

even a liberal couldn't go wrong. But Swing accomplishes the incredible. His portrait of Hearst is positively elegiac. The pre-war Hearst according to Swing, was a sincere progressive, "a champion of union labor, an enemy of corruption in politics, a passionate foe of big business." Forgotten is the man who incited the war against Spain, who called for the invasion of Mexico, who crusaded against "the yellow peril," who employed scab labor in his California mines, who went from one racketeering venture in journalism and politics to another. Forgotten, above all, is the only consistent thing in Hearst's entire career—his demagoguery.

As for the post-war and particularly the present-day Hearst, Swing finds him thoroughly reactionary. But he sees this millionaire to the manor born not as the representative of the most reactionary section of finance-capital, but as the spokesman of what Swing regards as the fascist-minded lower middle class. And he practically absolves Hearst of his crimes ("It may be that Hearst is blamed for too much. After all, he is not a creator, he expresses"), viewing him as the passive sounding board for the most vulgar and reactionary sentiments of the lower middle class.

All of which confusion and self-stultification flows from a wrong conception of the nature of fascism. Swing views fascism as "a reorganization of society," when it is the imposition of a new political technique, combining terror, demagoguery and abolition of parliamentarianism and democratic rights, upon the old economic and social order. He thinks that fascism "swallows up the social conflict," when this is only what it pretends to do, while actually it develops all social conflicts to an unprecedented degree. And above all, he makes the mistake so often made by liberal and Socialist writers of viewing fascism as the rule of the lower middle class. "Hill-billies have been the underdogs of the South," he writes; "now through Huey Long they are supreme in Louisiana." And "the Hit-

ler regime . . . was their [the lower middle class] first real experience of power in the long history of Germany."

Swing's basic error is that he confuses those classes (the farmers and city petty-bourgeoisie) that are the chief dupes of fascism and form its mass base with the classes (the big capitalists and landowners) whose interests it represents and whose economic and political power it seeks to maintain.

Failing to understand the forces that produce fascism, it is inevitable that Swing should be unable to see the forces that can prevent and destroy it. The lower middle class he regards as a single reactionary whole, while he has no faith in the militant labor movement, viewing it, in fact, as a generator of fascism ("Our one safety against fascism may lie in the absence of any formidable Communist movement"). He therefore comes to the conclusion that fascism is inevitable. And he puts his faith in the possibility of postponing fascism for a while on two alternatives: a business recovery or "to make democracy work"—that very democracy which, as he himself has pointed out, has worked in the opposite direction.

Despite Swing's gloomy prophecy, there is abundant evidence to indicate that fascism can be prevented. But not by seeking refuge from the devil behind the skirts of his mother. To look for salvation to bourgeois democracy is to grasp at a rope that may become a halter. We need not theorize in the abstract: Germany and Austria have shown us how not to fight fascism, France has shown us how it can be defeated. The speech of Dimitroff and the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International have summarized these lessons and pointed the way. The united front and the people's front—in our country a broad workers' and farmers' Labor Party—is the road to victory over the false messiahs of fascism. The middle class is not lost; it is still to be won.

A. B. MAGIL.

## Emptying the Melting Pot

*STRANGE PASSAGE*, by Theodore Irwin.  
Harrison Smith & Robert Haas. \$2.

**W**HEN the American Empire was being built, railroads flung across the continent, mines dug, forests stripped, agents were sent throughout impoverished Europe to pack steamers and trains with immigrant laborers. Immigrant transient hotels sprang up along the waterfronts of Boston, Hoboken, Baltimore. Immigrant trains sped to the frontiers of the West and Middle West. The ideological superstructure was in conformity with the economic life of the era. Rhetoricians prated about the melting pot. In their new homeland, raw immigrants, knowing nothing of the English tongue, would become naturalized at the behest of local politicians at a cost of about twenty-five

cents. Then came a series of economic crises. At last the Westward-ho! rush came to a halt. Labor had become a "surplus commodity." Instead of the "melting pot," the expression "undesirable alien" came into vogue and finally Congress passed a quota immigration law under the euphemism of "selective immigration."

The legal approach to ruthless deportation was made by gradual steps. Behind the legal sophistries, like a sinister force, was the cry of "labor unrest." The process was to be reversed. Immigrant trains began to roll eastward, now filled with "undesirable aliens," "criminal syndicalists," "labor agitators."

Nothing illustrates so well the fallacy that legal concepts and institutions dictate and control the social institutions than the op-

eration of the laws in the deportation of aliens. Within the shell of Jeffersonian democracy, legal evasions were crystallized to justify autocratic despotism. After the assassination of President McKinley, a law was enacted barring from entry and making deportable, anarchists and other persons who advocate political assassination or violent overthrow of government. This apparently salutary measure for the preservation of the state was to be in practice extended to persons who had nothing in common with assassins or anarchists. Later, during an agitation, led largely by the Hearst papers, there was unearthed an alleged "international white-slave plot." The obvious inference was intended that all white slavers and prostitutes were aliens. The result was that length of residence of an alien in the United States was no longer a protection against deportation. The door to blackmail was open; terror entered the hearts of unnaturalized workers. From year to year, by congressional enactment and court interpretation, the deportation net was spread. During the World War a new precedent was set which even removed the security that naturalization had given to the foreign-born citizen. On the theory that he had "defrauded" the government and the courts, a foreign-born naturalized citizen who had engaged in "seditious" activity, could have his citizenship annulled, long after he had become naturalized, on the ground that at the time he had sworn to uphold the Constitution and foreswore allegiance to the country of his birth, he had "mental reservations" which only his subsequent "seditious" activity had disclosed.

The legal sophistries by which the protections of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution have been taken away from the foreign born, may, to a mere lay logician, seem disingenuous. Briefly, they are to this effect: the United States, in the exercise of its political sovereignty, has the right to deport any alien for whatever reason it may deem fit; the legal process of deportation is not deemed a criminal, but a civil procedure, therefore the constitutional safeguards of right of trial by jury, to bail, against double jeopardy, refusal to testify against oneself and all other provisions, do not apply; the deportation proceeding is an exercise of the administrative function only and the courts will not interfere with the decision of the Immigration Inspector or the Secretary of Labor, unless the deportee can prove "gross abuse" and even where this is clear, the courts rule that if there is "some evidence" to support the government's decision, the courts will not interfere.

It is apparent that the deportation proceeding thus becomes a most effective weapon in dealing with "labor unrest." Aliens can be picked up, without a warrant and deported expeditiously, without great expense or legal flurry.

Behind the dry legal theorizing lies a veritable continent of human suffering. Piti-

ful tales there are of injustice, sordid accounts of official insolence and of the despoliation by the authorities, of the dispossessed, politically unprotected, minority. In the light of history the whole problem assumes a somewhat Machiavellian aspect. Charles Beard, in his *Rise of American Civilization*, points out that the American Colonies were settled largely by indentured servants and the proletariat of the English countryside. Their bootstrap-risen descendants have conveniently forgotten the humble rungs of the Founders of the Republic and are hounding workers who are more in the image of the Founders than the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. There is a difference, however. The ruling class of England, in deporting its "undesirables" sent them to a land where the means of life and opportunity were plentiful. The American government deports its "surplus" and "undesirable" workers to overcrowded and pauperized lands where the choice lies between lifelong penury and early death.

It was during the World War that the Department of Labor, which, curious to state, is charged with the duty of ousting workers, hit on the scheme of keeping deportees in jails and detention pens, in various parts of the country and when a sufficient number had been gathered, of shipping them across the continent in prison trains called "Deportation Specials." The most notorious of these, in 1919, was the so-called "Red Special," packed with members of the I.W.W., mostly lumberjacks from the American Northwest, some of whom had been kept in jail an entire year, until a new deportation law could be passed to fit their "crimes." Since then, hundreds of these exile specials, with their doleful cargoes, have by slow stages crept from the Pacific to the Atlantic. If we could board one of these trains, or visit a detention pen at an immigration station and hear the life stories of the deportees, we could weave a wreath of tragedies. There would be the story of one who, brought to this country as a child, grew under hard conditions to manhood, suffered unemployment, labored in the mines, factories and forests of this country, all the while being moulded into the American pattern of speech, habit and outlook. Then, in maturity, during a period of labor unrest, weakened by toil and undernourishment, he is arrested for deportation as a pauper and is sent to the country of his birth, a land of which he knows nothing and where he has not a single relative or friend. Again, the tale of a woman, mother of eight American-born children, deported because she clamored for bread for herself and her family at a relief station. The law tears this mother from her children and consolingly assures whom ever it may concern, that the children will be placed in a proper American institution. There is a youth who stowed away on a ship to seek asylum from the Hitler regime; he is apprehended for illegal entry and is to be delivered into the hands of the Nazi dic-

tatorship by the "republican" heirs of Madison and Jefferson. Again, the case of a worker who sustained an injury to his head while working in a factory. Instead of receiving proper compensation and cure, he is to be deported as a pauper criminal charged with insanity. There are thousands and thousands of similar cases. The official stenographic records of their deportation proceedings, only half disclose and half conceal the true picture.

The odyssey of a deportation "special," which starts from the Northwest and wends its way toward Ellis Island, is the subject of the novel, *Strange Passage*, by Theodore Irwin. The theme of exile, with its sense of utter frustration and pathos, is rich material for a novelist. The Abbé Prevost, who during the period of the French romantic novel, devoted much of his writing to the subject of exile, came to it with a sensational and sentimental approach. No writer of the realistic school, as far as we know, has touched the subject. Irwin brings to his subject fair equipment as a writer. He has insight, sympathy, felicity of phrase and a sense of contrasts. His deportation train jerkily crawls over "the belly of the continent." The story of this sad journey and the delineation of the occupants, takes up a third of the volume. The motley crowd of characters, violently uprooted and haphazardly thrown together, has a number of workers among them, but their significance is lost by the introduction of criminal types, adventures, degenerates and an insane woman. The author is not quite successful in describing the tedium of the passengers of this slow train, without tiring his readers. The ride is much too long, not only for the deportees, but for the book as well. Unwittingly, too, the author, by enlarging on the anti-social and the ludicrous types, is playing into the hands of the reactionaries. The legal gendarmerie may well say that the majority of the aliens on Irwin's deportation "special" ought to be deported. There is not a worker on the train who is being deported for labor-union activity or agitation; and this when innumerable workers are being deported on the charge of being Communists.

His hero, Paul, is a middle-class Austrian youth whose only "revolutionary" activity consists in having been present, some years back, in Austria, at a coffee-house meeting where students plotted a political assassination. Fleeing the country, he finally got to America as a stowaway without a passport and is now being deported as an illegal entrant. On the train Paul falls in love with Stephanie, a Belgian girl deportee. During the train ride we get the feeling of the loneliness of this heterogeneous, unwanted group, of the injustice and brutality of their treatment. But our sympathy is diverted by irrelevant incidents of homosexuality, forced humor and filth. When finally the train reaches New Jersey, it is wrecked and in the excitement several deportees escape. Among these are Paul and Stephanie. The

story takes them apart for several years. They try to establish themselves in New York under changed names. The unexecuted deportation warrant hangs over their heads and over the heads of some of the other fugitives. The author is successful in conveying that feeling of insecurity which haunts countless foreign-born and even naturalized workers in this country, while the deportation laws are being made into wider nets from year to year. But for the author the story of the separated lovers must go on. Stephanie marries a settlement worker who suffers from a peculiar psychic fixation. The convicted bootlegger who escaped goes into the "hot-oil" business. Finally Paul and



# Gorky Bukharin Radek

## PROBLEMS of SOVIET LITERATURE

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Stephanie meet, only to be soon recognized and again apprehended for deportation.

By far the best part of the book is the concluding third. The atmosphere prevailing on Ellis Island is faithfully and incisively pictured. So is the cant and hypocrisy of the New Dealers and their pretense of "humanizing the immigration service." The one triumphant note is at the end. The Soviet government has recognized the ability of Paul and has granted him a contract and a visa. Instead of Austria, where death perhaps awaits him, the Soviet Union is the place to which he is to be deported. Stephanie goes to Belgium, from where she is to follow Paul. Unfortunately, this triumphant note is done in undertone.

The importance of the book lies more in the courage of the author's approach to the theme than in his treatment of it. The writer has a social consciousness, but lacks the qualities of a bold advocate. The result is that he was damned with faint praise by the con-

servative reviewers. His book leaves the critics of the Left with disturbing speculations as to the reason for his timidity and with pity for his having missed so splendid an opportunity. He has not, however, exhausted the subject of deportation. The material available is rich not only in pathos, humor and satire, but offers as well an opportunity for a message, a preachment, if you like. Preachment is something that young writers are being advised to eschew. The literateurs have a word for it—propaganda.

The obvious answer to the charge of propaganda lies in the measure of the author's talent and genius. In the last analysis, the crux of the problem is singleness of purpose. The approach, the material, the substance, lies within the choice of an able writer. The purpose, however, must throughout be the driving force. It is that singleness of purpose which makes of true art the best propaganda and of propaganda, art.

HARRY ARCHER.

## Concealed Dynamite

*RACE DIFFERENCES*, by Otto Klineberg. Harper. \$2.50.

THERE is dynamite concealed in this book, enough to blast sky-high the pretensions to superiority of the white race or any segment thereof. This in spite of the fact that it is a scholarly, formalized, unembroidered, impeccably objective textbook. Its restraint is in fact its greatest weakness. The author writes under the influence of the liberal academic tradition—that to display zest and feeling in the defense of a scientific position is to detract from one's effectiveness. In consequence he here studiously refrains from entering the fray raging about him, with the result that the book becomes, at times, musty, static and unrealistic. No reader could sense from Dr. Klineberg's presentation in this volume, the grotesque lengths to which the Nordic madness has enveloped fascist Germany and the tragedies that have followed in the wake of the relentless anti-Jewish campaign of Hitler and his cohorts. He briefly presents an account of the fantasies of Günther, now pope of Nazi anthropology, and of Eugen Fischer, who was recently responsible for the shameless performance of using the World Population Congress to bolster up the Nazi eugenic program.

But samples of the crude, overtly offensive current Nazi race propaganda are missing. Likewise, one gets but a mild reflection of the seething white chauvinism in the United States. The author always shows that he is cognizant of it in his discussion of the Negro, but an elaboration of this important theme is evidently judged as extraneous. And when, near the close of the book, Dr. Klineberg puts forth his basic conclusion that "racial antagonisms must be understood in their historical and social setting; they have no basis in biology," he evasively declares that "it would

be presumptuous on the part of the writer to attempt to analyze the true causes." It is not that the author does not know the lesson of the operation of the native policy of the Soviet Union, which has so effectively proven by its treatment of racial minorities that race exploitation under capitalism is a phase of class exploitation. For in a scant paragraph he has put forth the arguments involved in the "increasing tendency to see in the race problem merely one aspect of the class war"—but only to add, "On this point the writer must reserve judgment." For how long!

In spite of its excessive academic caution, the book is a valuable arsenal of fact and argument for any student who wishes to discuss the question of race intelligently. The author has painstakingly analyzed and discredited the entire gamut of alleged proofs of racial differences in intelligence and character. He has culled a vast amount of monographic literature on race, has abstracted it concisely and discussed it with scholarly competence. In no other volume in English has there been assembled as cogently the relevant evidence on the subject. His approach is not limited to any

one discipline, but embraces as it should, the findings of biology, medicine, psychology and anthropology. Among the chapters that will most interest the layman are those dealing critically with psychological tests as applied to the study of race differences and those concerned with the problem of the extent to which cultural factors determine the nature of human nature. Dr. Klineberg has proven that it is superior environmental opportunity that has enabled the Negro of the North to score higher on "intelligence" tests than the Negro of the South. A layman, particularly one with a Marxist background, is apt to reply that this conclusion is obvious, that he knew it all the time. But many scholars, particularly in the South, have contended that the higher scores had nothing to do with opportunity but were caused by the selective migration of superior stocks to the North, and it is this slippery apologetic for white dominance that the author refutes. His discussion of race mixture shows that the laws against miscegenation on the statute books of many states have no basis in science. Those who believe that certain races have special aptitudes or have different degrees of susceptibility to mental abnormalities must read this book for enlightenment. The author's conclusions on all phases of his subject are sufficiently substantiated to devastate not only the crude mythology of the rabid chauvinists but also the more subtle rationalizations of scientists, who, directly or indirectly, nourish racial hatreds.

Dr. Klineberg rests his frail hope for a change in racial attitudes in a competitive society upon the dissemination of the overwhelming evidence that "there is nothing in the brain or blood of other races which justifies our ill-treatment of them." But when science bucks up against the interests of a dominant class, what chance is there that it will be widely diffused through educational channels? Let's ask the publisher how many classes in southern universities will adopt this volume as a textbook. And when the next bonfire of banned books is kindled in Nazi Germany, the book will probably feed the flames in spite of its tempered tone. In this field particularly, truth is revolutionary and an attempt to act upon it inevitably brings one beyond the classroom into the class struggle.

BERNHARD J. STERN.

## The School System Analyzed

*THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS*, by Merle Curti. Scribners. \$3.

THIS is the tenth of the most significant volume of the Report of the American Historical Association Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. Professor Curti, who teaches history at Smith College, set about his task in a manner that scarcely conforms to current academic tradition. He assumed, for example, that social ideas are

somehow related to economic facts and to class interests; that there has always been an "unconscious and subtle influence of dominant intellectual social patterns"; and that even in the case of his own book it is "impossible for a historian to make a study of social ideas without being influenced by his own social philosophy." The result is a truly valuable contribution to the history of the public school, and in a broader sense, to the history of American culture.

In the United States, as in all the bour-