in Princey's unit are clearly differentiated as individuals at the same time that they are presented as a group bound together by a common understanding and purpose. It is a thoroughly representative group of American workers. These factory hands and housewives, young and old, Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant, respond to an emergency with courage and generosity. Few novelists have given us as powerful a sense of the vast human resources of American life.

The conflict between two of the Negro characters is handled with unusual skill and insight. Ambrose Bishop is a weakling. He has been paroled out of prison by the Jeffies, agents of the company, who can bend him to their will by threatening to send him back. He is compelled to act as a stoolpigeon. In a memorable scene, he is beaten up by another Negro, Ben Silversmith, who is a disciplined, class-conscious worker. But Silversmith's rage is directed not so much against Bishop as it is against a system which conspires to set brother against brother. Bishop, as Silversmith realizes, is only the pitiful victim of a calculated effort to degrade men in order to defeat them.

Maltz is less successful, I think, with his characters from the other side of town. The country club set introduced at the opening of the book seems conventionally drawn. Characters like Adelaide Harvey and her fiance, Shepherd Trask, do not ring true, and it is significant that they tend to disappear as the main action gets under way. On the other hand, the two most important reactionary characters, Harvey Kellog and Jeffry Grebb, are skillfully portrayed. They represent two levels of the fascist mentality. Kellog, the frustrated and embittered business man, is the head of the local Black Legion. He is essentially weak and cowardly. He is fanatically devoted to the ritual of the Legion, its nightriding, its emphasis on brute force. Unable to cope with his personal problems, the petty bourgeois has allied himself with an organization which outlaws thinking and sanctions the easiest of solutions; terror, mysticism, revenge. By contrast, Jeffry Grebb represents a more sophisticated version of American fascism. A shrewd, cynical, and intelligent executive, Grebb has risen from the ranks. For him the Legion is only a tool. He has a hearty contempt for Kellog's twisted emotionalism but is ready to use it to further his personal ambitions. It is Grebb who tries to make Princey sell out; it is Kellog who kills Princey when Grebb's more subtle tactics fail. We feel that Kellog and Grebb are enemies and allies at the same moment.

#### SWIFT ACTION

Maltz's experience as a dramatist is clearly reflected in the telling of the story. The action is swift and exciting. With a remarkable economy of style, the author builds toward the climax in a series of brief and rapid scenes. There are no heavy pauses for psychological analysis or social comment: the meaning always emerges from the action. Ralph Fox

once urged our novelists to learn from the techniques of the moving pictures. Whether consciously or not, the advice has been heeded by a number of recent writers. The dramatic novel restores to fiction elements of action, suspense, and speed which have been too often overlooked by proletarian writers. By seizing upon reality at a point of high social tension, Maltz has been able to lay bare central issues without formal comments of his own. The method has its limitations, to be sure. A longer and more leisurely novel might have given a fuller sense of the mass of automobile workers, as Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath gave us a fuller sense of the migratory workers than his In Dubious Battle. But I think that writers like Albert Maltz and Richard Wright are wise to explore the more highly concentrated medium at the moment. There is room for experiment in cutting across the formal boundaries of the novel, short story,

The Underground Stream is being hailed by the reviewers as another "exception" to their rule about left wing fiction. The Herald Tribune, for example, bravely announced that "Here is a left wing writer who can write." I do not offhand have the statistics on "exceptions" like Steinbeck, Richard Wright, Meridel LeSueur, Ben Appel, and the many others whose work has recently been greeted in the press. It is obvious, however, that if you have enough examples to violate a rule, it is high time to make a new one. In any case, an exception like The Underground Stream calls for a celebration. And the best way to celebrate it is to read this thoughtful and exciting novel as soon as possible. SAMUEL SILLEN.

## Propaganda Analysis

conquering the man in the street. A Psychological Analysis of Propaganda in War, Fascism, and Politics, by Ellis Freeman. The Vanguard Press. \$2.50.

AM sure that if Mr. Freeman were asked, he would say that the fascist use of psychological appeals is alone not enough to account for what fascist successes there have been; and that he had not intended his book to give that impression. In effect, however, although in the opening and concluding chapters Mr. Freeman refers to other factors, the impression his book gives is that the fascist drive for power and the propaganda mechanisms for retaining power are outstandingly a problem of mass psychology and best understood through a psychological analysis.

Mr. Freeman's study of the psychological strains which fascist propaganda exploits and of the psychological devices used in the exploitation is intelligent, clear, ably organized and documented, and well written. Nothing in this review is intended to depreciate the value of the book as such a study. However, the book is too predominantly that. There are moments in it when the reader loses sight of surrounding and conditioning factors and the fantasy appears almost real that if some sort of mass psychoanalysis could be arranged for them,

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Horseback Liding • Bicycling • Swimming • Tennis • Handball SPECIAL JULY RATES City Phone - DR. NEWMAN, JE 6-2334 the problems of fascist-ridden peoples could be solved.

But neither the diseases nor the cures are as simple as that. The many stresses from which these peoples suffer, whatever the psychological maladjustments that developed from and accompanied them, were economic and social. Many socially injurious relations have become institutionalized and placed beyond the reach of ordinary therapeutic processes, a danger Mr. Freeman neglects to warn against. For example, socially injurious relations, involving the common sexual neurosis, jealousy, have had a psychopathic adjustment among Moslem and Hindu peoples—the veiling and seclusion of women. This, in its institutionalized forms, has lasted over a thousand years, has resisted all efforts of reformers, and has given way only in the Moslem areas of the Soviet Union, and in Turkey where the bourgeois revolution modified the social basis.

I give this example because it illustrates both that such socially injurious situations can become institutionalized and that they may require revolutionary change to readjust them and to alter the psychological maladjustments in which these institutions were reflected.

Another drawback of the book is the fact that scarcely any differentiation is made between the situation and the propaganda before and after governing power is placed in fascist hands. Generalizations applicable to one situation and one type of propaganda do not apply precisely to the other. Consequently, because this differentiation is not clearly established, neither the campaign against the nerves, the deliberately staged disorder, sowing fright throughout the country and making large groups ready to accept any "order," even a gangster-guaranteed order, in the drive to power, nor in the post-seizure of power period, the pressures and effects of the compulsions set up by fascist control are given sufficient attention.

More important, insufficient stress is given to the economic preconditions of fascism. If we look back to the Germany of the early thirties we find unemployment and discontent to a degree that made conditions intolerable to the people. The index can be seen in the elections of that period. The Communist Party and the Nazis were making enormous gains. The Nazis, both in their name (National Socialist) and in their propaganda, pretended to be socialist. It was when the Communist rate of increase began to top the Nazi rate of increase that the German ruling class acted. Mr. Freeman describes how the German financiers and industrialists subsidized, nursed along, and manipulated the Nazi Party. But he omits an important point—that the Nazis were given the go signal only when the usefulness of the Social Democrats in holding off the revolution appeared to be at an end and it became apparent that the German people were on the point of voting a genuine people's party, ready for social change, into the government.

Thus, while the unscrupulous and clever Nazi propaganda was certainly not negligible, the determining precondition was not German



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mass psychopathies but unemployment and insecurity which generated and sustained these psychopathies, and the decisive act was the manipulation of power, while it was still in the hands of the ruling class, to install a socialist false front, the Nazi Party.

Following the establishment of fascist power, propaganda alone cannot account for its continuance. It was the failure of the Rivera military adventure in Morocco, among other things, and not the lack of a propaganda ministry, that brought the downfall of the first (Primo de Rivera) fascist regime in Spain.

In our own country today we see a dangerous division of the democratic forces. We see liberals sanctioning, as justifiable emergency provisions, acts limiting democratic liberties and withdrawing even existing economic gains of the people; and contributing rationalizations to the reactionaries for placing radicals in a scapegoat role. These are more dangerous than propaganda. It is at such a point that fascist propaganda can become a powerful factor. The psychological bases and the methods by which this propaganda proceeds are very clearly given in Mr. Freeman's book. All readers should bear in mind, as Mr. Freeman himself suggests in his concluding chapter, that the best defenses are positive: the extension of democracy and of well-being for the ISIDOR SCHNEIDER. people.

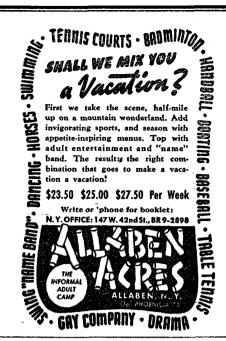
## Youth Congress

AMERICAN YOUTH TODAY, by Leslie Gould. Random House, \$2.

N OFFICER of the American Youth Con-A gress, with years of practical work in the youth movement to his credit, Leslie Gould has given us the first full and authentic story of its origin and growth. It makes exciting reading and is invaluable as a handbook for everyone interested in or connected with young people in any way.

The starting point of the book is the Youth Institute at Washington last February, when the AYC had its face slapped by President Roosevelt and its hand clasped by John L. Lewis. The Institute marked the Congress' coming of age. Over five thousand young people went back home to the five million others they spoke for knowing who their enemies and friends were. The nation's press raged and Red-baited and said that the AYC was washed up as a political force.

But the contrary was proved in the immediate attempts of both major parties either to win over the AYC or to wreck it. Through the National Youth Administration and the American Youth Commission the Democrats have tried to set up rival youth groups in several regions. Roosevelt is now trying strangulation through a system of compulsory military and labor service for youth. The Republicans' line has been to get former idols of youth like Gene Tunney to set up dummy youth outfits under such phony "leaders" as Playner and Lilienthal. Connected directly



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