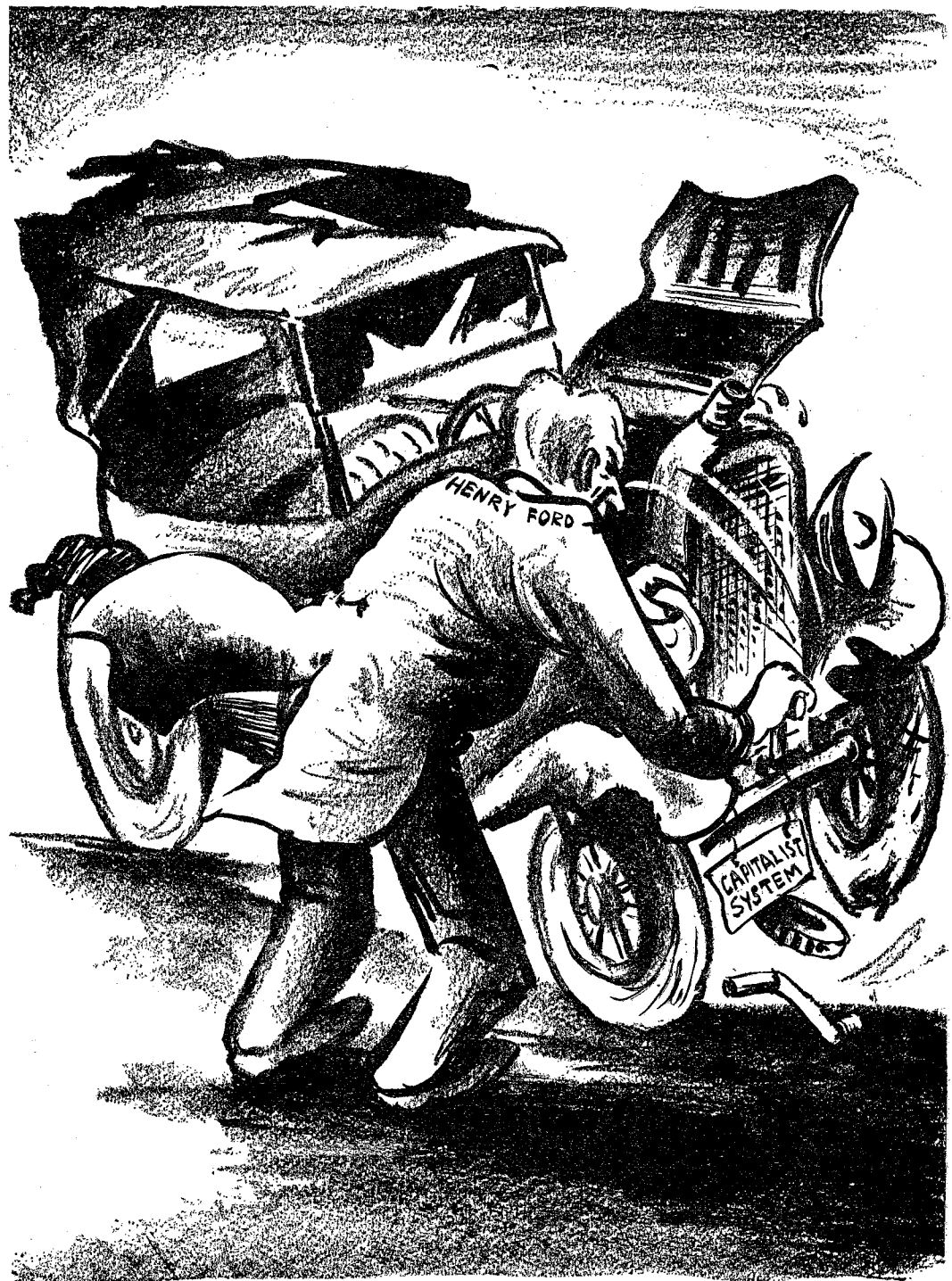


new Masses

NOVEMBER 13, 1934

THE Democratic sweep in the elections reveals the people as still hopeful that Roosevelt can and will "do something" for them. The demagogue in the White House, having put forward Gen. Johnson to bear the brunt of attacks on the New Deal, and having duly sacrificed him, retains his hold on the masses undiminished. Now he has Richberg as the "front man" and ultimate scapegoat. He has two-thirds of both houses; New York state solidly Democratic in both branches of the legislature; Pennsylvania Democratic for the first time since the Civil War; in all, probably a stronger political position than any president since the first Roosevelt. He also has the prospect of a winter of intensified misery for twenty millions, utter inability of the broken-down capitalist machine to start moving again, unemployment increasing as even the reactionary Green admits—and a newly made compact with the bankers, to defend, uphold and maintain the profit system which has brought about the crisis.

SUGGESTIONS are to be expected from now on that the Republican Party is "dead." The Republican Party is not dead because capitalism in the United States is loath to surrender a political system that has served it so well in the past. The two-party system has succeeded in directing the anger of the workers and middle-classes against one and the other by turns. But, though the Republican Party is not dead, indications are numerous that it is dying. 1934 is not 1920, 1924 or 1928 when the demise of the other capitalist party, the Democratic Party, was announced. The current crisis is more stubborn than any in capitalism's history: world economy has passed into a stage of chronic depression. Hence, the signs of disintegration in the Republican camp. Although one must not, of course, venture to predict the complete disappearance of the G. O. P. from the American political scene by the next elections, we can expect that the two-party system will perforce be amended to include all the combinations and permutations toward the left—the Epic, the "Progressive," the Farmer-Labor, the Labor parties. Already the right-wingers of the Socialist



"RUN IT WITH GOOD SOUND AMERICAN COMMON SENSE"

Limbach

Party are reported to be making overtures to the American Federation of Labor for the formation of a "Labor" Party modelled along British lines.

"IT is to make Communism both unnecessary and impossible that we want to see vigorous action for Socialism." This statement sounds like a sentence from some secret capitalist letter, in pre-Hitler Germany, calling upon bankers and employers to support Social Democracy as a buffer against Communism. Such tactics have certainly not been unknown to capitalist rulers in their fear of a rising militant working-class movement. But this particular pronouncement comes not from the capitalists—at least, not directly. It is the con-

cluding sentence of a letter to the New York Times by Norman Thomas, leader of the "militant" and "left-wing" element in the Socialist Party. He does not insist on building a vigorous Socialist movement in order to wipe out capitalism and build a classless society. Possibly "leaders" like Thomas dream of such things in off moments. Nor do they advocate a strengthened Socialist Party in order to prevent war and Fascism, though occasionally this comes to their minds. It is because of the growing movement of the Socialist rank and file for the united front with the Communists that they are frantic, "to make Communism . . . impossible." Their followers, desiring to prevent war and Fascism, seek to build a base of common

action with the Communists. The leaders, desiring to prevent Communism, find it necessary to sabotage the struggle against war and Fascism since in this struggle the Communists lead. The so-called "left" Socialists, like Thomas, claim they hate capitalism but they fear Communism more. Thomas himself says in this same letter: "Indeed, at no time have we been stronger in our disapproval of some of the tendencies manifested by Communism all over the world." (Note that he includes the Soviet Union as well as the Communist parties in the imperialist and colonial countries.) Thomas desires to build up what he calls "an inclusive party." His whole statement makes the conclusion unavoidable that this party is to *include all discontented elements* who wish to make a common front against Communism.

ON November 11, 1918, millions of soldiers, workingmen, starving children, the weary and harassed populations of nearly every country, went wild with joy. The ringing of bells and shrieking of sirens meant to them that the war to end war had ended. The world would enjoy enduring peace. Huge armies were demobilized and sent home. But was there peace? In 1919 Armistice Day witnessed a Spanish War against the Riffs in North Africa, the intervention of Poland and the border states against Soviet Russia, and invasion of Soviet Hungary by Czechs, Rumanians and South Slavs. In 1920 Poland occupied Vilna, and the Allied intervention against Soviet Russia continued. On Armistice Day, 1921, two wars going on: the Greek-Turkish War, and the British War against the Wahabites in Arabia. In 1922, Japan was fighting in Siberia for Vladivostok, and Ireland was fighting England. On November 11, 1925-26, the French were fighting the Jebel Druses in Syria, and the Spanish-French were engaged in a punitive expedition in North Africa. The British were still "punishing" the Wahabites. From 1927 to 1934 there were seven expeditions against Soviet China, and in 1930 and 1931 French and British colonial wars in India. The more recent conflicts are too fresh in the memory to need reciting. There have been 30 military actions in 15 years.

THIS year, Armistice Day, 1934, the potential causes of a world war are overwhelmingly present. The national war preparation budgets show increases

in percentages over 1913: France, 25; Italy, 26; Great Britain, 48; United States, 190; Japan, 388. A pre-war psychology has gripped the whole capitalist world. As Lenin wrote, at the time of the last World War: "There is and there can be no other way of testing the real strength of a capitalist state than that of war. War does not contradict the principles of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable development of those principles. Under capitalism, the even economic growth of individual enterprises, or individual states, is impossible. Under capitalism, there is nothing else that periodically restores the disturbed equilibrium except *crises* in industry and *wars* in politics." The only hope of deliverance from the curse of imperialist wars lies in transforming them into civil wars when they occur, into mass uprising of the populations who are the victims in war, and the establishment of dictatorships of the proletariat.

THE office workers in the Macaulay Publishing Company, who walked out ten weeks ago, are still on strike despite the fact that the New York Labor Board granted the strikers' demand in recommending the reinstatement of the discharged union employees. This decision is supposed to be implemented by Public Resolution No. 44, the purpose of which was to extend the application of Section 7A to union members in uncodified industries. But the Furman brothers—following the example of Weirton, Houde, and other large industrialists—coolly ignored the "recommendation . . ." In a final attempt to get action, the Macaulay strikers, accompanied by a committee of writers, went to Washington on November 2. H. A. Millis, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, told them that the Board could do nothing to make the reinstatements effective, because it was "not clear in its own mind" as to whether Resolution 44 can be enforced. Mr. Millis could not prophesy when the mind of the Board would be clarified. It appeared that Mr. Magruder, counsel for the Board, was conferring with certain persons undisclosed.

THE strikers then called on President Roosevelt to obtain replies to two questions: (1) What protection does the President intend to offer workers who join unions under the impression given them by the N.R.A. that such is their lawful right, only to discover

that they have lost their livelihood by doing so? (2) What measure will the Department of Justice take to enforce Labor Board decisions favorable to strikers when employers refuse to accept these decisions? The answer they got from Marvin McIntyre, Roosevelt's secretary, was that the President could do nothing until all the government agencies for labor disputes had been exhausted. "Don't cross your bridges until you come to them," cheerfully advised Mr. McIntyre. But the Macaulay strikers are not crossing bridges; they are swimming in midstream, jobless. The Office Workers' Union, of course, is carrying on this struggle which has particular significance. The Macaulay strikers have performed a service for thousands of white collar workers and workers in uncodified industries because they have invoked Public Resolution 44 for the first time and by doing so have blasted another New Deal illusion.

NO one was so surprised by the sweeping victory of the English Labor Party in the recent municipal and county elections as the English laborites themselves. In an article obviously written before the elections, H. N. Brailsford, a laborite, assured the readers of *The New Republic* (November 7) that "few sober observers imagine that it (the Labor Party) can achieve an absolute or even a relative majority at the next elections." The "sober" observers were, it seems, a little too sober. Actually, the British Labor Party, though unexpectedly and through no fault of its own, has won a colossal victory. Out of a total of 1,300 municipal and county seats, Labor won 740—an absolute majority, and 500 more than it held previously! In the city of London it now controls 15 out of a total of 28 districts. It has also won a majority of seats in 41 other cities. Though the Labor Party's chief gains have been made at the expense of the Conservatives, the liberals too have contributed their toll.

ON the eve of the nominations, the Communist Party of Great Britain, for the first time in its history, deliberately withdrew a number of its candidates to ensure the election of some laborites. It even expressed its readiness wholeheartedly to support and work for the return of Labor candidates in places where there were no Communist candidates, "providing that such candidates would pledge themselves to

fight on such questions as forced labor schemes, for lower rents, refusal to operate the means test, extra winter relief, withdrawal of the Sedition Bill, against the unemployment act, and for the united front. . . ." In a statement explaining this action, the Communist Party made it quite clear, however, that by taking this new step it was not abandoning its own political line nor giving tacit approval to the utterly inadequate, purely reformist program of the Labor Party. Its sole aim, it declared, was the strengthening of the united front struggle against the growing menace of war and Fascism as illustrated by events on the European continent. "It is clear," the Communist statement said, "that these events necessitate the building of a united front, and this is now the paramount urgent consideration overriding every other question facing the working-class. . . . Municipal elections are not something apart from the class struggle, having only a passing significance; they occur at the very moment when the British working-class can show it has learned from Germany, Austria, and Spain, when they can give a mighty demonstration to the workers of the world that they are also building unity in action and taking steps to organize

their forces for an advance against the capitalist enemy."

ONE need not, however, exaggerate the importance of the Labor Party's victory as "an advance against the capitalist enemy." Certainly, Brailsford is no Bolshevik, yet even he maintains that the Labor Party's leaders "are still the old gradualist, reformist team." He questions whether Herbert Morrison, the ablest of the Labor Party chieftains, "aims at much more than the introduction of order and efficiency into capitalism." In speaking of his Party proper, Brailsford admits that "its organization, its composition, its discipline, its habits of thought in many ways painfully resemble those of the German Social Democrats. Its real interest probably is centered still in housing, the relief of unemployment and the preservation of peace—attainable goods, or so it supposes, that can be won with no very heroic effort." Pressed from below, the leaders do occasionally make a pretense at revolutionism. Yet more often than not their socialization programs bear a "dread resemblance to the corporative state," i.e. Fascism. There is no suggestion of creating workers' control over the few industries which they do pro-

pose to socialize. The younger, more efficient, and most profitable industries—electrical manufacture, motors, and chemicals—do not enter into their socialization programs. Furthermore, even those industries which the laborites propose to socialize, they intend to pay for in full: they "aim at returning to the present owners the full capital value of their property—that means an eternity of tribute." Small wonder, the leaders are surprised by their victory. They have done nothing to merit it, and Mr. Lansbury, one of the aged leaders, is quite right in ascribing the victory of his Party, not to the latter's positive achievements and revolutionary program, but to the general disgust of the masses with the reactionary national government. Hatred of Fascism has brought the working masses to the support of the Labor Party; the urge toward Socialism will bring them to the Communist Party. This is the next, the inevitable stage.

THE most gratifying way we know of celebrating a Soviet anniversary is a careful perusal of Soviet graphs and figures. No oratory, no rhetoric, no poetry can convey the grandeur of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction as can the simple matter-of-fact statements of Soviet arithmetic. Industrial production for the first six months of 1934 amounted to 17.8 billion rubles, an increase of 19.7 percent over the corresponding period of 1933. The Commissariat of Heavy Industry increased its production by 29.3 percent; the Commissariat for Internal Supplies by 23.3 percent; the Committee for Procurements by 25.4. The least gains, in the first six months of 1934, were shown by the Commissariats for Light Industry (3 percent) and Lumber (8.6 percent). During the same period of six months the number of workers in large-scale heavy industries increased 103 percent. Output per worker showed a gain of 16.8 percent. Especially large gains in volume of output were recorded for coke (43.4 percent), pig iron (54.7), steel (48.4), copper (67.4), aluminum (530), gold (50), passenger autos (23 percent). Output of the machinery industries as a whole increased 27 percent. Oil output for the first six months of the year reached a total of 11,845,300 tons, of which 10,381,800 tons were refined—a gain of 14.9 percent over 1933. Production of gasoline for the same period totaled 1,378,900 tons, as against 1,319,500 tons last year. Kerosene out-

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put amounted to 2,129,800 tons as compared with 1,875,300 in the first six months of 1933. Drilling operations increased by 75 percent. Several branches of light industries overfulfilled their schedules: the woolen and printing industries carried out 102.7 percent each, the hemp-jute industry—107.4; the tanning extract industry—103.9; the office supplies industry—100.5. Altogether, however, the Light Industries carried out only 96.2 percent of their program during the first six months of this year. This was in large measure due to the lagging behind of the porcelain industry (fulfilling only 70.7 percent of its plan), the glass industry (83.6), musical instruments (75.5) and the clothing

industry (91.2 percent). The production of meat increased 9.5 percent; fish—2.4; vegetable oils—35; soap—73.9; butter—12.7; confectionery—21.7; cigarettes—2.9; dairy products as a whole—75.4; macaroni—65.4; granulated sugar—104.4; refined sugar—81.1 percent. The retail trade turnover of the Commissariat for Internal Supply increased by 47.5 percent.

MORE recent figures show the same general trend. On November 3, the New York Times carried a dispatch from Moscow that the Soviet Union will be second only to the United States in output of pig iron this year. Besides dislodging Germany from the second

position in the production of pig iron, the Soviets are nosing out Great Britain from her position as third producer of steel and rolled metal. The Bolshevik slogan to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries begins to seem not quite so "fantastic" as it appeared only a few years ago. In 1935 the workers' and peasants' republic expects to rank second to the United States alone in all three lines of metal production. Add to this the tremendous gains in the realm of culture; and to this again, the triumphs in international relations during the past twelve months, and you have a record of achievements unparalleled even in the unparalleled history of the Soviets.

The Week's Papers

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 31—Gov. Lehman, deluged with protests at brutal treatment of Albany Hunger Marchers, claims he has "no jurisdiction" over Albany police. . . . Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins, decrying "politics," makes the front page five days before election by telling how "I am feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and sheltering the destitute, regardless of their sex, age, creed, color, race or place of residence." . . . N.R.A. provisions held unconstitutional by Alabama Judge in dismissal of code violation case against lumber company. . . . Roosevelt latest "consolidation of power" move, makes Richberg "boss" of Cabinet in new position as head of Emergency Council. . . . President announces restoration of latest 5 percent Federal pay cuts effective July 1 next, backing prediction of rise in living costs. . . . Unionization drive in chain grocery stores spreads to James Butler's with 665 stores in East.

Thursday—Hunger Marchers' delegates open convention in Albany, while Gov. Lehman refuses to free those in jail. . . . A. & P. strike still unsettled. . . . Butler, head of Eastern chain, refuses to deal with union group demanding 25 percent wage increase, improved working conditions and union recognition. . . . Henry Ford says "the depression is over for the Ford Co." and announces an annual increase in output to 1,000,000 cars. . . . Harvard suspects Yale in theft of whole issue of "Lampoon." . . . Bishop Mueller still hanging

on to his Nazi job, but may have to resign this week. . . . Radical Socialist members of French Cabinet threaten resignation over proposed constitutional reform. . . . Automobile manufacturers threaten to let code lapse—stall for 90 day extension "as is" without any concessions to labor. . . . Third big strike of week ties up 400 New York buildings as service men walk out.

Friday—National Labor Relations Board, in its "peace proposal" for settling A. & P. Cleveland strike, takes strong anti-unionization position. . . . National Association of Manufacturers lines up anti-trade union legislation platform which it urges all state legislatures to pass on. Object—kill clause 7A. . . . American girl and boy seized in Germany, stripped, searched, questioned for seven hours; girl's New York mother belittles report and praises Nazis as being "so nice to everyone." . . . Two Communist leaders arrested in Hungary; one "commits suicide" while being "questioned." . . . Japan stands pat in demand for naval equality, bringing Great Britain and U.S. to a "united front." . . . Nazis order German score for *Midsummer Night's Dream* to replace Mendelssohn's "Jewish music." . . . British Laborites sweep municipal elections, winning control of 15 out of 28 boroughs. . . . Chain Store Union complains to National Labor Relations Board, charging Butler refused to negotiate with union heads, dismissed union employees. . . . Eighteen City College of N. Y. students picketing home of Pres-

ident Frederick B. Robinson, demanding his resignation, arrested. . . . Jailed Hunger Marchers freed in Albany, testify to terrific beatings by police. . . . Roosevelt, without promised public hearing, extends auto code, including the notorious "merit clause," to Feb. 1 (production peak season).

Saturday—8,000 striking New York elevator operators go back to work with settlement providing temporary blanket wage increases pending arbitration. . . . A. & P. Cleveland strike settled, with stores to reopen, with recognition won by union.

Sunday—French Cabinet still facing "pro Fascist" constitutional changes. . . . Japan firm over Manchukuo oil monopoly, with Japanese press charging coincidence of "open door" and "naval parity" discussions is Anglo-American plot to intimidate Japan. . . . A.F. of L. tells workers to fight own battles without depending on either the Government or N.R.A. . . . Gorman, vice-president of Textile Workers Union, offers George Sloan, of employers' association, cooperation of workers "in a movement to expand domestic and foreign markets for textiles" and creation of a "joint council." . . . Eighteen smuggled Chinese, unable to pay smugglers' fee of \$1,000, captured in New Jersey raid. Chinese aliens able to pay fees, work for 20 cents a day, as "slaves" in laundries. . . . A.A.A. report predicts 800,000,000 bushel wheat crop in 1935.

Monday—Government deficit in first