

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN GREECE

by *Demetrios Christophorides*

NOVEMBER 28

1 9 4 4

NEW MASSES

15¢

In Canada

20¢

HITLER'S PLANS FOR SOUTH AMERICA

by *ANDREAS NIEBUHR*

THE BIG PUSH IN THE WEST

By *COLONEL T.*

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: *U. S. Trade and British Fears, by Virginia Gardner; How Ham Fish Was Beaten, by Alfred Destin; Mr. Laski's Dilemma, by A. B. Magil; Tonnage, A Short Story by David Foote; Hitler Goes Nuts, by Gropper; Should Bach be Modernized? by H. T. Pennington and John Kitton.*

BETWEEN OURSELVES

UNDETERRED, like the postman on his appointed rounds, NEW MASSES has for thirty-two years, in all kinds of political weather, set aside one night each year for an annual get-together among editors, contributors and readers. Writers, artists, cartoonists, poets, and the most discerning reading public in Christendom have gathered in the same place, Webster Hall, on every first Saturday in December to fashion a kermess of ringing proportions. Since 1911 this shindig has been advertised as the Artists' and Writers' Ball, with one exception. In 1926 the committee called it the Workers and Peasants Ball. The committee for that year included Heywood Broun, Mark Van Doren, Mike Gold, Eugene O'Neill, and the present editor of the *Nation*, Freda Kerchway. In 1930 readers were urged to come "dressed as a book by a NEW MASSES author and get autographed." In 1931, to give the "noble arts of literature, painting, and poetry a break," the revellers were to "Come in Costume." Oldtimers tell me that these affairs in their early days were sedate, waltz-me-around-again hops, but that after the costume idea came in, some of the restraint went out the door. Of course, no ball was ever considered worthy of the name unless panoplied in costume, but as the world grew busier, the idea became less popular.

About seven years ago NM again changed the mode to modern dress, and they have been so conducted ever since. In past decades, with greater staffs and less press of world affairs, NM editors sat down and invited their friends with the aid of poetry. Thus in 1927—

*The chaps who paint and sculpt and write
Or sing or play or else indite
Brave screeds against the social blight
Will come that night.
And spin and reel
The while the pipes in well-taught hands
Make liquid rhythms
Sob and peal.*

The thirty-third edition of this event comes up on Saturday, December 2. Our present committee of editors and contributors will be on hand to mete out the traditional welcome. The music of Art Hodes and his boys will be as hot and as liquid and as sobbing as that celebrated in the verse above, and will match the efforts of Fletcher Henderson, Lips Page, Roy Eldridge, Red Allen, and other jazz stalwarts of the past. Consult the details on page 31 and meet us at Webster Hall.

EDITOR Joseph North is now in Chicago covering the CIO national convention. Already, this meeting has been under attack by the anti-labor press, who see in it

an extension of the activities of labor. Hearst, McCormick, Patterson and lesser fry of the same breed, who make the quaint boast that what they publish constitutes news, will attempt to create endless confusion about the future of CIO-PAC. Joe North's article will mitigate some of the effects of this confusion by giving a clear report and analysis of the proceedings. Order your copies for your friends now. We assume that you yourself are provided for by your subscription. If we are wrong, correct us at once. It wouldn't do for your friends to get ahead of you.

RECENTLY we received a note from a reader informing us that the Union of French Writers has published a blacklist of all French writers who went over to the enemy. Among them is Celine, who apparently has reached his night. He recently exhibited his anti-Semitism in a widely distributed article. It is reported he later sought German citizenship. Anybody who

seeks Nazi citizenship today is *really* fanatical. Celine is believed to be living in Germany now. The Union of French Writers has asked that his books be boycotted. We in this country certainly have no desire to see this man batten on the profits of American distribution. Pass the word.

CORRECTION: Early run-off copies of NEW MASSES misspelt the name of the author of *Palestine's Jewish Warriors*, published in last week's issue. His name is properly Albert Wiener. J. F.



NEW MASSES ESTABLISHED 1911

Contributing Editors

LIONEL BERMAN
ALVAH BESSIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
BELLA V. DODD
JOY DAVIDMAN
R. PALME DUTT
WILLIAM GROPPER
ALFRED KREYMBORG
JOHN H. LAWSON
VITO MARCANTONIO
RUTH MCKENNEY
FREDERICK MYERS
SAMUEL PUTNAM
PAUL ROBESON
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN

Editor: JOSEPH NORTH. Associate Editors: MARJORIE DE ARMAND, FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK*, A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART. Washington Editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER. West Coast Editor: BRUCE MINTON. Film, JOSEPH FOSTER; Drama, HARRY TAYLOR; Art, MOSES SOYER; Music, PAUL ROSAS; Dance, FRANCIS STEUBEN. Business Manager: LOTTIE GORDON. Field Director: DORETTA TARMON. Advertising Manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.

* On leave with the armed forces.

Hitler in South America	Andreas Niebuhr . . .	3
Gropper's Cartoon	5
What's Happening in Greece	Demetrios Christophorides	7
US Trade and British Fears	Virginia Gardner . . .	9
How Ham Fish Was Beaten	Alfred Destin . . .	11
Tonnage: a short story	David Foote	13
Editorial Comment	15
The Big Push in the West	Colonel T.	19
Readers' Forum	21
Book Reviews: Faith, Reason and Civilization, by Harold J. Laski: A. B. Magil; Presidential Agent, by Upton Sinclair: Sally Alford		23
Should Bach Be Modernized? H. T. Pennington and John Kitton		27
Films Joseph Foster		30

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notifications sent to NEW MASSES rather than the post office will give the best results. Vol. LIII, No. 9. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y. Copyright 1944, THE NEW MASSES, INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions \$5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico; six months \$2.75; three months \$1.50. Foreign, \$6.00 a year; six months \$3.25; three months \$1.75. In Canada \$6.00 a year, \$3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian money. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

HITLER IN SOUTH AMERICA

By ANDREAS NIEBUHR

EVEN before World War I, Pan-German circles were convinced that South America would one day fall under German influence. The writings of such Pan-Germanists as Tannenbergh, Dr. Wilhelm Wintzer, and Wilhelm Sievers (*Greater Germany, The Task of the Twentieth Century, Germans in Tropical America, German Interests in South America*) advocated a German protectorate, especially over regions of concentrated German settlements. As Tannenbergh wrote: "Germany will take under its protection the republics of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay; furthermore, the southern third of Bolivia and the southern portion of Brazil." These claims were justified by reference to the "higher culture of the Germans in South America," and to the need for "more living space for German industry and culture"—arguments which Hitler later took over word for word.

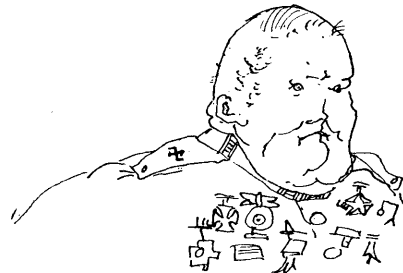
The penetration of South America by German imperialism went forward in the military and the business field. German officers, who had played a part in crushing the German Revolution of 1918-19 and who later became leaders in the Hitler movement, rose to leadership in the intervening years in several South American armies and police forces. In Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and other republics they poisoned the officers' corps with anti-democratic ideas. Among them were such names as General Reinecke, General Kundt, Captain Roehm, later head of the Nazi Storm Troopers, and General Wilhelm Faupel.

Faupel was and still is Germany's leading specialist on Argentina, where as early as 1911-13 he was active as a professor at the Military Academy in Buenos Aires. In World War I he was in charge of German espionage and sabotage in Spain. After the defeat of Germany, Faupel held the post of chief adviser to the Argentine General Staff until 1927, when he became instructor of the Peruvian army. When Hitler's star rose, he returned to Germany,

where, as we shall later see, he occupied an important post.

All of these German officers, thrown temporarily out of work by the treaty reduction of the German army after 1919, went to South America but remained in constant contact with the German Defense Ministry to which they sent regular reports. The task given them was to awaken sympathy for German militarism among the officers of the South American countries and to arouse distrust among them of the United States and of all democratic aspirations. They carried out this task, with results that cannot be overestimated. Thus, the Colonels' Group in Argentina (the GOU), today the backbone of fascism in South America, is the product of Wilhelm Faupel's indoctrination.

Hand in hand with military disruption went economic penetration. In fact, it is often quite difficult to define the limits between these two spheres. The *Sindicato Condor* linking Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil by air, the *Lloyd Aero Boliviano*, the *Sedta* in Ecuador, and the *Scadta* plying over Colombia as far as the Panama Canal, were enterprises of a military as well as a business nature. The network of German airlines over South America, extending more than 20,000 miles, served at the same time to spread the drugs and chemical products of the I. G. Farben Trust and to spy out the terrain. The pilots



Edith Glaser

were all veteran flyers of the German air force.

But the decisive factor in the growth of the influence of German imperialism in South America was and is the activity of the German trusts. They gained their

key positions of power not so much as a result of business competition but as a result of international cartel agreements which gave the German trusts a free hand. American associates of the German magnates handed over the South American market to their German colleagues. The guilt for what is now going on in Argentina lies in the offices of certain big American trusts as well as in Berlin and Buenos Aires; for the American cartellists allowed the lords of Hitler Germany to become unchallenged lords of vast markets below the Rio Grande.

HITLER's rise to power placed the activities of German imperialism in the southern part of the hemisphere on an entirely new basis. To be sure, the German trusts of pre-1914 Germany had already begun to gain a foothold in Latin America; even at that time, there were secret German agents at work. But espionage was then entrusted to isolated individuals, and German import and export firms operated to all practical purposes independently of politics.

With the coming of the Third Reich, Nazi concepts went into effect: every person of German origin, living abroad not only in Europe but throughout the world, was called upon to do his utmost for the triumph of Nazism. According to the Nazis, there are from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 Germans in South America, about 1,000,000 of them in Brazil. It is no exaggeration to state that tens of thousands of these Germans became instruments of Nazi influence in South America. And with such a broad base, the Nazis could set themselves much more ambitious tasks.

The individual spy operating in secret was now replaced by the entire "German community" (*Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft*). Formerly, it had been a question of gathering economic and military information; now, with groups rather than individuals in action, the goal was the undermining of all South America. So it has not been accidental that in the conspiracies occurring in the last

decade in South America the hand of German imperialism has time and again appeared.

This development has been hastened by the fact that since Hitler's rise to power, cooperation between the German trusts and the Nazi party machine has been extremely close. As a rule, the trusts have financed the Nazi party apparatus in the various countries. *Gauleiters* and local party leaders have been placed on their payrolls, so as to avoid suspicion. The Nazi leader in Venezuela, for example, Arnold Margerie, was at the same time a director of the Bayer Company, the South American branch of the I. G. Farben Trust. The head of the Bayer Company in Costa Rica, Erwin Grosser, was the local Nazi leader in the capital city of San Jose. The general director of the well known wool firm of Lahusen, Julius Dalldorf, became fuhrer of the Nazi party in Uruguay in 1937 and established his headquarters in the building of the German Chamber of Commerce in Montevideo. In Chile the manager of Siemens-Schuckert Company, Ernst Goverts, was also head of the Nazi party in Santiago; while the general manager of Bayer's directed all Gestapo and espionage work in Chile. In Argentina, the firm of *Anilinas Alemanas* is a branch of the I. G. Farben Trust. Its director, Alfredo Moll, has been called the "grey eminence" of the Argentine Nazis; and as the son-in-law of the president of the Central Bank of Argentina he enjoys unusual influence.

In every report or news dispatch from South America, two banks have been named as the key transmission-belts for financing the German Nazis or native fascist movements: the German Overseas Bank (*Deutsche Ueberseeische Bank*) and the German-South American Bank (*Deutsch - Suedamerikanische Bank*). The former—its Spanish name is *Banco Aleman Transatlantico*—is under the control of the *Deutsche Bank*, the largest private bank in Germany, with eighteen branches in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay. Its board of directors contains, besides the heads of the *Deutsche Bank*, the director of the Krupp combine, Dr. Busemann; the general director of the potash trust, Dr. Diehn; and representatives of the Steel Trust and of Siemens-Schuckert, one of the two largest electricity trusts in Germany. The German Overseas Bank has interests in the Central banks of Argentina, Chile, and Peru.

The majority of shares in the Ger-

man-South American Bank (*Banco Germanico de la America del Sud*) belong to the *Dresdener Bank*, Germany's second largest private bank. Here, too, the Krupp combine is represented in the person of Krupp's brother-in-law, Baron von Wilmowsky. Hermann Buecher, chairman of the board of AEG, the largest German electricity trust, which had ties with General Electric, is also a director of the bank. An interesting sidelight is that Consul Heinrich Diederichsen, head of a large Hamburg import and export house, is a director of the bank; while his son, utilizing the money of the German-South American Bank, plays a very important role in the fascist movement of the *Integralistas* in Brazil.

Merely reciting the names of the directors of these two important German banks is evidence enough that the decisive sections of German finance-capital are behind the Nazi attempt to penetrate and dominate South America.

THE triumph of General Franco in Spain settled an old dispute in the camp of German imperialism: what *method* should be adopted in the conquest of South America? On this point there were two schools of opinion in Germany. Their aims were the same, but they differed as to methods. The well known geopolitician, General Karl Haushofer, was pitted against General Wilhelm Faupel. Haushofer favored direct German intervention in South America, while Faupel advocated conquest by indirect means.

In an elegant house in Zehlendorf, one of the residential suburbs of Berlin, there is lodged an organization known as the Ibero-American Institute. Here at Number 7 Fuerstenstrasse, General Faupel, the president of the Institute, carried on negotiations with Spanish General Sanjurjo, Franco's predecessor, which finally resulted in the fascist uprising of July 1936. Thanks to large-scale intervention by Hitler and Mussolini, Franco finally defeated the Spanish Loyalists in the spring of 1939. Thereupon, the Nazi High Command, planning the conquest of Europe, decided to use Spain as a decisive springboard for the eventual conquest of South America.

The end of the Spanish War, the opening battle of World War II, led to a distinct strengthening of the Axis position in South America. But the shortest path is not always the quickest to one's goal. Hitler found the detour through Spain most advantageous to his plans for

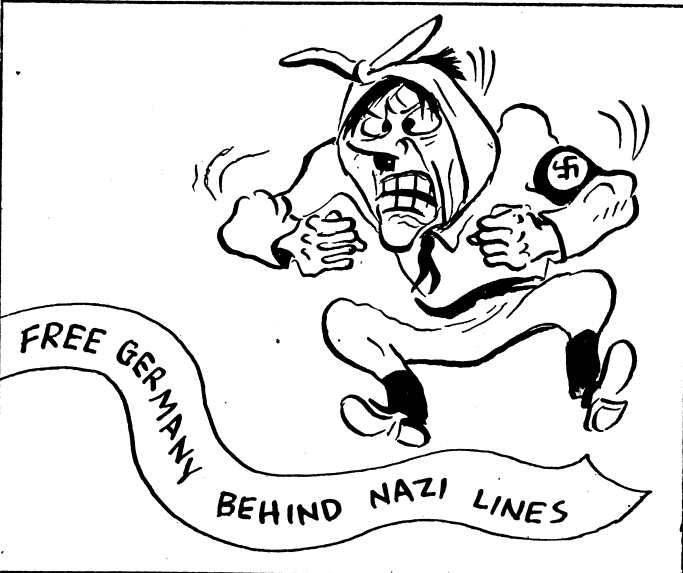
South America. The concept of *Hispanidad*, of the "unity" of the Spanish-speaking peoples under the leadership of Spain, became a powerful weapon in the Nazi disruption of Latin America and a cover for all sorts of Nazi activity in the political, military, and economic field. The agents of the *Falange* who spread this ideology throughout Latin America are likewise agents of Nazi German imperialism. Franco has patterned his state after Nazi Germany and has subordinated the needs of Spanish economy to those of Germany. (In the past few years, the bulk of Spanish exports went to the Third Reich; and of the 4,800 joint stock companies in Spain, at present almost 1,000 are under German control!)

Here is a German view of the ideological ties between Franco Spain and Hitler Germany. I quote the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of Dec. 3, 1939, on the occasion of Franco's giving Titian's portrait of Emperor Charles V to the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin: "The Conquistadores and the missionaries who brought a high and accomplished culture to South America have sown the seeds of that spiritual unity which, as General Franco puts it, unites on an imperial plane South America with Spain. General Franco's action in donating the painting of Emperor Charles V to the Ibero-American Institute was symbolic: this prince united under his scepter the Ibero-American community of nations."

In terms of 1944 conditions, Nazi strategy for the penetration of South America has developed along the following lines: "Argentina will one day be at the head of a tariff union comprising the nations in the southern half of South America. Such a focus of opposition (Argentina) against the United States of America will, together with Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, form a powerful economic bloc; and eventually, by way of Peru, it will spread northward to place the dollar colony of Brazil in a difficult position."

These words appeared on March 26, 1944, in Propaganda Minister Goebbels' weekly publication: *Das Reich*. Ten weeks later, on June 10, 1944, Colonel Juan Peron, Vice-President and War Minister of Argentina, delivered the address which led to the recall of US Ambassador Norman Armour. Compare Peron's explicit program as quoted below with Goebbels' instructions in *Das Reich* and with the demands of Tannenberg as cited above: *the Argentine dic-*

HITLER GOES NUTS — BY GROPPER



tator has taken over the Pan-German strategy, made in Berlin, from A to Z.

Here are Peron's words: "In South America, it is our mission to make the leadership of Argentina not only possible but indisputable. . . . Hitler's fight in peace and war will guide us. Alliances will be the next step. Paraguay is already with us. We will get Bolivia and Chile. Then it will be easy to exert pressure on Uruguay. These five nations will attract Brazil, due to its type of government and its important group of Germans. Once Brazil has fallen, the South American continent will be ours. Following the German example, we will inculcate the masses with the necessary spirit. . . ."

No wonder that after this speech Goering's paper the *Essener Nationalzeitung* in its issue of July 6, 1944, praised Peron as "energetic and unusually popular." And *Das Reich* on July 30 blasted "Hull's running amok against the Argentine regime."

IT WOULD be absurd to believe that the mortal crisis of Nazism in Europe means a lessening of the danger of Nazi penetration of South America.

First of all, the temporary conquest of the European continent by the Nazis gave them control of the shares of many businesses and industries located in South America. Thus, they increased appreciably their economic grip on that continent.

Secondly, German Nazism is exploiting the differences between several South American countries and the USA, differences which both Hitler and Franco have helped create, to get a firmer foothold. Here too the example of Argentina is typical. Nazi firms in Argentina, placed on the black list by the USA, have in the last few years made exorbitant profits. Siemens-Schuckert in Buenos Aires, for instance, showed fifteen times more net profit for the last year than for 1941. Other German firms have made similarly high profits, while US firms have remained stationary or even lost money. In this, the German trusts follow methods which proved so profitable within Germany: they give the top men of the fascist dictatorship a share in their profits. General Basilio Pertine, who recently resigned as Mayor of Buenos Aires because of his advanced age, is a director of Siemens-Schuckert. General Juan Pistarini is on the board of a German building trust. The material interests of the top leaders of the Argentine dictatorship have fused with



Eugene Karlin

those of the German trusts; and the latter have an estimated \$750,000,000 (it may be more) invested in Argentina.

Thirdly, German finance capital is more and more seeking refuge in South America to invest its funds. This trend has gained momentum in view of the impending collapse of the Third Reich; and many leaders of the Nazi regime are included among the investors. Of course, this often takes place through intermediaries rather than directly. Here, Spanish aristocrats and businessmen play a key role. A typical example was the arrival in Argentina of the heads of the *Chade* (*Compania Hispano-Americana de Electricidad*), Senor Juan Ventosa y Calvet and Senor F. A. de Cambo. The heads of the *Deutsche Bank* and AEG electricity trust figure prominently on the board of directors of this company, which controls electric light and power for the city and province of Buenos Aires. It was no accident that before his trip to Argentina Senor Ventosa y Calvet was seen several times in Berne and Montreux, Switzerland, tete-a-tete with Hitler's financial "wizard," Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.

Fourthly, many military and political leaders of German Nazism will, following the pattern of the post-1918 period, try to establish themselves in South America. But this time it will not be a question of individuals acting on their own. It will be a movement organized and executed by the leaders of the Third Reich who will seek a new haven and a new jumping-off place in Latin America, after the collapse of their organizations in Europe. This movement has in fact already begun. At present, the entire Argentine air force is under the control of high German officers who have arrived there in recent months and have been provided with forged Argentine identification papers. Among these German officers are Major General

Stuedemann and Col. Walter Osterkamp.

These Nazi leaders and members of the German General Staff have long-term perspectives. Even if they lose the war in Europe, they mean to plunge the USA into a Western Hemisphere war by inciting the Latin-American peoples against the US, by creating fascist fighting organizations, by sharpening business competition, and by staging putsches. In this way they hope to prevent one of the most powerful adversaries of German imperialism from taking an active and lasting interest in European events.

Thus, Pan-Germanism would obtain a new lease on life in Europe and would create a bloc of allied—or rather—dependent states on the American continent for the next world war. At least, that is the plan of outstanding German military strategists—above all, General Wilhelm Faupel, whose mysterious travels throughout South America during the past three years have been no secret. And thus, they seek to turn Latin America into an advanced base for new adventures on the part of German imperialism.

How can these Nazi plans be nipped in the bud? The answer lies in an expansion of the Good Neighbor policy launched by President Roosevelt, in an attitude on the political and economic field that treats the nations of South and Central America as equals. This will cut the ground from under Nazi and Falangist propaganda, and make American solidarity a living concept.

But even this is not enough. The problem of fascism in Latin America is indissolubly bound up with our policy toward Germany and Spain. If the destruction of Nazism is limited, leaving intact the economic foundations of German imperialism, then the latter will get another chance in Europe as well as in Latin America. If we encourage the fascist regime of Franco and continue to place obstacles in the path of the Spanish people struggling to restore the Spanish Republic, the idea of *Hispanidad* will further poison the air of South America; and this idea will operate powerfully against the US.

It is obvious that not only must Nazism be exterminated on the battlefield, and policy towards the Franco regime radically revised, but no obstacle must be placed in the way of the development of genuine democracy in Europe. Parallel with these steps the development of the people's movements in Latin America must be strongly encouraged. That is the best defense against Germany's designs in the Hemisphere.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN GREECE

By DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES

THE outstanding fact about Greece, of course, is its liberation. Crete enigmatically still remains in the hands of the Nazis but the Greek mainland is freed of the invader and the Greek people can now restore their sovereignty after so many years of torture and oppression. The liberation process began last April when the Red Army reached the vicinity of Jassy, Rumania, and the Nazi high command was compelled to withdraw its major forces from Greek territory. The garrison left behind, together with the Greek quisling Security Battalions, served as rear-guard units to cover the retreat. It was the guerrilla forces of the ELAS, the military arm of the Liberation Movement (EAM), which pursued the Nazis and cleared the ground for the British landings.

You would never know this truth if you followed the dispatches of a Mr. A. C. Sedgwick, the Greek correspondent for the *New York Times*. Sedgwick has apparently taken it upon himself to obliterate single-handedly the EAM-ELAS, to defame it abroad, and to become the journalistic spokesman of every tory circle in this country and in England. His is an attempt to undermine the principle of self-determination for the Greek people and to destroy Greek national unity. Even the fact that the Greek government chose the ELAS as the policing force within Greece until December 10 has not abated Sedgwick's zeal at slandering its heroic history.

It is a source of the deepest dismay to all Greek patriots that the Greek Embassy in Washington, its consular officials, and the director of the Greek Office of Information have not done anything to refute Sedgwick's charges. Their attitude is not hard to understand because they are all devoted servants of the former Metaxas dictatorship and of King George. Furthermore, several Greek language newspapers in the United States are using the Sedgwick reports as authentic sources of information despite the fact that daily events show them to be distorted and prejudicial to Greece's best interests. Two of these newspapers are the *Atlantis* and the *Eleftheros Typos*.

I must also point to the significant fact that in this country reactionary

Greeks—including Greek diplomatic authorities, Greek ship owners, some Greek clerics, and a few wealthy refugees—discouraged any movement to celebrate Greece's liberation on the ground that the EAM has established a dictatorship. Vice Admiral Sakellariou, a former commander of Greek naval forces and one of the leaders of the Metaxas dictatorship, told a Greek-American audience in Cheyenne, Wyoming, not to contribute to Greek Relief but rather to build up a fund to reconstruct a future Greece more to his liking. Other emissaries of Greek reaction have urged Greek societies to contribute their money for the same purpose. The implication is that the Allied governments will do the work of immediate relief and that the Greeks in the United States should do nothing which will strengthen the Greek national unity government. I have genuine reason to believe that behind these harmful forces are certain American financial circles which cannot see Greece except as another area for trade exploitation.

There is no doubt that Prime Minister Churchill in his recent conversations in Moscow covered Greece, because part of the discussions were devoted to Balkan problems. Whatever was agreed upon in Moscow will be expanded or revised when the three chiefs of state meet again. But while it is the official British policy to support the Greek national unity government, there are still strong reactionary forces in London which, in one form or another, under one pretext or another, are behind the attacks against the Greek people.

MILITARY developments in the Balkans, especially the collapse of Rumania, compelled important changes in the Greek government when it was in Cairo and forced it to abandon the policy of encouraging the anti-EAM campaign. But it was essentially the EAM struggle against the Nazis and the quisling Security Battalions that brought about the new climate in Greece in which the national unity government began to function when it transferred to Athens. For example, when Kanelopoulos, a cabinet minister appointed by Premier Papandreou to the governorship of the Peloponnesus, visited various

cities in that area he had to appear in public with Ares Velouhiotis—the almost legendary guerrilla warrior and one of the leaders of ELAS. After liberating it, the EAM organizations had taken control of the whole area and then, significantly, turned it over to the government, thus living up to its original agreement with Premier Papandreou.

I have before me the resolution of the conference of EAM representatives which took place in the Peloponnesus in June. At the time the question which was uppermost in the minds of the delegates was of course the liberation struggle. But all military plans were conditioned by, and fused with, the problem of political administration. Self rule, in the fullest sense, was the watchword for the administration of all public affairs, including those of the guerrillas. The EAM has an organized membership of 2,000,000, one-third of whom are women. And it is of interest to know also that last March, when the country was still occupied, elections were held in Greece under EAM auspices and that people participated despite the great risks involved. The elected representatives met in the village of Koryshades and there passed a proclamation involving the following principles: (1) that all Greeks, men and women, have equal rights; (2) that labor is a basic social function and creates the right to enjoy all the blessings of life; (3) that the people's language will be the official language. In a recent statement, Premier Papandreou declared that the government will carry out point three.

All this is part of the background which explains some of the latest political developments in Greece; in particular, the transformation of the Papandreou government. This transformation has strengthened unity and strengthened the government. It is true that the EAM, although representative of the greatest majority of the Greek people, has only thirty percent of the government portfolios. But we should not forget that the political potential of Greece cannot be measured by arithmetical means. It is the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of Greek politics that count. The rest of the Greek cabinet is made up of more or less unrepresentative individuals. What must be

Facts of Life

SENATE and House committees should be getting used to hearing some of the more unseemly facts of life from the lips of rank and file members of the CIO, since last year's tax hearings, and so should reporters. But they apparently don't, for good and sufficient reasons. Thus Sen. Claude Pepper and his subcommittee members were attentive, but their gaze wandered, when Pres. Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers Union talked and submitted excellent charts on the plight of mill workers. But when the subcommittee, which is considering Pepper's resolution to recommend a sixty-five cent minimum wage to the War Labor Board—below which all would be regarded as substandard—heard the testimony of monosyllabic John Vernon, mill worker in Danville, Va., it followed each word with absorbed interest.

MR. VERNON was a lean, colorless man with a Virginia drawl. Solomon Barkin, Textile Workers Union research director, had to work as hard eliciting data from him as a prosecutor unfolding evidence of a crime. But the exact knowledge of how the Vernon family heated their home and where the children slept and where the well was situated from which they got their water, and their outside toilet, became important matters to everyone in the hearing room, judging from their facial expressions. When Mr. Barkin finally rested from his labors there was a hushed quiet. It was not that Mr. Vernon minded telling these private details—he was apparently just a laconic man. Father of seven children, he was asked: "What are their ages—do you recall?" There was laughter, and he said, unperturbed, "I got their ages here written down." They were enumerated, down to Nancy Ann, three. The oldest daughter lived in town now and worked in a cotton mill and made the same fifty-one cents an hour her father made. He had made sixty-three cents as a weaver until the company told him he'd have to operate sixty looms instead of forty-three. He couldn't do it. The stretch-out got him, after twenty-five years in that one mill. So they demoted him, put him to work at hauling cloth. Senator Aiken asked about profits. Barkin replied that in 1943 and 1942 the cotton mills made a total greater than the combined profits of the entire period from 1900 to 1940.

IF JOHN VERNON was inarticulate, the women cannery and tobacco workers were not. Mrs. Elizabeth Sasuly, legislative representative of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers, merely introduced them, and figures of how much their groceries cost and what they owed in doctor bills came tumbling from their lips. In the midst of her story, Christine Gardner, young Negro mother who is a Piedmont Leaf Tobacco Co. worker at Winston-Salem, N. C., broke down. She had told of her husband, who makes forty-six cents an hour at the R. J. Reynolds Company while she makes forty cents, of their net income of \$1,990 last year—her work is seasonal. They have children two, seven, and nine years old. No free lunches are provided in the schools. "Ordinary fat meat is twice as high as it used to be. So are beans. That's about all we are able to afford. The baby gets milk, the others don't. I had another baby, but—I had to work, and couldn't get proper help for \$2.50 a week. The baby got sick, and we couldn't get proper medical care. My baby died." She tried to speak, but couldn't go on. Then, "We've been married ten years, and my husband's greatest ambition is to buy me a Christmas present." Unashamedly she wiped away tears. Senator Pepper looked helplessly at Mrs. Sasuly, who excused her. "That couple is typical of thousands of tobacco workers in the south," Mrs. Sasuly said.

POLITICUS.

borne in mind about this state of affairs, however, is that the Greek government is no longer on foreign soil but is in the midst of the people.

The military branch of the EAM, the ELAS, has agreed to dissolve itself and all the guerrilla units, including their officers, will be incorporated into a new national army. According to dispatches from Athens, the rather fascist-minded commander-in-chief of the army, C. Ventiris, has been replaced by General Othonaeos. The ELAS commander, General Serafis, has been appointed deputy chief of staff.

The Greek government's economic outlook for the immediate period encompasses the following: First, immediate relief for the people. The government expects 700,000 tons of food and other supplies within the next six months. Second, UNRRA is expected to contribute all that is needed in the initial steps of rehabilitation, including fuel and transportation. All supplies will be disposed of at cost and some below cost. Third, the price of domestic production during the first period of reconstruction will be regulated by the government. The government also expects to import producing animals, farm tools, and machinery. Fourth, all supplies for immediate relief and rehabilitation do not presuppose any exports of exchange. The Greek drachma will be stabilized on a new basis and all old drachmas will be exchanged for new ones in such a way as to prevent speculation. Fifth, taxation will be reorganized so that the burden falls least on the shoulders of the people. The government is trying hard to combat speculation and black markets and EAM organizations are carefully guarding against profiteers.

As a government of national unity, the Papandreou cabinet cannot propose any particularist economic system except that of a people's economy based on private property. There seems, however, to be agreement on the nationalization of banking and the use of bank resources in aiding the economy. Greek banking in the future will have ideological ties with Bretton Woods rather than with the Hambro Banking House of London.

The Greek scene will continue to shape itself in the struggle to keep King George out of the country and in the struggle to write a new constitution by a national assembly whose center will be the EAM-ELAS and whose thought and action will be dictated by the logic of history of which Teheran is a landmark of the first magnitude.

U. S. TRADE AND BRITISH FEARS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THERE are plenty of headaches to worry about in connection with postwar trade if the peace is not to usher in a prelude to another war. Admittedly the knottiest problem of all is Anglo-American rivalry. Government experts have been knocking their heads against the wall over it for some time now. Needless to say they are not all in agreement. I have talked to several varieties. One is willing to let England pull herself up by her bootstraps and her Scotch whiskey and Harris tweeds, with our pious exhortations to hold to her commitments under Article VII of the Master Lend-Lease agreement, which means no discriminatory trade practices. Another regards with suspicion some of the efforts being made to maintain England's position as a dominant world power, thinking they are being made by persons who want England kept as a buffer against the Soviet Union. But the most realistic view is something else again.

It goes like this: England has to export or die. The British are a bit panicky now, but they are not defenseless. It is true that we could grab up a big hunk of their former markets. With our lend-lease shipments, which amount to about a billion dollars worth a month, military and non-military, we have taught the Arabians and the Egyptians and the Moroccans to repair jeeps, to eat Spam and to chew gum. We have three and a half times more shipping tonnage than the British have. But there are things Great Britain can do, can and will, if pushed against the wall. Once they begin, the prospects for economic peace and stability go out the window—and with them political peace. As for those who would keep England going in order to do business with her as against the USSR—well, that is a politician's dream. You just don't make a deal with your foremost rival against your best customer. If any two of the big countries begin holding hands by themselves, it means the end of international cooperation. So, you try to work out an effective program by which Britain can be guaranteed outlets. In addition, you continue lend-lease to Britain beyond the war into the immediate postwar period. So far as wiping out debts for World War I (the John-

son act would have to be repealed) and cancelling payment for lend-lease up to date, to do anything else would be to beat a dead horse. At that the English are not going to be overcome by our generosity, considering how much more they have suffered in the war than we have. Of course this is not official policy yet.

I CAN virtually hear some restive reader muttering, "But what are the difficulties involved?" The place is full of them. You can hardly see the trees, let alone the woods, for the difficulties. But without repeating with equal fervor a State Department expert's remark to me, "The businessmen of this country say they will work things out themselves, and I believe they will if we establish general policies and let them do the rest"—nevertheless I will cite a few cheerful items. The American delegation to the International Business Conference at Rye, N. Y., has called on the US "to assume an aggressive leadership in the general reduction of tariffs throughout the world and elimination of other barriers to trade." Presenting the proposal was Vice Pres. Edward Riley of General Motors Corp. and Curtis E. Calder, president of American & Foreign Power Co., Inc. The session on industrialization of new areas heard the desired role of the US described as one of "active and constructive participation in the increasing industrialization which is inevitable in many foreign lands." The report stressed the need "from the standpoint of America's own enlightened interests, for giving a 'leg-up' to those foreign economies which have been devastated by, or whose industrial development could constructively be aided, to the end that their productivity may be restored and increased."

When American business and govern-

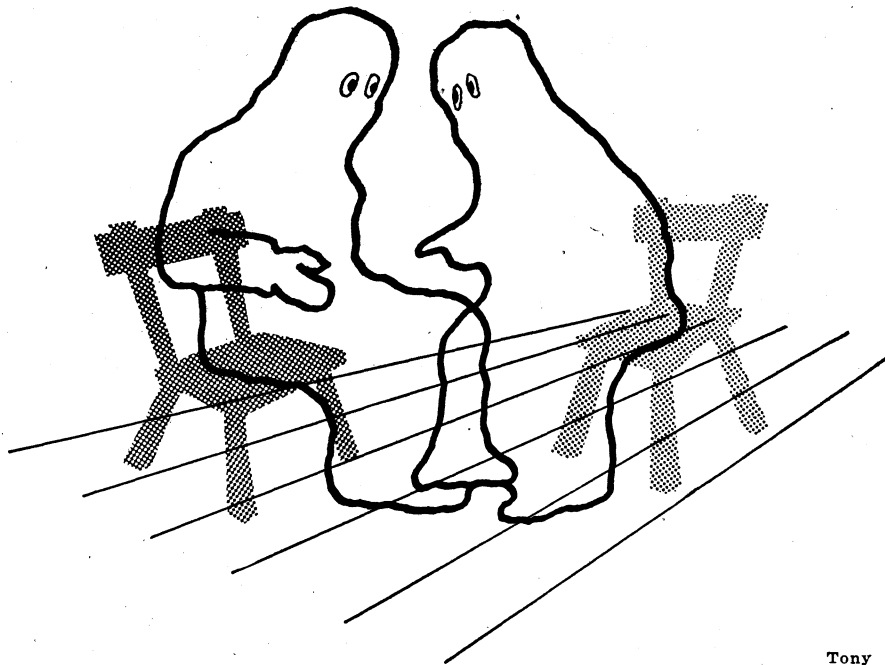
ment—and Congress—act as if they mean it when they talk about their belief in an expanding world economy, and indicate in some real ways that they are willing to enter into agreements with Britain that will give her that share in the world markets she needs in order to live, the situation will be looking up. The Rye conference, despite the sour note thrown in by Winthrop Aldrich, head of the Chase National Bank, in promoting his own little private plan to supplant the Bretton Woods proposals, is encouraging government people.

The optimists who say, oh well, Britain will pull out of it some way—completely discounting the effect on us if she pulls out by such time-honored means as she has used before, and forgetting that even now at Rye her spokesmen are saying Article VII doesn't mean foregoing empire preferences, at all, at all—might ponder a few historic facts. These facts might also be considered by those in the trade union movement who think that foreign trade is not an issue now, that there will be a lot of immediate orders after the end of the war with Japan, as there will be, and the only thing to do now is get a dollar-an-hour minimum in this country and all will be well. How you can consider one part of reconversion—a wage which will compensate for lack of overtime and prevent an immediate and drastic drop in consumer buying power—and at the same time not consider foreign trade is a mystery.

The US is the great "have" nation today. It is the US that England fears most, not the USSR, which because it has a socialist economy can consume all it makes. None of the nations fears that the Soviet Union is going into the business of large-scale exporting. Of course it has to export raw materials in the ships sent to Russia by the US with steel, locomotives, machine tools, and the other things Russia wants. But while some government departments worry over what will be brought from Russia here, other economists point out that we could use certain kinds of timber nicely, minerals, oils, and other things.

Almost half the industry of the world, or forty-five percent of it, is in the United States. Germany has twelve percent of it, ranking second. The United





Tony

"I saw a couple of people in sheets at Pegler's house the other night, but they weren't ghosts."

Kingdom has third place. We know that the economy of the Soviet Union has expanded even during the war. It must have grown enormously, because before the war it was only eight or nine percent of the world's industry, yet now it is sufficient to provide the Red Army with the means of engaging three times the military might that the United States and United Kingdom are engaging in the west. (Only about five percent of Soviet equipment is lend-lease.)

MEANWHILE what has happened to the British? For thirty years their world position was declining. Gradually, little by little, they were forced to ease up on their colonies. Industrialization was spreading, albeit slowly. And in the newer countries, industry moved at a different pace, began to challenge Britain's. The rentier psychology, the attitude of a landlord who will not spend a dime for new equipment, prevailed in British industry. Labor was squeezed and sweated and machines used until they creaked with age. (Even during the war steel was poured by hand in certain operations and other practices indulged in which made our engineers' eyes bulge when they visited British factories.) Meanwhile, in Germany, America, France, not wages but productivity was emphasized. Britain clung to her old production forms and clung all the harder to the diplomacy which allowed her to. She had the ships, she had the colonies. She built a fine wall around them, dealt in artificial restrictions, made Commonwealth agreements against

which the colonies struggled in vain. She was not engaging in free trade.

All these tendencies leading toward the weakening of Britain's position were emphasized in the war. Her own problems with her dominions are on the increase. She was forced to let Australia industrialize. Now Australia has a large and important airplane industry, and that means Australia, which was getting along without imports, also developed other industries to supply the things needed in making airplanes. Even in India, where millions were allowed to starve, the greatest increase in production didn't come in growing wheat, but in the coal and steel industry and machine-tools capacity. This was because the Japanese were sinking ships and the United Kingdom had to replace them. Thus India, a raw materials country, because of circumstances forced on the United Kingdom by the enemy at last experienced a spurt in industrialization.

But the tight little island which for so long dominated world trade was in for some more bitter blows. Not only was the United States in all its magnificent generosity as to lend-lease winning friends and influencing other peoples with American brands of goods, but some of the Latin American countries, which long bought British textiles, had the effrontery to develop their own textile industries. Now they are prepared to export rather than import. Other countries, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, developed new raw materials production. With it, there comes a growth of

nationalism, so that Mexico and Brazil have erected tariff barriers. Add to that the fact that China, especially before the war, increased her textile industry and could begin exporting to India, and the further fact that the British have lost heavily in foreign investments abroad, insurance, shipping, "services," *et al.*, and that they actually went into debt some \$10,000,000,000, and you begin to see why they are panicky at this point. It begins to be understandable why the British, when it is proposed that we all be good sports and try to stabilize the world cotton market, respond by saying, "Go collaborate with yourselves."

With their backs to the wall the British have united large sections of business under the aegis of government, and if some security is not worked out and guaranteed by us, will try to build a wall around the Commonwealth again, and underbid us on world markets—with the consent of organized labor, out of whose hide the underbidding would come. There is apparently this unity in England, and if it is decided to use a disproportionate share of the economy to make things to export, at the expense of the domestic standard of living, British labor may agree. Thus it could be put in a position of fighting American labor. If this happens, the British will try to make friends with other countries competitively against America, will try to get advantages. We would have to abandon tightening of economic pressures on Argentina, because we could not do it effectively without Britain's aid. With the United Kingdom putting up tariff walls, other countries would put up retaliatory tariffs. With their reverting to competitive diplomacy, it would simply initiate the old imperialistic race and would insure not an expanding, but a restrictive, economy.

There are some evidences that the Morgan banking interests and other sections of finance capital here favor a recognition of the differential in losses suffered by the British in the war. If lend-lease is extended, possibly to the tune of a billion a year for three years, and if the United States shows enough confidence in the Teheran perspective of an expanding world economy to help the British, we can entertain some hope of the 60,000,000 jobs President Roosevelt has projected. If a restrictive approach is adopted, we will have to fight the British right down the line. And the chances are it would be a fight minus victors.

HOW HAM FISH WAS BEATEN

By ALFRED DESTIN

Newburgh, N. Y.

HAMILTON FISH still doesn't know what hit him on November 7. The margin of victory for Augustus W. Bennet, his opponent, wasn't even close. The defeat of Fish after twenty-four years was a people's victory, second only to that of reelecting the President, and a sigh of relief came not only from this country but from the United Nations as well.

How was this victory won? By uniting all the people in the 29th Congressional District, no matter what their political affiliation, who were against Fish and his fascist ideas and wanted to do something about it. It is doubtful whether anywhere in the country was so wide a unity achieved as in the Fish campaign, a unity which extended from Republicans, including many who supported Governor Dewey, to American Laborites. Joined in the common fight were businessmen, farmers, professional people, and workers. Whatever their differences on other questions, the Democrats and Republicans, the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party, President Roosevelt, the late Wendell Willkie and (to a mild extent) Dewey, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the *New York Times* all agreed emphatically that Ham Fish was a menace to the country and had to be licked. And against this powerful united front the bogey of Bolshevism which Fish invoked and the other tricks that had been so effective in the past proved of no avail.

Ham Fish's district always knew when election was approaching because every two years the burly congressman, in an old, creased, pre-election suit (just to show he was one of the boys) would start walking the streets, nodding to everyone, introducing himself and shaking hands. And just before election he would suddenly get religion and on successive Sundays attend services in churches of all denominations, appear at church suppers and leave small but tidy donations.

More than two years ago, when Congress changed the district, Fish forsook Dutchess and Putnam Counties of the old 26th Congressional District and took the ferry across the Hudson to his old fortress, Orange County, which was now part of the new 29th, along with Delaware, Rockland, and Sullivan Counties. In April 1942, Ham opened

an office on Broadway, the main street of Newburgh. For over two years the local politicians went in and out of that office, building the political machine to perpetuate Fish. From that office and from Washington Fish wrote his constituents at length and flooded the district with extracts from the *Congressional Record* in franked envelopes. Ham's office filled in forms and blanks for rationing and priorities and taxes and gave advice. And Fish attended all sorts of party and public functions and met regularly with the county leaders.

Ham was also clever enough to take credit for everything. Although he had nothing to do with it, he took credit for the two shipyards that opened up in Newburgh. Augustus Bennet was chairman of the committee which brought Stewart Field, the West Point aviation training grounds and one of the largest in the country, to Orange County. Ham took credit for that. Because of the drought in the late summer the government issued a ten-cent drought subsidy to the dairymen of certain counties. Farm organizations in Fish's county appealed to the government to include them in the subsidy payments. At the last moment, when the subsidy had already been granted, Ham, who had consistently voted against subsidies, added his plea. When the farmers got the subsidy, he took credit for it. And behind the facade of personal favors Herr Fish operated, deluging the public with hundreds of thousands of pieces of

franked pro-fascist propaganda, and sowing disunity on a national and international scale.

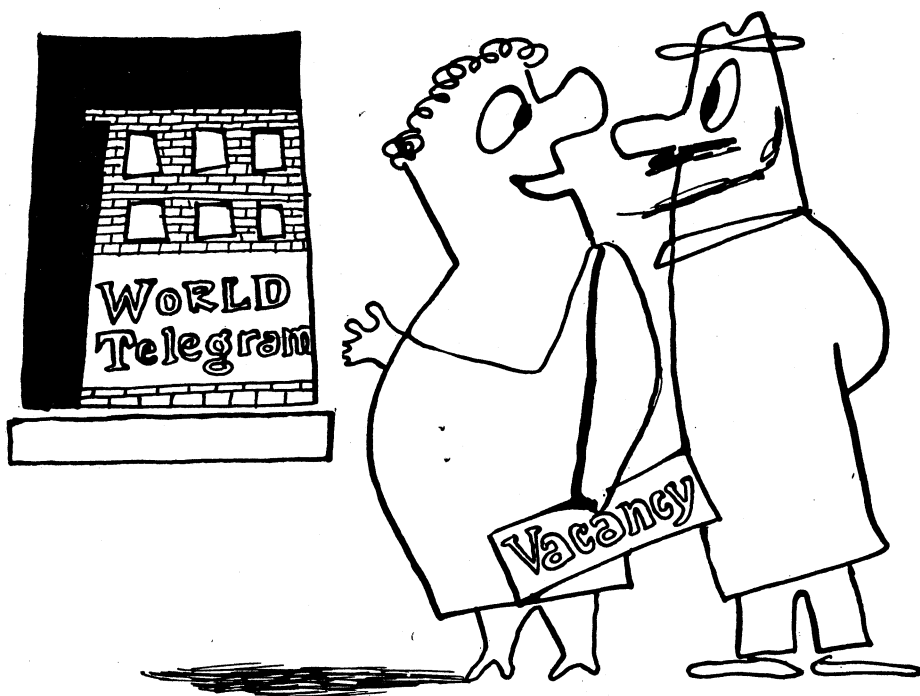
A FEW months ago, riding up from the ferry at Newburgh, I asked a taxi driver about Fish, and he said with a proud smile: "I never let Fish ride in my cab. I've turned him down a couple of times. Ham would just turn and walk away. If he'd stayed I'd have told him plenty about what I think of a guy who stirs up hatred among people, and who rented his house in New York to the Nazi consul right up to Pearl Harbor. Don't worry, brother, I read not only what's in the papers but between the lines—and this Fish is no damned good."

Four years ago a lot of people in his district began to see too that Ham was "no damned good." His election plurality dropped sharply in 1940 and even more in 1942. In the latter year Gus Bennet entered the political picture. He had been a US referee in bankruptcy for nearly twenty years and had built up a solid practice. He had held high office in practically every business, civic, and social organization in his community. In 1929 the city of Newburgh had awarded him a medal for civic service. His father, William S. Bennet, is a former Congressman, and he himself was a member of the local Republican Committee. Gus Bennet had supported Fish in 1940, but after examining his record more critically, found that Fish was a menace and his elimination was a matter that transcended party affiliations.

Bennet entered the Republican primary in 1942 and was defeated. He promptly endorsed the Democratic candidate. Bennet's activities after that election took the form of a crusade. He quietly went to work, digging up information, meeting people, getting their opinions. He reached out to the people and the people drew towards him. In early 1944 what every intelligent citizen had hoped for began to happen. A vigorous campaign was begun to bring the issues to the public. The spearhead of the attack were the artists and writers in Rockland County: Helen Hayes, Maxwell Anderson, Ben Hecht, H. Varnum Poor, Milton Caniff, and Isabel Savell were among the leading



E. Miller



"And on a clear day you can see right through Roy Howard."

spirits. Helen Hayes and Gus Bennet went on barnstorming tours of all the counties, engaging, as the *Herald Tribune* pointed out, in "informal grass roots campaigning, with talks from the back of the car, on street corners, in humble homes, small halls, and at local fairs."

The leaders of the movement realized that only a Republican could defeat Fish. And Fish was already half defeated when on June 10 the Rockland County Democratic Committee nominated Bennet as the Democratic candidate, saying, "We don't ask anything and we don't expect anything. We know that if Bennet is elected he will be a Republican." Although the Republican machine endorsed Fish, the Willkie Republicans stood firm and backed Bennet. In the other counties of the district the Democrats nominated Bennet and the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party followed suit. Then Bennet entered the Republican primaries. Fish lost the primary in Rockland and Delaware Counties, but received enough votes in Orange and Sullivan to win the Republican nomination. The Bennet Republicans thereupon formed the Independent Republican Good Government Party. Local nonpartisan committees also sprang up—Committees for the Defeat of Hamilton Fish, Bennet for Congress Committees, Republicans for Bennet, and the Progressive Citizens' Committee. The crusade against Fish was really on the march.

In Rockland County the independent Republicans and the regular Democratic Party worked side by side with Laborites, Liberals, and all other independents and nonpartisan forces. In addition an active women's division was organized in this county. Henry Hoke, author of *Blackmail*, lectured at rallies and dinners and thousands of copies of his book, which exposes Fish's connections with subversive elements, were sold in bookstores and drugstores or were distributed by volunteers.

Delaware County, rock-ribbed Republican territory, had its active Bennet nucleus in every town and village. The Bennet committees advertised, telephoned, canvassed house to house, wrote letters to newspapers, and distributed literature. In Sullivan County, the Bennet organization broadcast six days a week on the radio, a local banker helped sponsor rallies and dinners, and the local newspaper publisher put out special Bennet editions. The women, as they entered the nonpartisan headquarters, removed their Dewey and Roosevelt buttons and went to work distributing tremendous quantities of campaign material. Orange county had main district headquarters in Newburgh, where Fish had his office, and another office in Middletown where trade unionists met with Republicans and Democrats. Throughout the district the Farmers Union gave active support to the Bennet campaign.

One of the most stirring incidents in

the campaign was the almost continuous radio debate between Bennet and Fish on the Saturday before election.

At 1 PM Fish and some of his adherents broadcast for fifteen minutes from the local station. At 1:30 Gus Bennet spoke. At 1:45 Fish came back on the air. At 2 PM Bennet tore apart Fish's arguments. Fish followed Bennet with a tirade against the Reds. Bennet returned, taunting Fish on his record. Fish's reply was another *anti-Komintern* barrage.

DURING the campaign Bennet grew visibly. He refused to let Fish evade the issues and carried the fight to him. "It is simply amazing," he said in one speech, "how my opponent's tactics parallel those of the Nazis." And he attacked Fish's "unwillingness to recognize the outstanding part played by the Russian people in the rescue of the world from possible Nazi domination." Nor did Bennet make any concessions to the Red scare. A *New Yorker* correspondent, who had been to see Fish, told Bennet that his opponent had denounced him as "a Bolshevik . . . a Socialist, an interventionist, and a New Dealer." Bennet replied: "Before he gets through having his say about that you'll think I built the Kremlin with my bare hands. It's a good thing my great-grandfather, James, who founded the Republican Party in Orange County, isn't alive to hear all this."

After the election Bennet announced that as a Republican he would sit on the Republican side of the House. However, he added: "Probably I will go along with the Republicans in the House on purely partisan matters, but in other matters, particularly measures having to do with international cooperation, I will vote for what seems to me to be the right thing."

This is the nonpartisan approach to the great issues of our time which reflects the spirit of the thousands of men and women who worked and voted to cleanse the evil influence of Hamilton Fish out of our national life. The shame of New York is ended. Let us hope Congressman-elect Bennet lives up to his post-election statement and carries out a mandate whose meaning must be unmistakable even to America's enemies at home and abroad.

In next week's issue Janet Weaver will tell how Gerald P. Nye was beaten in North Dakota.

TONNAGE: A SHORT STORY

By DAVID FOOTE

THE heavy loads had been coming out of the ship's gaping holds all day. From the first light of dawn—at five-thirty they had started—throughout the day, with an hour's pause at noon, and now into the night. From the masts, the big bright clusters of light shone down on the deck; aided by the lights in the holds and those that shone on the dock, the whole active scene was one of brilliant light. The noise of the shunted flatcars on the dock, the exhausts of trucks and the roar of their engines, with the shouts of the men, made the scene chaotic too. The crashing of the loads to the dock and the rattle of the ship's winches added to the racket and were an insistent undertone. When the other noises, occasionally, were quieted, they became strangely dominant, and filled the air.

From the various holds of the ship came the cargo. From number one came the flour in bulging white bags—from number two the long black steel rails that swung in the air as they were brought up from the depths of the ship—and from the other holds wide and gaping in the bright light, came the cases of food, the ammunition, and all the other evidence of one country's war aid to another.

The sweating khaki-clad soldiers who worked the winches were tired. The day had been stinking hot and the wind had blown from across the desert, the sand of the Persian desert on its body, bringing no respite from the heat. Sand that got in the eyes and teeth, and stuffed the nostrils of the men that worked the cargo and yelled and shouted and hastened the discharging of the ship.

The men down in number two were shaky. For many days they had watched the long steel lengths come out of the hold, and they had worked hard, straining with the long pinch bars to lift the rails, prying them up, sliding the wire strop under them, then standing clear as the winches hauled the loads out of the hold and to the dock. As the long rails went up, they watched them nervously. The two privates running the gang of laborers—wogs—would shout to them to stand clear, and they'd push them in the shelter of the out-jutting deck above, to get them free of anything that might fall down. Sometimes the load would slip in the strop, and

the rails would slide a few inches menacingly, until the strop gripped again, and the men below would hold their breath. But then it would be well and the load would go up clear and across the deck of the ship to the dock.

SERGEANT HARRIS, the hatchman, was sick of the whole shebang. Shouting to those in the hold to stand clear, trying to make the wogs understand what would happen if the load came down. He was nervous and tired. "Jesus Christ," to Chambers and Adams, the two privates running the gang, "why don't you guys stick a little more dunnage into those slings? If they come down, you're gonna get hell down there." Adams grimaced and Chambers sniffed and said, "Yeah, okay, Sarge, but these goddam goofs are crazy. What the hell can we do with them? They don't seem to understand." And Chambers and Adams chased the wogs a little more madly, booted them a little harder and swore and shouted at them. As each set went up and there was a brief pause in the killing work, the laborers squatted on their haunches and talked, or hummed strange haunting melodies that contained all the misery of a thousand years of pain and sorrow, and to get them to interrupt their soliloquies and return to work was a job in itself. They didn't understand the necessity for working—and even if they did, were so weak and weary that even with the will to work they could have done little. These poor wretched beings, brought from their hills and their truck farms by the Arab labor masters, by the promises of money and food. Few of them had seen a ship before, and certainly none of them had seen an American, or even heard of one. They had come from across the Great Sandy Desert, from the hills of Kuh Banan, from Shnar Koh in the north, from the valley of the Bampur River by the borders of Baluchistan. On foot, in trucks and by camel train they had come, in their filthy rags, dragging wearily the miles to the port. They spoke a variety of dialects, were impoverished, wretched and forlorn. And they had come to work the ships. A huge dock had been constructed where before had been the mud flats of the river. New railroads had been laid and roads built, and the cargo for the war came out of the ships that

had dared the thousands of miles of hostile waters, through the hands of the men from the hills, along the roads—to the north. Planes to bomb and harry, food for the army and the liberated peoples, and rails for the new roads to be constructed as the armies advanced.

And here the laborers had been working long. From the dawn, through the heat of the day and now into the night. There was no relief, no respite, for the slogan was "Tonnage." The spirit of "Tonnage" was in the very desert air. The British that ran the tugboats on the river talked it, the sergeant hatchmen on the ships dreamed it, the officers in their messes and offices, talked and argued and the subject was always how this ship was discharging more tonnage per day than that. Even the Russians, who stalked the installation with sheafs of papers in their hands, could talk of nothing else, for the tonnage was for them, they were there to see that there was no delay in the tonnage getting north. The laborers in the holds were perhaps the only ones that didn't talk tonnage. They didn't know what was going on. Their talk, when there was time, was of knocking off, getting off the ship and away, off to the hills and the land, and the wide distances of the plains. Of going to their shacks and sleeping—and dreaming. But there were debts to pay and contracts to finish with the Arabs that controlled their destinies. So first there was this business of getting the cargo out of the ships—empty these deep holds, get these rails and these cases and sacks of flour out and to the dock. Be pushed and shoved and feel heavy boots in the rear, and sweat and drink water from the river, and turn over the garbage—turn over the food that these mad white strangers wanted to throw into the river—eat it and sleep. Attempt to move and do things, in spite of kickings and shovings, and hookworm and hunger and syphilis and being tired. Work with these strange men, with stranger tools, deep in the ships, and hide every time a load went up. A strange, confusing world.

A load of rails went up from number two, swinging. The end of the rails caught the deck above and jammed. Harris shouted, "Hold it!" and Rispoli, Pfc., heaved instead, and something carried away, and the heavy rails crashed

down. The mast swung with the suddenly released load, and the boom whanged, and there was a screaming and shouting from below . . . then only a low moaning. A block, long overworked, had given up and carried away. And the rails had come down and splayed across the hold. They had crashed down, steel against steel with the other rails still there, but some of them had been cushioned, and had fallen softly on bones and flesh nurtured in the far away hills. There was a still, soft moaning.

Men rushed to the hatchway, to peer and see. Sergeant Harris shouted to someone to get the Looey—then called, "Anyone hurt down there?" From below, it was Adams. "Yeah, Sarge, there's some wogs under this mess—we'll get them out." "Do you need any help?" Again from the hold, "Sure could do with a hand Sarge . . . these wogs are just about scared out of their wits." There was a low chorus of "aieeing" from the huddled laborers cowed with fear and sorrow. Harris swung to the ladder and went down. There was a lot of blood at the bottom of the ladder and he swore as he slid on the rails slippery with redness. He seized a long crowbar and began to heave with Adams and Chambers. The rails lifted and came clear of the bodies. Four of them, the rags of clothes horribly mingled with the blood and meat and bone, lay tangled on the steel flooring. Harris shouted to the men on deck to get a flat board . . . and somebody hooked a scale board and lowered it down on the remaining winch that still functioned. The Looey came on the scene. "What the hell's this all about?" Then anxiously, "Any of our guys hurt?" He was told excitedly, "None of our men, sir, but there are four wogs in pretty bad shape." "Get 'em up, Sergeant," shouted the Looey to Harris. And the winch trundled noisily hauling the mess up to the deck.

Some one had dashed off for the medico and returned soon, running, with a Medical Corps sergeant. The bodies lay on the board resting now, on the deck of the ship. The medical sergeant looked at them, knelt beside the board, and whistled through his teeth. "Oh boy—oh boy—this is sure something!" "Think you can do anything for them Sarge?" It was the Looey, his voice awed and somewhat quiet at the spectacle. The medico felt the arm of the man that still whimpered and reached into his first aid kit and brought out a morphine syrette, stuck it into the brown skin of the thin arm, and drained the contents into the

man. He felt his heartbeats, weak and faltering. The blood oozed from his head and from his mangled legs, stained the sergeant's hands and wet the knees of his pants. "Don't think I can do anything more for him, sir. I'll give him another shot, maybe that'll make it easier." The whimpering had stopped now, but the blood still oozed. The sergeant gave the man another syrette, then got up from his knees and closed his bag. "That's about all I can do, sir, he's about done anyhow." The Looey pushed back his hat and scratched his ear, "Well, I guess we'd better get them ashore." He looked at his watch. . . . "Say, Sarge, get this hatch working again just as soon as you can, we're away behind time here, have to catch up somehow." "Yes, sir." The winch turned again and lifted the board clear of the ship, and a soldier pulled on a guy rope and the boom swung out. They lowered away on the winch and set the board on the dock.

A couple of sailors were working on the other boom while a third was bringing along the new block to replace the one that had broken. They lowered the boom, rigged the block, rove the runner, set the boom back in its place, and again the hatch was working. Swinging out the rails to the waiting flat cars. Some of the rails were wet with blood.

The scale board lay on the dock covered with burlap bags. The truck that the Looey had phoned for came along, stopped and backed up. It was a truck lined with a steel skin, shiny with use. The driver climbed to the back and shifted the GI scrubbed garbage cans that had vibrated to the rear, slid them to the front against the cab. A couple of laborers were called from their job of piling cases, and they lifted and heaved the inert bodies on the back of the truck. The driver slammed the endgate tight, latched it, and drove off—out to the desert.

At eleven the gangs knocked off. Some of the workers had already climbed out of the holds and stood by the gangplank ready to go ashore. As whistles blew, they ran madly down the plank, their small bundles of sticks for kindling under their arms, and went off into the night toward the village of shacks at the edge of town.

The noises of the night came into prominence with the dying of the racket from the ships. The frogs in the banks of the river croaked, a soft wind disturbed the reeds and sighed through the fronds of the palm trees. The stars high above were bright and for brief moments of time were fixed. They looked

down on the scene. Quiet and peaceful and still. The silent ships were hard against the dock, booms stuck gauntly into the air, the gear hung down from them, seemingly desolate and without function. A drunk staggered along making his way to his bunk—from the town, but his singing voice was lost in the great stillness. The yellow river ran by the ships, not heeding them, bound to the sea. The whole world was in quietness.

Away in the north, in Teheran, the capital, the waiters cleared the tables and swept up the mess. This had been a huge banquet. They were amazed at the faces they had seen. The men from Russia had been there, the big men, and too, those from Britain and America.

A few days later the world knew. The powers had met, and had formed a charter for the world that told what would be done with victory. Stalin had signed it, and the man from England, and the man from America.

As the sun burst over the horizon, Sergeant Harris, of the Bronx, N. Y., yawned and crawled from his bunk to read the notices placed on his table by the messenger from HQ. He picked them up and began to look them over. His mind ran with the discussion he had had with that sailor on the ship the night before. It had been about this Teheran business—Christ, that sailor certainly had a lot to say about it . . . said it was the "Bill of Rights" for the world, for the wogs, too . . . yeah . . . guess it was. Well, what about these notices—the usual crap. New mail regulations, guard rosters, and what's this? Another notice from the Colonel.

"To all officers and men of this command. Congratulations! On this, the second December of war since Pearl Harbor, this command has acquitted itself well. We have broken our own record for tonnage handled. We were proud of the old record, and have broken it, and set a new one that should make us prouder still. It does, but we can, and must, do even better. Let our slogan ever be "MORE TONNAGE." Let us speed the war supplies to our glorious allies fighting in the north. Let our supplies, that began as a mere trickle, now swollen to a rushing stream . . . let them become a mighty torrent . . . it can and *must* be done—Signed: Colonel Maltby, C.O., P.G.C." Sergeant Harris, of the Bronx, N. Y., sighed heavily and reached for his boots.

NM SPOTLIGHT

Solving the Cartel Problem

WHILE the International Business Conference at Rye, N. Y., was discussing the problem of reviving the international cartel system under some measure of government regulation, the Senate's Kilgore subcommittee on war mobilization of the Military Affairs Committee issued a report calling for the elimination of the international cartel system and recommending in its stead a responsible United Nations world authority for the promotion of international trade, reconstruction of devastated areas, and industrialization of technically backward countries. The Kilgore conclusions are based on a sound analysis of the harmful activities of the international cartels in general and of the German monopoly industrialists and their cartels in particular. This penetrating report traces the responsibility for the present war to the alliance of German monopolists with the Nazi party and points out that "for all practical purposes, the social and political philosophy of the partners are indistinguishable." It calls for the punishment of the German industrial leaders as well as the political and military chiefs.

The report further proposes the dismantling of the German munitions industry, as well as the metallurgical and chemical enterprises which were deliberately overexpanded to serve as accessories to armament production. These are no "de-industrialization" proposals. They are rather stern measures to deprive Germany of its technical war potential, to prevent its economic domination of Europe and in part, to recompense the devastated nations by transferring to them some of the German industrial equipment. The specific measure of industrialization to be permitted Germany in order to maintain a balanced peace economy will depend on the as yet unknown factors, chief among them the social and political developments during Allied occupation.

The broader recommendations affecting the pre-war type of privately controlled international cartels are derived logically from the lessons of the German experience and from the recognition that prosperous postwar commerce and the reconstruction and expansion of

world productive capacity can only be realized through friendly collaboration and planning among the United Nations governments. Private monopolies, the report emphasizes, must not again determine by themselves international economic agreements. The world monetary stabilization and credit extension plans projected at the Bretton Woods Conference are cited as the example of how world trade and rehabilitation should proceed if future peace and prosperity are to be assured.

The Kilgore report in essence would replace the former private commercial cartel agreements with joint agreements in which the United Nations governments would take part together with private enterprises. The pre-war restrictive arrangements, which placed barriers on both production and trade, are to be replaced with government-sponsored agreements designed to increase trade and production in the spirit of the Teheran and Dumbarton Oaks conferences. All this is in line with President Roosevelt's letter to Secretary Hull last September which called for measures to eradicate the German cartels and curb the harmful practices of other cartels.

The Sights Are Too Low



IT HAS been reported from Washington that the administration is likely to support some such bill as that introduced by Congressman Charles S. Dewey (a Republican, incidentally, defeated in the election) calling for the expansion of the credit facilities of the Export-Import Bank from \$700,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000. Although Rep. Dewey's motive was to use the bill to spike the International Bank proposed at Bretton Woods, the idea of a credit-expansion measure is a move in the right direction. And there are indications that other branches of the government, as well as private bankers, are thinking along similar lines. There is talk, for example, of very large credits being arranged between American

banks and British industrialists and it is known that the International Business Conference in Rye, New York, has had the matter of credits under serious discussion.

It does not yet seem, however, as though the public or the leaders of the financial community have grasped the full implications of the problem which we shall have to solve immediately after the war, if not sooner. It has been very succinctly outlined by Lauchlin Currie, deputy administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, in testimony recently given before a congressional committee on postwar planning. Mr. Currie pointed out that in order to keep our factories operating and our people profitably employed after the war something close to the present level of wartime production—about \$196,000,000,000 of goods and services a year—will have to be maintained. One of the ways of doing this will be to multiply the volume of our normal peacetime exports, which in the 1929-39 decade were running between two and four billion dollars annually. During the war we are exporting about \$11,500,000,000 worth under lend-lease and an additional \$2,000,800,000 without benefit of lend-lease. The problem, to put it simply, is how to maintain this volume after the termination of the lend-lease arrangements and to increase our foreign trade to an approximate thirty or forty billion dollars.

It is clear that right after the war foreign countries will not be in a position to pay cash for the enormous quantities of American goods they will need to rehabilitate their economies. Yet unless such rehabilitation takes place world markets will contract with disastrous results at home. Our own interest, therefore, which coincides with that of other nations, lies in the direction of granting gigantic credits to prime the world economic engine. While we support any sound government or private initiative, or combination of both, that may be taken in this direction, we have the feeling that current approaches to the matter are too limited, are not big enough to cope with the situation we shall obviously face.

Our sights are still much too low to hit the target.

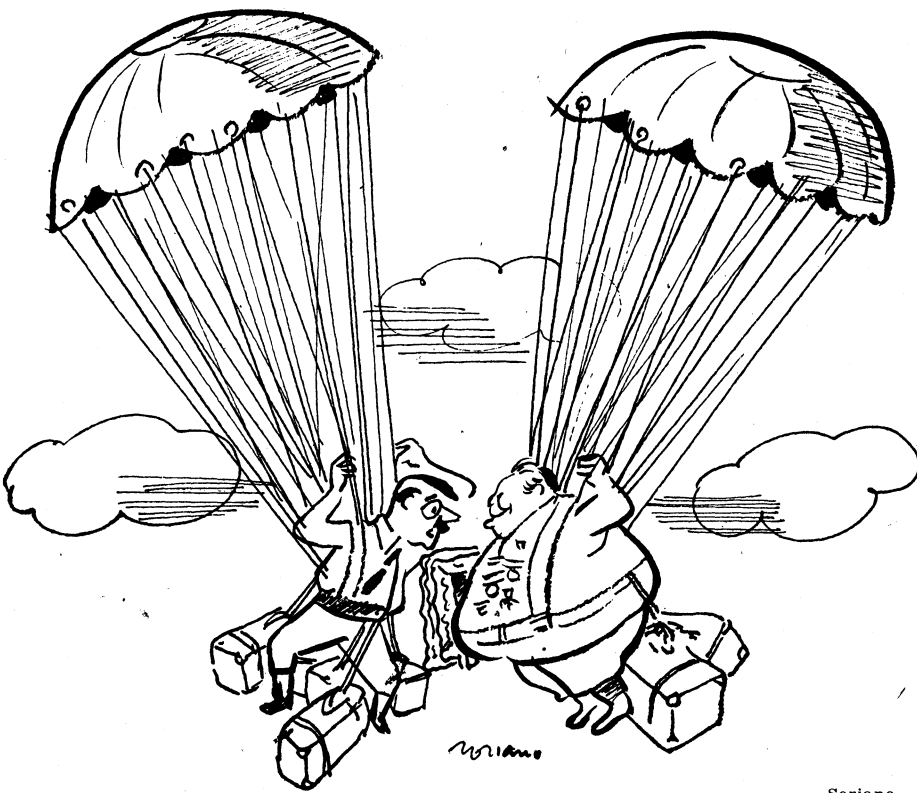
Dangerous Exodus

UNDERSECRETARY of War Patterson, Henry Kaiser, and James Byrnes have sounded a note of alarm over the growing labor shortage in the vital war industries. There are disturbing movements of workers from essential war jobs to the consumers' goods industries. Ostensibly this is a spontaneous effort of war workers to find permanent peacetime employment in the face of the overpublicized forty percent cut in war production after the defeat of Germany. The Republican leaders and candidates during the late campaign made a major contribution to aggravating this problem by their contention that the war is virtually over. Congress likewise contributed its share by refusing to adopt the Kilgore reconversion bill proposals that would have granted a decent measure of security to the discharged war workers.

If this desertion of essential war jobs is to be halted before grave injury is done to our military campaigns, speedy steps must be taken by the government, labor, and industry. Joint conferences of organized labor and business in the industries and plants involved should be held without delay and measures taken to relieve the situation. This will be a test of patriotism as well as an expression of faith in a full employment economy after the war. And both patriotism and faith in the future must be supplemented by efforts to bring about reconsideration of legislative measures to relieve the anxiety of war workers over the loss of their jobs.

The Bishops Err

THERE is much good sense in the Catholic Bishops' statement on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Especially is it commendable for its recognition that a security organization must "have at its disposal resources for coercing outlaw nations even by military measures." Appropriate also is the Bishops' refutation of isolationism when they say that "the common good of every nation is inseparably connected with the common good of the international community." But the nebulosity of the statement as a whole detracts from its having greater value in the current discussions on building the peace. For one thing the Bishops fail to identify the enemy or describe the origins of his aggression. They attribute the war to "bad education" and call it a "creation of scholars." Blaming the war on the universities, so to speak, is one



"Have you ever seen Argentina before?"

Soriano

Military Service

ONE of the grave postwar questions which America will have to face immediately and face squarely is the question of compulsory military training for America's young men. The House committee on postwar military policy will decide next week whether to consider measures for such training immediately. President Roosevelt declared in a press conference November 17 that he would wish to see one year of government training and service required for young men. Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, and Secretary Forrestal of the Navy have both requested such a program.

Whether the problem comes up at once or waits until the convening of the new Congress, Americans will soon have to make up their minds about a measure that has never before been part of their pattern of peacetime living, and understand the historic logic that makes it a vital issue.

Already considerable agitation against the measure is making itself heard. Even such an organization as the AFL's American Federation of Teachers has urged postponement of congressional action until after the war is over. And there can be no doubt it is hoped in some circles that by that time no action would be taken at all. One cannot dismiss the opposition to compulsory

military training merely as the sentiment of Peace Now and other anti-war or isolationist groups. There is a deep dislike of militarism in America that is the legitimate heritage of a democratic people. And a long association of compulsory military training with tyrannical and aggressive regimes remains in our national consciousness. Much of our past knowledge of conscription had such connections. During periods when foreign policy was constructed against the best interests of the people conscription was a dangerous thing. But now we are in the midst of a great people's war and the American Army, becoming an instrument of a policy whose fundamental purpose is to rescue ourselves and the peoples of the world from threatened enslavement, is a people's weapon. The same grim necessity which dictates our participation in this war requires that democratic peoples keep a vigilant armed watch against another such disastrous conspiracy being raised against them. A citizens' army reserve of young men physically fit and trained in service of all the nation can be a great bulwark against the scattered remnants of fascism, against any renewal of their war against mankind. It can be both a physical and moral bulwark, and one with which we dare not dispense until such time as all possibilities of repetition of the present holocaust are surely and finally eliminated.

Neither Learning Nor Forgetting

THE twin fires of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism lit by Dewey, Bricker, and their Republican accomplices were not automatically extinguished on November 7. The minds that were seared by those indecencies were not overnight healed. It will require the efforts of all enlightened citizens to combat these continued threats to national and international unity. And one of the deepest lessons of the election is that those who call themselves liberals cannot play with such fire without imperiling not merely the liberal cause but the entire nation.

The *New York Post* and two gentlemen who are leaders of the Liberal Party, David Dubinsky and Dean Alfange, were considerably embarrassed when Candidate Dewey in his Boston speech quoted their Red-baiting tirades against Sidney Hillman and the American Labor Party to buttress his own weak case. But they are evidently determined to learn nothing from their public shame. The *Post* chose the anniversary of American recognition of Russia for an editorial attempt to justify what is so patently vicious. The editorial tries to disarm the reader by beginning: "The *Post* has long urged a realistic, friendly approach to Russian relations and Russian problems based on the idea that the Soviet government has proved time and again its reasonableness and good faith." This of course assumes that the reader's memory does not extend back as far as the *Post's* attitude on the Ehrlich-Alter case and that his political information does not include an inkling of the venomous Russia-baiting of Dubinsky and other *Post* collaborators.

And how does the *Post* go about proving that though it hates American Communists, it loves Communist Russia? It offers a parable: "Suppose you boarded a plane, with other passengers, in Chungking, destination New York, and suppose the first 2,000 miles of the westward route between Chungking and New York were identical with the first leg of the westward Chungking-Moscow flight." And suppose, says the *Post*, the pilot, the navigator, the radio man, the engineer were all Communists. For the first 2,000 miles everything would be fine, but then the pilot would have to make a choice "between flying either to Moscow or to New York." In that case "you and your fellow-passengers would be a lot better off if the man at the rudder didn't have a preference for turning sharply north."

This parable says much more than the *Post* intended. It tells the reader, in the first place, that American Communists, even when their policies are correct and in agreement with the majority of the people, are nevertheless agents of Moscow. Which means, conversely, that Moscow—which the *Post* loves so dearly—is maintaining agents in the United States in violation of the pledges it gave when our government extended it diplomatic recognition. Secondly, this parable tells the reader that for the present the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union appear to be in accord, but there will come "a fork in the [political] airways," when the two countries will go in opposite paths. Teheran, Dumbarton Oaks, a durable peace? Don't be naive, say the realists of the *Post*—of course out of deep affection for the USSR.

The *Post* has succeeded in demonstrating again what Dewey so amply demonstrated: that those who peddle the irrational argument that American Communists are enemies of America while the Communists in Russia, France, Yugoslavia, etc., are America's friends end by proving their own hostility to our country's principal allies and to the entire course projected at Teheran and strongly endorsed in the recent election. The election has revealed that anti-Communism hurts the country much more than it hurts the Communists. That American Communists are as legitimate a part of the democratic struggle against fascism as are the Communists of other lands is a truth which America must take to its heart if it is not to be seriously weakened in the future.

theory, but it will hardly hold water in explaining why many Americans and British who studied in Germany today find themselves defending their countries against the Nazi quest for enslavement. It will hardly explain who fostered the education that supposedly led to war or what must be done to make such education impossible in the future. To accuse the "scholars" only is to see the problem too simply and to overlook the men and the forces responsible for totalitarian tyranny. It leads to a dead end and makes it possible for a Hitler or a Krupp or a Mitsubishi to say—"Why blame us? We were badly educated."

Nor are the Bishops too clear on the relation of the larger powers to the smaller and one detects in what they say an unfounded fear that the leaders of the Allied coalition have designs on smaller states. This is a false issue raised by former candidate Dewey in his effort to undermine the Dumbarton Oaks meeting and it is no more true now than it was two months ago. The Bishops' point that no nation on the Security Council shall "sit in judgment on its own case" is a muted criticism of the Soviet Union. The USSR contends that the leading Allied states will have to act in concert even when one of them is a party to a dispute. That seems to us to be reasonable and historically intelligent, for the sad fact is that when the large powers have not acted unanimously after consultation, real trouble began, with the issue settled on the battlefield. In the hierarchy's remarks we miss not only explicit references to fascism but any reference to the punishment of war criminals, and a host of other pertinent matters that are the conditions of a durable peace.

Bigotry and Injustice

THE entire nation should rise in indignation at the recent revolting exhibition of "white supremacy" in Abbeville, Alabama. Over two months ago Mrs. Recy Taylor, wife of a soldier, was kidnapped on her way home from church, stripped naked, and brutally raped by seven or eight young men. Mrs. Taylor and her father immediately appealed to the local authorities to arrest and bring to justice her attackers, five of whom she was able to name. The sheriff arrested one of the men and quickly released him; the grand jury has questioned Mrs. Taylor and others. But neither the sheriff's office nor the

grand jury has taken any action to avenge this filthy crime.

Shift your mind to a scene in Gainesville, Florida, just a short time before Mrs. Taylor became the victim of these hoodlums in Alabama. In the Gainesville case three young men were arrested for allegedly raping a woman who also happened to be married to a soldier. These young men were given eighty minutes in the Gainesville court, sentenced to death with no evidence being presented except a "confession" which the youths maintained had been exacted by beating. In spite of nationwide appeals for a fair trial the three young men in Florida were speedily put to death in the electric chair.

And what explains the glaring contrast between the process of "justice" in the case of the actual rape case in Alabama and the alleged, and evidently trumped up case, in Florida? Just one very simple difference. Mrs. Taylor of Abbeville, Alabama, is a Negro woman; her assailants are white men. The Florida woman, whose name has never been revealed, is white and her alleged attackers were Negro.

Americans can no longer tolerate such nauseating examples of bigotry, ignorance, injustice. The white supremacists of towns like Abbeville and Gainesville are made of the same stuff as the Nazis. Can we expend the life blood of the nation in exterminating the Nazis while permitting freedom to the white supremacy gang within our borders? An example must be made of the case of Mrs. Taylor. From all over the nation there should be a demand for immediate action to bring these white rapists to trial and to assure that the trial is conducted fairly and without prejudice.

We Had Fun

WE HAD a fine time at the Madison Square Garden celebration honoring the twenty-seventh birthday of the USSR and the eleventh anniversary of the resumption of American-Soviet diplomatic ties. The audience was full of glow. It took warmly to the speakers, as they to it. Everyone was delighted by Captain Gower's story of how he shuttled an American bomber to a Russian base, how he slaughtered the Russian language when he asked for tea, how very beautiful Russian girls are. Captain Gower spoke with an informality almost impossible to attain at a Garden affair but somehow he managed it and

20,000 faces beamed with pleasure. They were no less delighted by Jarmila Novotna, the dazzling opera star, who sang Russian and Czech tunes with extraordinary lilt and dash. And there was Roy Harris conducting the premier performance of his "Ode of Friendship"—a deeply felt work, tragic in its overtones but replete with moving phrases of hope and affection.

The speakers all—whether it was Acting Secretary of State Stettinius, or Ambassador Gromyko, or Lord Halifax, or the indomitable Joseph E. Davies—underscored the fruits of unity in the war and the rich promise of an enduring peace. We were deeply touched by Mr. Stettinius' direct remarks to the Soviet envoy asking him to convey to his government and his people the warm regard which Americans have for their ally. Mr. Gromyko's point about a "severe" or "soft" peace struck us as meaningful. He called them abstract definitions and suggested that it would be better to speak of a peace "that would deprive the German militarists of the possibility of unleashing another war" and which would correspond to

For Certain Critics

"THE future leaders of Europe . . . many of whom have participated in the underground, will not be as the leaders of pre-war Europe. Because of the soul-searing experiences they have suffered they will have gained a renewed insight into the meaning of brotherhood and a new appreciation of what is essential in life and what is of second or even third-rate importance. We must not meet their efforts to apply that which the bitterness and the heroism of these experiences have taught them by an overly rigid adherence to forms useful indeed in the past but subject to restatement and modification in the light of new conditions. The tradition of American radicalism is one of the most authentic of our traditions, and the names of such radicals as Jefferson and Lincoln are names which we revere. We were born of a revolution and we should be the last to fail to understand a revolution."—*From a speech made by Assistant Secretary of State Shaw at the commencement exercises of Bucknell University and published in the "Bulletin" of the State Department, October 22, 1944.*

the degree of Nazi Germany's crimes. The shipbuilding master, Henry Kaiser, said things which we hope will be publicized far and wide. Not only did he believe that in the "new world there will be no room for the theories of over-production" but that Russia's gigantic productive power will be a great force for good. And if this stirring Garden meeting was an expression of gratitude to an ally, it was also a tribute to President Roosevelt, who has been foremost in promoting the cause of friendship between the countries. His message to the rally was greeted with an outburst of cheering and applause which we are sure carried all the way to Washington.

It was a beautiful evening and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship deserves a garland of roses for making it possible.

Italian Currents

BEHIND the latent cabinet crisis in Italy is a story whose complete details are not yet available. The news reports to this country are slanted in the direction of upsetting the Italian coalition and of creating an atmosphere of hostility towards the Communist and Socialist Parties. Herbert Matthews of the *New York Times* is among the journalistic adventurers fostering the project and of him it must be said that whatever competence and honesty he displayed as a correspondent in Spain are quickly evaporating under the heated advice of reactionary Italian circles. His interview with Crown Prince Humbert gave the impression that it was obtained with the consent of Premier Bonomi. Actually it was arranged through monarchist channels, and it was nine interviews that he had and not one. His report aroused the anger of the non-monarchist groups because it injected into the Italian scene the monarchical issue which the coalition of different parties had agreed not to discuss until after the war. Several ministers threatened to resign from the government. At the moment things have been smoothed over, but serious difficulties still remain.

It is apparent that the reactionaries, by destroying the Bonomi government, hoped to have a new one established from which the Communists and Socialists would be excluded. In that attempt they had the help of some tweedy members of the Allied Commission, who in disobedience to the recent Quebec decisions are working to have the word "Control" restored to the Commission's

name. The Christian Democrats might have used their prestige to block the divisive forces but they are now moving backwards under the pressure of Vatican politics. Their role seems to be that of the proverbial fence-sitter—in effect helping the anti-unity elements in their plans. The Communists and Socialists have asked the Christian Democrats to

work with them in the reconstruction of the country and to give it that fusion of political strength which could withstand the assaults from reactionary quarters. But the Christian Democrats have rejected these invitations, and the only things that can be said in their favor is that they have not as yet accepted the invitations of the unprincipled opposition.

If there is to be any reorganization of the cabinet in the near future it will have to be along the line of giving the Communists and Socialists greater representation and more responsible posts—not because they are Communists and Socialists but because both these parties are the strongest in Italy and form the core of Italian democracy.



FRONT LINES

by COLONEL T.

THE BIG PUSH IN THE WEST

THERE is no question of a "*Wacht am Rhein*" (Watch on the Rhine) any more. A "*Schlacht am Rhein*" (Battle on the Rhine) is being forced on Field Marshal von Runstedt by General Eisenhower. There also is no use analyzing the individual advances of the Allied armies on the various sectors since the reader will see these lines several days after they have been written. However, as I write some basic facts are already emerging from the first few days of the offensive of six Allied armies.

Geographically—and because of that, historically—the Lorraine sector, between Switzerland and the Nancy-Karlsruhe line, is not a zone of strategic decision. Nothing much happened there in 1870, or in 1914-1918, or 1940. The talk about Patch and Tassigny "pushing in the direction of Munich" is somewhat fantastic. Nothing more than a clearing of French soil up to the Rhine can hardly be expected here. The Charmes Gap (east of Nancy) and the Belfort Gap are good gaps for an invasion of France from Germany, but they are not so good for an invasion of Germany from France because they lead to the Rhine and to the mountains of the Black Forest which lie east of it. They are gaps leading to a tough wall with a big moat in front of it. Furthermore, beyond the Black Forest range lies the Neckar River and beyond it—the mountains of Bavaria. Decidedly not a comfortable theater of operations, especially in the winter.

The same can be said, if to a lesser degree, of the Saar-Nahe-Mosel sector where General Patton has already taken Metz by storm. To begin with, the Saar basin is not a first class strategic

objective because Germany can exist without it. This is the sector where the "*Sitzkrieg*" of late 1939 and early 1940 developed. Here is the thickest part of the "inverted" Maginot Line, as well as the strongest part of the Siegfried Line. Assuming even that a clean break were made by Patton's armor through both lines, where would this lead him? It would lead him to the Rhine again, between Karlsruhe and Coblenz and with Mainz as the central focus. Beyond the Rhine he would find the Odenwald mountains (east of Mannheim-Heidelberg), the Rhon Gebirge, Vogels Gebirge, the Taunus and the Westerwald—five mountain massifs grouped in a three-quarters circle around Frankfurt-am-Main. Further north lie the Sauerland and Harz mountains (east of Cologne). Thus it would seem that geographically speaking the area of decision should lie north of the Aachen-Cologne line. To be exact, between the British salient at Nijmegen-Arnhem and General Hodges' salient in the Stolberg-Duren area.

Between General Dempsey in the Arnhem-Venlo sector and General Hodges in the Aachen region the US Ninth Army under General Simpson suddenly appeared a few days ago after a most remarkable march from western France across the lines of communications of Patton's and Hodges's armies—a great feat of operational and logistical planning and execution. This US Ninth is rested, almost intact, and probably destined to play the part of the "bulldozer" which will rip up the Siegfried Line. Its sudden appearance, smack up against the Ruhr Basin, after a veil of secrecy had shrouded its whereabouts for

weeks, is a cue to the strategy of the Allied early winter offensive.

Directly east of Simpson's army lies the Ruhr, without which the Wehrmacht cannot fight for long. Here is the very heart of the enemy war effort. Strange as it may sound, the Ruhr is not as well protected as one might expect. There is no "inverted" Maginot line here and the Siegfried Line tapers off at Cleve, some Thirty-five miles from Duisburg. Just a few miles northwest of Cleve the Rhine splits up into the Waal and the Neder Rijn (Lower Rhine, called Lek further downstream). A few miles further the Neder Rijn splits up again, sending the Ijssel north into the Zuider Zee.

The British south of Arnhem stand astride the Maas—running almost parallel with the Waal—and across the Waal. The water barrier between them and the North German Plain is nothing but the Lower Rhine greatly reduced by its split-up with the Waal and Ijssel. Beyond that medium-sized water barrier there are no mountains. Straight ahead lies the road to Berlin across the Teutoburg Forest where the Roman Legions of Quintilius Varus were defeated by the Germanic warriors of Arminius in the year 9 A.D. Thus it is possible that by a quirk of history the last defeat of Germany may take place where Rome suffered her first large scale defeat.

It is entirely possible that Dempsey with his Britons may crack the German defenses in the Arnhem sector and wheel southeast to attack the Ruhr from the north along the eastern bank of the Rhine, while Patch crashes through at Duren, crosses the Rhine, and attacks the Ruhr from the south also along the

eastern bank of the Rhine. Simpson would press on between the two in the direction of Roermond-Gladback-Dusseldorf.

All this, of course, is speculation, but speculation which has a solid basis in the geography of the theater of war and in the disposition of Allied forces opposing the seventy-five divisions of Field-Marshal von Runstedt.

BUT what about the Field Marshal? What can his plan be? There is not the slightest doubt that Runstedt has not got a *good* plan. He can't have one because he has not got the men to implement a good plan. He can choose, generally speaking, to fight a main battle either west of the Rhine or east of it. This is how Major George Fielding Eliot puts it in an interesting article in the New York *Herald Tribune* of November 19. If he fights west of the Rhine, he will have to fight an opponent who has excellent communications. He will have to fight with a great river at his back; considering the aerial superiority of the Allies, this may mean fighting with broken bridges in his rear. Runstedt's hopes of holding west of the Rhine are slim because the terrain between Aachen and Arnhem is nothing to brag about, defensively speaking. If he is beaten west of the Rhine it will mean a disastrous retreat across the river, an Allied crossing "on his shoulders" and the cracking of the entire German western defense system.

Furthermore, with the Eastern Front ready to burst into flames from the Baltic to the Carpathians "at the drop of the thermometer," Runstedt certainly has no reserves sufficient to ward off a Hodges-Simpson and a British-Canadian breakthrough at the same time—Stolberg-Geilenkirchen and Arnhem-Venlo, with pincers forming toward Dusseldorf and Duisburg. He cannot hope to shuttle his mobile reserves between the two sectors fast enough because the Allied Air Forces are pounding every bridge and viaduct in the Ruhr area. Furthermore, many of Runstedt's troops are new formations which are not of a high enough standard to be used in a war of lightning maneuver.

Thus it would seem that Runstedt's best move would be to fight only delaying actions west of the Rhine, destroy bridges and tunnels, sow minefields galore, and withdraw his main forces behind the Rhine, from Arnhem to Coblenz, or even clear to the Swiss border. His better troops could cover the retreat

S.S. Joseph Weydemeyer

THE good ship "Joseph Weydemeyer" was launched the other day at the Delta shipyards in New Orleans. There was nothing unusual about the ship or its launching. It slid down the ways as have thousands of its sturdy predecessors since the war began. But there was something in its name that will warm the hearts of many New Masses readers. Joseph Weydemeyer was a Communist, a friend and intimate co-worker of Marx and Engels and a member of the Communist League for which the famed Communist Manifesto was prepared. After the defeat of the 1848 revolution in Germany he migrated to America as a political refugee. In New York he edited a Communist journal in 1852 in which he published Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire."

Like all his Communist friends Weydemeyer was a "free-soil" man, and when the Civil War broke out he volunteered in the Union Army. By virtue of his earlier military training and his selfless devotion to the cause of anti-slavery, Abraham Lincoln commissioned him a colonel of a regiment and later appointed him commandant of St. Louis. In 1866 he died, a veteran in the cause of democracy and socialism. Weydemeyer and many other Communists of his day understood the vital link between democracy and socialism, and in common with all true democrats fought to exterminate slavery, as modern democrats, including the Communists, are now fighting to banish fascism from the earth. Let us hope that the union crew which will man the cargo ship "Joseph Weydemeyer" will perform their war duties in the spirit of this distinguished fighter for democracy.

while the inferior troops could be used to best advantage in fixed fortifications behind the Rhine, where engineering works would make up for what the

troops lack in stability. However, such a move would mean not only abandoning an important, if not absolutely vital, part of German industry, but the subjecting of its most vital parts to Allied shell fire, which is so much more effective than bombing.

When—and if—Runstedt moves his main forces back of the Rhine, he will depend entirely on a fixed line based on a river barrier. In modern warfare such a line can be successfully held only when powerful mobile reserves are available. With aviation and mobile artillery and infantry available to the attacker, the defender simply cannot afford to sit tight behind a river barrier. But, once again, Runstedt has no powerful mobile reserve. Thus we see that of the two horns of the German dilemma "both are worse." And this means that von Runstedt cannot adopt a well-rounded strategic plan and will have to fight with "strategic opportunism," here and there, as local circumstances of the moment permit.

Germany's position is such that it cannot afford a *plan* anymore, because every plan requires *means*, and German means are insufficient. In conclusion it may be said that at this writing the western offensive is going well. Aside from that, the best thing about it is that *it is* and that all the talk about a winter stalemate was either wishful thinking on the part of subcutaneous appeasers, or a ruse of war to throw the Germans off guard.

THE Red Army is battling for control of the Miscole-Budapest trunk line which skirts the southern fringe of the Bukk, Matra, and Cservat mountains separating northern Hungary from Slovakia, and is throwing two pairs of pincers around the key junctions of that line—Hatvan and Miscole. No attack on Budapest can be expected before this line has been entirely secured and the enemy defense line thrown athwart the road to Bratislava (Presburg) and Vienna, and based on that line, is broken.

As to the rest of the Eastern Front, it waits, as indicated above, for the drop of the thermometer. Hundreds of miles to the east of the present front, at Rostov (1941), at Stalingrad (1942) and at Kiev (1943) the Soviet winter offensives started at the end of November. Now, hundreds of miles to the west where the winter starts later, a little more patience is necessary. East Prussia and northern Poland are probably just beginning to freeze over, while southern Poland is most probably still a mess.

READERS' FORUM

More on Calvinism

TO NEW MASSES: I was glad to see Ralph Bowman's article [NEW MASSES, September 12] in reply to my two articles on Calvinism, because I believe that only through discussion can we begin to understand the role of religious ideas in our nation's history. This knowledge I believe to be essential for the cooperation between religious and non-religious people in meeting the great problems of our age.

I do not believe that Mr. Bowman's article really voiced "Another View" from my own, as his title implied. Careful reading of his article convinces me that we are in fundamental agreement on most essentials. The apparent differences flow from two sources: (1) He assumes certain implications in my article which are really not there. (2) He restricts the use of the word "Calvinism" to the specific movement launched by Jean Calvin himself, while I use the word as a generic term to cover all the widely different and even opposing sects which, while adhering to certain cardinal Calvinist doctrines, split away from what I call early orthodox Calvinism.

I should like to establish clearly the points on which Mr. Bowman and I are in absolute agreement.

Naturally, as a Marxist, I agree that "the Cromwellian revolution was not a development of Calvinism" and that "material conditions, expressed in the conflict of the feudal and capitalist modes of production, supplied the motive forces of the English revolution." My articles emphasized this very clearly. However, the *theory* which voiced the aims of the English revolution *was* Calvinism of the Independent variety. The whole purpose of my article was to show how Calvinism was the *product* of the material needs of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was true of both orthodox Calvinism and Independent Calvinism. Orthodox Calvinism sought to win over feudal princes peacefully to bourgeois methods merely by threatening divine wrath as the alternative. The Independents decided that they were *themselves* the instruments of divine justice and thus sought by force to overthrow the monarchy and feudal privilege and to establish a bourgeois republic. The two Calvinist religious movements voiced the aims of the conservative and the revolutionary camps of the bourgeoisie. Thus it was that certain Calvinists (the Presbyterians) compromised with the Royalist Cavaliers (Anglicans) for the defense of Charles I, while other Calvinists (Independents, from whose ranks sprang

Congregationalists, Separatists, Levellers, Diggers, etc.), fought for his overthrow.

Mere recognition of the fact that theories are the products of material needs does not free us from the responsibility of analyzing those theories and their role in carrying out social changes. It is an illusion of economic determinism (mechanistic materialism) that ideas are unimportant in history. Dialectical materialism recognizes that ideas which actually voice material needs are a force in society and that no great revolutionary change can occur until the revolutionary classes have elaborated theories which voice their needs. Calvinism was such a theory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It split into numerous sects for two reasons: (1) The bourgeoisie was a heterogeneous class, embracing both big merchants and small producers, who themselves were undergoing disintegration into little capitalists on one hand and a dispossessed proletariat on the other. The various groupings within this general anti-feudal camp reworked the common Calvinist doctrines, developing them in various directions to voice their varying and ultimately opposing interests. (2) In the course of time, new conditions arose and these necessitated elaboration of the early tenets of Jean Calvin.



GOVERNOR DEWEY heard a mandate from the people on November 7 that they did not want his policies to guide them from the White House for the next four years. Has he heard from you on the pardon of Morris U. Schappes, unjustly held in prison on a trumped-up charge?

IT is by no means idle to trace the growth and development of ideas which still persist in our own society. Naturally a Marxist must show the "material conditions and class origins" and thus the "limitations" that gave rise to them, and the whole purpose of my articles was to do just that. However, the Separatist Independents that arose from the Calvinist fold reworked orthodox Calvinism in such a fashion as to look toward the future, toward democracy, and even toward the abolition of class inequalities, even though the conditions did not exist for elaborating a specific theory as to how inequalities could be permanently abolished. This is the important thing for us. It is a lesson of history, and far-seeing religious leaders will agree with me in this, that religious movements have maintained their vitality only insofar as they have developed their doctrines which throw light on the material needs of their times. Otherwise, they wither away, and new movements, either religious or non-religious or even anti-religious, thrust them aside. Calvinism maintained its vitality only when Calvinists substituted for many of Calvin's outworn and hideous doctrines the new and revolutionary tenets of the Independents, especially of the Separatist (or Baptist) variety.

Recognizing this law of history is important today for the following reason. The majority of our predominantly Protestant population belong to churches which developed from one or another of the old Calvinist churches, mainly from the Independents. Anyone reared in the Baptist Church, as I was, knows quite well the strong Calvinist tradition which still persists in that church. However, it is fortunately worlds removed from the orthodox Calvinism of the old Puritan theocracy. It is a reworked watered-down Calvinism. Churches of Independent origin grew and flourished in America because they voiced in a religious form actual economic and political needs prior to and during our Revolution, during the Jeffersonian struggle for democracy, and during the struggle against slavery. The important lesson for church leaders in the stupendous world changes of today is, by remembering this fact, to maintain the vitality of their churches in our time by throwing the weight of organized religion into the solution of postwar problems. If the churches see that the perspectives of Teheran are a practical realization of the old Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man, they will maintain their vitality. If they fail to see this, their membership will inevitably seek inspiration elsewhere.

By the time Separatism had arisen from among the Calvinists, a whole series of profound leaps had occurred in the Calvinist movement, all determined by growing recognition of material changes in society. But the Separatists and Levellers who voiced new doctrines did so by *reformulating* certain *cardinal* Calvinist tenets, to which they adhered very consciously, especially in their moral emphasis on sobriety, toil, and thrift. For this reason, Baptists are still known as fundamentally Calvinist, even though they



"Union Hall," by Alzira.

have modified almost beyond recognition many of the specific forms of church organization, etc., which were originally enunciated by Calvin.

Mr. Bowman agrees with me that orthodox Calvinism was a hideous thing, though he does not seem to see that it was mercantilist rather than feudal. (I believe he overlooked my explanation of why certain feudal princes, who were turning to bourgeois methods, adopted orthodox Calvinism.) He agrees with me that the Separatist, Levelling, Baptist movements fought for democracy. However, he does not want to call these democratic sects Calvinist. He wants to restrict the use of the word to orthodox Calvinism and thus wants to condemn all Calvinism without qualification. The major difference between Mr. Bowman and myself thus boils down to the use of a word. We are agreed, it seems to me, on our views of basic realities.

In my articles, I consistently used the word Calvinism as a *generic term* to embrace a multitude of specific doctrines and movements, ranging all the way from the views of Jean Calvin himself, which I consistently call "orthodox" Calvinism, to various radical sects like those of the Levellers, which might be called heretical forms of Calvinism. I believe this is a commonly accepted usage, which will be found in most standard texts on church history and theology.

Mr. Bowman, in anticipation of my reply, objects to this usage on the grounds that, by this view, Bruno, Galileo, Huss, or Luther might be called Catholics. He is entirely correct. They can be. Christianity is of course a generic term embracing all Christians—Protestants or Catholic. The term Catholic is also employed not only by Greek and Roman Catholics, as well as by certain eastern churches, but by many Protestant churches, by most (if not all) of those in fact which

practice infant baptism. If he will recall the Apostles' Creed, held by Lutherans, Anglicans, the old orthodox Calvinists such as the Presbyterians, and even by Methodists, he will remember that the members of all these Protestant churches declare, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church," even though they certainly do not believe in the *Roman* Catholic Church. Bruno, Galileo, and Huss never broke or attempted to break from even the Roman Catholic Church, and they are correctly claimed by that Church of course as heretics of different varieties. Even Luther did not break voluntarily from the Roman Catholic Church, but was excommunicated. After founding his own church, he continued to call it Catholic, though not Roman.

I am saying all this, in order to emphasize that there are certain generic terms which must be employed in any analysis of intellectual history, in order to reveal the dialectical development of ideas.

If we are to analyze history at all, we have to use such words as Christianity, yet it is a broad term embracing such diverse and conflicting phenomena as the first church of Jerusalem; the Roman Catholic Church of St. Augustine, St. Simeon Stylites, St. Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, and Wallenstein (widely different as these men are); the Coptic Church of Ethiopia; the heresies of the Middle Ages; Anabaptist peasant revolutionaries; modern Protestants; Christian Scientists; modern "holy rollers," etc., *ad infinitum*. Many profound leaps occurred in the history of Christianity, all of them products of basic economic and political changes. Yet when any one of these leaps occurred, intellectual leaders, voicing the needs of the hour, reworked in a new form certain cardinal doctrines, all of which are known by the generic name of Christianity.

Traditions stemming from the many va-

rieties of Christian doctrine, which arose in the course of past conflicts, still persist in the various churches functioning in our midst. Most of the members of these churches know little, if anything at all, concerning the origin of these traditions. However, wherever these traditions originated in the course of a progressive struggle, it is extremely important that the memory of this be revived among Christians today. This will assist present-day Christians to impart new life to their churches by moving them now in a progressive direction—in much the same way as a knowledge of early Jeffersonian traditions is of value in enabling modern democrats to find their way amidst the problems of today. I hope in future articles to be able to discuss some of the other progressive traditions that arose in the history of Christianity. Most important of all of course is the basic fact that the very earliest Christian movement itself arose among the poorest and most downtrodden classes of ancient Palestine and Rome as an aspiration for a better society not only in heaven but here on earth itself.

FRANCIS FRANKLIN.

New York.

Doctors' Fees

TO NEW MASSES: I do not know that there is much that I can say about Dr. Starr's article, "Doctors After the War" [NEW MASSES, Oct. 10]. I am in agreement with his main contentions that the individual, isolated doctor is at a great disadvantage in practice, and that it is of great importance to provide facilities for better work. If such were provided, they would be eagerly taken up by physicians, including most of those in civil practice. It is my firm belief that extended opportunities for postgraduate study should be, and will be, provided for doctors discharged from the service, through government funds, if present facilities and those afforded by our growing insurance schemes are inadequate.

I can not wholly agree, however, that medical fees are kept artificially high by limitation of medical education. Actually, the better medical schools, which can accept only ten to twenty percent of applicants, find it difficult to fill their classes with first-rate men. This is not wholly a matter of economics, for scholarships and opportunities for self-support have long been available to the penniless. I know a number of professors in medical schools and high-ranking practitioners who have earned their living since their early teens. No one is more in favor of subsidies to needy students of unusual intellectual capacity than I, but I doubt if we shall materially increase the number of excellent doctors by providing a wider opportunity. I think we should seek a reduction of medical costs through improved equipment and organization, rather than by reducing the incomes of individual physicians—which are low indeed in many communities.

I am glad to see the problem widely discussed and hope you will have more articles on the subject.

New York.

TRACY J. PUTNAM.



MR. LASKI'S DILEMMA

By A. B. MAGIL

HAROLD LASKI's latest book has been more coolly received by the American press than any of its recent precursors.* This might be attributed to the book's intrinsic weaknesses were it not for the fact that similar and even more serious weaknesses may be found in his other books. For years Mr. Laski has been the favorite Socialist of our arbiters of intellectual taste. So long as he contented himself with homeopathic doses of an abstract socialism, the qualities of scholarship and style which he brings to his writing won him the critics' accolades. But in the new book socialism descends from the stratosphere and merges with the earthly reality of the Soviet Union. This is what, in certain cases at least, has caused the rising of temperatures and the shrilling of voices. To Henry Hazlitt of the *New York Times*, who previously had written of him: "He knows his subject not merely as a scholar but as a practical man of affairs," Mr. Laski has now become an "apologist for Communism." Henry W. Ehrmann in the *New Republic* objects that "Stalingrad becomes the *post-hoc* justification of everything Lenin initiated and of the entire course which Russia has followed since the Revolution." Louis Fischer, the William C. Bullitt of the liberal press, rages through some two and a half nonsensical pages of *Common Sense*. And so on.

Now there are many things wrong with *Faith, Reason and Civilization*, but its positive attitude toward the Soviet Union—it is by no means unreservedly positive—is not one of them. Never before has Mr. Laski understood so well the massive meaning of the Soviet achievement in peace and in war. The book reverses, in fact, the anti-Soviet emphasis that strongly colored his *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, published last year. Mr. Laski makes no attempt to explain this reversal, but no doubt what he writes of

others also holds true for himself: "Men who before the Russian armies had held up the grim advance of Hitler and his legions were as certain of nothing as of their hatred for the great legacy of Lenin and his successors now find without effort in its ideology the basis upon which a permanent friendship can be based. . . . The Communist who yesterday was an outlaw is today a partner in our purposes; and we have had no difficulty in admitting that the partnership alters in a decisive way the manner in which we regard the world about us." For Mr. Laski the Soviet record is, moreover, a vindication of socialism as a way of life. And he does not content himself with encomium, but becomes the advocate of what he calls "the Russian idea."

Like *Reflections* and the two books which preceded it, *Where Do We Go from Here?* and *The Strategy of Freedom*, the new volume, subtitled "an essay in historical analysis," is an impassioned plea for the creation of that equitable society which, by fulfilling

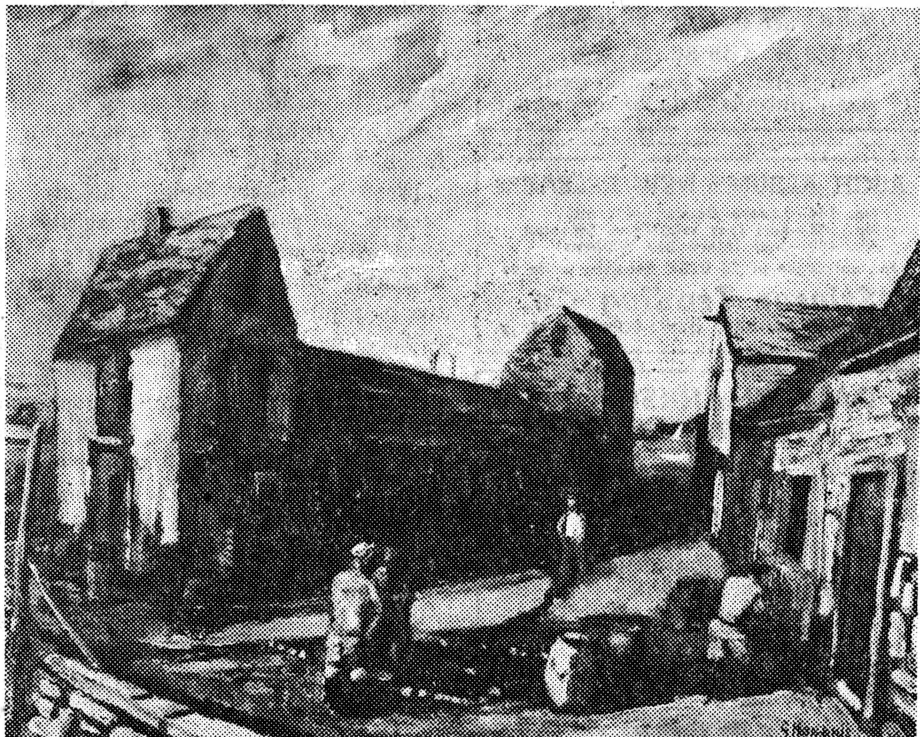
"the established expectations" of the people, will prevent the recurrence of the conditions that breed fascism and war. Mr. Laski sees the present war as the tragic outcome of a profound, corrosive crisis of capitalism which in the inter-war years produced "an excessive prosperity in the few and an excessive poverty in the many." And as in his previous books, he finds no hope short of fundamental change in the direction of socialism. It is in its conception of the character of the socialist solution that *Faith, Reason and Civilization* marks a break with its predecessors.

IN *Where Do We Go from Here?* published in 1940, Mr. Laski propounded the doctrine of "revolution by consent." This was in the nature of an appeal to the British ruling class to initiate a social revolution by undertaking during the war the beginning of "a fundamental redistribution of economic power." There was of course nothing new in this doctrine except its name. The history of the socialist movement



"Fisherman's Shanties," by Gerrit Hondius. At the Marquie Gallery through December 9.

* FAITH, REASON AND CIVILIZATION, by Harold J. Laski. Viking. \$2.50.



"Fisherman's Shanties," by Gerrit Hondius. At the Marquie Gallery through December 9.

Belle Politi

19 West 8th Street GR. 5-2572

Unusual Garments
Handmade Jewelry
Imported Gifts

RUSSIAN SKAZKA

227 WEST 46th STREET AFTER THEATER FUN

• VODKA AND GOOD FOOD
• SKAZKA ORCHESTRA • ALYOSHA,
RED ARMY ACCORDIONIST
NO MIN. • NO COVER • NO 20% TAX

MUSIC LOVERS' RENDEZVOUS

FRED FASSLER and his Soloists
3 SHOWS NIGHTLY. No tax for dinner,
dancing and show up to 9 P.M., except
Saturday and Sunday

7-Course Dinner \$1.25 up
No cover. No minimum except Sat. and Sun.

VIENNA CAFE

50 West 77th Street TRa. 4-6861

LATEST VICTOR RECORDS

PAGANINI

Concerto for Violin & Orchestra.
Menuhin-Paris Symphony Orchestra
Album DM 230\$5.77

PROKOFIEFF

Peter and the Wolf
Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony Orch.
Album DM 566.....\$3.67

VIEUXTEMPS

Concerto No. 4 in D Minor
Heifetz-London Phil. Cond. Barbarolli
Album DM 297.....\$3.67

The Music Room

129 W. 44th St., N. Y. C.

LO. 3-4420 OPEN EVENINGS
MAIL ORDERS FILLED PROMPTLY

ASCH ALBUMS NEW RELEASES

No. 344—Square Dances with calls
No. 345—Burl Ives Wayfaring Stranger
No. 450—Jazz (Mary Lou Williams)

For catalogue of 75 USSR Records, write to

Stinson Trading Co.

27 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

GALA THANKSGIVING CARNIVAL

SATURDAY, NOV. 25th, 1944

BOOGIE-WOOGIE PIANO TEAM
"COOKIE"

SQUARE DANCING
GAMES - REFRESHMENTS - DANCING

Given by C.P.A. — 24th Ward Club
810 LOCUST STREET
PHILADELPHIA

Contribution 50c

(more specifically, its right-wing, non-Marxist sector) and, for that matter, of all movements for social reform, is studded with such appeals to the rulers to perceive the error of their ways and abdicate their privileges. For the past dozen years or so Mr. Laski's own thinking about the technique of social change has oscillated between the doctrine of "revolution by consent" and the conviction that the capitalists would not voluntarily yield to the wishes of the majority and that therefore violent revolution was inevitable. Neither of these views, let it be said, expresses the position of Marxism. For Marxists, beginning with Karl Marx himself, have based socialist perspectives neither on the "good will" of the capitalists nor on the "inevitable" violence of the workers. They have always maintained that under certain historic conditions socialism can be introduced by peaceful and legal means. But this has nothing to do with "revolution by consent." When Marxists today project the possibility that with the destruction of fascism and the emergence of a cooperative world, all internal differences can be resolved peacefully, including ultimately the question of socialism, they do not base this on the "conversion" of the capitalists, but on the action of the vast majority of the people within the framework of national unity, a framework that includes the main capitalist groups and also contains as its most dynamic factor the working class.

There has also been this curious contradiction in Mr. Laski's thinking: he has lacked faith in his own formula. In *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, for example, he speaks of "that rarest of historical phenomena, a revolution by consent." There are similar expressions in other books. Thus he has been in the position of pleading for an ideal whose attainment he has regarded as highly improbable. Yet the alternative he paints to "revolution by consent" is black indeed. ". . . if we have failed by armistice," he writes in *Reflections*, "to lay the foundations of a revolution by consent, we shall pass rapidly to a position where, because men no longer hold the great ends of life in common, they will be unable to agree on the methods of social change. In that event, the reorganization of our basic principles will not be capable of accomplishment by peaceful means; and the final disposition of forces will be determined not by discussion but by violence. That this outcome will mean, whichever side is

successful, the end of freedom and democracy for a period, all previous precedent makes clear beyond dispute."

HERE we have the shape of that pessimism which, despite the affirmative mood in which Mr. Laski's books appear to be written, pervades his recent work. He has constructed two horns of a dilemma on which he lets himself and the reader rest.

Faith, Reason and Civilization must be viewed as an effort to climb down from that painful position. In this latest book both "revolution by consent" and its bitter alternative (or, more precisely, twin) disappear. That is all to the good. Mr. Laski simply elides all consideration of the method of social change and instead seeks to grasp a more palpable socialism than he has delineated before. He turns to the glory of Soviet arms and the richness of Soviet life. Yet in the very act of identifying himself with socialist Russia Mr. Laski transmutes substance into shadow. He speaks repeatedly of "the Russian idea" as of some immaterial emanation. And what he calls for is salvation by faith: "The most important war aim that is before us is the recovery of a faith by which we can all of us stand."

Mr. Laski draws a parallel between what he considers the breakdown of capitalist civilization and the decline of the ancient Roman Empire. Out of the depths of that decline rose the victory of the new faith, Christianity, a faith which was international in scope and appealed both to the masses and the intellectual elite. Today, likewise, people in every nation "somehow, however obscurely, find in the Russian achievement some hint of that secret which enabled Christianity two thousand years ago to compensate for the breakdown of a world which lost its nerve in the grim years of strain after the Punic Wars and experimented with a host of esoteric religions before it finally turned to Christianity for the remaking of its values and thereby the recovery of a common faith. . . ."

Now it is one thing to draw a parallel between the social struggles which found release in early Christianity and the social struggles of our own time. This was exactly what Engels did in a famous passage in his introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France*. It is another matter to set the parallel on the plane of faith. It is true that the faith Mr. Laski adjures us to accept is rooted in the material reality of Soviet achieve-

ment rather than in the supernatural. But because he approaches the problem from the standpoint not of the economic and social imperatives of our time but of the putative spiritual needs of mankind, the faith he offers necessarily assumes a quasi-mystical shape.

This approach leads Mr. Laski into more serious errors. Since he regards "the Russian idea" as incompatible with the capitalist idea even in its most democratic form, he sees little hope for durable postwar collaboration between the USSR and the other United Nations. "In a world such as ours," he writes, "in which the principles which underlie the organization of western democracy are in an antithesis almost direct with those which underlie the democracy of the Soviet Union, it is far from easy to assume that victory alone will serve to provide a basis for their permanent reconciliation." And further on: "It is not yet clear that the kind of world envisaged after victory by Mr. Churchill is the kind of world likely to appeal to Marshal Stalin. . . . Each has praised with enthusiasm the effort of the other leader's people to fight the war to a victorious conclusion; but each has been careful, at least so far as public commitment is concerned, to paint the use to which victory, when it comes, will be put in terms so general that they involve no general principles of settlement beyond the common right to impose an unconditional surrender upon our enemies."

In fairness it should be said that Mr. Laski's book was completed shortly before the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran conferences. Possibly in the light of the historic agreements concluded there and of the more recent advances toward building a permanent structure of collaboration he would today revise these pessimistic judgments. Yet it seems to me that Mr. Laski's error is deeper and represents a flight from reality which must, unless halted, bring him into sharper collision with the course of history. And while appreciation of the positive role of the Soviet Union is central to any constructive thinking, Mr. Laski renders a dubious service to our principal ally and to the cause of Allied unity when he conceives that role in terms of the export of Soviet principles to the rest of the world. Nor does he do justice to socialism in depicting it as a specifically "Russian idea."

Perhaps more serious is the fact that Mr. Laski's book, by posing as the major issue today socialism versus capi-

talism, misses both the character of existing world relationships and the key to future progress. He is unable to see that mankind is already entering a new era. It is not an era of socialism, but it is likewise not a return to the old capitalism which suckled fascism and this monstrous war. We are entering an era whose character is being determined by two gigantic facts: the destruction of fascism by the blood and sweat of millions, and the collaboration forged in war and continuing into the peace of the country of socialism, its military, economic, political, and moral role vastly enhanced, and the countries of democratic capitalism. The regenerative impact of this new era is already molding the life of liberated Europe and is destined to be felt in the farthest corners of the globe.

Thus Mr. Laski has not resolved the impasse in his thinking which was acutely manifest in *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*; he has merely in his own mind circumvented the problem. And he has stumbled past the path that might have led him out into the light. There is a passage toward the end of *Faith, Reason and Civilization* in which Mr. Laski steps hesitantly and all too briefly onto that path. He cites the fact that "with the end of the war the United States will possess a capacity for production in excess of anything that any nation has known in history." He points to three possibilities: the United States may embark on a course of "massive economic imperialism" to win "markets it can profitably exploit all over the world"; it may reject this course and face unemployment "on a scale even greater than in the great depression," with the consequent extinction of democracy; and finally:

"The United States may have the wisdom to recognize two things. It may come to see, first, that the more fully it assists the nations of Europe and Asia to recover from the miseries of war, the more effective, in the long run, will be the prosperity to which it gains access; and it may realize that one of the profoundest economic mistakes in its history was when, in the inter-war years, it adopted a policy of high tariffs and barriers upon the free entrance of immigrants from Europe."

Mr. Laski is very pessimistic about the fulfillment of this third possibility, citing the policies of big business, the anti-Negro riots in Detroit, and other dark spots on our social and political landscape. This is hardly a complete picture.

N.Y. City Center Opera Co.

See Daily Papers for Schedule
 "Nothing could be a better money's worth for the opera-goer."—Virgil Thomson, *Har. Trib.*
75c, \$1, \$1.50, \$2 Plus 20% Tax
 Center Seats at Box Office Only
N. Y. CITY CENTER, 131 W. 55th St.
 Evgs. Incl. Sunday 8:15, Sat. & Sun. Mats. 2:15
 No Mon. Perf. **MAYOR LA GUARDIA, President**

"A DRAMATIC THUNDERBOLT"

—Walter Winchell
 Herman Shumlin presents
 Lillian Hellman's New Play
CORNELIA OTIS SKINNER DENNIS KING DUDLEY DIGGES
"The Searching Wind"

FULTON—48th St. W. of B'way. Cl. 6-6380
 Evgs. 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD Presents
 (In association with Jack H. Skirball)

Jacobowsky and the Colonel

The Franz Werfel - S. N. Behrman Comedy
 Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN OSCAR KARLWEIS
 Marianne Stewart — Harold Vermilyea
MARTIN BECK THEATRE, 45th Street
 West of 8th Avenue
 Evenings at 8:30; Matinees Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30

6th BIG WEEK

Artkino Proudly Presents

WANDA WASILEWSKA'S

"THE RAINBOW"

Based on the Stalin Prize Novel.
 A beautiful poem of human courage.
 A burning indictment of Nazi atrocities.

Extra! — Exclusive!

"THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL CHOIR"

and

"57,000 NAZIS IN MOSCOW"

Cont. from 9 a.m. Late show every Sat.
STANLEY 7th Ave. bet. 41-42 Sts.
 Wl. 7-9686

The critics rave about

"48 HOURS"

with Leslie Banks & Frank Lawton
 Also
 Soviet Film based on Swift's famous satire
"THE NEW GULLIVER"

Benefit Block Tickets
 at Reduced Prices. GE. 5-6975
IRVING PLACE IRVING PL.
 AT 14TH ST.

FINE FOOD

FIREPLACES

And the Music You Like

at

17 Barrow

Dinner Served—5 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.
 Sunday Dinner—3 P.M. to 9 P.M.

Always Open Until 2 A.M.

FULL COURSE DINNER FROM 95c

Come and see for yourself

17 Barrow

CH. 2-9184



Be good to others, of course, but remember **YOURSELF**, too, with a merrie, merrie **HOLIDAY** at Chester's Zunbarg: Ice-skating on our own flood-lighted lake . . . and other winter sports—indoor recreations—open-hearth fires—cozy, steam-heated rooms—dazzling entertainment—genial camaraderie—**HOLIDAY MENUS**. Re-opens December 22nd. S.R.O. sign goes up early, so cinch a memorable holiday.

MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW! . . . Rates attractive. Transportation pleasant.

WOODBURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150



(55 Miles from New York)

NOW OPEN

Games: Ping-Pong, Music, Hikes, etc. Weekend Entertainment

\$35 WEEKLY :: \$6.00 DAILY

Make reservations with Deposit

Mickey Horowitz, Mgr.

BEACON, N. Y. • TEL. BEACON 731

N. Y. Office, 207 4th Ave. ST. 9-0624

Bronx Office, Phone OL. 5-6900

Mamanasco Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN. TELEPHONE 820

A magnificent country estate fashioned into a vacation paradise. All seasonal sports including skating on mile long lake. Ping pong, bicycles, dancing, recordings. Fine library, open fireplaces, congenial atmosphere. Famous cuisine. Ask for booklet. Only 50 miles from New York.

FOR VACATION FUN AND REST


55 Miles from New York a vacation "heaven," breath-takingly beautiful countryside—delicious food—restful indoor activities—invigorating enjoyable outdoor sports:

—ping pong—volley ball—bowling
—dancing—bicycling—(horseback riding and golf nearby).

You're welcome at any time and for any time. Write for booklet.



HOTEL ALLABEN
THE HOUSE OF ACTIVITY
501 MONMOUTH AVE., LAKEWOOD, N. J.
LAKEWOOD 819 OR 1222



For what he has projected as the third possibility is the actual policy of the Roosevelt administration, the economic aspect of the Teheran agreement. And this policy has the support not only of organized labor and the majority of our people but of important sections of big business. In the context of the postwar world there need be no conflict between assistance to the nations of Europe and Asia and the development of profitable foreign markets: they can be two sides of the same coin. Actually there is only one alternative to this policy: the aggressive imperialism represented by the Republican forces behind the Dewey candidacy, an imperialism which would end by cutting our own throats, precipitating a new economic collapse and eventually World World III.

Thus *Faith, Reason and Civilization*, while it has much to commend it, falls far short of that "Marxist approach" which the author claims for it in his preface. For that matter, it lacks the clarity and realism of many non-Marxist books. However, it appears to be a transitional book. Mr. Laski has often shown a grasp of practical affairs and a capacity for adapting himself to events. He may yet emerge out of the mists into the sunlight.

Lanny Works for FDR

PRESIDENTIAL AGENT, by Upton Sinclair.
Viking. \$3.00.

IN OUR present world, where Teheran has cancelled Munich, it is almost painful to think back to the chaos and shame of the years just before the war. Yet a reexamination of the past is one of the means by which we grow to meet the future, and in such an examination Upton Sinclair's Lanny Budd books (of which *Presidential Agent* is the fifth) provide at once the broad view of the historian and the emotional intensity of the novelist.

Lanny Budd, an American born in Europe in 1900 and friend of everybody from Hitler to Spanish Republican officials, with his art-expert business that takes him all over Europe and America, has been relentlessly led by Mr. Sinclair through the cruelties and hypocrisies, the self-seeking and fear, and the dreams, work, and hopes that made up the world between the two wars. As *Presidential Agent* opens in the summer of 1937, we find him in New York, while his extremely secret wife, Trudi, a member of the German underground, remains in Paris to carry on her work. Lanny meets the President, and be-

cause he knows French munition kings, the Nazi big-shots, people from the British Foreign Office and members of the International Brigade, he becomes one of our secret agents.

From there on his travels take him all over Europe. His wife disappears: his work and his search for her takes him to Paris, Spain, and Berchtesgaden; he lunches with Baron Schneider of Schneider-Creusot, the French arms firm, who doesn't know whether he is more afraid of the Red menace or of Hitler's taking his Skoda plant; he goes back to Germany and listens to atrocities being manufactured in the Sudetenland as an excuse for taking it over. And the world spins down to the depth of Munich.

The events of 1937-38 were such that hardly any book about them could fail to attract to itself the drama and suspense of those days. Yet compared to the other four Lanny Budd books, *Presidential Agent* seems a little less illuminating and (in the best sense) entertaining. Perhaps it is because the treacheries of that period were so well reported in the press and we can remember the time so well ourselves that Mr. Sinclair has little to add. For this reviewer, too, the author's increased reliance on mediums and other supernatural aids to Lanny's progress makes the story somewhat unconvincing. Lanny's charm, intelligence, and ubiquitous acquaintance are close enough to the edge of incredibility in this world without giving him assists from the next, however useful to the plot; one might as well make him Superman in the first place. Development and breadth in Lanny's character seem to have been sacrificed to the author's interest in the broad outlines of the battle between democracy and fascism.

On the favorable side we have Mr. Sinclair's continued skill in weaving together actual and fictional characters, and small anecdotes and scandals and world events, so that they form an integrated and informative picture of western civilization. There is also his great ability to sketch character in a few sentences. Lanny, for instance, meets the President possibly half a dozen times, yet we are left with a memorable portrait of that great man, of his humanity and sympathy and understanding. It is a portrait confirmed by other friends of Mr. Roosevelt and one that is heartening to keep in mind of our President for the next four years.

SALLY ALFORD.



SHOULD BACH BE MODERNIZED?

Two Views—by H. T. PENNINGTON and JOHN KITTON

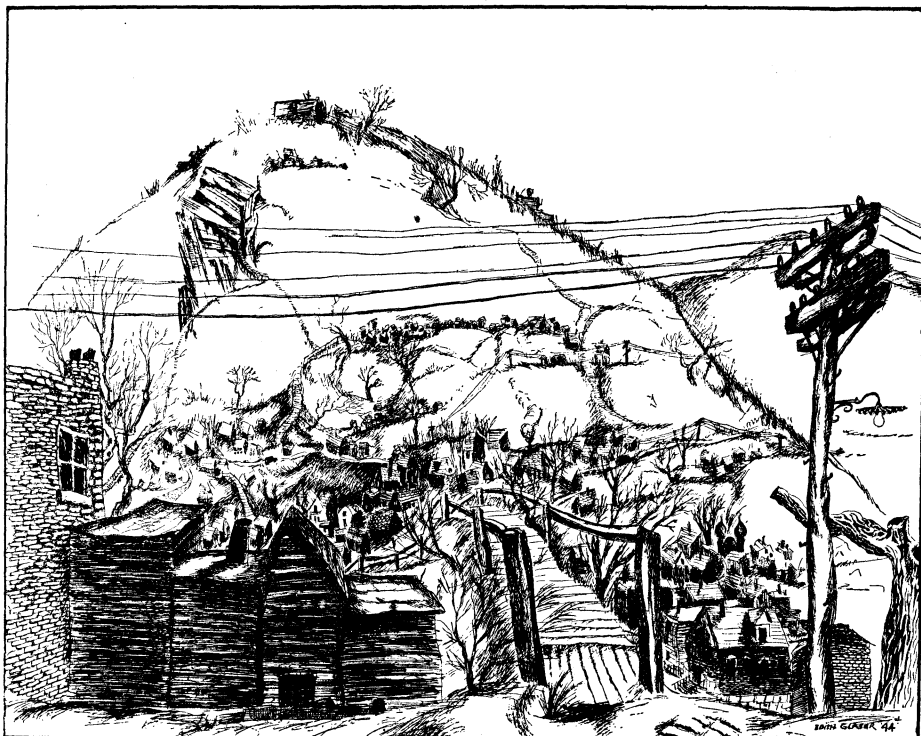
SOME time ago Victor Records released another set of Bach-Stokowski *Transcriptions* played by their transcriber with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and the set brings to mind the well-worn arguments for and against arranging the works of old composers to meet our modern whims. The case for such transcriptions is presumably that Bach had pitifully few tools to work with (as we enlightened moderns see it) and that today, with the aid of the modern orchestra, his conceptions can be more fully realized. Now there is an esthetic maxim which states that the great artist is he who most skillfully molds his materials within the limitations which his times, their traditions, and his own individuality impose on him. Bach's resources, true, were relatively small, but Palestrina's were smaller yet; had Bach had Stokowski's orchestra he would have been as different a composer as if his very personal character had been otherwise. As it was, though, he was Bach; his works as he could visualize them are as perfect and complete in themselves as are, within their respective limitations, a Palestrina motet, a Shakespeare sonnet, or a Giotto madonna. No transcription of any kind is required to realize their vitality as works of beauty.

Nowadays it is very easy for the performer or transcriber to overstep these limits, and the result is inevitably a travesty of the original inspiration, to a greater or less extent. The difference between spoiling Bach by poor performance and by poor arrangement is one of degree rather than kind. Transcription, then, is not the issue purists would have you believe it is; Bach of course often transcribed his own works, but in remaining within the composer's limitations they maintain their integrity as works of art and the composer's identity as an artist. Similarly today we play the *Well-tempered Clavichord* on the piano; it may not seem as pragmatically necessary to transcribe his organ works, and yet there are orchestral transcriptions of these which, despite their anachronistic palette, are still very good Bach. But in the majority of the or-

chestral transcriptions the inflection of the phrases, the whole direction of Bach's meaning, are so twisted as to make Bach as unrecognizable as Shakespeare in American slang translation. If you are going to misunderstand a composer, transcription gives you all the scope in the world to destroy him most completely and manifestly. There is an accoustical limit to the amount of distortion to be accomplished on a single organ, but with a hundred and forty of the world's most expert musicians there is no telling (even with Stokowski) to what extremes one may go.

The Stokowski album in question contains five typical illustrations of these violent extremes. Take for an example the *Prelude and Fugue in E Minor* for organ; it is a good example, too, for Stokowski's effects are invariably broad and very obvious. The rhythm, first of all, is knocked to pieces; it either drags or rushes, and there is never any genuine rhythmic sense. Combined with the mannerism of swelling every note up and down, this makes Bach's phrases

quite unintelligible—and the notes all slide excruciatingly into one another. Stokowski's orchestration can be very dull (as is *Ich Ruf zu Dir* in this album) when he proceeds under the mistaken notion that he can maintain the listener's interest by the sheer beauty of his legato style. But this particular little fugue is characterized by a dazzling kaleidoscope of exotic colors in rapid progression, and a general self-conscious overloading of the instruments (on the style burlesqued by Shostakovich's *Golden Age* polka) that gets to be stifling. Even more basic: this fugue is patently a modest, didactic work with no surprises or pretensions beyond the superb workmanship that made Bach a great composer. This arrangement, however, reads into it a positively epic significance. Crescendo after crescendo leads to mighty climaxes as we scale the Homeric heights; earth-shaking significance is accorded to every restatement of the simple theme—the whole is a process of elephantiasis which might almost provoke us to laughter if we could,



"John Kane's Country—Pittsburgh, North Side," by Edith Glaser. From an exhibition of her work, much of which has appeared in this magazine, at the Jefferson School library.

For Christmas

Give Them Some
NEW Ideas!

A New Masses Subscription

Will Please Them 52 Times a Year

With Every Two New \$5 Subs One of these New Books Free

- Freedom Road, by Howard Fast
- The Cross and the Arrow, by Albert Maltz
- I Never Left Home, by Bob Hope
- Tempering of Russia, by Ilya Ehrenburg
- The Four Fears, by Sen. Elbert D. Thomas
- Deep River, by Henrietta Buckmaster
- A Walk in the Sun, by Harry Brown
- Walt Whitman, by Samuel Sillen
- Prejudice, by Carey McWilliams
- The Rise of the American Nation, by Francis Franklin

With Every Five New \$5 Subs One of These Fine Prints Free

All limited editions. Full color

- FAREWELL, by Raphael Soyer
- THE SPEAKER, by William Gropper
- END OF DAY, by Robert Gwathmey
- THE WORKERS, by Moses Soyer
- STILL LIFE, by Phil Evergood
- HORSEMEN, by William Gropper

Gift Sub No. 1

Name

Address

Have Gift Card Read From.....

Gift Sub No. 2

Name

Address

Have Gift Card Read From.....

Enclosed find \$..... for..... Subs

Send..... to me.
(Book or Print)

Name

Address

like the Elizabethans, find laughter in deformity and pain. The other numbers in this album (all Bach except for Palestrina's *Adoremus Te*) are similarly extravagant.

Around the same time Victor issued the organ *Prelude and Triple Fugue in E-flat* ("St. Anne") arranged and conducted by the late Frederick Stock with the Chicago Orchestra. Stock's orchestral sound is fit for Bach; the rhythmic pulse is unadulterated and the instruments play cleanly and decently. But Stock too goes in for ostentatiously cute woodwind parts, unnecessary bare octaves in the strings, and harp arpeggios—not to speak of apocryphal passages. Stock's idea of the Trinity, as expressed in his Triple Fugue, seems to be strings, woodwinds, and brass; while the entry of the St. Anne subject on the bassoon is quite irrelevant, the last section is all blood and thunder, replete with trumpet and cymbal. Poor old Sebastian Bach, with his meager, old-fashioned organ—no trombones, no bass clarinets, no contrabassoon, no glockenspiel! Strangely enough the music as he wrote it is much finer than the improvements perpetrated by some of our eminent conductors. As though to press the point home, Victor issued at the same time a beautiful record of this very same fugue played in the original organ version by Joseph Bonnet (Red Seal 11-5828). If you are from Missouri, play these two versions of the fugue one after the other. Hear for yourself.

For some reason there always is this devilish temptation for conductors to doctor up Bach, and there also seems to be a temptation for record companies to issue this stuff, even in wartime. It may be claimed that thousands would be without Bach if not for the combined efforts of Stokowski and Victor. Yes—and they now have a sorry substitute for Bach; if that same ballyhoo had been applied to the real Bach, those thousands would be so much the better off.

H. T. PENNINGTON.

WHAT should the attitude of the critic be towards arrangements of music into media other than those for which they were originally composed? A purist attack on transcriptions is not an answer to the problem. It takes into account neither their value nor the reasons for their widespread acceptance. When these factors are clearly understood, only then can the problem become sufficiently clarified for criticism and suggestions.

The audience for chamber music is comparatively limited. Although there have been advances in interest, the majority of the public is still found to be on a steady symphonic diet. Not only are the symphonic classics easier to digest, but they also make coast-to-coast converts through the network broadcasts of our major orchestras. There are thousands of music lovers who are, unfortunately, not aware of the fact that their favorite composers created even more beauty in the chamber, voice, and solo instrumental form. Then too, there are those who have but a nodding acquaintance with chamber forms, and who are not aware of a great part of the literature.

We are fortunate to have as leaders of our symphonic organizations a crop of musicians who with great zeal go ahead and do the job of making unfamiliar music known to us. They do this through the only feasible methods: amplification of chamber orchestras by adding to the various parts and by out-and-out transcription for symphony orchestra of non-orchestral works.

Now, to take a masterpiece of perfection in its own form and rework it into another form is a very serious matter which can only be justified by the ultimate value of popularization. Once the worth of the transcription is understood, then can the question resolve itself to one of degree of closeness to the original. Last year, George Szell arranged Smetana's great quartet, *From My Life* (No. 1, E Minor), for full symphony orchestra. Artur Rodzinski and the Philharmonic gave it the first reading. Into the score Szell poured the full spirit of the composer. It was a very happy effort all around. It would be safe to assume that at least half of those present at the concert knew Smetana only through *The Moldau* and the *Bartered Bride* overture.

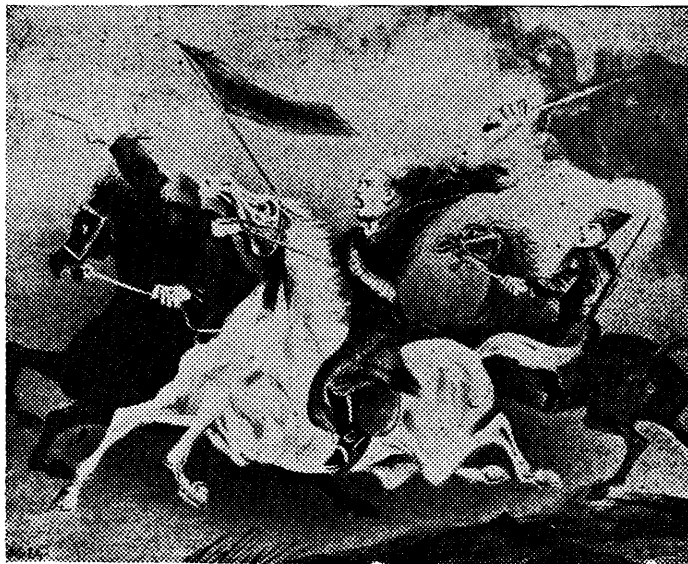
Koussevitzky, too, has done a lot with little known music of Handel, Corelli, and Vivaldi. Amplified to the proportions of Symphony Hall in Boston, this music has reached many ears for the first time, with little loss in flavor.

There are transcriptions which obviously do violence to the composer's intention and spirit. There are musicians who take Bach and proceed to destroy him methodically. It is true that some conductors have shorn much of the beauty and simple power from the Master's chorale preludes, toccatas, fugues, etc. Some even go so far as to claim that if Bach had modern tools

to work with, he too would have harnessed thunder and lightning to project his musical concepts. It is difficult to believe that this is more than rationalization. Beautiful and powerful sounds emerge, but they are not the exalted music which flows from the Bach organ and voice. Simple tools, in this case, create meaning in a more fundamentally perfect way than do most transcriptions, which reflect other personalities.

Leopold Stokowski has been leading in the race for the title of "Arch Destroyer." Most people who attack him without reserve forget one thing, however, that Stokowski, despite all he is accused of, has made a lot of people realize that Bach composed something else besides the *Air for G String*. The perfectionist critic assumes the readiness of the mass of music lovers to accept Bach in his original form. This is a false assumption. In reality, Bach reaches only the audience whose tastes have already advanced. We know that at the start of their music development many music lovers find it difficult to appreciate anything but a full lush symphony orchestra. Mr. Stokowski injects an element of obvious excitement into his transcriptions, which, if nothing else, catches the ear. No matter how ambitiously Columbia or Musicraft promote their organ recordings of the *D Minor Toccata and Fugue*, for example, most of the purchases will still be made by connoisseurs. If it is, at first, too much for a person to absorb the original of a Bach work, the symphonic transcription certainly plays an important role. If, either by chance or design, the listener comes across the original again, he is more apt to appreciate the work for what it is. The argument that to spread Stokowski's transcriptions is to foster distortions of Bach offers no functional counterproposal; it remains destructive. One who likes a transcription for itself without ever graduating to the form from which it is derived would not buy the original anyway.

Stokowski has done some bad work and also some very good work. What is more important, however, is that his whole approach has been directed toward reaching the people. He is conducting at the New York City Center without pay so that music-lovers may hear first-rate concerts inexpensively. He advocates federal support of music. A great many of our music critics must learn from such an approach before they can honestly fulfill their function as reporters and



Lithograph by William Gropper

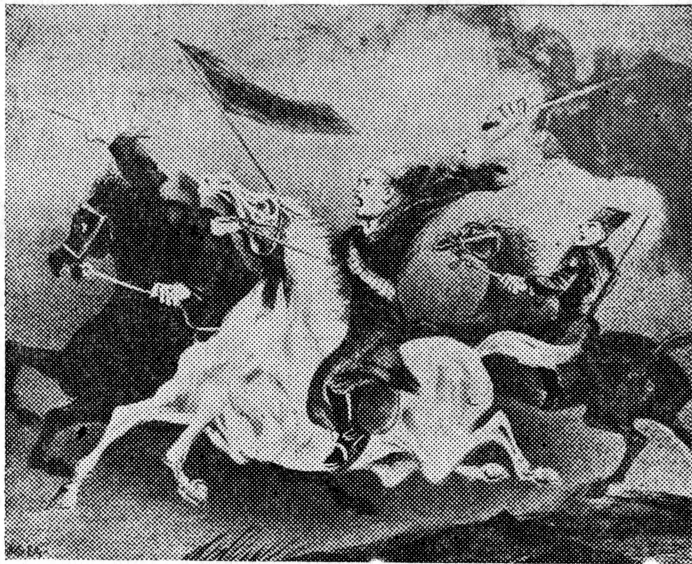
Twenty Years Ago

Just twenty short years ago, such giants in the world of art as John Sloan, George Bellows, Boardman Robinson, Art Young, Robert Minor, Reginald Marsh and others were available for the mere reaching out. Not for everybody . . . but for readers of *New Masses*. All that a reader had to do was secure a few new subs. Today the original works of these men are priced in three and four figures.

Today

New Masses offers you a similar opportunity to own the giants of our present generation, Gropper, Evergood, the Soyers, etc. All you need do is turn in five new subs for *New Masses*, and you will receive an original work in color of any of the artists listed. The subscriptions you order for your friends as Christmas gifts will count in the total.

For two new subs NM offers books by outstanding authors. See page 28 for further details.



Lithograph by William Gropper

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge \$1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri., 4 p.m.

RoKo FRAMES RoKo GALLERY

WE SOLVE ALL FRAMING PROBLEMS for large paintings as well as prints, drawings, watercolors, mirrors. Original designs and finishes. Prices moderate, quality high.

Suggestions for Christmas Gifts

Our usual high standard in paintings, watercolors, drawings, serigraphs, sculpture, ceramics by leading artists. \$3.00 to \$100.00.

51 Greenwich Avenue CHelsea 2-7049

FRAMING—44TH ST. BOOK FAIR GALLERY

WE'LL FRAME THAT ORIGINAL or reproduction to fit the interior you have in mind. Widest variety of moldings and texture finishes. Lowest prices. 133 West 44th Street.

A.C.A. GALLERY

Prints, paintings, sculpture—from \$5 to \$500. Open 10-6 weekdays, 2-5 Sundays thru Christmas. 63 East 57th Street.

FINE FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN—REASONABLE PRICES. Remodeling, Repairing, Cleaning and Blending. Made-to-Measure and Ready-to-Wear Furs available. Phone LO 5-1888. Armand Chene & Co., 350 Seventh Ave. near 30th St., N. Y. C.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—Insurance of every kind—whatever your needs—FREQUENT SAVINGS. 80 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. Tel. Pennsylvania 6-6788.

GYMNASIUM

WOMEN—Reduce—Keep fit. Open daily 'til 9:00 P.M. Individual Exercise—Massage—Bicycles—Steam Cabinets, etc. Complete trial visit \$2.25. Special budget exercise course \$12 monthly. Special Saturday corrective exercise courses for Children. GOODWIN'S GYMNASIUM, 1457 Broadway (42 St.), Wisconsin 7-8250.

MANUSCRIPTS TYPED

MANUSCRIPTS and similar matter, neatly and efficiently typed (at home). Reasonable rates. Gladys Paris, 1955 Bergen St., Brooklyn.

INSURANCE

LEON BENOFF—25 Years in Business and expect to run this ad another 25 years. For Insurance, See Mr. Benoff, 391 E. 149th St. ME 5-0984.



stimulators. Many levels of music appreciation must be reached. The sophisticated needs a jolt to topple him from his pedestal, and the student—the one who wants to learn—needs constant development and guidance.

JOHN KITTON.

FILMS

THE man who will earn the undying appreciation of a grateful world is the movie producer who will one day ignore the hoary prescription for musical films. I am moved to this wistful hope by having hobnobbed for an hour and a half with *Irish Eyes Are Smiling*, as lugubrious an experience as I can ever counsel you to avoid. It purports to be the biography of Ernest R. Ball, one of Tin Pan Alley's more famous minnesingers, but like its filmic predecessors that have chosen a similar theme, it laughs loudly in history's face. Its only connection with truth, and the apparent basis for the film's existence, is the fact that Ernest Ball composed such ballads as "Mother Machree," "Irish Eyes Are Smiling," "A Little Bit of Heaven (Sure They Called It Ireland)," etc. (He did not do "Ireland Must Be Heaven For My Mother Came From There," but how it got away from him must remain one of life's unsolved mysteries.) The rest of the picture is pure technicolor musical hokum. The hero and his girl friend, nicknamed "Irish," decide to go to the big city and make good. Like capitalistic countries, they develop unevenly. Comes misunderstanding. He goes west. She goes to Cuba, and they are reunited in time to put on the smash hit. He becomes the toast of the town and she the butter as the singer of his songs. But why go on? I was describing this plot only the other day when discussing a matter called *Greenwich Village*.

If you have not yet departed for greener pastures elsewhere in the magazine, and if you can hang on for a moment or two longer, I would like to dwell on the subject of the musical revue generally. The producers of this type of film must have been influenced by theater entrepreneurs before them who decided that musicals must be fashioned to please the Tired Business Man. In the case of Hollywood the TBM influence has been broadened to include

their children. Consequently we get song, cheesecake, dance, cheesecake, some corny jokes, and more cheesecake. The schedule calls for two or four or six musicals, so the required number is turned out. It doesn't matter about theme. I cannot understand why some bright boy has not conceived of the idea of making one shooting script, six times as long as the average. Then the final product could be cut into six equal lengths and released at the proper time. Variety could be obtained by substituting principals for each other, the way football players relieve each other during a game. That way the producers could save lots of time and money.

Whether this absence of mind and pride in musical films is due to lack of imagination or indifference I cannot say. Surely it can't be concern over box office. Even the most formula-struck producer must have heard how *Bloomer Girl*, a show with a theme, is being stormed daily by super-capacity numbers of customers. More, five will get you anybody's twenty that their purchase offers are now running into six figures. Why then not turn out a *Bloomer Girl* directly for the screen? (This show incidentally was written, composed, and directed exclusively by Hollywood talent.) There are innumerable subjects on hand. Even a subject like that suggested by *Irish Eyes Are Smiling* could produce a respectable film. At the turn of the century, and before, Irish immigrants were coming to America in droves. They certainly set a pattern of social life. A film depicting some of the tone of this life, even to how Tammany and such machines were fashioned, would make the filmgoers' days infinitely less burdensome. Such a film could even be based on the career of a popular song composer, with all its oversentimentalized bathos, since the subject matter of his songs are inspired by the doings of his neighbors. I do not expect musicals to present us with satirical, witty treatments in the manner of Gilbert and Sullivan. At any rate, not yet. Why must Warner Brothers, capable of producing a fine contemporary film like *Hollywood Canteen* (not yet released), go lame-brain when it contemplates a historical musical and come out with a *Shine On Harvest Moon*? All we ask, I and my more silent fellow sufferers, is that the musical film catch up to the other categories of movie making and give us an occasional picture that we can sit through.

IF THERE are any people who believe this department has belabored Preston Sturgis unfairly in the past, and I believe there are, I would suggest that they see his latest film, *The Great Moment*, at the Globe. But for that reason only—for this film is easily his worst. It provides the logical end for his bag of tricks, and proves conclusively, once for all, that Mr. Sturgis' work, since *Great McGinty*, has as much relation to social satire as Laurel and Hardy's.

Great Moment deals with the trials of Dr. William Thomas Morton, the disputed father of painless dentistry, in his effort to perfect and then apply the technique of anesthesia to dentistry and medical surgery. According to a letter in the newspaper *PM* the *American Dental Association* questions the film's historical accuracy. Having done no research on the matter, I do not know which is correct; but accurate or no, the faults of the film lie in a different direction. Here is a serious subject demanding treatment befitting its importance. But Mr. Sturgis makes no effort to control his itch for slapstick. He is determined to wring every last laugh or sob from the audience, regardless of subject matter. If in previous films his vulgarity was masked by the fortuitous humor of his subject matter, here he has no such luck. The threadbare technique of the running gag, the rough and tumble of falling bodies and smashed furniture, the pratfall, the chase, the self-conscious wisecrack simply does not fit the subject. This is not to say that the tribulations of Dr. Morton necessarily lack humor. His ignorance of the chemicals he experimented with, the fears and impatience of his wife, the accidental results of his curiosity, might easily produce laughter, understanding and sympathetic. But it would result from the nature of the material, and not from the efforts of a director to be funny at no matter what cost, or how far-fetched the results. Even William Demarest, charged with being the clown in *Great Moment*, seems to lack the heart to carry out his assignment.

Mr. Sturgis has come, or rather, gone, a long way since his first success. If *Great Moment* is the final measure of his ability, he will go on repeating himself in a series of trivial films. If he should try a new direction and consider making honest pictures instead of shamelessly exploiting audience response, I will be the first and the loudest to admit it. Until then no more concentration on Mr. Sturgis. JOSEPH FOSTER.

GLAD TIDINGS!

NEW MASSES

Announces Its

33rd ANNUAL

ARTISTS and WRITERS

BALL

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2nd

at WEBSTER HALL

MEET THE
CELEBRITIES:

•
ARTISTS
WRITERS
CRITICS
CARTOONISTS



ART HODES
and
HIS ALL-STAR BAND

UNIQUE ENTERTAINMENT

TICKETS: \$1.10 in advance; \$1.50 at door

Obtainable at: New Masses, 104 East 9th St.; Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St.; Book Fair, 133 West 44th St.; Skazka, 227 West 46th St.; 17 Barrow St.; Jefferson Bookshop, 515 Sixth Ave.

Remember Your Doctor for Christmas



ROSS T. McINTIRE, *Vice Admiral, Medical Corps, Surgeon General, U. S. Navy*: "... your idea is an excellent one. . . . You have produced a most presentable journal both from the professional and technical viewpoints. Difficulties in language have made Soviet medical experiences available only infrequently, and then often in abstracted or popularized versions. The articles in your first number are engrossing and original. Let me compliment you again."

American Review of SOVIET MEDICINE

DR. HENRY E. SIGERIST, *Editor*

ARTICLES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO READERS OF THIS MAGAZINE

The Organization of Medical Care for the Wounded, by E. I. SMIRNOV.

Experimental Cancer Research in the Soviet Union, by MICHAEL B. SHIMKIN.

Some Aspects of Psychiatry in the U.S.S.R., by GREGORY ZILBOORG.

Twenty-five Years of Health Work in the Soviet Union, by HENRY E. SIGERIST.

Russian Medicine Organized for War, by HUGH CABOT.

Russian Advances in Military Medicine, by VLADIMIR V. LEBEDENKO,

Professor of neurosurgery at the First Moscow Medical Institute at present in the U. S. representing Russian Red Cross and Red Crescent.

Medical Care Through Medical Centers in the Soviet Union, by HENRY E. SIGERIST.

Book reviews, editorials, surveys, biographical material covering the field of Soviet Medical Science and Public Health.

The AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE is the only magazine published in this country which is devoted exclusively to recording the unique developments in the fields of medical science and

public health in the Soviet Union. Its articles are contributed by outstanding Soviet authorities and translated by eminent American medical scientists. The AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE is the official organ of the American-Soviet Medical Society, Dr. Walter B. Cannon, President, and is published bi-monthly.

Because of the paper shortage, the print order of the Review is limited.

96 pages 7" x 10" Illustrated

Some Opinions of The American Review of Soviet Medicine

"Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, renowned Johns Hopkins medical historian and editor of the AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE, has a fact-packed survey of 25 years of Russian health work."

"The American-Soviet Medical Society, headed by the distinguished Harvard physiologist, Dr. Walter B. Cannon, has for its purpose the interchange of medical information between the two great Allies, breaking the barriers of distance and language. It has just issued the first number of its handsomely-printed journal, AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE, which is chockfull of interesting facts about recent advances in Russian medical science."

—ALBERT DEUTSCH, *in PM*.

"The AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE . . . will not only succeed in strengthening the bonds of friendship and cultural understanding between our two great peoples but will add to the enlightenment of the entire world and will prove an important step in the mutual sharing of scientific achievements among nations, which will enrich the life of man after the plague of fascism has been cleansed from the earth." —VLADIMIR V. LEBEDENKO, *Representative of Russian Red Cross in the United States*.

"The AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE . . . will contain translations of important papers from the Russian, survey articles written by American experts on various aspects of Soviet medicine, news of current medical events in the U.S.S.R., reviews of Soviet medical books, and abstracts from Soviet medical periodicals. At a time when the Soviet Union is enduring magnificently and most valiantly the exacting strain of total war and when Soviet surgeons, meeting the exigencies of mobile combat, are confronted with unique situations, the Review will present a section on war medicine." —WALTER B. CANNON, *Professor Emeritus of Physiology, Harvard University*.

DR. ROBERT L. LESLIE, *Business Manager*,
AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE,
130 West 46th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find my money order for \$6.00 for which kindly send me the bi-monthly AMERICAN REVIEW OF SOVIET MEDICINE for one year (6 issues), starting Vol. 2 No. 1.

Name _____

Address _____ Zone No. _____

City and State _____ NM