

statements are just yearful expressions. As such they are of little use in the formulation of a practical policy.

★

Comment by Mr. Novick

THE contemplated Jewish state will have an area of over two thousand square miles with a population of over 600,000, about three hundred persons to the square mile. Poland, also an agricultural country, having, however, a powerful industry and rich resources, has a density of 213. England has 506 and Belgium has 675, but these are extremely industrialized countries with huge resources, colonies, a tremendous market. Palestine has no coal, iron, timber (the *only* mineral, the Dead Sea potash deposits will be inside the Arab state). The Jewish state will have no Arab hinterland. How will it exist? Is it not fantastic to speak of doubling or even trebling its population? There is a limit to what the Jews from the outside can supply. Mandate Palestine with a promise for a state five times larger, including Jerusalem, could not get enough funds to suit Zionist plans.

2. The Jewish state will immediately have an Arab problem. About 48 percent of the population will be Arab. Out of the approximately four million dunam cultivable land within the state—a dunam is less than a quarter of an acre—three million is in the hands of Arabs.

3. Mr. Samuel agrees there is validity in the fear there will be an Arabia *irredenta* and a constant source of friction. Out of despair for the fate of the Jewish minority in an undivided Palestine he is nevertheless for partition. But, then, he offers no solution for peace. Dr. Magnes, who has been living in Palestine, disagrees with him. I do not think

the modern Jewish community in Palestine in the present age can be compared with the community which has developed in Yemen in the dark ages. With a strong Jewish-Arab labor movement the power of the Mufti (who was made powerful and rich by England) will be curtailed.

4. I fail to see the liberalism of a community resorting to racial discrimination—which *strengthens* the Muftis and the Efendis and is also bound to have a destructive effect on Jewish life itself. Jews throughout the world will suffer from such practice in "their" state.

5. Eventually (relatively soon) this state will have to close its doors against Jewish immigrants while some governments will more than ever force Jews to emigrate to "their" state. There is much to be said about the effect the Jewish state will have on Jews outside—90 percent, *the* Jewish people.

6. Partitioning and the creation of an Arab *irredenta* will certainly have the effect of driving Arabs towards fascism as a means of struggle against Britain. The participation of the Jews in the struggle against British imperialism will also be a means of warding off fascism from among the millions of Arabs throughout Arabistan and Africa. Jewish Communists and other anti-fascists already work along this line, and whatever is said about the Palestine (as about all other) Communists, they are aiming at the unity of the broad masses of Jews and Arabs, at a people's front in Palestine, and many of them have been persecuted by the imperialist oppressors because of this.

7. Mr. Samuel himself lists a variety of Zionist and other opponents of partition, so there is no reason to limit them to assimilationists and Communists. At the Zionist Congress in Zurich, August 1937, the vote was 304 to 158 on a motion to negotiate with Great Britain. In addition to the 158, seventy of the majority specified they were

against partition. At best, the vote was: 234 for, 228 against. Over sixty labor delegates were among the "nays." Non-Zionists are overwhelmingly against. Religious Jews are opposed because Jerusalem is outside the state.

8. The Jewish community is no doubt highly developed—*relatively*. Palestine is still to be industrialized. During the last boom period there were no more than two establishments employing three hundred workers and over. Mr. Samuel grants there are forty thousand Arab city workers. I think there are many more. But the Histadruth lists only 63,238 city workers (as of March 1937) including professionals, Zionist and Agency functionaries and *non-working* wives and youths of workers (Mr. A. Revusky in *Jews in Palestine* admits this is rather a "departure" from bona fide trade-union practice). True, there is an enormous difference of living standards. But, in the USA, certain people were afraid to organize the unorganized lest the better paid minority be dragged down. Powerful Jewish-Arab trade unions can attain high standards for all workers. On the other hand, I could quote figures to show that wages of Jewish workers were lowered because Jewish employers otherwise refused to substitute them for their old Arab workers. Our South is feudal while our North is industrialized, but the Civil War was fought to prevent partition, and progressive people now fight the "differentials" for the South. This is, of course, no analogy (analogies are never exact) but something to learn from. To cut the living body of a small country of ten thousand square miles; to take a narrow strip along the Mediterranean (at spots only eight miles wide) with one end of it severed by the British corridor from Jerusalem to Jaffa, with four of its five cities "temporarily" mandated to England, and all of it entangled in barbed wire—to proclaim *this* a state is to attempt a grim joke on the Jewish people. Certainly it will not bring peace.



Soriano

THE SECOND GUADALAJARA

A Cable from the Northern Front

JOSEPH NORTH

Falset, by courier to Barcelona, July 30.

WHEN I got to Corbera, the enemy was shelling the town from Gandesa, whose spires are visible from the hill-top. First the snarl and then the thud and then the cascade of bricks tumbling down. I met an ancient peasant, with black headkerchief and cane, clambering over the ruins on the Street of Dr. D. Jaime Ferran. This main street of the rural center is the one with all the Franco pictures painted on the buildings and the Falangist arrows and crossbow by every doorway.

"Buenos días," the peasant said. I said good-day to him as another shell landed up the same street a few hundred yards off. "Malo," he said. "Bad." I shook my head in agreement.

"Sí, Señor," he said, looking at the ruins. "The work of many years is being undone now." "Sí," I said. He clambered to the top of the ruins, looked inside the building where a cock still stood in the wreckage, and went on.

The old man spoke more truth than he knew. Franco's shells and Il Duce's bombers were undoing the work of centuries. They are shattering buildings with their own Falangist abacadabra painted on them. Their shells and their bombs are waking up the last groups of peasants here who had been sticking to the old—the system of the *cacique*, the countryside boss—the old customary spiritual penury.

The lands which the Popular Front has taken back in last week's drive are among the richest in Spain. The splendidly cultivated fields roll up to the top of the Barrancos. Potatoes big as both your fists grow in the rich soil. But the tillers of the soil are happy that the republicans came back. One of them, a gnarled fellow in tight breeches, kissed the Catalan red and gold flag when the troops came marching in again. The terror of Moors and blackshirts, of Franco and the Falangists, had been too much. And now: heartless barrage and hourly aerial bombardments. These are the folk Franco admitted in his Burgos communiqué had "helped the enemy cross the Ebro."

This offensive ranks with Guadalajara; in some ways it is a greater achievement. It happened that Peter Kerrigan of the London *Daily Worker* and your correspondent crossed the river a few hours after the republicans and saw what a job it was. The republican troops crossed with dispatch and ease, with a meticulous planfulness that has amazed European military experts. It attests once more to the fact that the people's army is boundless in initiative even though lacking in orthodox

strategy and tactics of the military academies.

Friday the republic had been bringing up trucks loaded with fishermen's boats. The highways from Portbou to the Ebro were crowded with them. Trucks carrying pontoons were rushed through Barcelona. Undoubtedly fifth-column experts notified Franco; but Franco was totally unprepared for the blow when it came. He undoubtedly thought that the action would take much longer preparation than it did. For he was preparing the same action. I could see that on the outskirts of Corbera, where I counted some seventeen boats lying sixteen kilometers from the Ebro.

The republic beat him to the punch. The boats crossed before dawn Monday, July 25. Volunteers rowed them over, among them many American lads who had been seamen or lifeguards, and those who had done a "stretch" in the United States Navy. Once over, along the western bank of the Ebro from Amposte to Maquinenza, the engineers threw bridges across for the heavy stuff—tanks, artillery, truckloads of ammunition. The fascists fled in disorder practically all along the line—a distance of over a hundred miles. They ran wildly for the first forty-eight hours.

There's exquisite irony in this, for this is the very ground over which Mussolini's mechanized brigades rushed just fifteen weeks ago. They traversed this area to reach the coast and that was to be the *coup de grace* to the government. And now the fascists are scurrying back along the same roadways. They failed to put up any resistance whatsoever until they reached Gandesa. Il Duce's mountain pieces have come to their aid and the Moors are shooting their heads off, but the fall of Gandesa is imminent. Franco rushed all planes at his disposal to try to stop the advance. All the open cities, the beautiful rural towns along the Ebro, Mora de Nueva, Vinebro, Asco, and back a few kilometers, Gandesa and Torre de Espagnole, are being bombed with an intensity unequaled in this or any other war.

It is *Schrecklichkeit* à la Hitler. Every dawn this enemy sends over its reconnaissance plane. I watched it soar gracefully above over Asco. A half-hour later I heard the hum of a bombing fleet. They glided into view by threes, sixes, twelves, up to thirty. They circle their objectives but at a careful height, for the government has concentrated more anti-aircraft here than at any other spot during this war. Then they drop their load, chiefly 250-kilo bombs. They drop about a thousand daily on the twelve-kilometer river-edge. Sometimes

when the anti-aircraft is distant they come down to strafe. They strafe in patrols of three or six, circling about their prey while one swoops down with its rat-tat-tat of machine-gun bullets. Then it rises and the second comes down, and so on. It is done with the grace of a condor. The action is hatefully deliberate, maddeningly scientific.

But the government pushes on. Men hide under trees or in ditches; small-town guardsmen fire two rifleshots in the air and the people take to the refugios. Hundreds of lovely old buildings crumble in a rush of bricks and plaster. But the toll of human life and materials is relatively small. The advance continues. The entire action came as a complete surprise. London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome thought that the fate of the republic was sealed; there still remained desperate resistance, but the end was nearing. The enemy was coming down Sagunto Road beyond Sarrión; airfleets were bombing all ports. The French border was closed tight. The enemy had all the planes and cannon they needed from Krupp and Milan.

Then came the lightning stroke. The invaders are now rushing materials and men up from Levante. They haven't been able to gain a yard about Sagunto these last five days. Their morale is crumbling. I have spoken with scores of prisoners and it is obvious they are happy that they are no longer fighting for Franco. The Burgos communiqué, which announced that the republicans had crossed, did so with a surprising admission. It said, "With the aid of certain people in towns across the Ebro, the enemy succeeded in crossing at several points." It is an admission of a serious state of affairs in Franco territory. "Certain people" are multiplying daily—heartily sick of Franco and his "advisers," Mussolini and Hitler.

I have had the opportunity of observing the republican troops more closely in this action than ever before—excellent infantrymen. They march across the roads to Gandesa. Gandesa is the key to Tortosa, which gets its supplies from that center. With Gandesa taken, Tortosa is untenable. Then the battle is on for Alcaniz and the roadway to Morella, thence to Vinaroz. Franco's holdings all along the coast to Castellón are thus endangered. More than six thousand prisoners have been taken; more than a thousand kilometers regained. Great quantities of materials—trucks, rifles, and ammunition—have fallen into the republic's hands. The equilibrium of Chamberlain's policies has been seriously disturbed. Fulfillment of the Anglo-Italian pact is farther away than ever.

Of course, don't make the mistake of thinking that it's all over. The task is not easy. The enemy has brought up all his materials. But morale is against Franco. And more than that, the Spanish republican army has achieved higher efficiency and spirit than ever before. I saw them during several actions about Corbera. Victory was on their faces, and zeal for freedom. They came through, disheveled, bearded, dirty—but glorious.



William Gropper

NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors

THEODORE DRAPER, GRANVILLE HICKS, CROCKETT JOHNSON,
JOSHUA KUNITZ, A. B. MAGIL, HERMAN MICHELSON,
BRUCE MINTON, SAMUEL SILLEM.

Contributing Editors

ROBERT FORSYTHE, JOSEPH FREEMAN, MICHAEL GOLD,
HORACE GREGORY, ALFRED O'MALLEY, LOREN MILLER,
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, RICHARD WRIGHT, MARGUERITE YOUNG.

Business and Circulation Manager

GEORGE WILLNER.

Advertising Manager

ERIC BERNAY.



The Boycott Brings Results

FIGURES released by the Department of Commerce show a decrease in Japan's export trade with the United States of 22.5 percent and in import trade of 31 percent for June 1938 compared with June 1937. Though the boycott movement certainly cannot be given entire credit for this drop, it did play a notable and ever growing role.

Examining the figures more closely, interest naturally centers on the decreased purchases of Japanese raw silk. In the first five months of 1937, the United States imported 23,664,000 pounds; for the same period in 1938, the figure was only 17,622,000 pounds, a drop of more than six million pounds, or more than 25 percent. Since this is Japan's biggest money crop, it was inevitable that Japan could purchase only 466,000 bales of raw cotton in 1938 instead of the 698,000 of 1937, or almost exactly 33 percent less. The same declines are shown in scrap steel, iron and steel plates, aircraft, and motor vehicles, but the trend is distinctly reversed in the case of oil.

This report should give renewed impetus to the boycott movement, as well as to the drive now getting under way for a government embargo on Japanese trade, especially products necessary for the continuance of the aggression. Boycott and embargo are two sides of the same coin. In their own ways, both will prevent Japanese militarism from getting its war materials in this country. The boycott is an effective method for enforcing Far Eastern as well as world peace.

Fascism vs. Catholicism

ONE of the deadly sins in a fascist country is to impugn the originality of the dictator. This deadly sin was committed by Pope Pius XI when, in a recent address before students of the College of

Propagation of the Faith, he expressed his wonder that Mussolini should have felt the need to imitate Hitler in this whole business of Aryan racism. First it was the goose-step, now it is Aryanism. The accusation of being a mere imitator drove Mussolini into a frenzy of anger. What? "Fascism imitating any one or anything? Absurd! I wish you and everyone to know that also in the race question we will go straight ahead."

Thus, "the issue between the Vatican and the fascist state is now squarely joined," reports Arnaldo Cortesi, of the *New York Times*. "The Vatican has repudiated all racist theories, not excluding the Italian ones . . . and has condemned them as contrary to the very essence of the Catholic faith. Mussolini . . . has brusquely announced that he proposes to go straight ahead. Everyone in Rome is sitting back to watch the sparks fly when an irresistible force meets an immovable body."

In view of these sharp clashes between Mussolini and the Pope, and the enthusiastic support Mussolini received in Hitler's official press, what will be the position of sincere Catholics who have been misled into the belief that the puppet of these two anti-Catholic dictators in Spain, Generalissimo Franco, is fighting for the Church? Franco's fighting strength is based on Moors (not Christians), on Italian fascists (anti-Catholic), and German Nazis (even more bitterly anti-Catholic)! How can any Catholics consistently maintain that Franco fights for the Catholic Church? How can they persist in their utterly unjustifiable opposition to the loyalists? How can they fail to join hands with all progressive anti-fascist forces, including, of course, the Communists, in the common fight for jobs, security, democracy, and peace?

Across the Ebro

THERE is not the slightest doubt that the republican offensive across the Ebro is one of the major actions of the war. It could not have been undertaken by a beaten army. Its vitality, speed, and tenacity carry the ring of victory, not an easy victory, not an imminent one, but a certain one because Spain cannot be conquered while Spaniards remain on its soil.

The primary objective of the republican advance has already been fulfilled. Franco and his "advisers" have had to withdraw troops from the Levante front so that his offensive there seems to have been completely stalled. The latest dispatches report an important republican victory below Teruel, near this very front. If this materializes into anything of substantial importance, Franco will have to rush troops to defend Teruel, another peril to his Levante drive.

What now? It would be folly to suppose that the fascists are not preparing a major effort to recoup their losses and their prestige. They are still greatly superior to the republicans in arms and munitions, especially in planes. Mussolini and Hitler will reluctantly recognize that the war is far from over and increase their intervention. The coming weeks are therefore critical. International aid to Spain and the struggle against "non-intervention" and "neutrality" are more urgent than ever. With the Spaniards fighting so valiantly and so well, can we remain satisfied with anything but our best?

Danger in the Far East

THE Japanese militarists have again brought the situation in the Far East close to the danger of a major war, with all its possibilities of a world holocaust.

Japan was in desperate need of a diplomatic triumph to compensate for its loss of prestige in China. It tried to gain such a victory at the expense of the Soviet Union. Grasping at a minor border incident as a pretext, the Japanese government brusquely denounced the Soviet Union as an "invader," demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from a hill which belonged to Russia since 1869, and threatened, in case of Soviet refusal to comply with its demands, the "application of force." Litvinov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, rebuked the Japanese ambassador in Moscow for his undiplomatic language, assured him that threats were the last thing to go over in Moscow, and flatly refused to accept the ambassador's protests. Now it was Japan's turn to act.

Rumors, emanating from Tokyo, of clashes between the Soviet and Japanese troops around Changkufeng filled the papers. Simultaneously news dispatches from Tokyo indicated that "the Japanese public was unanimously opposed to taking steps that might lead to war with Russia." By July 22, the Japanese government, "fearing that the public was reaching a dangerous state of alarm," ordered the press to "minimize the alleged invasion of Manchukuo by Soviet troops." It was obvious that the Japanese government was ready to retreat from its intransigent position and settle the incident amicably, even though it would be an obvious loss of face. Then, after a few days of quiet, again reports of clashes near Changkufeng poured out from Tokyo. The Japanese troops were winning, chasing the Soviet troops, killing hundreds, capturing tanks and guns and ammunition. Tokyo was now ready to glory in the achievements of its military in Manchukuo. It had almost regained face. Almost, for according to the latest official