Shelley Wang said once "We Chinese have learned from our history how our ancestors shed blood for the country, when it was conquered by the Mongols and by Manchus, and how they shed blood to overthrow the Yuan Dynasty in the fourteenth century and the Chin Dynasty in 1911. We, the Chinese people, know resisting is the only way out. 'Rather be broken jade than be a finished tile." And I understood why he wanted to fight against Japan. How openly the barons of Japan have thrown dust into the eyes of the world and their own people! Can such a monstrous fabrication offer any solace to the human soul even if it bludgeon men into becoming good patriots and faithful subjects? Is there anyone who does not know that this love of country cum loyalty to the Ruling House is deliberately cultivated to hold in check the poor peasants shorn of land and the factory workers, whole families of whom are kept as slaves from generation to generation? Or else what is the meaning of the Peace Preservation Law, which came into effect in 1925 and of which the first article says: "That those who have organized an association or fraternity with the object of altering the national constitution, or of repudiating the private property system, or those who have joined such an organization with the full knowledge of its object, are to be punished with penalty, ranging from death to penal servitude of over five years." Does not this Draconian severity betray the fear of a cleavage in Japan?

You and Shelley had no illusions about the defects of the old Confucian morality either. Neither you nor I had much patience with those in our respective countries in whose arteries the blood stream seemed to be congealed or seemed to be running slow, whose pulse was faint and who yet kept a hungry grip on our young lives. We were on the side of history. This was not because, as some Europeans said, we were half-baked modernists going through the chaos of adolescence and crying for the moon, but because we had seen in the darkened classroom of the life about us the clear lessons of history and the lessons of time. We knew the philosophy of those who have been saying to us:

Whatever happens
We have got
The Maxim gun
And you have not!

We wanted, more than anything else, unity in our respective countries; and we well understood the reasons of our moral and material frustration; we were anxious to abolish foot-binding in your country and early marriage in mine; we wanted a reformed education and we were essaying cultural and literary revaluations; we believed in the sovereignty of our respective peoples; and above all, we knew those who regarded our modern impulses as "dangerous thoughts." Do you remember that clipping you gave me of a press interview by the head of the Student

Bureau of the Department of Education in Tokyo, which ran: "So called 'dangerous thoughts' admit of various definitions. A general definition would be the present unrest exhibited by the student mind of the nation, etc. ..." I remember how we laughed over this and the various articles of the Nazi creed which we used to discuss together: the State is absolute, man is "a part of zoology," the ultimate ideal being race and blood and Fichte's Herrenvolk . . . Now, it is no laughing matter. Your chief enemy Japan has also become our enemy too. And the Nazis, the fascist and militant hordes are sweeping across country after country, while the defenses of those who stand for human values are as yet inadequate.

ONLY I am certain that these destroyers cannot build merely on destruction, for nothing can be built on murder and more murder and yet more murder. I know that as certainly as you do, because we know that once the mind of the oppressed is free it can never be conquered. And if anyone ever needed confirmation of how unconquerable the human mind is, the corner of Japanese-occupied China where you are now will supply it—as also every patch of the vast territories of Soviet Russia overrun by the Wehrmacht where guerrillas carry on their unspectacular and silent but heroic struggle against the aggressor. I am not unmindful of the fact that guerrillas alone, whether in China, or Russia,

or in India, cannot carry out a giant offensive against the enemy or completely destroy his military power. But apart from the practical work of cutting communications and harassing the enemy, they supply inspiration and faith which the complacent need, that there can be new men in the world, free and disinterested and strong and with deep understanding of the causes of great disasters, and therefore with the ability to overcome them and take the corners of history.

Such a man was Shelley Wang, who sang defiance to the fascist eagles:

After the autumn showers have washed the far hills,

Wisps of thin mist float low like scarves of lawn.

Where the tall trees rise up to the clean washed sky.

As though to pierce it, a flustering eagle is

High in the damp air; he spreads wide his wings;

Wind whistles through his angry claws and

"Lank firs are high too, and the world is wide:

You little thing, you will fall in your pride."

Let me congratulate you on the passing of a man who has left us such gifts of faith and courage. Mulk Raj Anand.

## **WORK IN PROGRESS**

What Germany's exiled writers are doing. New themes.

ITERATURE in exile never has been a homogeneous organism. The attitudes of exiled writers have been as varied as the reasons of exile. Almost all the trends and counter-trends characterizing the development of the literatures in the nonfascist countries were also to be found in the literatures of emigration. For quite a few years there were exiled writers who continued to write in their old fashion, ignoring in their writing the events and forces that had driven them out of their countries. It is true that an increasing number of the literati in exile took part in the fight against fascism, but still there were authors who emigrated with their ivory towers.

With the widening of the second world war, exiled writers were confronted with the same problems which face their non-exiled colleagues today. How have they tried to answer the question: "What is the writer's position in this war"?

There are still some exiled writers who deem it possible or even necessary to ignore war entirely in their production. The most outstanding example of this kind is Franz Werfel. His two latest books, A Light Blue Woman's Handwriting and The Song of Bernadette, have nothing whatsoever to do with our time; they are consciously written as "escape literature." The part Werfel takes

in the matters of today is strictly unliterary. It is expressed in his participation in one of the Austrian emigre groups—the one which is under the leadership of the monarchistic member of the former Schuschnigg government which killed democracy in Austria and eased the way for Hitler's attack. Still this group is anti-Hitler, and Werfel's participation in its activity differentiates him from a man like Maurois, who has skillfully avoided any gesture against Hitler's Vichy government and its deeds, including the promotion of racial laws a la Nuremberg. And Mr. Maurois' Lavalian "non-belligerency" is still different from the open treason of a man like Gustav Regler, whose latest "work" is a pamphlet full of attacks against the anti-fascist exiles in Mexico who are fighting the Nazi fifth column in South America.

Most of the exiled writers have come to the Western Hemisphere via France, where they lived through the catastrophe of 1940. The theme of "France" still obsesses many of them. This theme ranges from the sensationalist description of personal sufferings and adventures to the analysis of why France fell and the attempt to convey useful experiences which can be employed as weapons in the fight against Hitler. First there was Hans Habe's sensational report about his ad-



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ventures at the time of France's downfall. Then came Arthur Koestler's melodramatic and, in part, hatefully distorted book about his experiences in Camp Vernet and in wartime Paris. Then Lion Feuchtwanger published his impassioned and moving story of the bureaucratic "Devil in France." Finally we had Vladimir Pozner's excellent war novel, Edge of the Sword."

But still other books are coming. Hans Marchwitza is completing a novelized report of a refugee Odyssey in the France of 1939-40. Here the France of the small people peasants, craftsmen, workers, townsfolk from the provinces comes into the foreground. The book provides good clues for guessing the future attitude of the common folk in France in the event of an invasion by a second front army. Bruno Frei is now preparing a book for publication in Mexico, about the worst of the French concentration camps-Le Vernet. In this book the sufferings and the individual sorrows and adventures are only the background for the story of human endurance and fortitude shown by the prisoners of Le Vernet as a collective. Lion Feuchtwanger has written the introduction to this book. The French war diary of Heinrich Mann conveys with utmost sincerity the internal struggle of the author, cut off in a small southern French town during the early stages of the war. It, too, will be published in Mexico by the new publishing house of the German exiled writers, Das Freie Buch-The Free Book. Anna Seghers, whose novel The Seventh Cross (dealing with events in a German concentration camp before the war) is a Book-of-the-Month selection for October, is busy on a novel about life in unoccupied France seen from the viewpoint of a refugee.

HE war itself has only begun to appear I in the works of exiled writers. Many of them, of course, are devoting a good deal of their work to articles, show pieces, radio stories dealing with the fight against Hitlerand taking an active part in it. But strange as it may seem, the best among the exiled writers have too few opportunities to use their art as a weapon against Hitler. Short wave radio program for Europe still conspicuously avoid using the talents and experiences of the best representatives of antifascist literature. In many cases third-rate people and even worse, people whose record as anti-fascists is more than poor, are doing the propaganda work. To name only one: Mr. Emil Ludwig, one of the most disgusting nationalistic drummers in World War I, and up to 1938 an ardent admirer of Mussolini, now joins the Vansittarts, demanding a partition of Germany and foreign government for the Germans after the war. In declaring that all Germans are Nazis Mr. Ludwig provides ample stuff for the Goebbels propaganda which tries to unite the German people through fear and pressure.

Still there are many excellent short stories, articles, poems, and sketches by Heinrich Mann, Anna Seghers, Voskovec Werich



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Ludwig Renn, Aladar Tamas, Egon Hostovsky, Adolf Hoffmeister, Julian Tuwim and others-devoted to the war effort of the United Nations.

The underground war against the Nazis and their Quislings and the sufferings of the occupied countries are likely to be a major theme of exiled literature. Das Freie Buch in Mexico, which I have already mentioned, is preparing an anthology of exiled writers dealing with the Nazi terror in occupied Europe. After F. C. Weiskopf's novel of the underground warfare in Slovakia, Dawn Breaks, another Czechoslovakian writer, Egon Hostovsky, deals with exile and the underground in his forthcoming novel Seven Times in the Main Part. Still another Czechoslovakian writer, working under a pseudonym, is announced by the publishing house of A. Ungar, New York, as author of a short novel, They Hit the Hangman, about the village of Lidice destroyed by the Nazis. Stefan Heym is finishing a novel about hostages in Prague; this novel will be published by Putnam's and filmed by Universal. Julian Tuwim, noted Polish poet, is working on a long poem about the sufferings and the resistance of the Polish people under Nazi occupation. Heinrich Mann has just completed a work—half novel and half pamphlet—about that already famous Czech village of Lidice. The Czech writer Adolf Hoffmeister is working on a play with Lidice as the theme. Bertold Brecht is at work on a volume of ballads dealing with the war and Hitler Germany. A few of these ballads were published by the anti-Nazi monthly Freies Deutschland in Mexico. A young Polish writer, Sydor Rey, has written a novelette about Polish resistance, Four Women and One Grave-Digger, and the Greek poet Pantelis Prevelakis is working on a sequel to his Chronicle of a Town showing the life of a Greek town under the heel of foreign occupation troops.

ND what of the outlook for a revolt in A Germany proper? How about the underground in Germany? The exiled writers try to tackle this subject too. When the "Tribune," an association of anti-Nazi writers in New York, arranged a contest for the best stories, a young German worker named Fritz Zorn who escaped from Germany in 1938, won the first prize with a novelette about life in a German camp: The Fall Into the Light. Zorn is working now on a novel about a German labor camp and the underground work done by two workers and their women in a small town in southern Germany. The title will be Between Night and Day.

The historical theme still occupies a number of exiled writers. In the case of Alfred Doeblin and Heinrich Mann, history is dealt with in such a way that the roots of Nazism are made clear. Mann chose Frederick the Great and his Prussianism as the theme for his newest book, and Doeblin's novel, Karl and Rosa, deals with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and their assassination.

Quite a few exiled writers have turned to biographies of famous contemporaries. Walter Artkino and Anglo-American Films present

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Mehring's book about Marshal Timoshenko has recently been published and Andre Simone announces a book on "Stalin, the Man Who Stopped Hitler."

Individual adventures in the emigration—which were in vogue some time ago—have almost vanished from the literary scene, a lonely exception being Hermann Kesten's long story "Colonel Kock"—the tragic fate of a Polish refugee in America.

Finally, there is the literature for children. Difficulties in getting such scripts published seem almost insurmountable for exiled writers, but there is some new work going on in this field. Alex Wedding, for example, has just completed a little book, The Cats on the Hudson Pier. It tells a story about "refugee cats" left behind by the boats which are now slipping out of the harbor during the night. But the narrative is not a simple "animal story" or a "refugee yarn"—it is a book about the war, told to children in appropriate language but centering about the problems of the anti-fascist war.

O. T. RING.

## **Post-Mortem**

THE LOST PEACE, by Harold Butler. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.75.

ON THE long, gloomy shelf of books about how the peace was lost, this particular volume makes its own place. It is a memoir in a mellow vein, a contrast of personal recollections and objective testimony from the former dictator of the International Labor Office, now the British Minister to Washington. Butler is clearly a liberal, but one with a real measure of guts. He ranges many sides of the question of what happened to France, Germany, the League, the central and east European states, but never to the point where his conclusions cancel themselves out. He is proud of the fact that he traveled widely and almost continuously throughout Europe and South America; he is quite caustic with those unnamed British diplomats who disdained interest in the common man's problem, stuck to the coterie diplomacy after the fashion of the Edwardian era, and were content to say, as did Chamberlain of the Czechoslovaks, that they were a "faraway people of whom we know nothing." Butler is not of that kind, and for all his critique of other nations, he is not blind to the failure of his own.

His two chief chapters, on France and Germany, spare neither the left nor the right. They are chapters which range not only through politics, but cover broad areas such as the cultural, historical, and psychological roots of French debacle and the Nazi success. He is bitter about the venality of the French press and Parliament. He finds the left was spineless; the struggle of the Spanish republic, he says, should have been seen as an issue of France's national defense, just as it should have been an issue for Britain of who would control the western Mediterranean, instead of a matter of ideological sympathy for the

fascists. He finds the Right in France was never really reconciled to the Grand Revolution, to the sovereignty of the republic, was ready to sacrifice the nation to property. In so far as Mr. Butler arrives at a conclusion, it is that "despair and defeatism percolated from the top downwards, not from the mass upwards." And he thinks the regeneration of France will come by the reverse process.

His treatment of Germany is sweeping; references to the inherent Prussianism, the love of uniform, the gullibility, and servility to imperialism are applied rather indiscriminately to the whole German people. Here and there, however, his meaning clarifies: he is caustic about the failure of Weimar, for "It was characteristic of the German 'revolution' that it failed to alter the structure of the state, without which it could not be a revolution at all." This pusillanimity of German democracy he traces to deeper roots, the fact that the Germans did not have "a Hampden or a Cromwell, a Robespierre or a Lenin," in other words, a thorough-going democratic revolution. He agrees with Heine that "Man muss die Deutschen von innern befreien, von aussen hilfts nichts," and thus feels that the German people itself must overcome the shortcomings of its history, at "whatever the price in blood or tears."

There is little in the volume on the Soviet Union, except a definite declaration that the danger to European security came not from Russia but from Germany, all opinions to the contrary usually being Nazi propaganda. It is worth noting also that Butler believes "in the light of what we now know of German fifth column activities . . . there is no reason why the evidence furnished by the Moscow trial of 1937 should not be genuine."

As for the future, his proposals are tentative and reserved. He does not believe in abstract projects for European or world-wide federation. Reconstruction will start where the war leaves off. Economic and social issues will determine political settlements. He expects an upsurge of nationalism, but wishes this to dovetail with real collective security, and he wants the cooperation of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union to form the basis of postwar rehabilitation. In an earlier chapter, however, he recognizes the necessity of a thorough-going revolution in central Europe that does not seem to bulk so large in his last passage. But the problem is stated well: the necessity of finding some "new formula which would reconcile . . . national autonomy with the material fact that the world could no longer be divided into selfdependent spheres. . . ."

Much of the humility of this book is of course a matter of hindsight; it is well to remember that the mistakes of the past will not be repeated in the present and the future just because they are so well understood in looking backward. But there is a sturdy attitude here that goes far toward understanding the realist of our world, one with which people who the future than Butler, will nonethescoperate.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.