

tain that the war in which we are at present engaged is wrong in itself. . . ." His Ohio colleague, Alexander Long, told Congress as late as April 8, 1864, that "I regard all dreams of the restoration of the Union . . . as worse than idle." In the difficult winter of 1862 almost the entire midwestern Democratic delegation abstained from voting when a \$475,000,000 army appropriation bill came before the House. Then as now congressional defeatists took every opportunity to obstruct essential war legislation and to feed the press with anti-war copy.

The main strategy of the Copperhead politicians was a continual peace offensive which varied only in form and intensity with each new turn in the military situation. Vallandigham exclaimed in the House: "Defeat, debt, taxation, sepulchres, these are your trophies. . . . Stop fighting. Make an armistice—not a formal treaty." Leading Democratic newspapers in the Midwest, like the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Chicago *Times*, Detroit *Free Press*, belittled Union successes, exaggerated Union defeats, and circulated Confederate stories about northern atrocities. Editorial writers denied the possibility of a Union victory.

ATTACKS on Lincoln did not differ substantially in form from attacks on Roosevelt today. When Senator Taft of Ohio warns the country of "dictatorship" in the White House, he is merely echoing the charge of Vallandigham of Ohio. "Constitutional violation" was the stock cry of those whom the frontline soldiers dubbed "peace sneaks." States rights were invoked as an argument against the exercise of every essential war move of the Federal government. Heroic solicitude for "civil liberties"—that is, the liberty to jeopardize a nation's life—was suddenly manifested by those who had murdered Lovejoy. "Other patriots," shrieked Vallandigham, "in other ages, have suffered before me. I may die for the cause; be it so . . ." and this hypocritical martyr set the tone for a whole school of throbbing liars. Editorial writers bewailed a situation in which the executive branch of government was "usurping" the powers of Congress.

It is ironical to find anti-Roosevelt Republicans today repeating word for word the strict constructionist arguments that were once the exclusive property of anti-Lincoln Democrats. When Mark Sullivan writes that New Dealers are fighting the war in order to smuggle in poll-tax reforms, he is voicing the charge of the Copperheads, after the Emancipation Proclamation, that Lincoln had got us into the war on false pretenses. At campaign rallies for Vallandigham, as candidate for governor of Ohio, an inspired feature was a procession of young women with placards reading: "Fathers, Save Us from Negro Equality." Don't be surprised if poll-tax defeatists revive the slogan. "In the name of God, no more bloodshed to gratify a religious fanaticism," yelled an ex-governor of Illinois appropriately named Reynolds. The Copperhead press claimed that the Emancipation Proclamation

had encouraged "Negro assaults on whites, both North and South." The Dubuque *Herald* addressed Union troops in this vein: "You perceive that it is to emancipate slaves and to enable adventurers to make money by plunder that you are used as soldiers. Are you, as soldiers, bound by patriotism, duty, or loyalty to fight in such a cause?"

THE author of *The Hidden Civil War* believes that Emancipation was proclaimed at an "unfortunate" time. But the truth is that it came in the nick of time and could no longer be postponed, belated as it already was. For while Emancipation increased the wrath of the Copperheads and gave them another demagogic weapon, its military and morale effect turned the tide of battle toward victory. Its proclamation marked a break with the policy of appeasing the appeasers, a policy which, as every page of this book reveals, could not possibly work except in the interests of the fifth column. As it was, a certain leniency at various moments and in particular localities brought us close to disaster. There was no compromise with those who, like the Chicago *Times*, maintained that "The government, then, by the act of the President, is in rebellion. . . ."

Of particular interest for us at this moment is the behavior of Copperheads during a war election. During the political campaign of 1862 the defeatists wore a mask: ". . . most Democratic spokesmen who were opposed to the war *per se* kept their attitudes pretty much to themselves, obviously in the hope of reaping as large a harvest as possible among advocates of the war policy who were for any reason discontented with the administration." In other words they did not dare pose the full scale support of the war effort as a central election issue. They minimized it. They were all, for the moment, agreed on that. As agreed on it, for instance, as Ham Fish and Jim Bennett. Anti-administration elements gained in the elections, partly because they were holding their real fire and partly because the military situation was poor.

The main dissatisfaction arose from "the disappointing military situation and the resulting conviction that the authorities had not displayed a skill in utilizing the resources granted them commensurate with the efforts

of the people." What Professor Gray neglects to mention is that this poor military situation was in large measure due to the ineffectual, defeatist generalship of McClellan, himself a Democrat who was to oppose Lincoln in the 1864 elections. In short, the administration was still not hitting hard enough; it was still encumbered with appeasement elements. It is significant that in the elections of 1864 the Copperheads were completely routed, and with a firm, forthright, and greatly clarified emancipation policy and an aggressive military leadership working against them, the Copperheads of the Middlewest were so badly beaten that their party was virtually crushed in that region for generations.

THE lesson of 1862 had been nearly calamitous, but it stuck. For the peace-at-any-price Democrats who had worn a mask before the elections came forward more boldly than ever after their victory. The peace offensive was renewed with vigor. It was in this period that William S. McCormick, grandfather of the present owner of the defeatist Chicago *Tribune*, wrote to his brother Cyrus: "I think it probable that the government will yield to the pressure of the people against this war—ere long." But he was mistaken both about the people and the government. As Senator Trumbull of Illinois wrote of Lincoln, "if he don't go forward as fast as some of us like, *he never goes backward*. . . ." Lincoln did not go backward, and when he really began to take up the offensive against the Copperheads, using every measure necessary to safeguard the people and the country, he revealed himself as a truly great people's leader.

In the early years of the war Karl Marx had noted Lincoln's tendency to concern himself with a fussy and pettifogging constitutionalism, in reality a snare set by his demagogic enemies who attacked every measure for victory as an act of "dictatorship." Victory began then as now with a decisive rebuke to the saboteurs of freedom and with a total release of the people's energies. The Union soldiers who broke up secret meetings of the Copperheads and fought them at election rallies knew that the enemy has two fronts, and that both must be caved in before the country can be safe.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

India's Fight

INDIA WITHOUT FABLE, by Kate L. Mitchell. Knopf. \$2.50.

JAPAN is already poised for an attack on India and action is urgently necessary to solve the deadlock there. Kate L. Mitchell's new book, *India Without Fable*, arrives just in time to help eliminate the confusion created in American minds by distorted and garbled news reports and radio comments, by present-

ing a cogent and factual picture of India today, with enough background material to give the picture perspective. It is heartening for an Indian like myself to see how amazingly Miss Mitchell has caught the spirit and point of view of the Indian people. Written in lean and lucid style, quite up-to-date, including the Cripps Mission and its aftermath, it appears to me to be the only book of its kind available to the American public.

India Without Fable describes, among other things, the growth of British imperialism in

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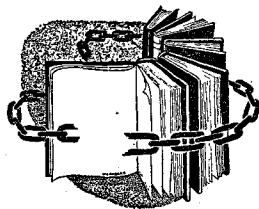
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India and the inevitable political, social, and economic changes that followed in its wake. It tells of the various outward changes made in the structure of the government of India, including the Constitution of 1937, and analyzes the claim made by Lord Halifax in a recent speech that "each successive constitutional reform measure bestowed on India by Britain has marked a conscious advance from dependence to complete autonomy." The author traces the beginning and development of Indian Nationalism, and gives a brief history of the Indian National Congress, together with short biographical sketches of some of the leading Congress members and an analysis of the role Gandhi plays in Indian politics. It also describes such organizations as the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha, which have recently received some publicity in the American press, and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, a most influential Moslem organization which works in close cooperation with the Congress and has received no recognition outside India. Miss Mitchell deals with the problems of caste and untouchability, Hindu-Moslem disunity, and "the anachronistic patchwork created by the existence of 562 Native States . . . scattered the length and breadth of the country and ruled by autocratic Princes."

Analyzing the claim made by spokesmen of the British government that the above-mentioned problems prevent India from gaining self-government, Miss Mitchell finds that:

"Despite the seeming confusion and internal dissension, the one consistent trend visible in India's history for the past twenty-five years has been the steadfast, increasingly powerful drive for national independence. . . . A mammoth struggle on the part of nearly one-fifth of the human race to achieve social progress, political liberty, and a basis for co-operation with other countries on an equal basis. Even the Cripps Mission could not obliterate the strength, sincerity, and progressive character of the Indian people's fight for national freedom and for the basic civil rights enjoyed by the citizens of the western democracies."

India Without Fable also discusses that basic issue in India, the agrarian problem. It describes the destruction of Indian handicraft industry to create in India a market for goods manufactured in Great Britain with the result that millions of artisans were forced to fall back on the land. There is a vivid picture of a land extraordinarily rich in natural resources, rivaled only by the United States and the Soviet Union, but where the requirements of imperialism have impeded industrial development to such an extent that, at this critical period, it is impossible to manufacture any heavy tanks, guns, or planes and there is no motor industry at all. "It is this failure to develop industries," writes Miss Mitchell, "as alternative sources of employment that has led to the terrific over-pressure on agriculture which is the basic cause of Indian poverty. India feeds and to some extent clothes its population from what two-thirds of an acre

(per head) can produce. There is probably no country in the world where the land is required to do so much."

Out of Miss Mitchell's mass of facts and figures, quotations from official sources and recognized authorities, there emerges a vivid picture of India and its people. It shows a country of nearly 400,000,000 people, ninety-three percent of whom are illiterate after 150 years of British rule. The average income varies from two to four cents a day, and the average life expectancy is twenty-three years. The people have no political rights, and have to suffer the presence of archaic native princes artificially kept alive by the British government to serve—in the words of one Englishman—as a "vast network of friendly fortresses in debatable territory" which would make it "difficult for a general rebellion against the British to sweep India. . . ." Under the leadership of Nehru the Indian people have proved to be genuine anti-fascists, supporting the cause of China, Abyssinia, and loyalist Spain, and sending medical relief and ambulances to Spain and China. Although totally disarmed by the Indian Arms Act of 1879, and without any support from the government during this war, the people have organized defense units in several provinces and are drilling with batons! In short, one gets the picture of a country which can effectively defend itself in the only way an industrially undeveloped country can fight, in the way China has so effectively fought Japan for the last five years. India wishes to follow the example of China and raise a guerrilla army of many millions who can be armed with the small-caliber arms which India produces and can produce in greater amounts with the aid of machine tools and expert technicians from the United States.

Dominion status or any other status *after the war* will not solve the problem of India. The lesson to be learned from China is, as Miss Mitchell puts it, that: "The Chinese people are fighting for their national freedom under their own leaders, and millions of Chinese, particularly in the guerrilla areas in North and Central China, have for the first time gained practical experience in democratic forms of government. But for the Indian people as a whole, the war has brought no such political developments. They have been given no opportunity to forge their national unity in a common struggle, no training in the art of democratic government, and no sense of responsibility for achieving victory. To them, proclamations about human liberty and progress can be little but empty phrases, so long as their government and their armed forces remain entirely foreign-controlled."

Compulsory education, medical relief, a more vigorous diet, agricultural assistance, organization of industrial cooperatives, the arming of the people not only with the minimum weapons of war but also the right to have a voice in deciding their own destiny—these things must be done today to build effective resistance to Japanese aggression; and, with the progress of the war, the program must be

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constantly augmented in order to increase the people's capacity to fight. Because the British government has not shown the slightest inclination to put any such program into effect, the Indian people feel that, *as a vital war necessity*, they must have a Provisional National Government to guarantee the initiation of such a program in order to contribute to the United Nations' "global strategy of concentrating their main forces for an effective blow against Hitler on the European front, while simultaneously aiding China to withstand the Japanese offensive, defending India, and laying the ground for an ultimate counter-offensive to drive Japan out of the conquered areas..." Such is Miss Mitchell's view, and this is what makes her volume a must.

KUMAR GOSHAL.

Plunder and Decay

LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN, by Howard K. Smith. Knopf. \$2.75.

TO KEEP the chronology straight, Howard K. Smith succeeded Harry ("Assignment to Berlin") Flannery, who succeeded William L. ("Berlin Diary") Shirer as CBS correspondent in Berlin, and left Germany on Dec. 7, 1941, the last correspondent to do so before Americans became enemies officially. Before that, he first went to Germany in 1936, merely as a young man with liberal tendencies fresh from college, to see what Hitler was up to. What he thought about Nazism then, made him the head of the Labor Club when he was at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. When Hitler went into Poland, Smith applied to United Press for a job, and shortly thereafter found himself back in Berlin as UP correspondent, a job he held until he went over to CBS.

As to what he found in Germany, especially since the start of the Russian campaign, Mr. Smith has put it admirably in a nutshell: "If I had to describe Hitler's Germany, I would compare it with a fine looking fat apple with a tight, red, shiny skin, which was rotten in the core. The strong, polished hull is the army and the Gestapo, which has become the main constituent of the Nazi Party. It is a strong, very strong cover. The rotten inside is *the whole fabric of Nazi society*." (Italics the author's.)

This is not, on Mr. Smith's part, the cheerful sort of thing you tell yourself to make a gloomy day look brighter. He documents it carefully in every aspect of German life. On the economic front, he flatly contradicts those who still talk about the Brown Revolution. The National Socialist Party was and is run for and by the Big Money, with only the slightest cleavage between the old monopolists like Krupp and the newer robber barons like Goering. The middle classes profited slightly for a while through the crushing of labor standards, but since the summer of 1941, when Russia turned out to be the complete opposite of another source of plunder, small shops and

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