

people according to intuitions and according to their own "constants" of defense. The latter never fails. By paths more or less tortuous it arrives where it should. In the end it is the only infallible truth, that "truth stronger than death" inherited by us through ages of struggle and of creation, and which we shall leave flaming in the conviction of those who shall succeed us. This Spanish truth, exacerbated through two years of struggle, has thrust its roots throughout the world. This truth lives on in the Spain that Franco wished to annihilate, and it will go on resisting, in loyalist Spain, every proof by fire and blood. When we have no other resource, we can fall back on miracles. If the resistance of Madrid is a miracle for European general staffs, the miracle will be repeated as often as necessary to permit us to go on resisting and to win in the end.

One December day in Madrid an old militiaman, engaged in rescuing the inhabitants of a house destroyed by the German aviation, said to me, "We must win. No one can prevent our winning." And, contemplating the stretchers of dead and wounded lined up in the street, he added: "If we were to lose, it would be as though the whole world had committed sui-

cide." Through this worker, the faith of man in life was speaking, the faith that has presided over all human achievement to our day. It may be said that all this is just humanist lyricism and that wars, like mathematical truth, are won by figures. But one who knew something of war said that wars are won by the spirit. That man was Napoleon. I will not go as far as that, but it is undeniable that cannon, planes, and tanks can conquer a territory, but they cannot conquer or subdue a people like ours. The situation, in all its simplicity and all its grandeur, is this: Franco might succeed in delivering Spain over to fascist Germany and Italy, but though they win the war, Franco, Italy, and Germany would lose in peace. That is to say, they would find themselves confronted in Spain with a colonial reality, each day more artificial and impossible to maintain. It may be supposed that Hitler and Mussolini know this, that the only thing they seek in Spain is to take rapid advantage of the conditions created by our momentary defeat in order to make use of the Pyrenees and the Cantabrian and Mediterranean coasts as military, naval, and air bases for a great war maneuver in Europe.

But the government of the republic can

make all this impossible. We republicans can win the war, the military fact of the war, and to do so we do not need to wait for a world war (which the Spanish government has, in any case, completely eliminated in the consideration of its defense perspective) or even the aid of any other country. The reestablishment of its international rights would suffice. The disappearance of the conditions that have made it impossible to obtain supplies of arms and munitions abroad would be enough. That is a right which history never denied to a country attacked and invaded. This was another of the surprises that the strange reticence of the European and American world in face of the danger of war held in store for us. Perhaps today they are beginning to see that peace can be won only in the trenches of Spain and that the dangers of war cannot be avoided by fleeing them but only by making them disappear. Hitler and Mussolini, who are more afraid than anyone else of a war for which they are not prepared, will nevertheless be shoved into war by the results of their own policy of speculating on the fear of others. Both they and the others would lead us to an immense chaos behind which looms the great question of our century.

## U N I T Y

*By Romain Rolland*

**A** NOBLE call for the union of French intellectuals has just been issued by thirteen writers belonging to different parties. I add my voice to theirs.

Oh, my colleagues of French thought—writers, artists, men of science—allow one of your elders to make his confession, and yours, at this grave hour for France!

All of us have labored as best we could; and no country can be prouder than ours of the great work and the genius of her children. Steadily and without relaxing we continue the line of the good workers in the intellectual field who have been serving and honoring the French community for centuries. But too often we also continue their dissensions and conflicts.

In untroubled times it is healthy for all the debates of the mind to develop to the full: they widen the field of exploration of art and science; they provoke an abundance of experience and of contradictory and complementary discoveries. Even the passions over-excited by these intellectual jousts are the ransom of these conquests, which become the property of all.

But at times when common property is threatened quarrels must cease, divisions must be wiped out at once, and from all the nation's parties hands must be extended to meet together. Let the union be sealed!

At no time has this imposed itself with such imperious necessity as at the present, when not only the fate of a nation is at stake, but the sacred values of civilization—all the culture of the world, menaced in its most precious conquests of the last few centuries, in its heroic efforts for progress, in its dignity, in its liberty. What none of us had foreseen thirty years ago is here: the civilization of the West sees the barbarians issuing from its own loins; it sees rising against it madmen, such as this gang-leader who hurled into the dying face of Unamuno, "Death to intelligence!" A fierce wind of a new Islam has risen against the most civilized older nations; fanatic prophets, bearing a Koran for war against the "infidels," are launching blind and devouring hordes, with their fleets of black planes, upon the world.

This savage inundation, which has already overrun the frontiers, which has just engulfed old Austria, which is covering a part of Spain, piling up at the gates of Czechoslovakia, and flinging its menacing defi to all the democracies of the world, is encircling France from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Vosges to the Alps and the Pyrenees. In the eyes of the world, France has the doubtful honor of having become the last Continental citadel of liberty—of liberty in all its most vital forms, most essential to any human

society, any progress: political and social liberty, intellectual liberty, even religious liberty—since at the present time the barbarian tide threatens to carry away, together with freedom of the mind and the ideal of social justice, of mutual respect, and of the equality of men and of races, the religions that claim the two- and three-thousand-year-old heritage of the Gospel and the Bible.

All the Old World, and all the New, witness this brutal assault rising against them. And when one thinks of the tremendous material and moral forces which they represent, their debility makes one blush. Their weakness indicts their disunion. Their disunion makes for the arrogance and the might of the adversary. If their alliance were sealed, the invasions would be shattered upon it, as the Arabs were at Poitiers.

Let us achieve unity! My associates of all the branches of intellectual activity, let us give the example, let us realize it! Let us declare a truce to all our discords! All of us desire fruitful peace, the peace of the world, peace for all in labor, and equal justice for all. But in our time—at all times—peace is given only to those who have the courage to want it and to defend it. Our old Victor Hugo said, "Let us declare peace for the world!" We can do it only by being united and strong.



SEVEN LEAGUE BOOTS

Fred Ellis



# Harvard Goes to Hicks

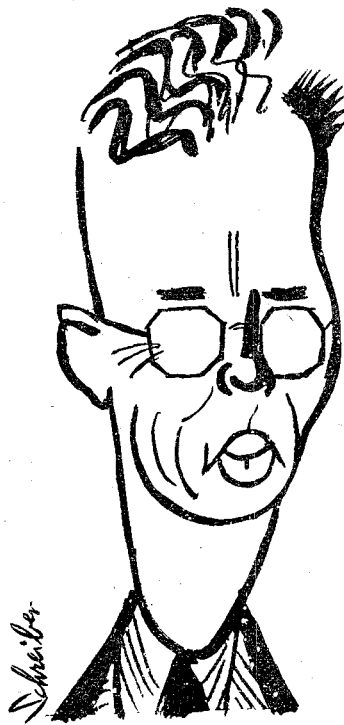
By Winthrop Praed

A YEAR ago Harvard gave terminating appointments, equivalent to dismissal, to two brilliant economics instructors, Walsh and Sweezy, who had been active leaders in the Teachers' Union. This dismissal raised serious questions about the quality of Harvard's liberalism. Now it has been announced, to the accompaniment of a fantastic hullabaloo in the Boston papers, that Harvard has made Granville Hicks a counselor in its American culture program. Author of *John Reed* and *The Great Tradition*, an editor of *NEW MASSES*, Hicks is probably the first avowed Communist to be added to the staff of an important American university since the beginning of the depression, a period during which so many teachers, including Hicks himself, have been dropped for their political activities.

This was an excellent choice from Harvard's point of view, and very much to its credit. It seems also to dispose of the questions that the Walsh-Sweezy dismissal raised. Actually it does not. It has never been difficult for brilliant students to get jobs at Harvard, even though their political views were somewhat unorthodox. But advancement is another matter. What the Walsh-Sweezy dismissal did was to confirm the general impression that promotion in the fields of the social sciences was open only to those who unmistakably proved their conservatism. Despite Harvard's reputation, there is not a single professor with permanent tenure in the departments of history, government, economics, or sociology who is a Marxist of any kind or who even gives a fundamentally sympathetic interpretation of the role of the labor movement in modern society.

Throughout its history Harvard has contributed great nonconformists and rebels to the stream of American life. But by the very nature of things, its wealth, its governing boards, its alumni, and its students, it is preponderantly conservative. In its negative liberalism or tolerance it is fairly consistent, but its more positive acts have always been sporadic. It must be remembered that Hicks, despite his professorial rank at Rensselaer and the general academic respect in which *The Great Tradition* is held, has been appointed for only a year and with money from a special gift. Howard Mumford Jones, in talking to newspapermen, laid stress on the fact that Hicks had merely been given a fellowship, and would not be a regular tutor or instructor. He is one of six, chosen "to encourage informally extra-curricular study of American history and civilization among upper-classmen in the Harvard house plan."

Hicks has been brought to Harvard as part



Granville Hicks

George Schreier

of a program to increase the general knowledge of American cultural development, a program that was born with the Tercentenary, and that has been one of President Conant's major interests ever since. He appointed a faculty committee to prepare bibliographies and devise voluntary examinations for students, graduates, and the general public. Doctor's degrees are also to be awarded in this field. Some of the Boston newspapers, glad to see a move in what seemed the right direction, hailed the program as a patriotic effort to wean students away from foreign "isms" and inculcate a proper reverence for the Constitution and the American tradition as the schoolbooks picture it. The degree was sometimes referred to as the "fascist degree."

But in the last two years, with the founding and rapid development of the Teachers' Union and with the agitation over the Walsh-Sweezy case, there has been a strong liberal movement among the faculty. The faculty council, for instance, recently voted down President Conant's proposal that enrollment be limited. And the committee in charge of the American culture program, a committee which included prominent members of the Teachers' Union and of the committee investigating the Walsh-Sweezy case, made efforts to free the project from any suspicion of jingoism. They included Emma Goldman, Morris Hillquit, Upton Sinclair, Grace Lumpkin, and the *Proletarian Anthology* in their reading lists, and when the special gift was made for counselors in the

houses, Granville Hicks was one of the first possibilities mentioned. The initiative came entirely from Harvard; he had not applied for any post. The committee approved unanimously, and when the list of candidates was sent to the house masters, five out of the seven made Hicks the first choice. He was assigned to Adams House, where, in a discreetly dim spot, the painting of John Reed hangs. Adams House is one of the more conservative houses, but the associates there felt that if they could seclude Hicks from the liberals at Leverett House, they might be able to reform him. It is said that the only active objection at Adams House came from a poet of anti-Marxist sentiments who was the subject of a poetic tribute by Hicks in the *New Republic* some months ago. They will have adjoining rooms.

It had been intended that the full list of counselors—the others are young and comparatively unknown—should be released at one time in the college newspaper, together with a careful explanation of their relation to the university. The *Crimson* editor, however, with whom the matter was discussed, became so excited by his responsibilities that he did just what he was urged not to do. He jumped the release date by a day, mentioned only Hicks, and put chief emphasis on the fact that Hicks was an avowed and prominent Communist. The response from the Boston papers was terrific. News of the appointment leaped to the top headlines, and stayed there for three solid days. **CONANT BACKS RED SAVANT. HARVARD RED BARES PLANS. STUDENTS REVOLT ON RED PROFESSOR.** But they really had no story. The *Crimson* had been so open in its statement that there was nothing for them to "reveal." They prodded seventeen G.A.R. veterans, all over ninety, into passing a resolution. The Watertown lodge of Elks also obliged.

There were one or two protests at the State House. Among the masses in greater Boston over whom the Democratic machine politicians still have influence, Harvard is regarded with mixed awe and hostility. It has many commuting students from poorer families, but except in the classroom they are there on sufferance. Harvard is aloof from the communal life of greater Boston, and except for occasional gestures like its honorary degree to Cardinal O'Connell, is often very tactless in its public relations. As a result the Beacon Hill demagogues attack it whenever they feel they have a popular issue. The teacher's-oath legislation was directed against it. So in some measure was the legislature's investigation into "subversive activities." As a result of the Hicks appointment, Senator Burke, a member of the committee investigating subversive ac-