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DALTON TRUMBO, EDITH SEGAL, WARREN MILLER, HUGO GELLERT

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December, 1952

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The General and the People

AN EDITORIAL

ON JANUARY 20 the American people will be confronted not merely with a new President and governing party, but with a new political situation. Not new in basic design and direction, but in pace and intensity. The triumph of the most reactionary big business oligarchs through the election of General Eisenhower will undoubtedly be quickly translated into attempts to accelerate the thrust toward war and fascism that has characterized the Truman administration.

But between desire and consummation lies a battleground. To assume that this battle must inevitably be lost, to draw mechanical analogies with what happened in Germany, ignoring the great differences in our own situation and in international relationships, is to misread the signposts of history. This would be suicidal folly.

The very circumstances of the Eisenhower victory show that the possibilities of struggle — successful struggle — are not only real, but vast. The decisive question is whether these possibilities will be grasped.

What won for Eisenhower? Most commentators are agreed that the major factor in the Eisenhower landslide was the Korean war, the most unpopular war in American history. The crushing defeat of the candidate sponsored by the administration that launched the Korean war, the candidate who himself repeatedly affirmed he stood for its indefinite continuance, was an act of mass repudiation.

That this repudiation took the form of support of a man who represented no less than did Stevenson the continuance of the war shows how tragically victimized are the majority of the American people, bound in the straitjacket of the two-party system. But this cannot cancel out the gigantic fact that so many millions — a huge majority — on election day demanded peace in Korea and in the world.

And to corral this vote, the professional soldier who incarnates the Wall Street war program was compelled to pose as that which he is not: an apostle of peace.

The Eisenhower vote is a mandate to end the Korean war. The new President will seek to betray that mandate, but it is up to the people to make it stick. Eisenhower also promised to end corruption in government, to elimi-

nate Jim Crow in Washington and in the armed forces, to preserve the social gains of the Roosevelt New Deal. Again, it is a question of action by the people to compel fulfilment of these promises and to resist and repel all efforts to move in a contrary direction.

For such action to be informed and fruitful we feel it necessary for all those who opposed Eisenhower — Democrats, Liberals, Progressives, Communists and unaffiliated — to examine seriously the reasons for this reactionary victory and seek a broader and sounder basis of cooperative effort in the future. Such a cooperative effort should also aim to embrace millions of workers, farmers and middle-class persons who voted for the Republican candidate in the mistaken belief that he would save them from the very evils he represents.

WHAT won for Eisenhower was not peace demagoguery alone. There were at least four other factors of major significance: the reactionary Truman record, which hung like an albatross around Stevenson's neck; the failure of Stevenson to dissociate himself from that record and move toward a modicum of progressive commitment; the failure of his labor and liberal supporters to press him toward concrete pledges in regard to peace and civil liberties; the anti-Communist crusade.

On the first of these we wish to make only one point: when the Truman administration indicted the Communist leaders in 1948 and when it launched the Korean war in 1950 — the first was no less a war measure than the second — it sealed the fate of the Democratic Party in the 1952 election.

Regarding the second factor, it needs to be said that the Stevenson prose style seduced many intellectuals, but evidently only a minority of the people. Behind that rhetorical facade was nothing which Truman had not already given — and that had become a stench in too many nostrils.

The election results emphasized how bankrupt was the policy of the labor leaders who, in return for their endorsement of Stevenson, received not even a verbal promissory note. Thus millions of workers, harassed by rising living costs, wage ceilings, high taxes, speedup and other fruits of the Korean war were asked to accept the Democratic candidate on faith. Many didn't.

We trust this disastrous experience will galvanize union members into demanding that the labor movement assume its rightful role of initiating and leading a broad coalition to include the Negro people, farmers, small business men, professional people, students, etc. to halt the big business-government offensive against peace and democracy. Out of such a coalition can come a new people's party capable of making 1954 and 1956 a different story from 1952.

Finally, Stevenson and the Democratic Party reaped the whirlwind of the anti-Communism they sedulously sowed. The whole poisonous atmosphere of repression and thought control created by the Truman administration and its Republican collaborators, the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hysteria, the use of pro-fascist legislation like the Smith and McCarran acts, the "legal" and illegal assaults on the Bill of Rights, the frameups of Communist leaders, of Negroes, of labor men like Harry Bridges, of exemplary progressive citizens like the Rosenbergs, the deportations, loyalty oaths, inquisitions in the schools and colleges, purges in the films and radio, smears and counter-smears — this witches' brew of persecution and intellectual Ku Kluxism has nourished all that is most hideously evil, most truculently fascist in monopoly capitalist society and assured the electoral triumph of arch-reaction.

When such confirmed Red-baiters as Arthur Schlesinger Jr., James Wechsler and Max Lerner are themselves Red-baited; when Wall Street's Dean Acheson and Stevenson himself are accused of "coddling" Communists, is it not clear that the real meaning of anti-Communism is not simply an assault on the small number of Communists and other left-wingers, but a conspiracy against the nation, a drive to destroy every vestige of bourgeois democracy and Hitlerize the country?

But when Adlai Stevenson boasted of the Smith Act prosecutions, the loyalty program, etc., and fulsomely embraced J. Edgar Hoover — and then added as an afterthought that the freedom to differ must be preserved, was he not fatuously pleading for reason in an unreasonable cause?

AND yet in the very moment of the reactionary triumph there were signs that the smog of anti-Communist dementia may be lifting from the minds of many people. The defeat of such McCarthyites as Senators Kem, Cain and Ecton; the ousting in Illinois of Republican Rep. Richard B. Vail of the Un-American Committee by Barratt O'Hara, who campaigned as a Roosevelt New Dealer and demanded an immediate settlement in Korea; and the fact that McCarthy himself skidded to victory — and to moral defeat — at the tail of the Republican ticket in Wisconsin are noteworthy signs.

Finally, the gallant campaign of the Progressive Party and its Presidential ticket of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass cannot be evaluated merely in terms of its small vote. Barred from the ballot in twenty states, subjected to a virtual blackout by press, radio and television, without the financial means to inform millions of voters of even the existence of the Progressive slate, it is certain, nevertheless, that the Progressive Party campaign contributed to making peace and the Korean war the paramount issues for the majority of the voters. And in California, where Senator Knowland had captured both the Republican and Democratic primaries, nearly a half million

cast their ballots for Reuben Borough, Progressive Party candidate — a clear indication of the larger possibilities that exist.

The new situation we confront should sound the alarm for all men and women of good will. We address ourselves especially to intellectuals and professional people, many of whom supported Stevenson because they feared the consequences of an Eisenhower victory. We share that fear, even though during the campaign we differed on methods of combatting the evil. But now that the campaign is over, there is a clear imperative before us all: to stand together against the common danger if our nation and the world are to avoid even greater catastrophe.

In November, 1888, when reaction foisted on the country an earlier general, Benjamin Harrison, the greatest American poet of democracy, Walt Whitman, said of the GOP bosses:

"Let the Hannas go on now believing that there is no hell — that they are the end, that they are all there is; they will be rudely shaken out of their arrogance one of these days."

The millions who voted for Eisenhower because of what he claimed to be, and the millions who voted against Eisenhower — whether for Stevenson or Hallinan — because of what he really is will have to do the shaking. It is they who will have to build the new party of peace and freedom. On November 4 the majority of the American people voted for a change. January 20 the fight for that change begins in earnest.



"TIME FOR A CHANGE, IKE—OF DUDS."

Our Time

By SAMUEL SILLEN

- *Remedy for Softies*
 - *Sartre's Former Friends*
 - *Overt Act*
 - *Exiles' Return*
 - *Witness*
-

THE general staff at *Collier's*, having failed to conquer the world with a previous issue, is now trying to figure out a way to overcome the "inhibitions" against killing that it finds among Americans. "Why Half Our Combat Soldiers Fail to Shoot" is the title of a feature in the November 8 number. The answer is obligingly furnished by the magazine's Freudian consultants.

It appears that the "aggressive tendencies" with which every child is thoughtfully endowed by nature are "suppressed" as he grows up. "His parents disapprove, often with threats of punishment, if — for example, — he should crown brother Billy with a baseball bat . . . All his life, the boy's mind works unconsciously to suppress any desire to kill."

How to unfreeze those inhibitions? *Collier's* interviewed two military psychiatrists at the University of Michigan, Doctors Raymond W.

Waggoner and M. M. Frohlich. Their conclusions, as summed up by the interviewer, are enlightening.

"The most efficient method," we are told, "is to prompt them to lose their individual identities by promoting a mob psychology." Another important tack is "to provide the man with a fatherlike leader who, he can believe, is supremely strong, wise and just; so that he will accept his leader's orders to set aside temporarily the taboos against killing."

"From practical experience, Marshall [Brig. General S.L.A. Marshall] and other Army experts made these assumptions years ago. Marshall began a long, emphatic campaign for the Army to look for its 'natural leaders,' as opposed to leaders selected according to the accepted standards of the civilian world. He insisted that 'cause and national pride are not important; pride in company is the major factor in getting a man to participate in battle.' He also discovered that a man gets terribly lonely in his foxhole."

Thus, it is not understanding of a cause, but "mob psychology," not devotion to democracy, but a "fatherlike leader," that is prescribed for our country. Recognizing that many readers will find "disturbing implications" in this position, *Collier's* assures us that "when the crisis is over, if the curtain is old and solidly designed and substantially built, it will easily drop back into place again—to mask the brute forever."

But meanwhile the brute. Let Billy crown his brother with a baseball bat. Let him unload his scruples with the help of TV, comic books and

Hollywood. Let him follow a father-like Fuehrer. So reads the latest chapter of *Collier's Kampf*.

Sartre's Former Friends

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE'S stand for peace, described in this issue by Jean Kanapa, has quite understandably upset the pro-war intellectuals in our own country. They had counted on him to toe the Wall Street line. They had worked hard to build up his literary prestige. And now they can answer him only with abuse.

The New York *Times* (Oct. 19) finds Sartre's article on "The Communists and peace" a "miracle of equivocation, sophistry and demagoguery, stated in the old-fashioned jargon of Marxism of 1900." (The *Times* likes its Marxism more up-to-date) And *Partisan Review* excommunicates Sartre with a double-barrelled epithet: he is now "an amateur Communist."

To the *Times* and *Partisan Review* it must be highly frustrating that Sartre is a citizen of France. He cannot be hauled before the McCarran Committee. He cannot be blacklisted. He can still find a publisher.

One can scarcely blame the French writer for shrinking at the prospect of inhabiting an American colony.

The example of Sartre should serve to remind us that in spite of the terror against intellectuals here (and in a sense because of it), more and more people of independent mind will be coming, from positions as distant as his, to defy the forces of fascism and war.

Overt Act

THE fraud of the government's case against the Communist leaders was ably exposed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn during her testimony last month at the Foley Square trial. This veteran leader of the American working class showed convincingly that the principles and activities of the Communist Party had nothing in common with the picture drawn by the prosecution's stoolpigeons.

At every crucial point in the testimony, Miss Flynn had to contend with the objections of the government lawyers, who were determined to keep the facts from the jury. A noteworthy example involved evidence concerning the views of V. J. Jerome, author of *A Lantern for Jeremy*.

The indictment against Jerome lists as his "overt act" the publication of an article, "Grasp the Weapon of Culture," which appeared in the February, 1951 issue of *Political Affairs*.

The defense offered this article in evidence.

"I object, Your Honor," said the prosecution.

"On what grounds?"

"It is irrelevant."

The defense pointed out that this "irrelevant" article was the only piece of evidence originally cited by the government against Jerome. The judge, expressing surprise at the prosecution's position, had to admit the article in evidence.

"Our cultural work," this article declares, "is more than a technique for rallying people. The American bourgeoisie,

driving down the road of total national betrayal, strives to obliterate every revolutionary, democratic and militant tradition of the people, to destroy every expression of people's culture. In this fateful hour, the Party is called upon to lead in the defense of the people's cultural heritage in the struggle to affirm the vital creativeness of the people."

This shows where the real danger to the American people lies. The prosecution would rather not have the finger pointed at itself.

Exile's Return

AFTER long periods of political exile, Pablo Neruda has returned to Chile, and Jorge Amado to Brazil. We greet joyfully the return to the Americas of these great writers and peace leaders. For both of these men

our readers have a special affection and esteem. We hope to present their latest writings in early issues.

At the same time there comes the unhappy news that Pablo Neruda and his wife have been injured in an automobile accident in Chile. We wish them a speedy recovery.

Witness

THE date was May, 1931. The magazine was the *Labor Defender*. The article stated: "The fink, the stool, the gangster, the provocative agent, the dick, the cop, the immigration official, etc. These are the pillars of society which shall yet save our capitalist civilization." The ironic prophet was Wittaker Chambers!

Letter From a Smith Act Victim

To M & M:

AS YOU must know by now, I and five other Detroiters were recently pounced upon by the thought control police and arrested for "violating" the infamous Smith Act.

In jail here, we came across the most recent *Masses & Mainstream* book, *In Battle For Peace*, by W. E. B. Du Bois.

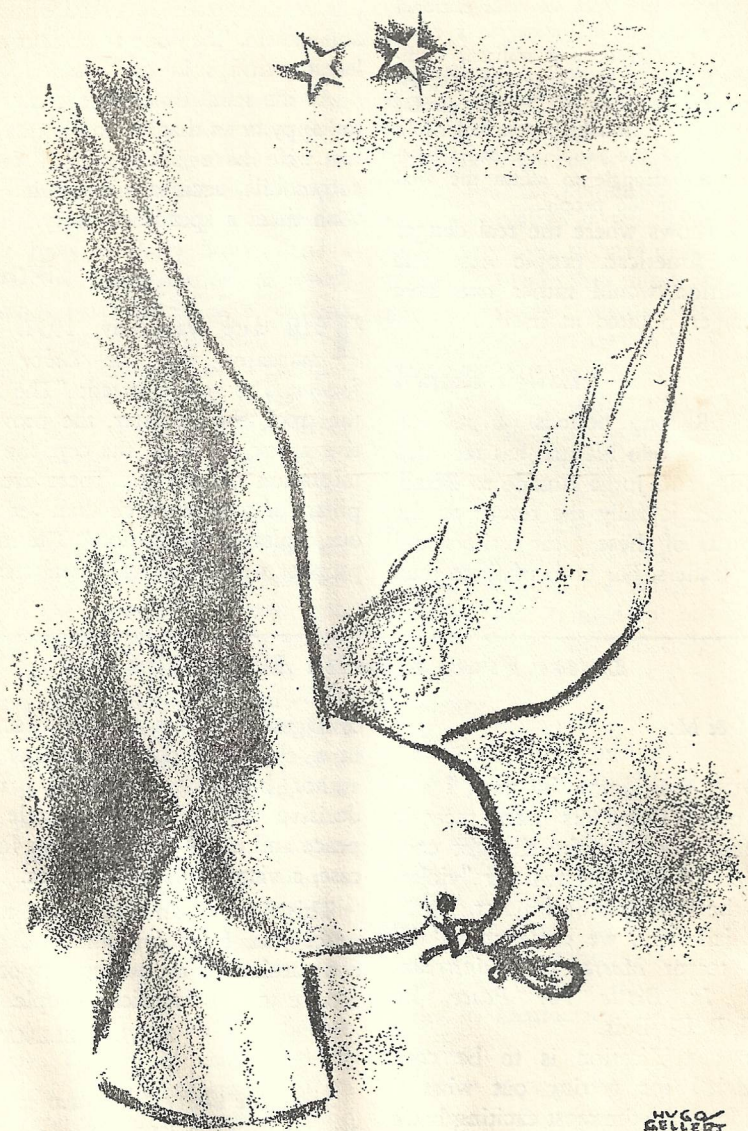
Your publication is to be congratulated for getting out what I consider to be the most exciting book published in the last year. Not alone because it is the work of one of America's most brilliant men and

courageous fighters, but also because in a clear and concise manner the author brings out America's most decisive struggle: the struggle for peace and a great victory won in his case, a victory for all America.

This book is an inspiration to all peace and freedom fighters. Again, congratulations on a most important service to the American people.

SAUL WELLMAN

Since the above letter was written Mr. Wellman and his colleagues have been released on bail and are now awaiting trial.—The Editors.



HYCO
GALLERY

Peace on Earth!

Sartre, The Communists And Peace

By JEAN KANAPA

I AM told that the issues of *Les Temps Modernes* which carried two articles in succession by Jean-Paul Sartre—first "The Communists and Peace" and then "Reply to Albert Camus"—were sold out in record time and had to be reprinted. I am glad to hear that, even though I am the editor of another magazine, which is really quite different from *Les Temps Modernes* and even opposed to it. I am not particularly glad for *Les Temps Modernes* or for Sartre; but the fact that those articles and what they say should arouse such an interest seems to me an important sign on the often troubled horizon of the French scene.

For the first of these articles Sartre received, in the big newspapers and specialized magazines, only the insults of a François Mauriac and a Raymond Aron, and above all the deliberate "silent treatment"—a really funereal silence! The slogan was: Whatever you do, don't talk about it! With the second

article, they tried to make up for this silence; here it was easier because what was done was to isolate it from the preceding article even though the first piece pointed to the second.

What is it really all about?

In *Les Temps Modernes* of last July, Sartre, in an article on "The Communists and Peace," analyzed some of the essential features of the political situation in France in the light of the May 28 demonstration and the events that followed it. Sickened by the disavowals of Robinet in *Le Figaro* and Altman in *Franc-Tireur*, he vigorously reminded them of several truths. And the important thing about these "truths" is that they are absolutely and undeniably true.

The main question which Sartre asks himself, and which forms the basis of his article, is this: what are the exact relationships uniting the working class and the Communist Party in France today? or more precisely: to what extent does the Communist Party really represent the working class? The fact that he raises this question with regard to the events of May 28, the arrest of Jacques Duclos, and the June 4

JEAN KANAPA is editor-in-chief of *La Nouvelle Critique*, a leading French Marxist review. His article, here slightly abridged, appeared in that magazine.

strike, means that there are things and attitudes which Sartre does not understand—or like.

Curiously enough, he does not understand "the stupid satisfaction" shown by "leftists" of the Altman ilk, not to mention the Robinets of the Right, at anything which strikes them as a sign, however feeble and superficial, of the disaffection of the masses from the Communist Party. For after all, Sartre states, "the Communist Party is the only political organization that represents the working class in the Assembly." It is, "at the present time, the only possible representative of working-class voters."

"By constantly looking for fleas on the Communist Party, you have become near-sighted; and you have so often deplored the fact that the Communist Party 'has a monopoly in the defense of the workers' that you have ended up by thinking that it enjoys this privilege as a result of chance. You say: it is the party of the hysterical-minded, of the murderers and liars; it incites to hatred, and its tricks are so obvious that your newspapers, every morning, expose them effortlessly. It must therefore mean that the entire working class is criminal, hysterical, or a liar. If not, how do you explain that it remains Communist? Stalin's nose, maybe? If it had been a little shorter . . .?"

To those people, whenever the workers show any sign of fight, it means that they are incited by the "Stalinist," that "evil genius, that eternal ringleader, pro-Russian today, pro-German the day before yesterday, pocketing British gold in 1789 and Russian gold in 1840 . . .

It was he—as we now know—who provoked the rabble to storm the Bastille, who financed the conspiracy of the four sergeants, the June days in 1848, the numerous strikes at the end of the 19th century and, last but not least, the mutinies of 1917 . . ." Sartre is not satisfied with such crude explanations. And since he feels—and rightly so—that it is not enough to ridicule them with his lively wit, he sketches the main themes of the anti-Communists and tries to get at the bottom of things.

"THE worker is the puppet of Moscow," is what the Altmans and Robinets say to Sartre. Incidentally, the latter asks them, have you ever noticed that you yourselves are the puppets of the U.S.A.? He writes:

"those who speak of Moscow want to mislead us. For it was certainly not the U.S.S.R. which staged the May 28 demonstration."

As a matter of fact, what was the aim of that demonstration? "To prepare for war! The Moscow Communists want war!" the Altmans of every stripe shout at Sartre. "Why didn't I think of that before!" Sartre retorts sarcastically.

"The Communist Party and the Fighters for Peace call upon the people of Paris to demonstrate against war: that's striking proof that the U.S.S.R. wants to attack us . . . But you who pretend to be so indignant, are you behaving any differently? Don't you also claim that you want peace? But I look for your olive-branches and see nothing but bombs.

"You say that you are making a show of strength in order not to have to use

it. But to make a show of strength is already an act of violence. To force into submission a local Negro tribal leader, you cover the skies of Africa with your bombers . . . You publish the results of your atom-bomb experiments and you boast of being able to level Moscow to the ground in twenty-four hours: in the interest of peace, of course, and to discourage the potential aggressor.

"But the Soviet Government also means to discourage any aggressor: it shoots down a Swedish plane to show that its air space is inviolable. One discouraged aggression after another: in Greece, in Berlin, in Korea, even in Paris . . . with men dying every day. And that is your peace: peace through fear. If the U.S.S.R. had as much fear as you have, your peace would already have become war. *For the U.S.S.R. wants peace and proves it every day* [My italics, J.K.]

"You claim that the Soviet leaders are monsters who have no regard for human life and who can unleash a war with a mere snap of the fingers. Then why don't they attack? Why don't they attack while they still have time, when their offensive is superior to that of the enemy and their armies can overrun Europe in a week? 'Because,' you say, 'they're afraid of our atom bombs.' I see: so they're waiting for the stock of atom bombs to be three times as big and for the NATO army to be ready . . . Really, the people over there in Moscow must be crazy. Or else it's just that they want peace."

And in two places Sartre asserts unequivocally: "*Never* [the italics are Sartre's] has it—the U.S.S.R.—made a gesture aimed at unleashing war"; and "in vain do I seek, yet in the course of three decades I have found no desire for aggression on the part of the Russians."

So is it against this country which "wants peace and proves it every

day," against this country which in no way threatens France, that they want to make the French workers fight?

"Our fine gentlemen will have to realize this: the working class has no reason to fight . . . Why, yes it has, you say: to liberate the unhappy Russian working class. So? Well then, I feel that your propaganda doesn't completely jibe; and I don't think that you will recruit many people if you ask them to resume the anti-Communist crusade which Hitler preached and to line up with Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese of Mao Tse-tung, by the side of Franco against the Spanish Republicans, with Syngman Rhee against the entire Korean people, with the murderers of Beloyannis against the fathers and brothers of those deported to the Makronissos camp, with an oligarchy of French colonists against the Tunisians, the people of Viet-Nam, and the people of Madagascar.

"You have realized, I think, that that would be asking a great deal; so you have given up trying to find propaganda arguments for that. When, despite everything, and in order to save your conscience, you want to come up with a few reasons for dying for the United States, you organize art exhibitions, lectures and concerts; in short, you engage in what is now called the 'cultural battle.' But you are very careful to double the price of admission tickets:* to be sure, at least, that you will remain 'among yourselves.'"

"Or else you take a picked bevy of in-and parade them from Paris to London and Berlin, where they recite ready-made telleduals, pale and sweet young things, compliments on culture and freedom. But whom do you expect this effeminate troupe to convince, except for a very 'special' audience?"

* Sartre is referring here to the recent "Festival of the Twentieth Century," held in Paris.—J.K.

The question is simpler, says Sartre, summarizing this point. The question is: war or peace. And by confusing it you do not serve peace, you only serve war.

"Well and good," these same gentlemen reply, "but the Communist Party and the C.G.T.* exhaust the workers by forcing them to stage political demonstrations." Ah! Now these good shepherds are anxious to maintain "the separation of politics from economics." That's a nice present they are handing the employers: "for the employers are keenly desirous of this separation."

So Sartre shows that in reality it is in the name of *its* politics that, on the one hand, the bourgeoisie seeks to prevent the working class from engaging in politics, and on the other hand, "objectively trade-unionism is political. By its very nature it embraces every aspect of the worker's life . . . The truth of the matter is that *it cannot limit itself* to immediate demands."

BUT these sophists still protest: "The Communist Party leads the workers along the road of illegality and violence." Wait a minute! Sartre retorts: apart from any other consideration, let's see what these gentlemen-murderers do! Let us pass over the arbitrary methods of the ruling-class leaders themselves, of which the arrest of Jacques Duclos is a striking example, and one to which Sartre violently objects; but

it is a fact that the election law has made the worker-voter "a second-class citizen. . . . In the framework of the general institutions of democracy, they have voted in duly legal fashion an anti-democratic law deliberately aimed at a specific party." *Legally* diminished in this way, can the Communist parliamentary group exercise its full rights in the Assembly? Of course not! "But we know that our opponent is a liar. After all, isn't he a Communist!" So that "of two longshoremen taking a walk together on the docks of Le Havre, one does not have the right to vote, the other has voted in vain." Does the government heed them? No,

"*the continuity of our policy* is the calm continuity of servitude. We are only adamant when it comes to dealing with the peoples of Madagascar and Tunisia. Have we sold out? Not even that; but worse yet. The Americans have 'taken' us for nothing. If at such a moment the longshoreman recalls Lenin's phrase: 'in the most democratic bourgeois state, the oppressed masses face at every step the crying contradiction between *formal* equality proclaimed by the capitalists' democracy and the thousands of *real* restrictions and schemes which make salaried slaves of the workers,' and if then he says to himself: 'once again, Lenin was right,' whose fault will it be, O great family of Petsche, Bidault, Lussy, Pinay and company? One day he'll get fed up, and his pal too. Both of them, instead of unloading American tommy-guns, will throw them into the water. The cops who arrest them will shout indignantly at them: 'You lousy scum! If you were against the North Atlantic Pact, you could have said so, couldn't you? Instead of ruining equipment! In our country every-

* Confédération Générale du Travail—the French national trade-union body.

one is free. Everyone has the right to vote.'"

"What have I tried to prove?" Sartre asks at the end of this article. "That the May 28 demonstration was skillful, effective, praiseworthy? Not at all. But simply that it belongs to the category of popular demonstrations." What was the meaning and aim of that demonstration? Sartre does not expressly answer the question at this point, but he has indicated the answer in an earlier passage: "Today there is peace. The Americans are in our country, the Russians in Russia. . . . The workers know it. . . . They want the Russians to stay in the U.S.S.R. and the Americans in the U.S.A." That was "the basis of the demonstration," whatever later comments one may formulate about its success or its shortcomings.

These are the main stages of Sartre's analysis — an incomplete analysis, since *Les Temps Modernes* announced another article to follow that one. But one must note that Sartre's article appearing in the next month's issue, even though it dealt apparently with another theme (a discussion with Albert Camus), took off significantly from the final lines of the first article.

Against whom was Sartre polemizing in July? Against the adepts of a so-called "true Left," which should be not only "without Communists" but above all anti-Communist.

"An admirable program! Only, suppose by some stroke of a magic wand this

Left were handed over to you (for I cannot imagine any other way by which you could have it), I wager that within one week it would explode: then you would find some of its members in the Socialist group in the Assembly or on the editorial staff of *Franc-Tireur*, while the others, in the streets, would demonstrate against General Ridgway."

Now this attitude, which absolves both honest people of the Left and the fighters for peace, meant an inevitable sharpening of the polemic with those who *do not have* this elementary honesty—such as Albert Camus. Hence the "farewell" which Sartre addressed to him in August.

LES *Temps Modernes* had published an article criticizing Camus' book, *L'Homme Révolté*. Camus felt that such criticism was sacrilegious, so he sent an insulting letter to *Les Temps Modernes*. More than that: like a run-of-the-mill F.B.I. agent, he discovered communism behind the criticism. Imagine! *Les Temps Modernes* does not repeat word for word the slanders of J. P. David concerning "Soviet concentration camps." As Sartre retorts: "One would think oneself at police headquarters, listening to the heavy tread of police boots. . . ."

To be sure, Sartre continues to believe in the existence of such camps. Nevertheless, he realizes—and he says so—that the campaign about these camps is above all an item in the bourgeois anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign. If the people who foster these slanders were the honest "humanists" they claim to be, such so-called information

about "Soviet prison camps" should have caused them immense sorrow; but to the contrary, it made them joyful!

Let's set our own house in order first, says Sartre. Viet-Nam, Madagascar, as well as the cruelly exploited French workers . . . "It seems to me that the only way to help the slaves over there in Russia is to side with the slaves here in France."

What is the freedom which Camus claims and wants? The freedom, Sartre quips, to retire to the Galapagos Islands. In truth,

"Our freedom today is nothing but the free choice of fighting to become free. . . . You see, it is not a question of caging my contemporaries; on the contrary, it is a question of uniting with them to shatter the bars. For we too, Camus, are caged, and if you really want to prevent a people's movement from degenerating into tyranny, don't begin by condemning it out of hand and by threatening to retire to a desert, especially since your deserts are nothing but a less inhabited portion of our cage. To deserve the right to influence men who struggle, you must first take part in their struggle."

I HAVE purposely quoted at great length from Sartre to show him that we are making as great an effort to understand him as he has made to understand the Communists. Are there things, in these quotations from Sartre, which shock me as a Communist? Yes, and in other passages to which I shall refer. But first of all, there is this attempt to understand, and it is particularly noteworthy to what extent the events of May 28 and those that followed (the

repression, the arrest of Jacques Duclos, and the anti-Communist campaign of hatred and lies) produced this attempt. Others did not have this courage. Or even when they did, they did not have the intellectual integrity to try to get to the bottom of things.

For after all, Sartre is not polemizing merely with vulgar anti-Communism by trying to make it ashamed of its vulgarity. He asserts that he is *against* anti-Communism because anti-Communism is *for* war. He states clearly *who* wants peace (the U.S.S.R.) and *who* wants war (the U.S.A.)—even if he does not state clearly enough *why*.

He goes even further: without saying so in as many words, his article is a criticism of certain aspects of *his own* political activity, in particular his plan for a group called R.D.R. (*Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire*). His criticism is so pointed that he cannot help ridiculing what, in Altman and other "leftists" of that stripe, is simply a carbon copy of his own kind of plan. Consequently, *he removes the barriers, which he himself had helped build, from the attention which his followers—especially the young people who have faith in him—might have been tempted to pay to the attitude of the Communists, in the first place, on the question of peace.*

Once again I point out: his article is unfinished and one cannot say what he will subsequently write; but already we can say this: if in further articles he proves contradictory he

will disappoint—much more than the Communists—those people, the young people above all, who have been freed from the “stifling” which Sartre properly accuses Camus of seeking to perpetuate. Even now, in any case, Sartre has shown and repeatedly proved that just because the Communists say “white” is no reason for anyone to say “black.”

Is that enough? Is it enough, on the one hand, for our efforts—which we have *never* concealed and *never* slackened—to form the most solid ties with all the honest human beings in our country? And is it enough, on the other hand, for those people whom Sartre points out as being quite ready to discuss with us and who are, in any case, sincere?

Of course not! It would be proof of the most futile kind of detachment if we were satisfied with a pious “amen” and were ready to summarize the matter as a family quarrel among bourgeois intellectuals.

To Sartre’s effort, we reply: “We can and must go further; for the very same reasons that impel you to write these articles and us to judge them in a positive way.” These reasons are many-sided, and for that too we should be glad: there is the deep desire to maintain peace; there is shame at France’s dependent status with regard to the United States; there is the yearning to put an end to the inhuman exploitation of the French working class and the crimes committed against the colonial peoples; there is the longing for a hu-

manism, still confused perhaps, but unquestionably sincere.

I know well that there are also many, many things which separate me from Sartre and the people who probably constitute the regular reading public of *Les Temps Modernes*: a philosophy that is idealist in the extreme, a curious taste for the morbid aspects of life which decadent capitalism tries to force upon us, roundabout ways of thinking which have frequently left me at a loss to understand, and an often annoying smugness in exercising the function of the intellectual. Yes, all that exists.

But *that* is not the issue here. Nor does Sartre propose to us that we cooperate in finding a theoretical compromise which will satisfy both existentialism and Marxism—there is no such compromise—or to hold forth on the respective virtues of the literature “of despair” which, in my opinion, he has helped to spread and the optimistic literature which we are trying to create and spread. (To be sure, when Sartre sends Camus packing to his solitude and calls for “unity to shatter the bars,” I remember quite well that he has a very high opinion of Jean Genêt. Nevertheless, I wonder if he hasn’t already opened the door a little, or at least recognized the basic conditions for a genuinely optimistic literature. But enough on this point.)

No, Sartre’s aim is a simple one and placed on a level where we have always said—and rightly so—that it is possible to discuss, and then

come to an agreement: the level of concrete political events and immediate political aims. Is it possible, then, to discuss and then agree on that level, and on the basis of what Sartre says? Yes, it is possible.

But only on one condition: that we, on our part, prove that we are absolutely honest in the discussion by not allowing him to be mistaken concerning the reasons he attributes to us. And when Sartre attributes to the Communists viewpoints and attitudes that are not theirs or not *exactly* theirs, it would be hypocritical not to correct his information or interpretations on those points, especially when they may hamper our participation in a common political effort.

THUS, in Sartre's article there remains an ambiguity, inherited willy-nilly from anti-Soviet propaganda, concerning the international role of the Soviet Union, its behavior toward the rest of the world, and even its relations with the international labor movement. Sartre does say: "You bore us with your talk of 'the hand of Moscow,'" but at the same time he seeks to *justify* "from the viewpoint of the working class" the well-known "alignment" of the policy of the Communist parties with that of the Soviet State.

Maybe it's because he tries too hard, maybe because he is still weighed down by prejudice. Anyhow, there is at least ambiguity when he writes: "The French Communist Party has never concealed that

it aligns its policies with a general political line, the directives of which were formulated in the Comintern, later in the Cominform. In the theses voted by the Third World Congress of the Third International, we read that 'the Party as a whole is under the leadership of the Communist International.'" A little further on, Sartre points out that the Russians were in a majority on the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1921. Still further, he declares that the Russian Revolution took shape "as a *national* thing." All this tends to be confusing and throws into the same pot things that are considerably different.

First I must say that I find it quite logical for the Communist International to have tried to utilize to the full the experience of men *who had already made* the Socialist Revolution. Why should it not therefore have named a great many of these men to leading posts in a struggle for the same goal?

Next I must say that the Communist International, after having rendered the services which it alone could render (as Sartre acknowledges), namely, the formation in most of the capitalist countries of genuine workers' parties, organized on a Leninist basis, was dissolved; and the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties is by no means its successor. Recall, if you will, the reasons Stalin gave for the dissolution of the Communist International on May 28, 1943: "It will

facilitate the activity of patriots in all countries in uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp, in order to struggle against the threat of Hitlerite world domination; thus opening the road to the future organization of brotherhood among the peoples on the basis of equality of rights."

Thus opening the road . . . But how open the road to brotherhood among the peoples on the basis of equality of rights if "working-class activity" were planned and organized on the international scale the way Sartre says it is, that is, "by a centralized party," treating "each regional [no, Sartre, *national!*] working class as the means to an unconditional end: world revolution"? Or, as appears from other passages, as the means to the sole end of the security of the Soviet Union?

No, the Cominform is an organization of mutual information: in it, the *national* parties compare their experiences and sometimes take a certain number of decisions in *common*. But let me ask you this, Sartre, for example: Is the condemnation of Marshal Tito's nationalism dictated by the *nationalist* interests of the Soviet Union, or does it serve the necessary fight of *all* Communist parties *against* nationalism?

You say this is "unclear"; but it is not unclear, unless, like some, you claim that our sympathy for the Soviet Union is by some magical twist a proof of our subservience. The Communist worker has unfailing sympathy for the Soviet Union be-

cause it is the embodiment of his socialist aspirations, because it is a fully developed democracy of a higher type, because it unmistakably wants peace and "proves it every day." Non-Communists, as well as Communist workers, may share some of these reasons. And they do, as we well know.

Others besides Communists may have a good understanding of the role of the Soviet Union in international affairs, its decisive activity in defense of peace, the nature of its relations with *all* other countries ("on the basis of equality of rights"); and yet they do not have the feeling of being "dominated" by the Soviet Union, at least not in the usual sense of that term. The fact is that the power of example can also dominate; and the power of a policy that coincides with the interests of *all* peoples, with their *national* aspirations, affects all the men and women of a given people, not all of whom are Communists but who all long for peace and independence.

To begin with, take a look around you at the many men and women who have joined in the Peace Movement. Think of it, Sartre: these men and women are not Communists, yet they see no contradiction between their activity on behalf of the highest *patriotic* demand: peace, and their acknowledgement of the *leading* role of the Soviet Union in the fight for world peace. How could that be, unless they have been taught, slowly and often despite their prejudices, by the lesson of facts?

How could that be, unless they have found, through their own experience, that the leading role of the U.S.S.R. in this fight in which they are now participating is *based* on respect for the independence of peoples and their equality of rights?

IN THIS connection, an important fact is missing in Sartre's article: that is, that the May 28 demonstration against General Ridgway's presence in France was called and organized by the Peace Movement, and that it was carried out with the genuine participation of a great many non-Communist members of that Movement.

Sartre does refer in one place to "the appeal of the Peace Council," but all the rest of his article may lead one to believe that the May 28 demonstration was "a Communist demonstration." Perhaps he will return to this point in a subsequent article, but if from the very start he had been conscious of the very broad mass character of the political struggle in France today, in which the Communist Party plays a preponderant part, it is true, but not an exclusive one—he would have been prompted to make a greater effort in understanding the relations between this fight and the international movement, between the peoples of all lands and the Soviet State, between the French Communist Party and the other Communist parties, especially the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., and between the French Communist Party and the

French masses.

There is another point raised by Sartre which he sums up as follows: "No, it is not the Western intellectual who has lost his fondness for a republic, it is society as a whole," and specifically the working class. Sartre feels that Pinay's high-handed action and his violation of legality in arresting Jacques Duclos did not arouse any great indignation; on the contrary, "the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes" were more "frightened" by the Communist Party than by the Government's crime.

Sartre is disturbed by this, for "between the big bourgeoisie which demands the concrete power to make, earn, and receive profit, and the working class which demands above all the right to live, the petty bourgeoisie alone usually defends the formal freedoms in our democracies."

First of all, I do not think that the reference to the "indifference" of the working class with regard to the government's high-handedness is based on a correct or careful enough study of the facts. Jacques Duclos asserted at the last meeting of the Central Committee:

"We may say in a very friendly fashion, and it is a mistake on our part not to have said so sooner, that in the struggle against this plot, as in all struggles, the working class has been the decisive element in the victory [i. e. freeing the imprisoned Communists]. The overwhelming mass of the workers has been with our Party against the plotters. But that does not mean that such a stand is always

and everywhere expressed by strikes, demonstrations or petitions. The mistake of the government and its agents lay in thinking that, just because there were no strikes or demonstrations, the working class was indifferent.

"The workers understood that the anti-Communist plot was the prelude to violent attacks against their living conditions, their hard-won rights, against democratic liberties and against peace. And there is no doubt that the action of the working class would have assumed very serious proportions if the people's movement had not, with the liberation of the prisoners on July 1, struck a heavy blow against the plotters.

"What is true is that, in addition to the working class and by its side, we saw among the urban middle classes, in intellectual circles, among the teachers, judges, civil servants, etc. and among the peasants, definite opposition to the anti-Communist plot manifested in various forms. I need hardly add that that could not have happened if the working class had not taken its stand."

To be sure, we should study the mistakes made in preparing the May 28 demonstration and in the movement for freeing the jailed Communists. The Central Committee has pointed these out: delay in getting to work, impatience, and even a certain stridence of tone, etc. But that, Sartre, is something else again; and it does not basically impugn the militancy of the working class or the increasing sense of urgency in the minds of the petty bourgeoisie who feel the threats to their own liberties, however formal these may be.

But on this very point Sartre does not understand too well what determines the attitude of the working class to these bourgeois democratic

liberties. It is not correct to say that the working class jeers at them. Not at all! I am not referring only to the fact that the worker obviously and *naturally* prefers the most formal type of bourgeois democracy, to the degree that it tolerates a certain number of liberties, to fascism, which denies them wholesale. A regime of prisoners' camps is less harsh than that of concentration camps.

But most important of all, Sartre, you misunderstand the *revolutionary* reasons the working class has to be the most resolute defender of democracy. Listen to this clear explanation by Lenin: ". . . When Engels says that in a democratic republic 'no less' than in a monarchy, the state remains a machine for the oppression of one class by another,' this by no means signifies that the *form* of oppression is a matter of indifference to the proletariat, as some Anarchists 'teach.' A wider, freer and more open *form* of the class struggle and of class oppression enormously assists the proletariat in its struggle for the abolition of all classes."

Of course, the working class does not intend to *limit* the movement of its "form of democracy" solely to the *defense* of bourgeois democracy when the bourgeoisie tries to get rid of the latter; but that is another question, which Sartre does not pose and which is not the immediate issue in this discussion. One thing is sure: the working class *is not* indifferent to the preservation of democratic liberties. In fact, it is the *only*

organized and solid bulwark of democracy; and the Communists, far from tossing democratic liberties to the dogs on the pretext that they are instruments of bourgeois dictatorship, are the staunchest advocates of saving them, even of reestablishing them, because they are *also* instruments in the very struggle of the working class, the exploited, the oppressed, the "poor."

Why do I insist on this point? Because I do not want anyone to be left with even the faintest inkling of an idea that the Communists approach people hypocritically—proposing to them a policy which is nothing but a screen for a *different* and secret policy. Communists have one policy, not two; and it is based on principles that can easily be found in a good many books.

They do not have one language for the masses and a different one in the Political Bureau. They do not defend democracy for any other aim but that of safeguarding democracy. And if you look for mental reservations in the proposals of the Communists, you will be misled and fooled; and you run the risk of fooling others, which would harm the very reasons which impel them to pay attention.

NO DOUBT in the same spirit one could point to other interpretations in Sartre's articles which do not coincide with the Communists' *real* effort to fuse thought and action. No doubt one should discuss this system of interpretation itself,

frequently more psychological than, shall we say, sociological—and in any case, un-Marxist. It seems to me plainly unscientific to base whole movements on such notations as "aphasia as an international phenomenon" or "internationalism as the inorganic juxtaposition of the masses."

But the fact is that Sartre does not consider Marxism-Leninism *scientific*; in this he has not changed since his *Materialism and Revolution* which, at the time it was written, sought precisely to "refute" the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism. The only virtues he sees in the labor movement are *spontaneous* ones, which is something we cannot agree with. . . . But these are not the questions I wanted to raise in discussing Sartre's articles. I wanted only to discuss and dispose of the wrong arguments he presented in those articles as our reasons for proposing unity to all those beset by the same dangers as ourselves—including Sartre himself.

CAN we go further in the discussion? I think so and hope so.

This much is certain: Sartre is not the only one giving serious thought to this problem. His articles reflect a whole movement and current of opinion. This current is based first of all on the protest (yes, it is no longer merely unrest, it is a revolt!) against a policy—the policy of the Pinay Government and its American general staff—because this policy

is one of war, subjugation, and exploitation.

Moreover, it denotes a sincere search for the best ways to fight against this policy. Finally, it means the search for a "future," for another policy, for different perspectives. And when we say: "an *increasing* number of people, etc.," the example of Sartre himself confirms that this is no hollow phrase.

I am not saying this to hail the Communists and show that their policies consistently prove correct—but *because the very growth of this movement of public opinion makes a solution possible*. No one, including the Communists, can *by himself* change the dangerous course of events. But everything becomes possible if everyone's protests are concentrated on a few concrete goals.

What shall we do, therefore, to reach agreement on a certain number of these goals and then try to attain them together?

Well, could we follow any better line of action in this situation than the one recommended by the World Peace Council to people of various, and even opposing, views? The spirit in which the Congress of the Peoples for Peace has been called, the spirit in which the preparations for

the Paris People's Congress are going forward, seems to me to lend itself best to our common effort toward the same goal.

Why not cooperate in this *activity* and prepare for these congresses? Their weight may well be decisive in the balance of that all-important issue: "war or peace." Does that "commit" us, as they say in the trade? Yes, but only to this: to survey the means each of us offers to defend what we all, *without reservations*, agree must be defended—peace.*

Not that this need limit our discussion. But if it is the very first thing I stress, it is because our concern for peace is itself in the nature of an absolute emergency. And because Jean-Paul Sartre recognizes this—the same as we do.

(Translated from the French by J. M. Bernstein.)

*Since the above article was written, it has been announced that Jean-Paul Sartre plans to attend the Congress of the Peoples for Peace which opens in Vienna on December 12th. A Vienna dispatch to the New York *Times* of November 16 also reports that the French writer has forbidden the Parkring Theatre in Vienna to produce an anti-Communist play which he wrote a few years ago.—*The Editors.*

Korean Christmas

By **DALTON TRUMBO**

Sweet-smiling small Korean boy
With your leg half-swung across
The saddle of your bike
And your eyes already looking
Down the burnt-out village road —

Why do you stand so naked and so still?
Why do you crackle at the touch?
Why do you have no hair and why
Are your small hands fused to the handlebars
With your balancing foot glued tight to the earth
And your leftward foot to the stars?

Have we hurt you, little boy?
Ah . . . we have
We've hurt you terribly
We've killed you

Hear then, little corpse . . . it had to be
Poor consolation, yet it had to be
The Christian ethic was at stake
And western culture and the American way
And so, in the midst of pure and holy strife,
We had to take your little eastern life

And now you stand before the ashes of your house
A boy no longer — statue of a boy —
A frozen, granulated child
About to climb upon his bike
Perfectly preserved in napalm crust
Nature imitating art, war's strange emolument
That burns a living child into a monument
A lovely bicycle you had
Hard to come by in a poor land

Did you look at it with pride?
And did you polish it before
This last aborted ride?

And what were you starting to do
When it happened?
Were you going to ride your bicycle
Off to play?
Or did you hear the American sound
And try to run away?

Ah well. No matter.
We got you.

But O my little Korean boy
Remember always this:
Swift as we are to anger
And harsh though we've dealt with you
Swifter descend we into grief
Once done what we have to do

And now that the gentle Christmas snow
Descends, unfelt by you, upon your hills
Believe us, child, we long to be your friends
And seek, in Jesus' name, to make amends

What can we give you for your Christmas joy
Sweet, incinerated, small Korean boy?

A golden bell
For your melted bike
And a whistle made of jade?
A candy cane
For a Christmas tree
And a glass of marmalade?

Or would you prefer a silver flute
Or a baseball mitt
Or a cowboy suit
Or a carpenter's kit
Or a boy scout knife
Or *anything*, child, except your life?

WINDOW ON THE FUTURE

Stalin's "Economic Problems Of Socialism"

By JAMES S. ALLEN

STALIN'S work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR**, adds a new chapter to the science of Marxism. It is Marxism in the epoch of transition from socialism to communism. For the new work, which is essentially an analysis of socialist society in motion, solves theoretically the principal problems of the advance to the higher stage, and also indicates the practical steps to facilitate the transition.

The work is the climax of an extended discussion around a project for a new textbook on political economy. In his treatment of questions which remained unsettled and in his replies to various disputants, Stalin makes fresh contributions in the study of social development and in the analysis of modern capitalism and current world relations. In this article, we can only hope to indicate the central significance of a work so rich in theory and ranging over so wide a field.

Whenever Marxism advances to the solution of the central theoretical problem of a new era a powerful stimulus is thereby given to social

development. For theoretical problems themselves, as long as they remain unsolved, can become an obstacle to progress. This explains the enthusiasm with which this work has been received, and also the instantaneous application of Stalin's discoveries to the problems of Soviet development. The solid achievements of socialism and Stalin's power as a creative Marxist have inaugurated the era of transition to communism. At the Communist Party congress in Moscow in October, Malenkov spoke of Stalin's work as a guide to the transition, and the commission charged by the congress to redraft the party program was instructed to use it as a compass.

The fondest dreams of man through the ages are coming at last within recognizable view. In the last century, rejecting the Utopians, Marx and Engels made their central prognosis, based on a scientific study of society: the inevitable birth of socialism out of capitalism. They went further: they saw the first stage of the new society as a transition from capitalism to the higher stage of communism.

Marx thought it unavoidable that

*Joseph Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, International Publishers, 72p. 25 cents.

when socialism first emerged from capitalism the product of society would have to be divided according to the work performed, for, as he put it, "Justice can never rise superior to the economic conditions of society and the cultural development conditioned by them." A further economic and cultural evolution would be necessary before the higher aim is attained, when each could give in accordance with his ability and receive in accordance with his needs.

Marx in the *Gotha Program* and Engels in *Anti-Duehring* showed that for labor to become transformed from a burden to a prime necessity of life, society would have to eliminate the "enslaving subordination" of men in the division of labor, and with it the antithesis between mental and physical labor, and between town and country. This stage will be attained, Marx said, "when along with the all-round development of individuals, the production forces too have grown, and all the springs of social wealth are flowing more freely."

IN HIS classic work *State and Revolution*, Lenin stressed the non-Utopian character of Marx's analysis of the future society, and found its main significance in "that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics . . . Marx gives an analysis of what may be called stages in the economic ripeness of communism." Lenin pilloried those who would present socialism as "lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all," and added: "By what stages, by means of what practi-

cal measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim — this we do not and cannot know."

Now, within the brief historical span of thirty-five years since this was written, it is possible to know by what stages and by what practical measures humanity will proceed to communism, thanks to the successful construction of socialism and to the conclusions of Stalin from his profound study of living, dynamic socialist society.

The principal elements of the transition to communism are discussed by Stalin within the context of the socialist reality. In the process, Stalin amends some of the views of Marx and Engels and also puts forth new propositions which together constitute the science of the transition. The three principal elements of the transition are the material advance, the distinction between town and country, and the distinction between physical and mental labor.

Corresponding to these elements, Stalin cites three preliminary conditions which will all have to be realized in "a number of stages of economic and cultural re-education of society" before communism will arise. These prerequisites are (1) the continuous expansion of social production, with special emphasis upon the means of production as the key to expansion; (2) the raising of collective farm property to the level of public property; and (3) the raising of the workers to the level of the technical personnel. Stalin reveals the complexity, the scope, and the far-

reaching character of these breath-taking tasks, the fulfillment of which will constitute a transformation of socialist society and will raise man to new stature.

The first condition, **the continuous expansion of social production** to provide the abundance of goods needed for communism, is along the lines to which Soviet society has already become accustomed. The tremendous resilience and mobility of the productive forces under socialism is reflected in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. As the Moscow party congress revealed, despite the most destructive war in history, which retarded Soviet industrial development by **two five-year plans**, by the end of this year the output of means of production will be 170 per cent above the pre-war level, and of consumers goods about 60 per cent. The new plan envisions a rate of expansion that will increase the total output by 1955 to three times that of 1940. The current plan is therefore a significant step towards providing the material abundance necessary for the transition to communism.

It does not yet approach the free flow of social wealth that will be necessary. The fulfillment of the other conditions for communism, as we shall see, will spur the productive forces to heights not now attainable as new creative forces are released. But Stalin provides a new tool in the sphere of social production with his definition of the basic law of socialism, which determines all economic processes in Soviet society.

He defines this law as "the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society" by means of "the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of the highest techniques." Obviously, a correct policy devoted to the fullest possible realization of this law will itself become a force making for the maximum expansion of the productive forces.

IN HIS discussion of the second element of the transition, the distinction between town and country, Stalin demonstrates the profundity of his materialist-dialectical thinking, singling out the prime economic factor in the advance of socialism to communism. For the first time in Marxist literature, the essential distinction between agriculture and industry under socialism is fully explored in the light of the progression to communism.

Communism requires that the total product of society be at the disposal of a single agency so that goods can be distributed according to need. But in the Soviet Union today the total product is not at the disposal of the state. All means of production have been socialized, but two sectors of social production exist, corresponding to the two forms of socialist property — the state sector or socialized public property, and the collective farm sector or socialized group property. Although the state owns the decisive means of production in both industry

and agriculture (farm machinery and the land), the collectives have use of the land in perpetuity and have the right to dispose of their products, which they own.

This is a problem not foreseen by Marx and Engels in their discussion

pleted until twenty years later, the expropriated kulak property becoming the common property of the collectives rather than of the state. As Stalin points out, this is not necessarily a peculiarity of the Russian revolution, but may be considered



of the future society, and arises from the specific conditions of the socialist revolution, which occurred when there were still numerous small peasant producers in agriculture. As a result, while industry was immediately socialized by the state, the revolution in agriculture was not com-

characteristic for practically all countries.

As a consequence of the existence of two sectors of social production, commodity production with its component law of value, operating within the limits established by socialism, continues to serve a necessary and

useful function. It is the only economic relation acceptable to the collective farmers as the bond between their enterprises and the state sector. Through commodity circulation (the exchange of products by purchase and sale) and the resulting money economy, goods flow between agriculture and industry. The law of value operates primarily with goods of associated socialist sectors, is confined to articles of personal consumption, and is stripped of exploitative and regulative features which it has under capitalism. But while commodity production and value serve a necessary function, they will increasingly hamper the transition to communism.

IN HIS illuminating discussion of the nature of economic laws, Stalin shows that socialism, like other societies, has its own objective laws which operate independently of the will of man. They can be mastered and utilized for the benefit of society, but they cannot be abolished as long as the conditions which give rise to them exist. But man can change these conditions and create new ones which will serve as the foundation for new laws.

Thus, to eliminate commodity production and related factors it will be necessary to overcome the contradiction between state and collective farm property by bringing the two production sectors into a single all-embracing center. This will do away with the essential distinction between town and country. It will also eliminate the market economy, which has

no function in a society where each would give according to his ability and receive what he needs.

A single production center is to be created by raising collective farm property to the level of socialized public property. Stalin rejects the view that this objective can be obtained by converting collective farm property into state property, since this would be taken by the collective farmers as expropriation. Besides, as Stalin points out in a pregnant passage, conversion into state property is not the only or even the best form of nationalization. It is only the initial form, and also the most natural form as long as the state exists. When the majority of countries are socialist, the state will wither away and public property will pass to a central directing economic body, a situation conforming to the stage of communism.

In view of the longer historical perspective and of the requirements of gradual change, Stalin projects the principal measures that must be taken. The central point is to exclude the surplus collective farm product from the system of commodity circulation and to include it in a system of products-exchange between state industry and collective farms, contracting the sphere of the former and widening the scope of the latter, step by step.

Stalin points out that the rudiments of the new system already exist in the so-called merchandizing agreements between state agencies and the collectives producing cotton and other industrial raw materials.

These collectives are among the most prosperous in the country, and Stalin proposes to extend this system to all agriculture, the collective farms receiving for their product not only money, but chiefly the manufactures they need. He warns against haste, since an immense increase in goods for the countryside would be required. But as goods become more plentiful, Stalin says, the new system "must be introduced unswervingly and unhesitatingly." As it proceeds, the change will facilitate the advance to communism, and make increasingly possible the inclusion of the collective farm product in the system of national planning.

UNDERLYING this entire discussion is Stalin's conception of the dynamics of socialist society in its transition to communism. He finds the essence of the forward movement in overcoming the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production, which in the specific form of collective group ownership lag behind the powerful and extremely mobile productive forces of socialist society.

We have been accustomed to consider this type of contradiction only in relation to pre-socialist forms of society. Under capitalism, for example, the central contradiction is between the social character of production and private ownership of means of production, which retards and hampers the development of productive forces. This contradiction can only be overcome by socializing the

means of production, which is the economic essence of the basic change from capitalism to socialism. Stalin states that this contradiction is overcome by realizing "the economic law that the relations of production *must necessarily conform* with the character of the productive forces." This law also applies to socialism.

In socialist society, the central contradiction of capitalism has been eliminated in the socialization of the means of production by the workers' state, bringing the relations of production into conformity with the productive forces. But, as Stalin says, they have not been brought into *absolute conformity*, and not all the new relations of production have kept pace with the productive forces. This is the case with collective farm ownership.

Since the latter tends to retard social development, new relations must appear to serve as the main-spring of further progress. He therefore sees as the prime moving force of the transition to communism the bringing of lagging production relations, specifically collective farm ownership, into full conformity with the productive forces. Under conditions of the transition to the higher stage, the forces of production can have free reign only within a single all-embracing production center, when the total product is public property at the disposal of the central economic body. This gradual change, involving as the first phase the replacement of the market by products-exchange, will give birth to new pro-

duction relations, imparting a fresh and powerful stimulus to the productive forces of socialist society.

IN STALIN'S formulation of the law of contradiction between the forces and relations of production, we have a very fruitful concept for the study of all forms of society in motion, always keeping in mind the qualitative differences between the socialist and pre-socialist societies. To take an example from our own history: slavery became an obstacle to the expansion of the capitalist productive forces, and therefore the relations of production on the southern slave plantation had to be brought into conformity with these forces before capitalism could embark on its full course of development. The slave system was overthrown as a result of the Civil War, but production relations on the plantation were not brought into full conformity with the productive forces of capitalism since sharecropping arose as a remnant of slavery, to this day continuing to obstruct the productive forces. This is the main economic factor accounting for the relative economic and cultural backwardness of the South, and for the oppression of the Negro people.

In the theoretical solution of the central problems of the transition to communism, Stalin also throws light upon the entire previous course of historical development. Thus it is with every major victory of the science of Marxism.

What is in prospect in the Soviet Union is a profound social transition.

Stalin warns that this is a gradual process, complex and extended. Unlike the process by which capitalist power was overthrown in 1917, and by which capitalism in agriculture was eliminated in 1929-1937, the transition to communism does not entail an upheaval of one class against another. Antagonism is not synonymous with contradiction.

Under socialism there is no antagonism between town and country because there is no exploitative relation between them, and both worker and collective farmer have a common interest in the development of socialism. The change from commodity circulation to products-exchange is to the mutual interest of worker and collective farmer, for it will contribute immeasurably to the well-being of both. Furthermore, as Stalin says, society can take timely steps to overcome the gap between group property and the productive forces, there being no obsolescent classes to resist, while backward and inert forces can be overcome without conflict. Thanks to the basic economic law of socialism and its other attributes, a planned and directed evolution can take place.

TOGETHER with continuously expanded production and the gradual transformation of collective farm property into public property, the many-sided transition requires, as the third condition, a great cultural advance which will overcome the basic distinction between physical and mental labor. Here the perspective is

really astounding in its implications for the evolution of man himself. The limits imposed upon the individual by the existing division of labor are to be overcome so that people will "not be tied down all their lives to some one occupation." And this is to be done on a mass scale, with the aim of raising the workers to the level of the technical personnel.

Stalin proposes the reduction of the working day from the prevailing seven hours at first to six and then to five hours. With leisure thus won, the workers will have time for a polytechnical education, which is to be universal and compulsory, and will enable the worker really to choose an occupation freely. Wages are to be at least doubled, and housing conditions radically improved.

As far-reaching as they are, these objectives are no more utopian than the other preliminary conditions for the transition to communism. For they are based upon the solid achievements of socialism in all these spheres. The advance in education — at all levels and in all branches — in public health and in housing has been phenomenal, and serves as a springboard for greater achievements. On top of the rise in people's income since the war, exemplified by five successive price reductions, the new five-year plan projects an increase in real wages of 35 per cent for the workers and of 40 per cent in the income of collective farmers. This is a long step towards the goal set by Stalin.

With such perspectives, labor productivity in all spheres of social production can be expected to exceed even the spectacular advance of recent years. Since 1940, labor productivity in industry has increased by 50 per cent, a result of the great advance in technique, in the better organization of the labor process, and of the educational and cultural progress of the workers.

Stalin's great theoretical and programmatic work itself becomes a powerful stimulus to the growth of the productive forces and of the cultural and intellectual progress necessary to attain communism. It sets into motion the most vigorous social forces to attain that goal.

STALIN necessarily gives major attention to the internal factors of the transition to communism. But he also examines the international environment, the main factors of world capitalism which must be taken into account in defining the historic perspectives of socialism. From his analysis, one can see why the Soviet people can proceed with confidence along the path charted by Stalin.

Stalin considers as the most important economic sequel of World War II the emergence of two parallel world markets, one capitalist and the other socialist. Because of the fraternal relations between them, the Soviet Union, China, and the European people's democracies can adopt a rapid pace of industrialization, consolidate their world market, if necessary, without imports from the capi-

talist countries, and in fact may soon approach a position where they will be able to export their surplus to the capitalist market.

On the other hand, the disintegration of the single world market reduces the scope of capitalist economic operations, thereby narrowing the base of capitalist production, increasing the inner contradictions on all fronts, and hastening the decay of capitalism. The total effect is to deepen the general crisis of the capitalist system, which as a result of World War II has reached a second, more intense, stage. In this stage, it is no longer possible for capitalism to establish a relative market stability, as it did for a time between the two world wars. Nor can capitalism ever again attain a greater rate of growth of the productive forces, as was possible in the past despite its decay.

These conclusions have a direct bearing upon the question of war. Stalin restates the established Leninist position that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. Examining the present situation concretely, he considers that wars are inevitable among the capitalist powers, because of the sharper internal contradictions in the second stage of the general crisis. He thinks that Britain and France can be expected to break away from American domination because of their own imperialist interests, and that West Germany and Japan, only recently world powers, may rise as they did after World War I.

Although theoretically the capitalist-socialist contradiction is stronger than the rivalry among capitalist powers, it is also true that in practice World War II broke out as a war among capitalist countries. Besides, Stalin points out, war with the Soviet Union puts in question the very existence of capitalism, while in inter-capitalist wars only the life of this or that power is at stake. Finally, the Soviet Union, while always ready to defend itself against aggression, has no intention of attacking anyone, and the capitalists know it.

ESSENTIALLY, this is a restatement of the basic Marxist analysis, taking into account the specific world relations of the present period. It involves no change in the established peace policy of the Soviet Union, with its central emphasis upon the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist systems and its constant efforts to safeguard peace. If the warmakers go to war, Stalin tells them, they are more likely to fight each other than the Soviet Union, and capitalism rather than socialism would be the victim in any war.

As Stalin says, the popular peace forces which have come forward on a world scale, although not directed at the overthrow of capitalism and therefore at the root cause of war, may be powerful enough to prevent a threatening war or to preserve a given situation of peace, leading possibly to political changes within this or that country. Certainly, the total

emphasis in his treatment of this question is not upon an inevitable imminent war, either against the Soviet Union or among the capitalist powers, but rather upon the world factors which make it possible for the peace forces to defeat the present drive towards war, headed by United States imperialism.

Of special significance for the understanding of present-day capitalism is Stalin's definition of its basic economic law. He is not speaking here of laws which determine separate processes, but of the single law which determines the basic nature of capitalism. It is such a law as Marx indicated for the earlier period of capitalism, when he said that "the rate of profit is the compelling power of capitalism production." (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 304) Marx also foresaw that a period in the development of capitalism may come when this law may no longer suffice: "As soon as the formation of capital were to fall into the hands of a few established giant capitals, which are compensated by the mass of products for the loss through a fall in the rate of profit, the vital fire of production would be extinguished."

Actually, in the period of monopoly capital this did not happen, because monopoly itself, as well as colonial expansion, acted as a brake on any sharp fall in the rate of profit, a tendency due to the larger organic composition of capital which resulted from higher techniques. In redefining the basic law of capitalism for the present period, Stalin shows that

the average rate of profit no longer suffices for monopoly capital, but that it must seek the maximum rate of profit to assure expansion, and by extraordinary means. He therefore formulates the basic law of monopoly capitalism as follows:

"The securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."

THE experiences of the first half of the twentieth century confirm this essential characteristic of monopoly capital, and particularly the present aggressive nature of American imperialism.

To explore the entire operation of monopoly capital in the light of this basic law would be fruitful in many respects. No doubt it would throw considerable light upon now obscure aspects of the economy of the United States. Of special interest now are the contrasting futures held out for capitalism and for socialism, coming more sharply forward with the further working out of the basic economic law of each system. Here, maximum profit guides policy; there maximum satisfaction of the people's needs guides policy. On the one side, maximum profit engenders war; on

the other, the maximum satisfaction of the people's needs requires peace. Here, boom and bust; there, the continuous expansion of production.

Stalin's definition of the basic law of monopoly capitalism is also very fruitful when coupled with his analysis of the main factors in the present world situation. Within a second, more acute, stage of the general crisis, when the United States tends to be isolated by its uneasy and unruly allies, the drive for maximum profit sharpens all inter-power rivalries and domestic tensions. It may be added that the drive for maximum profits carries with it also the threat of maximum economic crisis, the outlines of which are plainly visible within the capitalist world sector.

Under these conditions, the popular forces in the United States, specifically the main body of labor, cannot remain dormant much longer, especially when confronted with a more powerful constellation of fascist forces on a national scale and with the first economic setbacks. We are in a turbulent period, in which class conflicts will become sharper, and not only the workers but also large sectors of the Negro people, the middle classes and the farmers must find a common front against the menace of crisis, fascism and war.

The significance of Stalin's new theoretical work goes much beyond the textbook on political economy, as important as it is, around which a spirited discussion had developed in the Soviet Union on the points that

Stalin now clarifies. It is not only a product of his own creative power, but also a response to the extended collective discussions on political economy and to the general ferment of ideas which characterizes Soviet life. Stalin's work is a powerful stimulus to the development of Marxist theory everywhere and an inspiration to those who would work seriously in the field of theory.

Stalin shows again his scientific genius for generalizing from a study of the concrete and complex realities of current development, to state precisely, stripped of non-essentials, that which is important for the further development of society. We see that Marxism is indeed a living science, refreshed and reinvigorated with every new advance of humanity, a science that by mastering new problems, opens the path to social progress.

In Stalin's work we see not only the confirmation of the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism, but also their creative development. With the solution of new problems Stalin has deepened and extended the science of society. When necessary, he has *scientifically* discarded or amended theses that no longer apply in their original form, and has developed new propositions in the fashion of dialectical materialism, that is, on the basis of the concrete study of the specific reality. Dogmatism is banished inexorably by this outlook and method. Stalin's new work is creative Marxism in full flower.

Give Us Your Hand

By **EDITH SEGAL**

Tonight
as you quietly draw the curtain on the day's activity
and reclining
contemplate the fertile promise of unborn time

imagine
that you are Ethel or Julius Rosenberg
in the Death House at Sing Sing

The dimness is a fog your eyes defy
Sleep is a luxury long lost

after dignity — time
being most treasured
measured by the hurrying steps
of death —
even napping is a thief

Suddenly there's light
in your cell
in the prison block
in the house on Monroe Street
where you lived with your children
in the narrow streets of New York's lower East Side,
your city
in all the cities of the land
in the assembly halls in all the schools,
your school, P.S. 88

where you stood with your hand upon your heart
as you faced the flag and said the words
that were to give your life direction:

WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

Now
you stand at the bars of your cell
with your hands cupped wide at your mouth
and shout to the world at the top of your lungs:

IF YOU SLEEP WHILE THEY KILL US

WILL THEY KILL YOU WHILE YOU SLEEP?

If you ever breathed too deeply
the air of brotherhood

clasped black and white hands
in your neighborhood

or gave a dime
for democratic Spain

or signed your name
to nominate your choice
a voice for peace

WILL THEY KILL YOU WHILE YOU SLEEP

IF YOU SLEEP WHILE THEY KILL US?

We yearn to live and see our children grow
but if we burn then part of them
and part of you will turn to dust
and death will haunt our home, our land

GIVE US YOUR HAND!

Let us stand in the sunlight
when the wind is still

and the din of war subsides into the sea
and scales are righted

and our worth declared
to be among the living

to mold the fertile promise
of unborn time

Marianela's Visit

A Story by WARREN MILLER

WHEN Marianela returned from her visit to Puerto Rico we invited her to a meeting of our society. It was only a two-week visit she had made but, as Pinto pointed out, Marianela was a woman of great perception. In two weeks it was possible she would see more than some others might see in a year. Or a lifetime.

The meeting was at Cerrera's apartment because he had the biggest living room, and on this special occasion of Marianela's little talk we had invited some friends who were not members of our society. Cerrera's aunt was there, white-haired, her ancient vitality dominating us all; she smoked a cigarette with such elegance that she transformed the room. Her presence caused the polished tabletop to glow with richer depths; and the paperbound books by Ruben Darío and Engels, Lenin and Guillen, Neruda and Marx seemed, once she was seated before the bookcase, all to be collectors' items.

There was also Victor Galdés, the owner of *La Flor de la Calle 104th de Victor Galdés*, a small grocery store

on 104th Street; and Maldonado, our old friend from the 114th Street American Labor Party Club. I greeted Señor Velasquez who lived downtown at 93rd Street.

Señor Velasquez and I had gotten to know each other because I passed his house every day on my way home from work. He lived on the ground floor and was always seated at the window reading the newspaper that I also read. After a few weeks we began to nod to each other; this soon led to comments on our health and everybody's weather. And soon we were friends. The Latin American *dignidad* has nothing in common with Anglo-snobbery. In the Latin American working-class neighborhoods, a new tenant is expected to introduce himself to his neighbors within ten minutes of arrival. This is an essential part of a man's dignity: neighborliness, aiding one's friends.

Cerrera called the meeting to order. He stood behind his chair, his hands, dark and strong as the seasoned wood, resting on the back

of it. "First I would like to welcome to this meeting our friends, people who have known us for a long time but who, for one reason or another, have not yet joined our society."

He paused for a moment, eyes closed, face blandly expressing the belief that this oversight would soon be corrected. "Tonight we are going to hear a report on recent events in our homeland by one who has just returned. You all know our compatriot, Marianela. I cannot tell you anything about her you do not already know. You have heard her speak from the sound trucks during the campaigns; you have met her at meetings of the Tenants' Council; you have seen her in all those places where our people have come together in the fight for better lives. We have asked Marianela to come here tonight to tell us about her visit to Puerto Rico."

LUIS, our treasurer, at this point offered Marianela the easy chair, but she preferred the straightback chair in which she was sitting. There were the final shiftings, then, of people adjusting themselves to their chairs, lighting cigarettes. Marianela had no notes to shuffle. She put her purse on the floor and stubbed out a cigarette in the ashtray on her lap. Her every movement, no matter how pedestrian the object, was graceful; her profile was like those seen in Mayan sculpture, and her carriage had in it all the pride of an ancient people and a nation struggling to be born.

She had the ease of the practiced

speaker and the confidence that comes with the knowledge that one is among friends. Her hands, in the beginning at rest on her lap, soon moved as rapidly as her words, darting like two dark quick birds in the thicket of her language.

She told of her arrival in San Juan, how when the plane touched the earth she thought of our dear friend who was killed in the last plane crash there. This was the plane piloted by a man who was the husband of the famous singer; this pilot was injured and when his wife, the famous one, arrived in San Juan, the police would not immediately let her into the hospital to see him. This made her very angry and she told newspapermen that she was going to phone President Truman and "find out who runs this country." But she did not have to go to all that trouble. Anyone in Puerto Rico could have told her.

Luis sighed gently at the memory of our friend, the loss of him; and Cerrera's aunt shook her head, saying, "So young he was, so young." As if this should have been protection enough against death.

In San Juan, Marianela went to see our friends. "And, oh," she said, "to walk through the streets of San Juan with them is an experience. No matter where we went, in every block, a man or woman would see us and say, 'Hello, Ramón. How are you and how is the society?' Everywhere in San Juan the same thing: 'How are you, Ramón? How is the society?' And at their street meetings, when

the FBI start taking pictures of the speakers, the people move closer to the platform to express their solidarity with the speakers. Each time a picture is taken they move closer."

Yes, it was because of one of these meetings that some of our friends were arrested. They had put up posters announcing a meeting and the police arrested them. Under some old law they were guilty of defacing public property. This was their "crime." But everywhere in San Juan there was evidence that this law was being broken every day; the government party had posters all over the place. So our friends decided to swear out a warrant for the arrest of the governor.

"We are very aggressive there," Marianela said, smiling to our laughter. "Oh, we do not sit and wait for things to happen to us."

BUT of course, she said, in all of San Juan there was not one judge who would sign the warrant for the arrest of the governor. So we went then to the newspapers. And because this was a threat to all the parties outside of power, the papers made a big thing of it and some important lawyers volunteered their services. The result was this: when the case came to trial, three of the government's four witnesses failed to appear; and the fourth had an amazing lapse of memory. He could remember nothing, wasn't sure of anything. There was nothing for the judge to do. He had to dismiss the case.

"Clearly, he had no other choice,"

Pinto said, and we all smiled happily at the thought of this unhappy judge.

"When I was a little girl in Puer to Rico," Marianela said, "it was the time of the formation of the Socialist Party there. And I remember how amazed we all were to see women—only a few—taking an active part in politics. But today, in all parties, women are on the leading bodies; they are among the most active fighters for independence. In politics there seem to be more women than men."

Marianela told us of the two women she met, members of the Independence Party. They had just been released from jail, having served fifteen months for the crime of flying the Puerto Rican flag from the balconies of their homes.

"This is the same flag that today the governor flies from the capitol; but these women were arrested for showing this flag because, at that time, Puerto Rico was not yet 'independent'."

"They were premature Puerto Ricans," Cerrera said, and everyone smiled bitterly at the truth of this.

These two women, Marianela went on, had been thrown into the worst cells of the prison in the attempt to break their spirit. They kept them in the dungeons at first and when they saw this was not accomplishing anything, they threw them in with the prostitutes. They thought that these two women, who were of the middle class, could not take this treatment and would be offended by the

proximity of the prostitutes.

This is what happened. There was an old woman in the big cell, and she was the authority. She called a meeting of the women and said: "These two women are here because they are fighters for Puerto Rican independence. As long as they are here I do not want any rough language; and when they go to the shower room, you others will stay outside; and I want respect for them because they are good women and they are fighting for us." And the result was that the two women were very happy there, were taken care of and protected by the other women, who were more familiar with prison routine.

Also at this time one of the men prisoners composed a song in honor of the two fighters for independence. It was learned from cell to cell, and soon the entire prison was singing it. So the authorities at this point gave up their efforts to "re-educate" the two women.

"When you have a whole nation against you," Marianela said, "it must be very easy to get discouraged."

WHEN we have a parade, she said, and march through the streets of San Juan with our peace posters, our posters that call for an end to the fighting in Korea and to the high cost of living, our chants for independence, there is never a word against us shouted from the people, nor any hostile actions. And in the small towns, the farmers and their families come in trucks from the countryside,

or walk, to hear our speakers. In one small town a woman proudly told Marianela: "This is a good town." And she pointed to a certain house. "From that house," the woman said, "in 1937, three sons went off to Spain to fight Franco. From one family, three sons." In this small town that house was like a monument, pointed out to all visitors.

And at the time of the disturbance there, Marianela said, when there was shooting in the streets and our friends were being rounded up, the people came to our aid. She could not tell us—there was not time—of the many instances of courage and support on the part of the people, many of whom were not even members of our society.

But one story she would like to tell, Marianela said, because it was of a man known to some of us. She turned to Pinto, Luis, Lucia, Cerrera, and me, and said, "You remember Armando who visited us here two years ago?"

Of course, we said, of course. Who has forgotten our great friend Armando? Of course we remember.

Armando lives in a town on the other side of the island from San Juan. In his town they heard, at first, only vague reports and rumors of the activity in San Juan. Later there was definite news on the radio, but in the beginning there was much uncertainty. On the second day Armando decided to go to San Juan, to see if there was anything he could do to help his friends.

From this town to San Juan there

was an ancient bus that made the trip each day. In the morning, then, he boarded this bus. The bus driver smiled at him when he entered, and Armando thought perhaps he knew him; but he could not remember ever having seen the man before.

Well, you know, it is a long trip. Armando watched the countryside roll past, the large fields of cane, the small fields of tobacco, the farmers tilling the land even on the slopes of the steepest hills. It is a landscape of great loveliness, where beauty and misery live side by side, familiar with each other as man and wife.

And so Armando looked at the pleasant, known fields and the low mountains, the soft rounded hills that from a distance look so perfectly shaped they seem to be man-made; he engaged in conversation with the other passengers. As the journey progressed, passengers got on, others got off. And the closer they came to San Juan the more evident it became that things were not as usual. There were soldiers in movement along the road; there was a tenseness that crackled in the air.

SUDDENLY the bus stopped. The driver told the passengers it was motor trouble; he cursed the age of the bus and the fractiousness of this particular motor. He said it would take a few minutes while he made emergency repairs. Then he pointed to Armando. "You look like a good strong man," he said. "Come give me a hand with this motor."

Armando got out of the bus and

went with the driver to the back. The driver took a wrench and every once in a while he hit the bus; this was to reassure the passengers that work was being accomplished. Between these periods of noise-making, he said to Armando: "Listen, my friend, the police told me to be on the look-out for you. In two hours we will be at the outskirts of San Juan. There the soldiers will stop us and ask me if I have seen you or any of your friends. Here is what we will do. When the bus stops, put your hat over your face and pretend you're asleep. Leave the rest to me." Then the driver banged the bus a few more times and they got in.

To make matters worse, and to add to Armando's anxiety, all the passengers left the bus before they arrived at San Juan, so that when the soldiers stopped the bus Armando was the only passenger.

There were five of them. The one in charge came into the bus and looked at the sole passenger, this man who lay sprawled over a seat half-way down the bus, his hat over his head.

"Well, and how are things going?" Armando heard the driver ask the soldier.

"Not too well," the soldier said, "not too well at all." And the bus driver did not question the ambiguity of this answer.

The soldier said, "I must ask you to report to me if you have seen any of these men." He handed the driver a long sheet of paper with the pictures of certain men and women. Near

the bottom of the list was Armando's picture. The driver made a great show of giving serious consideration to each of the pictures. Finally, he shook his head. "No," he said, "I haven't seen any of these people. And right now, as you see, I have only one passenger and that is my brother-in-law, Jesús Gonzalez."

The soldier turned and looked at the sleeping man.

"He always falls asleep on this trip. Instead of keeping me company and providing me with diversion, he falls asleep. It is always so."

The soldier shrugged. He stepped down from the bus.

"Continue on your way," he said.

And that is how Armando got to San Juan and was able to help at a time he was badly needed.

"Of all the many things I saw and heard during my two weeks there, this story stands out most clearly in my mind. It reveals how the people themselves, without waiting and without a single spoken demand for their aid, step forward and play their part in the fight against imperialism. Armando told me that on this day of the bus ride he saw as a certainty what he had always felt to be true: that the reason our words are so well accepted by colonial peoples everywhere is that what we say is already a felt reality

in the bones of the people. We merely give expression, articulate what the people in their wisdom already know."

"It is a wonderful story," Luis said, "wonderful."

"Now I have an idea," Cerrera said. "We have our good friend here—" he pointed to me "—he is a writer; he knows the editor of a magazine. Perhaps we should ask that he interview Marianela and then try to get his friend to publish it in the magazine. There is no doubt that it would be of interest to many people."

We all agreed that this would be a good idea, and after many cups of coffee and much discussion I asked Marianela when it would be possible for us to get together.

"It is going to be very difficult," she said, consulting a small, tattered notebook. "So many things, so little time. It is a common complaint these days, no?" she smiled.

We made, finally, tentative arrangements for Thursday night. She would come to my place, because I had to baby-sit on that night.

"But don't be surprised if I do not get there. I have to make up for those two weeks I was away."

On Thursday night Marianela did not come. And I was not surprised.

The Battle For the Bucks

BRAND-NAME CULTURE

By BARBARA GILES

BEFORE the horns had been put away and the confetti swept out, following *Life's* publication of Hemingway's *Old Man and the Sea*, the author made a second appearance in the same magazine. Again he wrote about fishing. The renowned Hemingway prose was as simple and stripped as ever. In fact it was positively stark. In a mere four paragraphs—surrounded by his picture and large display type—the author delivered his message without any obscure symbolism: that “when you have worked a big marlin fast because there were sharks after him,” there is nothing like the reward of “a bottle of Ballantine Ale.”

Naturally, the critics made no comment. Some of them may have winced, recalling their own impression which they had taken pains to convey to readers, that after an Old Man has conquered the marlin and battled the sharks (even unsuccessfully), the finest reward possible is the sheer knowledge of having fought - the - good - fight and fallen Christlike under the boat's mast.

However, if Ballantine Ale wants to mess around with literature and can bait writers with something more substantial than their exalted challenge, “How Would You Put a Bottle of Ale into Words?,” presumably it's none of the critics' business. Advertising is advertising, and one isn't supposed to “take it seriously.”

The trouble with that supposition nowadays is that so few of us are blind and deaf. If we were, we wouldn't have the problem of figuring out where the advertising stops and the cultural material begins.

Leave aside for the moment such obvious areas of intermingling as radio and TV entertainment, in which the advertising agencies' use of soap operas over the years conditioned many people to accept a performance like Nixon's in “Me and My Dog.” Long before TV, the salesmen were reaching for our minds along with our wallets. At one time they went after life and limb too, until the Pure Food and Drugs Act halted their best endeavors in that line. We are now spared advertisements of

lethal "salts" or of eyelash-lotions guaranteed to burn the eyes out. For that we may well be grateful, especially as we are spared nothing else.

Costly as television is, it still rates lower in the advertisers' budget than the big magazines, which preceded both TV and radio. True, the union of ads and culture is less brazen there. Compared with the television version, it seems more like a courtship, shy and almost tremulous.

No story, even in the slicks, ends with the chief character stepping forward to demand that you buy his pet brand of Softie-Mushie Bread. Neither are the stories produced under the direct supervision of the advertiser. And there's no "captive audience," since nobody *has* to read the advertisements. But for all that, the thin column line that separates the big, bold type from the small is thinner than it looks.

Sheer quantity is a pressure in itself. Once upon a time magazines promoted themselves by advertising their reader-contents. Now they are more inclined to advertise their advertising. *Life*, for example, boasts that in nine months it carried 2,736 pages of ads—which averages out to about seventy pages an issue, nearly sixty percent of the total magazine. (This does not include such hot news features as four pages on "The Siren Look For Fall," which not only displays dress models sequined and satined to kill, but gives pertinent information about each garment, not omitting the fashion designer and price tag.)

When advertising absorbs more than fifty percent of a periodical's contents it can hardly be ignored by the most resistant reader—certainly not while there's an artist or copywriter left to sweat out more "eye appeal."

BUT the reader has to do more than read the ads: he must be a good customer. If he isn't, he's no use to the advertiser—and therefore no use to the publisher, who depends on advertising for his existence and profit.

And what good is a reader without an extra dollar in his pockets? What good is a reader who might not be persuaded that truth and beauty can be bought with the latest window-drapes or toothpaste? The reading audience, in other words, must be "receptive." To aim at such an audience, to keep it that way and extend it—that is a job which the editors must share with the advertising department.

When magazines advertise their advertising, they often advertise their readers too: so many of them own cars, so many buy homes. . . . "The reader of *Today's Woman*," says a full-page newspaper ad, is

" . . . young, newly married, and turns to us for her homemaking advice. . . . Her husband makes \$4,665 a year. . . . In the ten years she is with us (we start turning them over to the matronly magazines after the first ten years) she will spend about \$40,000. . . . [She] will have two children, her own home (almost completely furnished), a kitchen full of labor-saving appliances, a tele-

vision set—all products that she sees advertised in *Today's Woman*. . . ."

The ad doesn't say whether or not she will still have her husband. What *he* will have, if he's stuck it out, is a wife adored by salesmen and a debt fit to flatten his arches. But that isn't the point. The point is that it's just such an attitude toward the reader, by no means confined to *Today's Woman*, that will enable anyone to understand why working-class men and women appear as rarely in the fiction as in the ads of the big magazines.

That "eye appeal" is to money and snobbery. Not only must the reader have \$4,000 a year and up—definitely up—for spending freely, but she (or he) must be eager to spend it in a certain category, that of appearances-and-comfort.

Moreover, the appearances are strictly prescribed. Where, in any of the big fiction magazines, can one find a hero or heroine who is a Negro? And where do Negroes appear in the ads except as beaming servants, the same role that they play in the stories? (Walter Christmas, in the September 1949 issue of *Masses and Mainstream*, did a thoroughgoing exposé of this situation in advertising, and it hasn't changed since. Among other things, Mr. Christmas revealed that when commercial artists included Negroes in a crowd scene for an ad, they were painted out before publication.)

It isn't enough, however, to be "white." A survey of both the ads

and the reading matter discloses a fixed ideal of a "typical American" family. Among men the noses are straight but not long; among women and children a slight uplift is preferred. At the moment there's a run on gray eyes, though they may be blue or "clear brown." As for the eyebrows and proportions of forehead, cheek, and chin, they might all have been done to specified measurements by the same draftsman. A remarkable calorie-canceller in their food keeps all their figures equally neat and trim.

This "typical American" is, in brief, a "typical Anglo-Saxon"—prettily tinted, monotonous, and two-dimensional. But not innocuous. Never underestimate the power of a stereotype. To millions of actual Americans these paper-doll people are presented every day in thousands of pictures and words, in print, on TV and Hollywood screens, and over the air. In fiction they are the ones whose virtue, good sense, and charm bring them victorious through fake struggles. In the ads they are the owners of the world's washing machines and automobiles.

They are also, of course, the representatives of the American Way: their faces decorate the recruiting posters, their standard of living is "possible only in America" (adv.), and their fictional dilemmas are worked out in an atmosphere so untouched by the operations of any political system that the reader can only assume that, if one exists, it functions as efficiently and silently as the

latest electric refrigerator. Lest there be any doubt about this, however, a grim article is frequently permitted among the many that deal with more peripheral civil subjects. This one has to do with the alleged horrors of the socialist way of life, an "exposé" or "confession" designed to make any reader deliriously grateful for his mortgage, taxes, and cereal-box tops.

OCCASIONALLY the rapport between small print and large encounters problems. A matronly magazine will find it necessary now and then to publish an article in which the author explains to foreigners why they shouldn't get the idea from all those luscious ads of material goods in America that we are a materialistic nation—that, on the contrary, the abundance of frozen and canned goods, automobiles, and labor-saving appliances is enabling Americans to move away from the nasty cities and get back to old-fashioned home-tending and simple community living in the suburbs and small towns.

More insensitive magazines think nothing of attempting to excite their readers into war under the banners of "Godliness" and "things of the spirit" through exhortations surrounded by clamorous ads of the most tempting luxuries that money can buy. Perhaps it's assumed that the public is too dazzled, bewitched, and befuddled by now to make connections or notice contradictions.

In any case, insults to the reader's intelligence are not exceptional. In advertising they may take the form

of urging you to drink beer because it "*belongs*" in "this friendly, freedom-loving land" or to buy stocks because (according to a New York Stock Exchange ad) they will make you feel like the Pilgrims, who wanted to be independent and therefore "went into business" for themselves.

While such insults in the editorial columns are usually less crass, they are no less offensive. If anything they are more so. An appeal to drink beer as a means of preserving the American folkways may well be considered less revolting than an appeal to blast people to bits because they allegedly (1) don't have any deep-freezes, and (2) think too highly of deep freezes.

Defenders of advertising do not brag about its influence on the "reading matter." They brag that there would *be* no reading matter without the ads—or any radio or TV either. They "support the culture." What's more, some of them claim, they are responsible for certain cultural achievements quite independently of the reading matter and the programs.

In 1929 a book appeared on *The History and Development of Advertising* in which the author, Frank Presbrey, stated that "advertising probably is our greatest agency for spreading an understanding and love of beauty in all things." (Quoted, with disagreement, by Max A. Geller in *Advertising at the Crossroads*.) And as far back as 1867, one George Wakeman wrote in *Galaxy Magazine* that "The names of successful advertisers have become household

words where great poets, politicians, philosophers, and warriors are as yet unheard of. . . ."

In our own day we are familiar with the ads that liken brand names to the signatures of famous painters and writers, and with the broadcasts of symphonies in which a voice rushes in after the music to say that the genius and labor which produce beautiful sounds can also produce a beautiful car and so, ladies and gentlemen. . . .

THERE'S a certain ugly truth in these boasts. Advertising *is* a cultural force in itself, a destructive one. It is, first, a pageant and drama of Things—a drama with competition, color, sound, and glittering techniques, which no one is wholly allowed to escape. To large numbers of the radio and TV audiences it is a pain in the ears and eyes which has evoked complaints on a mass scale. Some people, perhaps many, learn to like it. It's a "nice feeling" to become part of the glitter and bigness. And there have never been so many Things as now, so many shining and novel things—or such high-priced ones.

Who will buy them? The advertising agencies, after all, have six and a half billion dollars a year with which to answer that question. The competition, the techniques, the color and sound become more and more fabulous. There are people who read ads because they "can't help it." There are people who read them or listen to them as one daydreams,

with no hope of ever owning the objects advertised but enjoying the fantasy of them anyway. And there are people who will tell you, only half facetiously, that they can endure the commercials on TV better than the programs because the former are better technically and make a concrete, understandable point.

To relish attractive clothes, sleek machinery, and good food is certainly no fault. It becomes a fault when the producers and advertisers have succeeded in catching, tantalizing, and absorbing attention to the point where it refuses to face the truth about this beguiling marketplace. There are several truths. One is that those captivating wares, offered in such abundance, are the products of a cold war-inflation economy, manufactured, priced, and sold by monopolists who would as soon kill a child in Asia as sell a cap-pistol to a child in America. No one should be allowed to forget that.

Nor can we, with conscience, forget that the abundance is not for the millions who can't pay—the millions who are screened off the television sets or painted out of the crowd scenes, those whose complexion or attire doesn't "harmonize" with the artistic containers and polished surfaces.

The drama of Things has no corner for human conflict. It hasn't even flesh-and-blood except in the persons of artists, writers, singers, and actors whose talent must be dedicated to the emptily perfect technique and the gorgeous cliché.

Being considerably more human than the culture they have to produce, some of them have supported movements for peace or social justice—until they were “discovered” (via *Red Channels*) and pitched out of their jobs as “controversial figures.” Only one kind of “controversy” can exist in a salesman culture, the controversy of the salesmen (whose cigarette irritates the least number of throats? which wristwatch is preferred by the most distinguished men? . . .)

But the obvious corruptions of such a culture are not the only ones. When people are assaulted from every angle by falsehoods and half-truths, a certain conditioning sets in.

It isn't so much that the lies themselves are idiotic or harmful—as they are. It isn't so much that people may actually swallow them. Sometimes they do. But often they do not, and aren't even expected to. They may believe that the cold cream used by Mrs. Nicholas du Pont will give them an elegant shine too. But no one, not even a twelve-year-old, is in danger of believing that Rodin's *Thinker* was reflecting on “four types of men's jackets,” or that the efficiency of gas appliances is helped by the election (at the manufacturers' convention) of “Miss Gas Flame of 1953.”

It isn't likely either that ad-readers will take as fact the statement that there are “millions of Americans who sing ‘I'm from Milwaukee, and I ought to know, it's Blatz, Blatz, Blatz, wherever you go.’” And too

many consumers have found out the deception of more “serious” claims to believe them readily either.

What they do believe—know, rather, since it's a fact—is that falsehoods, half-truths, and misrepresentations can be poured out with impunity by the richest, most successful, and therefore most “respectable” figures in the nation and it would be foolish to object. It would be foolish, that is, to insist upon the truth. So one becomes accustomed to not expecting it.

A CONDITIONING of this sort may not stop with the ads. One contention of the advertising apologists is that the claims made contain no more “bias” and no less honesty than the claims of most politicians. It's an interesting point.

In the recent presidential campaign the candidates of the two major parties never revealed what they truly thought, in any specific terms, on the most vital issue of all—war or peace. On other issues they ignored awkward or inconvenient details. The issues were “too explosive” to be dealt with candidly and directly—so the half-truth, the vague promise, the high-flown rhetoric had to do.

No doubt this seemed very strange to many citizens, who most of all needed a chance to vote on the explosive issues but couldn't find out just where their candidate stood. Still, it's an old custom of big-party campaigns—candidates are simply not “expected” to tell hard truths or, in

fact, more of any truth that can be successfully avoided.

We're not implying, of course, that the big politicians learned this approach from the advertisers. But the approach is similar; and it too is based upon the assumption that the public has been trained not to insist upon the truth. Candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties have to be "sold"—and the fact is that the money for this particular branch of advertising comes from substantially the same pockets that provide the cash for "controversies" among the name brands.

It isn't surprising that the techniques are so often similar. Both employ the "build-up," the "new angle," the "gimmick," and all the sound and fury of their mutual media. People who saw the TV broadcasts of the two major parties' conventions in July report that the regular "messages" from the advertising sponsors seemed less an interruption than an orderly punctuation of the proceedings.

It was an ad man who worked out a plan to sell Eisenhower like shaving-cream in a high-pressure TV-and-radio campaign—but it could just as easily have been a campaign-manager or publicity expert.

The advertisers themselves got into the political act directly though in a small way by using part of their precious space to urge people to VOTE. Maybe you wonder how that could help their sales? Then listen to the story of the built-in bra. It is told in detail by Joseph Kaselow, who conducts a column, "The Advertising

Field," for the financial section of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Well, it seems that the Peter Pan Foundations, Inc., was having difficulty putting over its brassiere called Hidden Treasure (seriously), a "built-in contour" type of garment to which women had not been sufficiently "educated." So the ad agency and company officials plotted a campaign costing \$200,000, a drive of such furious purpose and energy that we regret not being able to report all the details in this space. Its climax was reached this fall when, Mr. Kaselow relates, the entire campaign was "built around the election theme:

"Two double-spread color ads are running in the *Ladies Home Journal* and *McCall's* carrying the message, 'the ballot box needs the woman's touch. Don't forget to vote.' Each ad carries a different list of 531—the number of electoral votes—stores carrying Peter Pan merchandise. Thus a total of 1,062 leading stores will get advertising mention. The number of stores represented from each state equals the number of electoral votes the state has. . . ."

The above is offered in lieu of a lengthy exposition and documentation of the general bad taste and downright vulgarity of most advertising—which you can hardly miss anyway.

There are, however, grimmer things than vulgarity in the ad culture. As a sample we offer a display by the General Aniline & Film Corp. (originally spawned by the Nazis' I. G. Farben) published in *Newsweek* of November 3. It opens with excerpts from a United Press story, dateline

Paris, quoting Minister of the Interior Charles Brune to the effect that police have been told to spray "participants in any future demonstrations" with a "penetrating blue dye which they will find almost impossible to wash off," thereby identifying them to everyone as "Reds" who are to be barred from government posts. "Police," the dispatch ads, "also will make extensive use of photographs of street fights to identify Red leaders and hoodlums. . . ."

And why is General Aniline so interested? Why, it makes a blue dye, as well as cameras and films! What's

more, it offers to *give*—not sell—twenty-five pounds of its dye "to any government of any United Nations member which will follow the example of the French."!

This ad may or may not mark a new trend (will du Pont advertise its munitions next?); its total brutality, its blatant alliance with the politicians of imperialism against the world's demonstrators for peace and genuine freedom, is as shocking a specimen of the salesman's culture as can be found. It may be more candid than others but not, basically, more callous or more calculating.

Robeson's Voice on Records

For a long time few, if any, records by Paul Robeson have been obtainable. The big recording companies, which formerly sold millions of his records, have virtually banned America's foremost people's artist.

So we are happy indeed to learn that Robeson's great voice will soon be available again on records. An independent recording company has been set up to produce new Robeson recordings and present other artists who have been gagged because of their progressive views.

"*I am determined,*" writes Paul Robeson, "*to defeat those who would imprison my voice. Your support of this new project will help to break through the barriers.*"

We urge all M&M readers to help guarantee success for this important venture. You can do this by subscribing now to a special \$5 advance sale of *Robeson Sings*, a new album scheduled for release next month. This autographed Subscribers' Edition (either long-playing or regular) can be ordered from Othello Recording Corp., 53 West 125 St., (Suite 3), New York 27, N. Y.

Let us all work to bring this great Singer of Peace to ever-greater audiences.

—THE EDITORS

Right Face

Broadminded

"WASHINGTON. — The State Department agreed today that the question of the size of the French budget was something for France, and not the United States, to decide." — *From the New York Times.*

High Command

"TOKYO. — After two American soldiers committed suicide by jumping from the sixth floor of the Tokyo finance building barracks, the American Army issued a directive stating it was against Army regulations for personnel to jump from building tops. Violators, it warned, in the future would be prosecuted." — *From the Detroit News.*

Fifth Column

"EGYPTIANS EAT MORE, SO ECONOMY SUFFERS." — *Headline in the New York Times.*

Freedom Preserved

"I think one of the fundamentals of the freedom we enjoy in this country is that a man can be as vulgar as he likes." — *Judge Patrick P. Curran of Providence, R.I., in dismissing disorderly conduct charges against a man accused of using foul language to a sensitive policeman.*

We invite readers' contributions to this department. Original contributions are requested.

"Limelight"

Another Chaplin Triumph

By IRA WALLACH

LONG after Attorney General McGranery has become an afterthought in a history book, men and women will see revivals of *Limelight* and wonder again at the comic genius of Charlie Chaplin. Here is the old master again with his persistent refusal to view the film as anything other than a medium for an art.

In *City Lights* Chaplin told of the little tramp, the fellow at the receiving end of everything, who restored sight to a blind girl whom he loved, only to have her go off with another man. *Limelight* tells of an aging comedian who has lost his audience, and a young woman to whom he restores the use of her legs so that she may dance again. In *City Lights* it was tragic that she left him. In *Limelight* it would have been tragic had he not left her.

Thereza, the young dancer, falls in love with the old Calvero and asks him to marry her. But now, at the end of his days, Calvero is seeking to end his life with dignity. He knows that her love is really gratitude, and he refuses to play the part of a lovesick old fool. He expresses his love by nursing her to a triumph in the ballet. For this, he wins a re-

ward, his own last great triumph in which he and his audience are again united. And then, while he lies dead in the wings, his protegee dances on.

Chaplin's theme is the continuity of art and life, the grandeur of consciousness. The sun, he remarks, may shoot forth flames 250,000 miles long, but the sun is not as miraculous as man. The sun cannot think. He taps his forehead and reminds the young dancer what his father told him as a child: man's greatest resource is his mind.

The new Chaplin film is a deeply felt affirmation of human values. As such it does not go as deeply as *The Great Dictator*, which explored the very limits of what might be said in the commercial channels through which films are distributed. But the humanism of a film like *Limelight* is today a challenge. A McGranery cannot tolerate an affirmation of life and the dignity of man. He must reject the Chaplins to preserve the debasement of the film.

Limelight stands out among a mass of anti-human films which tout the futility of consciousness in man and deny the continuity of life and art. The movies and television offer

as the main content of their humor prattfalls, insults, cruelty, and farce reduced to stupidity. But Chaplin comes forward again with a work which restores humor to the people because he finds its source in people and not in nightmare character.

ONE scene illustrates this clearly. Thereza, the dancer, whom Calvero has rescued from suicide, lies in his rented room. The landlady of the rooming house, determined to evict Thereza, approaches Calvero as he is climbing the stairs to his room. The landlady is frowsy, fat and ungainly. In an effort to put off her demands, Calvero makes love to her. The brief love scene is satirical, witty, and delicious. If he is making a fool of her, he is also making something of a fool of himself. Self-satire, not arrogance, gives the scene its charm. He does not stand there, insulting a woman because she is fat and no longer youthful (a routine which happens every hour on the hour on television).

That is why Chaplin's people succeed in being so real. If they are ridiculous, they have been made ridiculous by the circumstances of life. They remain human beings, so that we are even a little touched that Calvero's outrageous antics seem to work on the landlady. And later, when she joins Calvero and his cronies in a beer drinking bout, we are even more acutely aware of what life as the proprietress of a rundown rooming house has done to her.

In *Limelight*, as in all his pictures,

Chaplin takes us perilously close to the maudlin, only to rescue himself and us with some delightful piece of business. But in the opening half hour of *Limelight* there are some perils to which Chaplin succumbs. This is a rather personal film, accented by photos of the young Chaplin hanging on the wall, and by remarks which have particular relevance to Chaplin's life. The audience feels that Chaplin wants very much to talk, to step out of the picture and have his say. Consequently the first half hour of *Limelight* has moments when he seems preachy. He tells us that life is worth living, that suicide is an extravagant waste of consciousness, but he slips into speeches that come very close to the "power-within-yourself" bromides of the self-improvement books. It is fine to declare the glory of consciousness, but we ask: consciousness of what? It is fine to praise the value of dignity, but in what does dignity consist?

It is as though Chaplin were afraid the story would not carry its own burden. But the story does — and much better than the speeches. This is a story of artists, a comedian and a dancer. The comedian, by refusing to take advantage of the young dancer who wants to marry him, finds dignity in the recognition of reality. As artists both he and the dancer find that life has meaning only in its social aspect. They cannot live apart from their audience, and this dependence becomes the dependence of man on mankind.

Another defect, I feel, is a bit of

gratuitous Freudianism (repudiated by Chaplin in a line, but remaining in fact), used to explain Thereza's paralyzed legs. This tends to muddy the story in the beginning.

THE final scene, in which Calvero makes his great comeback, is one of the funniest to be found in movies. The average Hollywood film, faced with depicting the comeback of a comedian, would offer shots of a stage routine and then switch to shots of an audience roaring uncontrollably — while the real audience sits glumly and wonders why the fools are laughing. As Chaplin goes through his violin concert with Buster Keaton, he no longer bothers with shots of an audience laughing. He leaves it up to us. And the house comes down.

Perhaps *Limelight* might have been more explicit in telling us what it was that made the great Calvero regain his greatness at the end. Although Calvero enters the story as the teacher, he, too, must have learned, and it is not clear enough what happened to him to explain his transformation from abysmal failure to uproarious success.

But the film in its totality shines out as a work of a mature, amazingly rounded artist. We see Chaplin, the scenarist, who wrote the story; Chaplin, the composer, who wrote the music for the film; Chaplin, the director; Chaplin, the versatile dramatic actor; and above all, Chaplin, the master comedian. Inevitably he brings to every film that sense of integrity which has become all but extinct in Hollywood.

Chaplin's timing, his casual wit, his delightful bits of business throughout, come across with all his old magic. And with what artistry he grades his comic routines, each funny in its own right, and each one funnier than the last until the hilarious climax of the violin concert! All in all a wonderful and rarely satisfying film in which Claire Bloom, Sydney Chaplin, Nigel Bruce, Norman Lloyd, Buster Keaton, Marjorie Bennett, and the ballet dancers, Melissa Hayden and Andre Eglevsky, give Chaplin flawless support.

How about a referendum among the American people to determine whom they can do more easily without: McGranery or Chaplin?

McCarran's Classroom

By **HERBERT STARK**

FOLEY Square in New York City, named after a Tammany hack of a past generation, lies just north of City Hall. All the big buildings on the square have a dull, official look, but one pile of stone is so much like a mausoleum, you would have to go to Washington to find its mate. This is the Federal Court Building, a gray tower with a sort of pyramid on top. The corridors are of gloomy stone, the courtrooms are panelled in walnut in bankers' style, and here among other activities the Constitution is murdered, daily in one division and two or three times a week in another.

In one room people are tried for their opinions; in another, they do not even get a trial. The apparatus for firing teachers operates automatically.

From the technicians' point of view, no procedure could be more efficient. The Sub-committee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee, known as the McCarran Committee, issues innumerable subpoenas. It is not announced who is going to be called, although reporters on certain gutter newspa-

pers seem to be very well informed indeed. The victim appears in executive session in the offices of a law firm in the Wall Street district. There he finds a reactionary senator, a strenuous youngish lawyer and an embittered renegade from the labor movement, with a stenotypist taking everything down.

The first part of the questioning is cut and dried. The inquisitors want to get on the record the answer to the question as to political affiliation, past and present. After that the sky is the limit. They ask what a woman's brother does for a living or where a man's family lived 35 or 40 years ago, who started the war in Korea or where a person buys books, and what books.

Such questions are not aberrations. They are not even merely turns of the dagger in the wound. What the committee does is a standardized routine, and has a sort of macabre logic of its own. In this rehearsal they want to test out the victim to see what will sound good in the public hearings and what lines of questioning they had better drop.

They hope too (but with little success) to come upon someone who will show signs of weakening; then they will work over that man in other executive sessions, suitably spaced to produce the maximum of psychological disturbance. They are in no hurry to throw such a specimen to the lions; they have him where they want him, and he might name names if they can press hard in the right spots.

At the gala public hearings in the panelled court room, the press benches are full. There are representatives from the Board of Education, as if to lend an illusion of spontaneity to the proceedings. A silent expressionless crowd fills the seats outside the rail. In this changed setting, the cast of the drama remains the same, and the issue remains the same.

Men and women are on trial for their ideas, not their acts, despite the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech. The senator will hear nothing of the First Amendment. He does not want the issue of freedom of speech raised. No one may plead any other ground for refusing to answer a question than the Fifth Amendment; and the senator is careful to spell it out that if the answer would involve a criminal act, he will allow the refusal to answer.

No one can argue with the senator. He makes the rules. Sooner or later the hearing ends for this particular teacher, and the next sacrificial offering is led to the block.

DISMISSED by the committee, the instructor is now a free man: free to go back to his school or college and wait for the axe to fall. Every day as he sets out from home he wonders whether the letter has come. One day it does come, summoning him to the Board, where a high-powered flunkey, or set of flunkies, flanked by the Board's high-powered lawyer, confronts him with a certified transcript of testimony taken from the record of the Senatorial committee. This he is asked to identify; should he refuse, which would be an act of insubordination *ipso facto*, the identification would be made for him. This is the next to the last step.

The finale takes place at the Board's next meeting. The Board of Education and the Board of Higher Education are groups of high-minded people who serve without pay. This guarantees their impartiality, since no working man could afford to be on them; and by an odd trick of fate, business and clerical interests are heavily represented on both boards.

They give the teacher or professor a hearing, or at least allow him to make a statement. Nothing is charged against the man as a teacher; it almost always turns out that he is exceptionally able and conscientious. Neither is the accusation made that he has used the classroom for indoctrination or obtruded his views on the students. This is granted by the Board, but it is irrelevant, one of them has explained.

When the Board has gone through

the motions of a hearing, they retire to go through the motions of deliberating, for sometimes the whip has to be cracked over some of the decent ones; and sometimes they tell the man he is fired and sometimes he has to learn it from one of the reporters who has been called in to get the prepared release.

The newspapers all the while have been upholding the traditions of the press, calling for dismissals in virulent editorials, headlining each stage of the proceedings, and thoughtfully printing the names and addresses in the interests of fair play, so that the harassed teacher may receive scurrilous, obscene, threatening letters from anonymous patriots and have his children beaten up by pious little gangsters of the neighborhood.

The drama comes to an end and the tragedy begins. The problem is now to eat. The teacher is out: not only out of a job, but out of a career, out of a profession. A teacher has only one possible employer, the school system. He could leave town, perhaps, abandoning his relatives, friends, associates and community, but even if he did, he would not gain anonymity. He would be followed by the blacklist that got him dismissed in the first place; for the Senatorial committee was clearly not without help in preparing its frame-up.

And even if some superintendent of schools or college president could be found who would be indifferent to big business pressures and officially unofficial F.B.I. warnings, the

dismissed teachers by and large are in an age group that would not be hired. Their average teaching service is well over twenty years; they should be looking forward to public gratitude and a calm retirement; but instead, in middle age and burdened with family responsibilities, untrained for any other employment, they have to improvise a livelihood from one day to another, if they can. In the face of these menaces, the courage of the teachers and professors under fire has been beyond praise.

And they have been vigorously supported. Their fighting union, the Teachers Union (UPW), has always stood for the teachers' interests as against the bureaucracy and corruption of the Boards, and for the welfare of the children against parsimony and dogma. Such a union may expect attack; the present assault has long been brewing, and has had many a predecessor. This time, however, the attack is more venomous and on a broader front than ever before.

It has spread not only to the municipal colleges, but to private institutions in the metropolitan area. Professor Edwin Berry Burgum has been dismissed at New York University (which is at the moment engaged in an endowment drive); proceedings are on foot at Rutgers against two instructors; three professors have been dismissed in municipal colleges, and many others are under fire. All this, it was hoped, would break the union.

But the Teachers Union does not break. It has heartened all progres-

sives by the battle it has put up. It has started a vigorous Freedom Fund to carry on the court fight to set aside these high-handed actions, and to help the victimized teachers. It has organized an effective movement of protest throughout the city, including a series of picket lines at Foley Square and a tremendous demonstration, in which thousands participated, at a meeting of the Board of Education. It has distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets, bringing home to the citizens of New York that the attack on the teachers is an attack on us all.

FOR the teachers are not the only sufferers nor even the chief sufferers. The schools have been desperately hurt. By legislative action, a sort of bill of attainder, the best teachers have been dismissed—the most energetic and public-spirited, the warmest and most sympathetic toward the students, the most efficient, the best-loved.

To get them removed quickly, and without the fig-leaf of charges and a hearing that former methods of injustice provided, a committee of the Senate has cooperated: thus proving for those who needed proof that Mr. McCarran of the Senate and Mr. Timone of the Board of Education are not far apart. With fanfare and terror the lesson has been taught to students and teachers that conformity, both political and mental, is going to be enforced.

Bella Dodd showed that this

double goal is actually what they have in mind by blurring out some embarrassing truths with the injudicious zeal of the convert. This former legislative representative for the Teachers Union, now turned informer, has said she committed a terrible error as a college instructor by teaching her students to have open minds; if people have open minds, evil can get in. In other words, learning is dangerous, in and out of school, and steps have to be taken to prevent it.

What can be done in that direction by way of intimidation and corruption is being done, in and out of school. People are going to prison for something fantastically named "conspiracy to teach and advocate"; teachers are being fired on a variety of framed-up technicalities. In the schools and colleges the upshot of the matter is a sad state of silence.

Gone are the days when teachers would sign petitions, as if they were citizens; gone the days when they discussed controversial subjects. They cringe if a student asks for a straight answer on a current topic; they cringe, that is, unless the answer they are prepared to give is the party line of the official party in either its Democratic or Republican branch.

But it is only the naive students who still ask such questions. The bright ones have learned to hold their opinions to themselves and keep safely to the treadmill, as people do where thought is controlled.

THAT attitude, if it can be made general and if it can be made to stick, is the state of affairs any inquisition aims at producing. If they can do away with freedom of speech, freedom of thought will not be much of a danger. If thinking does not lead to action, nor even to speech, it must remain a mere dream, a fume in some one's imagination.

The American people are not especially noted for their fondness for being kicked around, but the technique of the big lie has had its effect. In the particular case of the teachers, if we want to see justice done to the victims and prevent others from being victimized, we have to be prepared to dispel once and for all some common attitudes and arguments that have been diligently inculcated. A man will say, "If the teacher was innocent, why did he plead the Fifth Amendment?" And we shall have to explain that our system of law is based on the presumption that the accused is innocent, and that the burden of proof is on the prosecution; we shall have to tell him that the Fifth Amendment was designed to protect the innocent from inquisitorial procedures, and that the Congressional committees are using inquisitorial procedures against innocent people in the manner and in the spirit of the Star Chamber Court of Charles the First and Archbishop Laud.

Or some may say, "Communists should not be allowed to teach, because they don't have open minds." To this there are several answers:

bearing Bella Dodd in mind, we might make the argument *ad hominem* and ask whether the objector is prepared to press for the removal of every Catholic, whether Roman or Greek Orthodox, every Mormon and every Christian Scientist from any and all teaching positions; and then we might go on to ask on what evidence the statement is made that Communists do not have open minds; and from that we might point out that in times of stress we should not only permit Communists and near-Communists and Socialists and liberals and dissenters of all stripes to teach, on the one condition that they be good teachers, but we urgently need such people in colleges and schools and other places that deal with ideas and the molding of opinion; for the more urgent our situation is, the more imperatively we need to canvass every possible solution, examine every possible course of action.

But such rational discussion is on a level far removed from the Senator who cooperates so smoothly with the Board of Education and the Board of Higher Education (and who knows what other agencies as yet unnamed) in arranging to railroad the best teachers out of the school systems and colleges through a probably illegal use of Section 903 of the City Charter. This section, originally inserted under Mayor Fiorello La Guardia as a weapon against tin-box grafters is now being used in the opposite direction.

A legislator in his inquisitorial capacity is not far from being an abso-

lute despot. The separation of powers, written into the Constitution as part of the system of checks and balances designed to prevent popular government, makes it possible for the Un-American committee or the McCarran committee to violate at will not only the rules of decency, but the first principles of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. The accused does not know the charges against him. He does not confront his accusers, nor even know who they are, or what their testimony is. His offense, if any, is not on any statute book. The First and Fifth Amendments were designed to prevent these abuses; the problem is now to enforce these amendments and prevent the establishment of an inquisition in this country.

The word inquisition has been used often in this article, and it should have been. For the purpose of these un-American proceedings is precisely the purpose of the Inquisition that ruined Spain. The purpose was and is to eliminate heresy, that is, to guarantee uniformity of opinion and thus protect the monopolists of wealth and power by punishing any who dissent from the officially propagated doctrines. And the only way to stop the inquisition, and to save America from the ruin that a successful inquisition must bring, is to protect unpopular opinions. Orthodox opinions need no protection unless they are so weak that force has to be used to prevent them from collapsing of their own weight.

As we go to press, we learn with grief of the death of ROBERT MINOR, one of the best-loved and most dynamic leaders of the American Communist movement for over three decades. Minor's powerful political drawings rank him among the greatest artists in this medium our country has produced. Some of his best known work as artist and writer appeared in the *Masses* and the *Liberator*, forerunners of *Masses & Mainstream*. We extend our deepest sympathy to his widow, Lydia Gibson Minor.

Our next issue will publish material on the life and work of this great people's leader and artist.—THE EDITORS.

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