June 8, 1945) 106 strikes were made. The average number of strikes per month during the year was a little less than nine, but it is interesting to note that during the first four months of the year only two strikes per month were being made, while in April of this year the monthly number of strikes rose to seventeen, dropping to thirteen in May (probably because of the weather).

THE first raid on Tokyo took place on Nov. 24, 1944 and was made by ninety-eight planes. This was the seventeenth strike by the B-29's. Since then, during the second half of the operational year, some ninety strikes were made. The listing of the power of these strikes, while indefinite in language, shows a great proportion of "large" and "very large" blows and includes seven made by between 300 and 500 Superforts, with the May 13 and 16 incendiary raids against Nagoya made by "over 500" Superforts.

It has been disclosed that the number of Superforts in operation against Japan has risen in a year from "a few score" to "several thousand," distributed between the Twentieth Bomber Command based on Saipan and the Twenty-First using India and China as bases. Okinawa, as far as we know, has not yet been rigged as a Superfort base. When it is (as soon as the danger of suicide plane attacks from Kyushu has been eliminated), it will "fill in" between the area of strikes from Saipan and those from India by covering the southeastern bulge of China which has so far been almost entirely immune to B-29 blows.

The distribution of the B-29 strikes geographically is interesting and shows that the weight of the blows of

the Twentieth Bomber Command (Saipan) has so far been incomparably greater than the weight of the Twenty-First Bomber Command (India-China). Because some of the 106 missions covered more than one area at a time, the number of individual blows struck at certain targets is greater than the number of missions, adding up to about 130. These 130 blows are distributed thus: twenty-nine fell on the southern half of the Japanese loot-empire (including Formosa) while the rest, or more than 100, fell on the northern half, *i.e.*, on Japan itself and on North China. In the south the targets were the regions of Rangoon, Bangkok, Saigon and Singapore, as well as Sumatra, with a total of twenty-nine strikes. In the north the greatest power of the B-29's was directed at Japan itself which was on the receiving end of eighty-one strikes (thirty on Kyushu and fifty-one on Honshu). Iwo got five strikes, Manchuria six, and north China ten.

Several times the Superforts were distracted from their strategic mission to engage in tactical blows in support of our amphibious operations. The blows against Iwo in advance of our landing there, those against Formosa in support of or in preparation for our Luzon campaign, and the repeated blows against the "kamikaze" plane bases on Kyushu for the protection of our operations on Okinawa, must be considered as such tactical diversions from the grand strategic objective. Thus the operations against what has become the three prongs of our "trident"—Iwo, Okinawa and Luzon—were vigorously supported by our B-29's, which climbed off their strategic "high horse" with telling effect and without loss of "prestige."

The analysis of the strikes against the Japanese Empire discloses the fact that the greatest weight of bombs was dropped on the industrial targets of the Japanese home islands. For instance, Nagoya received some twenty strikes, of which six were either "very large" or "great," and two incendiaries were made by "over 500" planes. Of these strikes, the one on April 6 was a two-way strike on Tokyo and Nagoya, the first mission flown under fighter escort.

Thus it would seem that the general plan is to try and bomb Japan to her knees while redeployment for a direct assault is being carried out. The plan appears sensible, especially in the light of our comparatively light losses in B-29's: about 125 Superforts in all. Our greatest losses were incurred in the

raids of May 23, 25 and 31 against Tokyo and Osaka, when a total of forty-one Superforts were lost.

Such a try for strategic air power under new conditions cannot be considered as prejudicial to victory because we have to wait for redeployment anyway. The situation thus is radically different from the one obtaining in Europe in 1942 and 1943 when there was danger that over-optimistic appraisal of the possibilities of air power used strategically would delay the plans for the opening of a second front. (There is reason to believe that the second front actually *was* delayed by such an erroneous appraisal.) Now it is obvious that having then quite correctly appraised Germany as Enemy Number One, and having moved most of our forces to the Atlantic theater, our military leadership must now have time to redeploy them in the Pacific theater. Therefore, a fling at beating Japan to her knees from the air "while-we-wait" can only be applauded.

It has been reported last week by the slightly less than reliable news service at Chungking that Chinese forces have retaken Liuchow and Ishan. It is also said that Chinese troops are approaching our former air base at Kweilin, lost to the enemy a few months ago in the Chinese disaster in Hunan-Kwangsi. Such victories by the Chiang Kai-shek troops are again ample proof of the fact that the Japanese are abandoning at least the Hengyang-Yungning railroad corridor. However, be this as it may, the fact remains that our B-29's will soon have excellent bases in this area and will be able to give a short-range going-over to the very hub of Japanese-held communications in China, *i.e.*, to the intersection of the Yangtze and the Peiping-Canton railroad at Hankow. When this happens all the parts of the Japanese Empire will be under the wings of the B-29's. All except the industrial area of Manchuria, which is still little accessible.

Such a situation could be remedied by the creation of B-29 bases in the People's Region of China, near Yennan, and in Inner Mongolia. The supply problem would be a thorny one, but with the opening of the regular Burma Road and the Irrawaddy, the effort would not be superhuman. If we can get through to Chungking with supplies which Chiang stores for use against the People's Armies, then we can get through to Yennan with supplies for the blasting of Japanese factories in Manchuria. No offense to Mr. Grew is, of course, meant. *Honi soit qui mal y pense!*



FREUD AND LITERATURE

By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

DURING the long and complex process by which a culture assimilates a new set of ideas, people make two fumbling uses of them. First, with the incurable human yearning for a cure-all, they seek solutions in them for all their problems. Second, they seek support in them for their side in an antagonism.

Take, as an example, the history of a set of ideas comparatively well assimilated in our culture, the Darwinian concepts. For a time evolution was accepted by its first advocates in many fields as a set of formulae by which everything was finally and completely explained. Often the explanation was merely a restatement of problems, in Darwinian terminology; but that was enough, while the terms appeared new and wonder-working, for the reformulators to be content with what they got as solutions.

Second, the ideologists of capitalism, particularly in Great Britain, seized upon the Darwinian concepts to justify their top dog position in the class struggle, which they translated into Darwinian terms as "the struggle for existence" on the human level. Their exploitation of the lower classes was, by the same logic, sanctioned as an extension of the immutable, biological law of the "survival of the fittest."

A similar process is observable in the assimilation of the Freudian ideas. Those old enough to remember back to the early twenties, the period when Freudianism became established in America, will recall the exaggerations which accompanied it among the Freudian amateurs. Everything, from a food preference to the World War, was given a Freudian restatement. Among them you stumbled self-consciously through a dense forest of phallic symbols; and you sublimated rather than lived.

As for the use of the Freudian ideas to bolster a side in a struggle, that was there too. It was the irrationalists, at first, who went to them for armament to attack the world of reason. The dream world that they thought Freud had established as the real world became for them a fortress of irresponsibility.

Civilization, which they considered the betrayal of man through the intellect, was for them the product of consciousness; and life, which they considered to be suffocated under civilization, could be revived by a return to the unconscious. And they felt betrayed by Freudianism and turned against it as soon as they discovered it to be another "science," motivated, like all the sciences, by the desire to extend the frontiers of consciousness and, specifically, to arm reason with new controls over the unconscious.

The first of these processes of cultural assimilation, the exaggeration of the potentialities of Freudianism, together with its obverse, the resistances set up in its path, are amply covered in Mr. Hoffman's book.* But to the extent that a book which mainly concerns itself with a description of the nature and effects of the Freudian influence upon a number of outstanding writers of our time ventures upon a thesis, that thesis is founded on the other aspect of the assimilation process, the use of

* FREUDIANISM AND THE LITERARY MIND, by Frederick J. Hoffman. University of Louisiana Press. \$4.



B. Golden.

Freudian ideas in an antagonism—in this case their use in the offensive of the irrationalists against the controls of reason.

THE aim of the thesis is modest, merely to establish a cultural continuity in the process. This Mr. Hoffman does by connecting Freud with precursors to whom, also, the irrationalists had been drawn and by whom they had been more or less prepared for the more decisive influence of Freud. The precursors are Schopenhauer, who gave primacy over reason to the human will which, as he conceived it, may be roughly equated with the Freudian "unconscious" in motion; Nietzsche, who gave the stature of supermen to those who fulfilled that "will" and thereby recast all moral values, with the hero's desires rather than the social good as the measure; and, finally, Dostoevsky, who would explain sin as a sort of moral holiday and would substitute resignation for reason.

But the cultural continuity could be traced back, as it was by Nietzsche, to an antagonism observable all through the development of civilization. It could be found in the core of religions and in the earliest philosophies. And the list of precursors could easily be extended since the "revolt against reason," in its modern aspect, had an all-European spread. France had precursors in Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Sorel, Gobineau; England in Carlyle and the later decadents; Italy in D'Annunzio, etc. The revolt took different forms—irrationalism as a dogma, Satanism, worship of the "life force."

Thus it is in the tentativeness of his thesis that Mr. Hoffman misses the opportunity to deepen and broaden his excellent study. He does not give a sense of the scope and the nature of "the revolt against reason" in its modern aspects. Nor does he inquire into the causes.

In the history of culture the eighteenth century was the "Age of Reason." The following century saw the swift development of the chief product

of reason, the sciences. This was accompanied by the industrialization of the Western world, and this, in turn, by the destruction of aristocratic and folk cultures, and their substitution by the cheapened products of capitalist culture organized as "trades." It is probable that in the look of the products of these "trades" the capitalist era may go down as one of the most repellent periods in cultural history; though it will hold a better place for the dissemination of education and the material means of culture on which a future higher, as well as broader, culture will be based. But because of what appeared to be its cultural face it was inevitable that the capitalist era, which stood to them as the outcome of reason and science, would enrage sensitive and frustrated intellectuals, particularly those with personal problems, which bent them toward the irrational, inciting them to a violent repudiation of reason and science. It is easy to see the attraction the Freudian "unconscious" had for them as the antithesis of reason.

But it should be noted that Marxism, throughout, had an even greater parallel attraction to dissident intellectuals and that, at one period, it attracted them all. In the tensions of the economic crisis of the thirties even the irrationalists were drawn to Marxism. It is now clear that they were attracted by an odor of violence which they scented in the philosophy of anti-capitalism. And, among the several factors which led them to abandon Marxism, was precisely their disappointment in it as a philosophy of violence. Above all, they were enraged by the discovery which had turned them against Freud—D. H. Lawrence became both anti-Freudian and anti-Marxist—that Marxism was a science; that it did not intend to destroy civilization but to rationalize it; that the socialism it aimed for was a social system at a higher fulfillment of human reason.

IT is there, perhaps, that the pointless conflict between Marxism and Freudianism came to an end. The unbalanced who needed cure-alls and sought them alternately in Freudianism and Marxism were alternately disappointed. It is notable that in the last few years the extremist stage in both has passed; and that in its recent literary uses Freudianism appears not as *Weltanschauung* but as the actual doctor-patient relationship, treated as narrative, or as a narrative device. This is one of the marks of the maturing stage in the assimilation of the Freudian science in our culture.

As I have mentioned before, Mr. Hoffman does not touch, except by intimation, upon these aspects of his subject. He limits himself to a study of Freud's influence, direct or indirect, upon a number of important writers, chiefly Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Kafka, Thomas Mann, Sherwood Anderson and Waldo Frank. Hoffman's presentation is very comprehensive. He has taken pains to clear issues by correspondence, wherever possible, with the writer under examination; and the presentation is also intelligent, just and frequently sensitive.

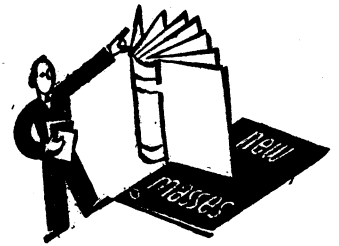
The book suffers, however, from an academic love of citations which sometimes clog the pages to the point of unreadability; and the academic caution which refrains from value judgments, giving a peculiar featurelessness to the text, as if there were no light and shade and no living proportions. Quoted nonsense is presented as blandly as quoted sense; the opinions of third and fourth rate writers have the same apparent acceptance as the opinions of major minds. And scholarly discretion leads to so rigid an assumption of the difference between the scientific and the artistic mind that the artist when he utters idiocy is accepted under the protection of that difference. It is as if Wagner, airing his evil and preposterous social ideas, be given respectful acceptance because he also happened to be a composer of genius.

Thus Mr. Hoffman's book is an illustration both of the virtues and the defects of the scholarly presentation. It is a good deal to say for it that, despite the defects, it is a useful and important work.

Soldier Writers

THE BEST FROM YANK, THE ARMY WEEKLY. Dutton. \$3.50.

ONE regret I had on being discharged from the Army was that *Yank* would no longer be available to me. It is the only magazine that covers the war from the soldier's viewpoint and its circulation is restricted to men in the service. Well-illustrated, cleanly written and progressive in tone, it provides soldiers with a forum relatively free from censorship. The "Mail Call" section of this anthology will give you an accurate picture of the mind of the soldier, at least the letter-writing type, before the mass of the Army was committed to combat. "Mail Call" has a frank discussion on democracy and the Negro in the Army that disproves many



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of the arguments of reactionaries, especially that the white soldier would not work with his Negro comrades in mixed units. This discussion must have helped higher echelon officers to make up their minds about mixing units on the Western Front. As a record of this war, however, the *Yank* anthology is incomplete, inasmuch as it does not cover the combat experience of our major European campaign, outside of Italy. Most of the men pictured in this selection are still green. Their attitudes have changed since this material was printed. Even the combat reporting from the early Pacific campaigns, North Africa and Italy has little in it that reflects more than the shock of battle, the monotony and the drabness of military life. There is a naive insistence on detail, on the exact reporting of something one has just begun to believe in. Little or no understanding of the nature of our fascist enemies is shown in these selections. The immaturity of the American soldier is the first thing the reader notices. I doubt if any other country could have produced a war anthology with the attitudes expressed by this one.

Part of the special quality of *Yank* is the fact that the best jobs are done by the staff of *Yank* rather than the few "name" writers: Irwin Shaw, Saroyan and Harry Brown. They sound phoney compared with the good journalism of Mack Morriss and Walter Bernstein, who has recently graduated into the name writer class with his book, *Keep Your Head Down*. Joseph Dever's prize-winning short story *Fifty Missions* and some of the work of Ed Cunningham and Merle Miller are superior to the contributions of the professional writers.

The civilian reader may be a bit bewildered by the humor section and fail to get the point of many of the cartoons. The "Sad Sack" cartoons, the wonderful "What's Your Problem" section, the excellent photography and the general youthful approach of the magazine will appeal to everyone. This is a young man's magazine, with all the faults of honesty and political adolescence. The poetry, most of it doggerel, demonstrates it most clearly in the few bitterly satirical failures to communicate to the intended civilian reader. One of the best things in the magazine, the portraits of home towns and the US is omitted. Still, within the limitations of publishing for the family trade, the book is successful in giving the civilian some idea of one of the best things produced by our Army—*Yank*.

BILL AALTO.

Horns of Freedom

TIN HORNS AND CALICO, by Henry Christman. Henry Holt. \$3.75.

THIS is a necessary book for the shelves recounting the unrecorded and lost history of the right of man to till and own his own land. It is a record of the struggles of the Americans against the great Tory landlords who, after the American Revolution, not only held their own lands in the Hudson River valley, but confiscated acres of the English landlords. This was a threat to the democratic principles of the young Republic. If it had maintained along the Hudson it would have affected land-ownership practices along the Ohio and the Mississippi. It would undoubtedly have made impossible the Homestead Law and the opening up of free land in the West.

In the 1830's Albany, New York, was the seat of power of a landed aristocracy which, under the patroon system, controlled the lives of 300,000 people and ruled nearly 2,000,000 acres of land in kingly splendor. Against this tyranny the farmers responded to the Tin Horns—field and dinner horns—the signal for gathering wherever farmers were to be evicted. Like the Indians at the Boston Tea Party they wore masks and disguises of calico and set the pattern which was followed in the penny sales in the Midwest in the last depression—the pattern of "passive resistance," simply massing many men and blocking the way, or bidding a penny for the sale of a farm, or the tactic of leading the nobles and lords who rode for them as for the rabbit—leading them into the mountains, then disappearing like water around them so they returned drunk and tired without having encountered the enemy and feeling ridiculous.

Not only did this heroic band of farmers fight and go to prison, but they raised great political edifices for that fight. It was John Slingerland, Anti-Rent Congressman who introduced the first federal Homestead Act as early as 1848, who pointed out that the creation of small homesteads was an "effectual bar to the progress of slavery." Horace Greeley and William Seward took up the fight, kept it alive. Many of them, Alvan Bovay, William Brisbane, Edward O'Connor and Devry, came west to Wisconsin and Minnesota and many families from the Anti-Rent counties were clearing new farms in the Fond Du Lac region in Wisconsin. It was at Ripon, Wis., that the Anti-Renters founded the new radical Republican

Party which they had talked of since 1844. William Brisbane, another leader of the New York anti-rent strikes, served two years in the early Minnesota legislature and never relaxed his fight against the enemies of equal rights.

Henry Christman has done not only a remarkable job of research but has presented his wealth of material in a dramatic manner that will make the book serve as a great cauldron of material for writer and poet of what he calls a "decisive episode in the emergence of democracy." With its fine collection of songs and ballads of the rebellion it gives one an immediate sense of history more effective than most novels. It gives one also a sense of triumph in a long succession of events and struggles of the people, pyramiding, accumulating, making up that store, mysterious to cynics, that Lincoln liked to call "commonsense." It also gives one a kind of chuckling vigorous recognition, reading about old Moses Earle of Dingle Hill, the wall builder of Dannemora, who stood up to the landlords alone in his fields and sat long years in prison for the tough inheritance he had from his father who fought in the Revolution. You can bet too he would smite his granite thigh in pleasure if he heard about the CIO, and the great storming of the gates of steel. Yes, these men would know us. And the song sung at the Anti-Land-Monopoly celebration at New Salem, Albany County, July 4, 1845 is not unfamiliar to us:

*Then shout brothers shout!
O, shout brothers shout!
Loud sound the horn,
Upon the morn
Of Independence Day!
Huzza! Huzza! We will be free
From feudal rents and tyranny.*

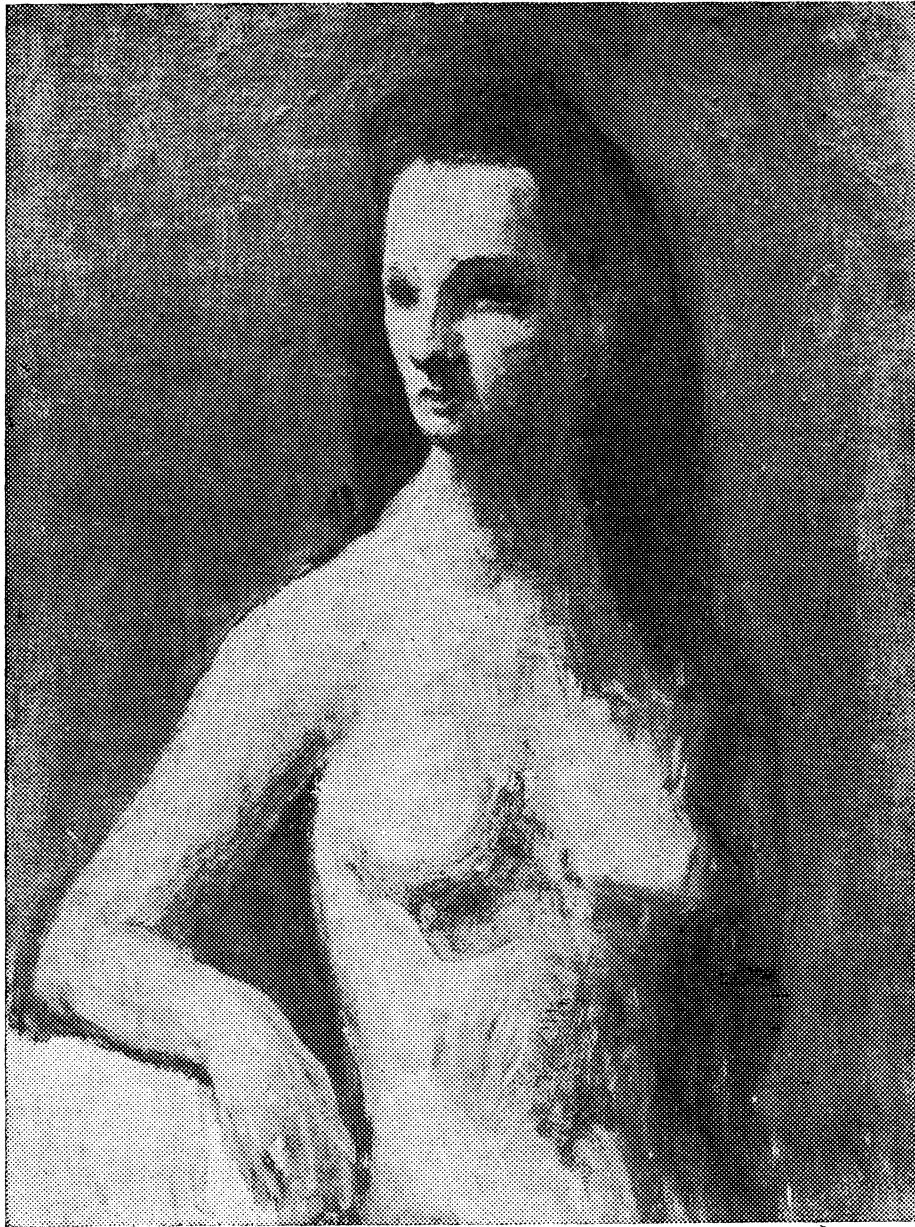
MERIDEL LE SUEUR.

Corwin's V-E Drama

ON A NOTE OF TRIUMPH, by Norman Corwin. Simon & Schuster. \$1.50.

IT is good that those who did not hear Corwin's V-E day radio drama now have the opportunity to read it. Corwin not only has the feel of the air-waves in his bones, he also happens to be a writer who knows how to pin history down to essentials, compensating with point and strength for any lack of subtlety.

One of Corwin's earliest radio dramas, *They Fly Through the Air With the Greatest of Ease*, dealt with Spain at a time when it was not exactly nice to talk about Spain. And the long



"Standing Woman," by Earl Kerkam.

Courtesy Bonestell Gallery.

Color and the South

SWING LOW, by Edwin A. Peeples. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.50.

BORDER CITY, by Hart Stilwell. Doubleday Doran. \$2.50.

THESE two talented first novels continue our guilty attention, sharpened recently by *Strange Fruit* and *Black Boy*, to the crucial question of race relations. Both are by native white Southerners and deal in one case with Negro life in a Southern city, and in the other with the life of Mexicans, the Negro's counterpart in the Southwest.

Mr. Peeples' *Swing Low* is a story of human dignity in the midst of degradation. It takes its farm-bred Negro hero, Jimmy Mack, from his country origins through an intense year or so in the violent pre-war slums of Billiard Alley in Atlanta, and back to the farm. With sympathy for his characters, so full that it sometimes verges on the sentimental, Mr. Peeples gives us a sense of the monotonous, circumscribed lives of colored Georgians. He keeps his writing alive with clear, fresh observations of the conscious and unconscious evasions of the full impact of oppression on the oppressed. Humor, in marked contrast to the humorless intensity of Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, along with religious imagery and folksong choruses, enriches the simple and sensuous writing. Mr. Peeples' characters are alive; Willy Mack and Amy will not easily be forgotten.

The familiar *dramatis personae* of slum life—prostitutes, petty gangsters, bootleggers, murderers, the unspeakable representatives of the "Law"—are given new interest by their setting in a Negro-white context. Woven into this context is what seems to me the book's most important contribution—the potentiality of Negro-white unity. This is shown on at least two significant, if not highly developed, levels. A poor white family, even more destitute than the Macks, is befriended and helped by them, though the surrounding Negro community is so conditioned as to feel no reason for helping any whites. Elsewhere in the story another white, a small businessman, is aroused by injustice to Willy Mack and seeks help from the courts—the weary and frightened cynicism of the colored community notwithstanding.

Readers who expect political maturity or full programmatic solutions here will, however, be disappointed. It will be difficult for them to follow Willy Mack

list of Corwin plays have all been on the progressive and fighting side. It is not surprising, therefore, that he dramatizes V-E day through a series of questions asked by a soldier, "A fighting man: glad to be alive, a little tired, but in good shape. . . . His name and rank and nationality don't matter much: could be a Tommy or a Yugo Partisan: a Red Army pilot: could be a GI. . . . The man of the hour, the man of the year, of the past ten years and the next twenty."

The questions: (1) First of all, whom did we beat? (2) How much did it cost to beat him? (3) What have we learned? What do we know now that we didn't know before? (4) What do we *do* now? (5) Is it all going to happen again? In the dramatic answers to these questions, we meet the nature of fascism and the nature of the war and

faith that destroyed it. And with the war's end, there is hope rising again upon the earth. "The Plan gets ready for tomorrow; tomorrow is ready for the Plan."

This reviewer only wishes that Corwin had resisted the temptation to include certain purple passages omitted in the broadcast version. As rhetorical embellishments they are a further display of the author's virtuosity but they also illustrate by the comparison with the rest of the text the difference between good radio language and bad.

The thing that matters finally, however, is the whole impact of the script. It remains to the end a stirring tribute to the heroic nature of our time. We are fortunate indeed to have a man with the talent and acumen of Norman Corwin to rise to occasions such as these.

JOHN CONNOR.

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with any real sense of satisfaction when he walks out of the troubles of Billiard Alley and heads back for the farm. Indeed, this attempt to escape, in a historically backward direction, emphasizes a certain ambiguity in the other types of evasion and raises the question whether the author fully understands them as evasions of reality and is not, rather, exploiting them as literary material. One wonders, too, at such a very minor departure from accepted democratic practice as the omission in the text of the capital N in Negro. In the end we reluctantly conclude that the artistic imagination of Mr. Peeples has not yet fully bridged the racial gap; that he has not yet reached full faith in the real and potential stature of the Negro. He, like other white writers, has a complex and clinging burden to work free of in order to control the hitherto forbidden material to which they are increasingly attracted. However, it is vastly to Mr. Peeples' credit that he has thrown off so much.

Smith in *Strange Fruit*. It is love across the color line in a context of terror and violence. Stilwell's characters have, however, a richer, more complex destiny, for Stilwell goes beyond *Strange Fruit*. He has not only deeply perceived and popularly expressed one of the most demanding contemporary themes. He has found a way of making lively reading out of good politics—and by politics is not meant merely the election campaign which bulks large in the story.

PHILIP STANDER.

Planning Our Houses

WHEN DEMOCRACY BUILDS, by Frank Lloyd Wright. University of Chicago Press. \$4.

CITY DEVELOPMENT, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt Brace. \$2.

IT REQUIRES a special background to review the writing of the legendary Frank Lloyd Wright. One must see his houses, live in them and study them to appreciate fully his tremendous contributions. Wright fully understands the nature of the materials with which he works and loves the soil he builds on. His approach in the architectural field often parallels Whitman's, but not in his writings. They are bitter with sarcasm and recriminations against society. Wright's houses sing of democracy; if only he loved and trusted humanity as he does his glass and brick and stone, he would not remain as isolated from the people as, belying its title, his latest book shows him to be.

When Democracy Builds takes no note of the tremendous struggles of humanity to break out of bondage into full freedom. It hurls scorn at the ignorant and the misled and thunders at the "lid-sitters" and the "stand-patters." This leader of an architectural revolution who tore off the icing, reduced the cornice and built modern houses for a new age still jousts at shadows. He makes no measured and thoughtful contribution to the rebuilding of a scarred world.

It is not enough today to rail against "money-rent, land-rent and manhood-rent," and present all previous American culture as "bastardized." Even a poetic version of Lenin's *State and Revolution*, as parts of this book appear to be, seems misplaced in an era of construction that will demand the full efforts of all sections of society. Perhaps Mr. Wright does not realize that without the "little people" and even "big business boys" his beloved retreat at Taliesin might now be housing a Gauleiter!

UNLIKE Mr. Peeples, Hart Stilwell has not tried the very difficult task of writing about a colored Southern group from within. In *Border City*, told in the first person (though not autobiographically, he assures us), Stilwell remains outside the Mexican community. Not that this externality means remoteness; on the contrary it is used as a device for emphasizing how immensely difficult it is for any white to understand fully the intimate consequences of white supremacy in the lives of dark-skinned Americans.


Border City presents a young newspaperman with a lusty roster of foibles, and with no special point of view on predilection for reform, but with a stubborn interest in fact. This leads him, contrary to his own easy-going inclinations, into a crusade against the local bosses. The growth of Dave Atwood, who tells the story, is the core of the book. In the background of the action is a wise old liberal who, as a kind of counterpoint to the larger race theme, is a Jew.

Happy-ending addicts may grumble because the hero and heroine do not walk hand in hand into a rosy sunset, with Mexican and white living happily together ever after. Novelist Stilwell is far too honest for that, although he leaves plenty of bait along the way to tempt rental library readers. His love episodes are pert and sophisticated in a journalistic sense; but they are as hard to forget as the story told by Lillian

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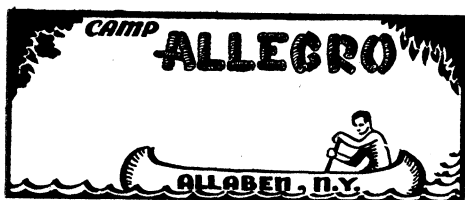
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There is room for much discussion on the theoretical and social problems of city planning, decentralization and reconstruction as outlined in this book. But these are matters of concern to the people as a whole, not only of the leaders; Mr. Wright needs the people—and a lot more faith.

It is interesting to compare Mr. Mumford's approach to the complex problem of city planning with Wright's. Somewhat unexpectedly, Mr. Mumford's is the more factual and detailed approach and much the better text for lay understanding of the scope and problems of city planning. His book is the more valuable at the moment since it includes hitherto unpublished material on planning in Honolulu and London. Along with historical introductory data, it will serve as a good background for someone newly interested in the field. Both men, however, devote to speculation valuable space that might better be occupied by attention to the problems of organization and education of the people who, in the long run, are going to do the planning.

City planning, as it is now defined, is a very young field. There are still divergent opinions on the correct rebuilding of our cities, a monumental task involving shifting of whole industries, populations and neighborhoods, and requiring perforce a constant compromise of many points of view. It is to Mr. Mumford's credit that he presents many sides of the problem, but on basic sociological questions he assumes a didactic position. Not even the most profound scholar and student of history can say with finality, as he does, that the age of expansion is over and our civilization is now confined to consolidation and stabilization. We do not know what new techniques and inventions will affect our future cities. At best we can plan within the limits of our present society and allow sufficient flexibility to adjust to new conditions as they arise.

In its emphasis on the need to plan for culture in the postwar world and its warning against over-mechanization, the book makes a decided contribution. But one cannot help but distrust the sociological analysis of a man who can term "trade rivalry between nations, the Treaty of Versailles, and the resurgence of tyranny in government" "quite superficial events."

Like Mr. Wright, Mr. Mumford seems to have little faith. Stating that "nothing was real enough to fight for"

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and that "it was only the countries that had recast the old drama, the drama of racial superiority and world conquest, that had the energy to seize the initiative on behalf of their destructive purposes," Mr. Mumford discredits many of his postulates. It would be well for the city planners to stick to planning.

HENRY SCHUBART.

E Pluribus Unum

BUILD TOGETHER AMERICANS, by Rachel Davis Dubois. Hinds, Hayden & Eldridge. \$2.
ONE AMERICA: OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES, edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. Prentice-Hall. \$5.

UNAFRAID of being reproached as a "social engineer"—an epithet in certain sociological circles—Dr. Dubois gives us a useful manual for the construction of new "racial" attitudes. Especially designed for the secondary school teacher in need of specific mechanisms which can modify racial prejudices, this deceptively slight volume translates the findings of social theory and research into a usable program for action. This program, it should be emphasized, has already been tested during the author's many years as an educator. Dr. Dubois could, however, have exercised more discretion in the choice of social scientists whom she employed as guides. Her emphasis of Thomas and Znaniecki's allegedly universal "four basic wishes"—for security, new experience, response and recognition—is unwarranted. At best these "wishes" are hypotheses for empirical investigation; at worst they are merely curiosities in the museum of sociological literature.

The bridge between this book and the symposium edited by Brown and Roucek is their common emphasis upon the positive value of cultural pluralism. Miss Dubois would agree with Brown that "the melting-pot theory is only a myth; America will continue to be a nation of heterogeneous peoples; but a nation richer in its heritage by the very fact of its variability." In his article on "intercultural education" in *One America*, Stewart Cole expands upon this. We must not attempt, he says, to coerce the ethnic and national minorities in America into a single mold. Instead we must encourage, particularly in the public school, respect and acceptance of cultural differences.

The difficulty arises when Mr. Cole asks, in return for this tolerance, that minorities "discover universal American values to which they pay prior and commanding allegiance." This might seem a formulation no American could

question. Yet, Cole's emphasis on what he calls "Americanism" means nothing unless it refers to the traditional values of capitalist democracy. If this is so, then acceptance of socialist ideals is apparently taboo, and "intercultural education," progressive as its primary orientation is, may become a rampart of the economic status quo. Like the pragmatism from which it is admittedly descended, intercultural education has a tendency to sacrifice social goals on the altar of technique. The real utility of *One America* lies, however, in its presentation of the history and contributions of forty-one groups to the pattern of American culture. These include the history of the Dutch, Belgian, Russian, Yugoslav, Irish and many other usually ignored national groups in America.

Forgetting that facts do *not* speak for themselves—but must, instead, be "cross-examined"—Brown and Roucek have given little theoretical integration to their volume. It stands as a slaughterhouse of monographs, the meat in which each of us will be forced to digest according to our own appetites. But the supply of meat being what it is today. . .

RICHARD GRAY.

Worth Noting

A PARTY of thirteen American scientists left by plane for Moscow to participate in the celebrations on June 15 marking the 220th anniversary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. They included the noted astronomer Dr. Harlow Shapley, the archeologist Arthur Upham Pope, the physicist Dr. Irving Langmuir and Dr. Manuel S. Vallarta, Director of the Mexican Academy of Sciences.

A CONFERENCE of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in the Postwar World is being held under the auspices of the Independent Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York, Friday and Saturday, June 22 and 23. Sessions will be held on theater, music, science and technology, education and social science, public health, medicine, dentistry and social work, writing and publishing, fine and graphic arts and architecture, radio, and film. Participants will include Margaret Webster, Lillian Hellman, Roy Harris, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, Dr. Donald Du Shane, Dr. Alonzo Myers, Van Wyck Brooks, Carl Carmer, Houston Peterson, Hobart Nichols, Dean Joseph Hudnut, of the Harvard Graduate School of Design, Norman

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sah and Lili Mann) and June 16 (Jane Dudley, Sophie Maslow, Pearl Primus, Jean Erdman and Lili Mann). On Saturday afternoon, June 16 at 2:30, there will be a children's matinee (Pearl Primus, Jean Erdman, Hadassah, Jane Dudley and Sophie Maslow). A number of dances will have their initial presentation.

"WE ACCUSE"

THE story of the Nazi flood of horror, a story the mind still refuses to grasp in its indescribable entirety, comes again to the screen in *We Accuse*, a documentary produced by Irvin Shapiro and edited by Joseph Gluck from Artkino newsreels and captured Nazi films. (In New York at the Little Carnegie Theater.) It is a picture that should be seen and seen again by everyone with eyes, by everyone who hopes to live in a clean world: but it won't be, unless you act fast, for the Hays Office has banned it from the theater chains, which means it can appear in only a tiny minority of independent houses. Too many Nazi atrocities, says the Hays Office; besides, the film uses the word "damned." (The War Department, on the other hand, has endorsed it for showing to servicemen.)

What agitates the Hays Office is not, apparently, what the Nazis have done to the Russians but what the Russians here do to the Nazis: for the film centers around the Kharkov war guilt trial, with its careful compilation of evidence, its scrupulous observance of the rights of the defendants and their final conviction and hanging. The Hays Office doesn't seem to like to see a Nazi dangling at the end of a rope. For the rest of us—the movie audience and the Soviet audience at the hanging—there was no great satisfaction either, although the three Nazis and the Russian traitor paid in the only coin the world can accept; the film gives us grim proof again that theirs was an utter, unending, mind-stilling blood-lust that no taking of puny Nazi lives can ever balance. "In all recorded history," says the excellent commentary by John Bright, forcefully read by Everett Sloane, "human brains have never been used for a purpose so completely vile." And the film details some of the purposes for which those brains were used, beginning with war—mere war—and going on to shots of burned, hung, tortured bodies, rows of skulls, and anguished women.

But it is the trial itself that holds chief interest: here we see the murderers full face, hear them calmly confess their incredible guilt, perhaps most incredible because they look like ordinary people. Hans Ritz of the SS was a musician and a lawyer. When he beat and shot his prisoners, he was only following orders, he says. One morning on a visit to Gestapo Major Hanebitter he saw "prisoners divided into small groups, shot down one by one by SS men with automatics. Major Hanebitter said to me: 'Show me what you can do!' and I, being an SS man and an officer, unable to refuse, borrowed an automatic and fired a round into the prisoners." Murder as a courtesy to a fellow officer.

Retzlaff, of the Secret Field Police, admits he loaded people into gas vans. But only twice, he insists, and only about forty people. Now couldn't he please go back to Germany and open the eyes of the German people to the deeds of the fascists?

Langheld, of the Military Intelligence Service, pleads he's too old for punishment and besides, the whole German army did it.

And Bulanov, the traitor, was coerced by the Nazis, he says. So he couldn't help shooting children and driving gas vans, could he? Besides, he got two overcoats. Obviously the victims didn't need them any more.

In the attempt to explore the birth of the Nazi mind, the film is at its weakest. Documentaries have limitations when it comes to recreating a national psychology. We see Nazi parades of the early twenties, unemployed struggles in Berlin with the police and brown-shirters joining forces against the workers; we hear that the heroes of the German youth were Junkers rather than baseball players. But all this doesn't manage to get underneath the surface reasons for Nazism; here is a wide open field for future psychological dramas.

This trial was not for the Soviet people alone, says the commentary, but

“... for all who have dared oppose the German beast. This trial is for Americans . . . and for all humanity.” It should be seen by everyone.

BETTY MILLARD.

On Broadway

GEORGE KAUFMAN must have had a great time writing *Hollywood Pinafore*. It is full of that wry spirit of sarcasm which animates the parlorcars of the Chief as it speeds out of Hollywood for New York. Unfortunately, what is hilarious among writers who have been chopped to pieces in the celluloid meat grinder becomes a little stale and overwrought when edited for the general public. Consequently this parody of the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta leaves one with the feeling that the original was much better.

In a plot which stays within the general outlines of the original, the Royal Navy, as the butt of the satire, is replaced by Pinafore Pictures, whose “captain,” Joe Porter, is played with Victor Moore’s wonderful hydrocephalic delicacy. Dick Dead-Eye is now Dick Live-Eye, an agent done unwittingly well by William Gaxton, the heaviest-handed comedian in America.

But *Hollywood Pinafore* does not fully come off because of Mr. Kaufman’s tendency to let his jokes run away with his characterizations. Forced into rhyme this tendency becomes calamitous. Mr. Kaufman also works anachronisms to death. And finally, many of the gags would click only with people intimately in the know about Hollywood.

On the production side the show is lavish and quite striking. This writer can’t imagine where they got so many beautiful girls this side of Hollywood Boulevard. The ensemble dancing designed by Douglas Coudy is insipid, but one ballet number was danced with exquisite satire by Viola Essen, who stopped the show. And Shirley Booth, as Little Miss Buttercup, in a take-off on Louella Parsons and her school of screen “reporters,” gives delicious delivery to some of the more trenchant parodies in the script. A number of scenes are genuinely funny, especially a well-timed story conference at which the writer, in a prison suit, is bound with a gag, then blindfolded, and finally has his ears stuffed so as not to interrupt the planning of the next picture. Between this, however, and the next funny scene is a space wide enough to drive a Monogram double feature through.

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