

Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who sat in the City Council of New York—I say “sat” advisedly because he surely made himself heard on every issue which affected the people of the city and he “pulled no punches” when it came to matters that were closest to the hearts of the Negro people is a worthy candidate to represent the 22nd Congressional District.

The Supreme Court has spoken boldly and clearly on the Texas primaries. Its decision will affect all the southern states which are guilty of the same undemocratic practices in the procedures of their elections. Things are moving now in Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. Great credit is due Professor Towns of Atlanta who led a thousand registrants to the door of voting opportunity. A resident of Birmingham has informed me that in his city colored citizens are determined to exercise their rights to the ballot. Citizens in the capital of the Palmetto state will march to the polling places at the next election.

Surely the time is ripe now for political schools to spring into action to train the people of these southern states in the use of the ballot as the most fundamental weapon to bring about true democracy the nation over. Every civic and social agency

in Dixie should launch a program around the use of the ballot. Simple informative little pamphlets such as the one prepared by the CIO Political Action Committee should be placed in the hands of the black and white voters of the south. In the most remote village, through the whole countryside, this new emancipation proclamation must be heard.

Too long have a favored few held the reins of government in this land which has refused to recognize the right of real suffrage. The South needs more than one political party. It needs a wider selection of candidates for office. War ballots must be sent to our sons and daughters in the armed forces. The voting strength must be increased.

There are about 80,000,000 prospective voters in the United States, but only 50,000,000 voted in the last presidential election. We have the grave responsibility of bringing out the whole electorate this coming election. A new concept of democracy may be realized if we can bring the other 30,000,000 out to the polls. The strength of the common man can burst the economic, social, and political bonds which have enthralled him for these many long and bitter years.

Let us be conscious of the very positive gains we have made. Negroes have been commissioned as officers in the United States Navy, a die-hard like Joe Starnes has been swept out of his congressional seat, Martin Dies will not be in the next Congress. More bigots of this type are slated to go if organized labor has anything to say about the coming elections and from all evidences thus far, organized labor will have a great deal to say about who will be making the laws of the nation in the coming years.

Men and issues are the primary consideration, not party. It seems to me that the CIO has wisely placed the fourth term for the President and the election of his supporters to the Congress as one of its major tasks in the coming months. I feel that the Negro people have matured tremendously in a political sense, especially since the issues of the war have been brought home to them, will understand the election in its proper historical perspective, and that they see how vital it is to cast their ballots in the greatest numbers they have ever voted for President and other elective offices. The Negro Freedom Rally will help accomplish this. Therefore, it is important to us and to America.



FRONT LINES

by COLONEL T.

THE B-29 VS. THE WINGED BOMB

AS WE write the announcement has been made that American troops have cut off the Cotentin Peninsula and that German troops are bottled up in Cherbourg. The forthcoming battle for Cherbourg will mark an important step in the invasion—the securing of a great port which will make our troops independent of “small-boat weather.” Thus from now on the main fighting front where sizeable armies will be locked in battle is destined to run from Caen to Avranches, at the head of the Bay St. Michel. However, this front, some seventy miles long, will hardly engage more than a dozen divisions on each side and, therefore, it is quite clear that new landings, perhaps even in greater force, are to be expected. This expectation forces the Germans to hesitate in introducing their strategic reserve into battle and is the simple explanation for the apparent German operational sluggishness.

The Germans have launched their “secret weapon”: a winged bomb, jet-motor propelled and started from a “roller-coaster” device. The weapon is very annoying but, militarily speaking, destined to failure. It cannot be aimed. It cannot be used with success against any target except a large,

vague area. There appears to be no reason to worry about it too much. On the other hand its appearance, viewed in connection with the Germans’ use of robot tanks, is a sign that the enemy is very short of specialized manpower. The extensive use of robot weapons is not a healthy sign for the army which employs them. Dr. Goebbels is, of course, telling Nazidom that England lies in ruins—a boast which may give German morale a shot in the arm until it turns out that the winged firecracker is as formidable as Dr. Goebbels’ Atlantic Wall.

In Italy the enemy continues to flee northward and in most sectors our troops have not been able to establish contact with his rearguard. It is very doubtful that the Germans will be able to make a serious stand on the Florentine line. It seems to be the Alps for Kesselring—if he survives his fiasco.

After landing on Elba, French troops are battling the German garrison while American troops are approaching Piombino on the mainland opposite Elba. In view of the fact that, strangely enough, no French troops are taking part in the liberation of Normandy, it would be interesting if French troops from Elba were destined to

reenact Napoleon’s dash from the Island to southern France during his famous comeback of the “100 days.”

The Soviet offensive on the Karelian Isthmus is fast racing to a climax, which will be the taking of Viborg. The coastal fortress of Koivisto has been captured and the main fortified line broken. It is worth bearing in mind that the Karelian offensive, in number of troops and material involved, is a good equivalent to our operations in Normandy. It must also be remembered by those who are already very impatient with the continued silence on the main Eastern Front, that that silence does not represent any danger whatsoever for the Allied offensive because the Germans, with the Soviet trip-hammer poised over their heads, cannot possibly shift a single division from east to west. All three Allied operations—Normandy, Karelia, and Italy—are preliminary. They will grow into campaigns for the Rhine, the Vistula, and the Danube. Tossing Procope, the Finnish ambassador, out of Washington, is a most welcome move which would have even greater value if it were followed by a complete severance of relations. Representative Knutson and a good many Republicans, as

well as the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst newspapers, are preparing to blast the State Department for telling the truth about the Finnish legation here—that its activities are “inimical to the interests of the United States.” Naturally the friends of Mannerheim here would like to convert Finland into a *cause celebre* whereby our relations with the Soviet Union would be damaged and the White House foreign policy subverted. The Helsinki government has counted on a negotiated peace to save itself, but the game is quickly coming to a close. As the New York *Herald Tribune* puts it, “The fall of Finland will mean that just so many fewer American and British as well as Russian lives will have to be paid for victory.”

Tremendous things have occurred in the Pacific. Our B-29 super-Fortresses have blasted Japan itself. With the introduction of this “global” weapon not a single speck of Japan’s empire is now safe from our bombs. This is a truly amazing picture: the Germans produce a gadget in the form of a robot flying bomb while we produce the super-Fortress which is one of the finest achievements of the human brain.

Sea-land action in the Pacific centers around Saipan where our troops landed after a four-day preparation by air and sea. Our task forces have bombarded Japanese bases in the Bonin Islands, only 650 miles south of Tokyo. Another task force has bombarded the Kuriles. General MacArthur’s fliers, in diversionary operations, have been plastering the Japanese air bases in the Carolines, keeping the enemy pilots busy while we were landing on Saipan. We have won an airfield on Biak and are reported to have already used it against the last enemy bases in western New Guinea. Thus the Japanese defense arc has been, for all practical purposes, pushed back in eighteen months from the Gilberts-Aleutians arc to the Timor-Bonin-Kurile arc, or about half way closer to Tokyo. This is the best refutation of the vicious isolationist slander that the President is “neglecting” the war in the Pacific.

In northern Burma things look good too. Kamaing has been captured by the Chinese, who are also on the outskirts of Mogaung. We have also improved our positions in and around Myitkyina. Lungling on the old Burma road is being consolidated by the Chinese who have crossed the Shweli River for the first time in this war. On the Chinese main front the Japanese, while making some advances in Honan and Hunan, are still far from their goal, which is the securing of the Peiping-Canton railroad. While the impetus of the Japanese offensive seems to be slackening, much has still to be done in Chungking politically before the Japanese campaign can be stopped and reversed. Not even the mighty B-29s can substitute for the need for unity of all Chinese patriotic forces.

READERS' FORUM

Shameful Spectacle

TO NEW MASSES: Fascists act like fascists in the Nazi plot trial court room. More open fascist talk there than almost anywhere in America. On Wednesday I saw the most shameful spectacle there since Attorney Henry H. Klein distributed his “Impeach Roosevelt” pamphlet, charging the Commander-in-Chief with “murder” in the courtroom early in the trial. It’s hard to believe what happened Wednesday, but here’s the nasty stuff as I got it myself. I was copying a Bund anti-war “command” at a front table during an afternoon recess when I heard some shouting at the door thirty feet away. Arrived in time to see a visitor who had made a minor disturbance, being put out. Just as I got there Charles B. Hudson—“Poison Cup” Hudson of Omaha—one of the defendants, was crying, “That man has been following me.” Hudson won his nickname when he snatched a cup of water from General Moseley at a Dies hearing with the cry that the water might “be poisoned.”

Ira Chase Koehne, attorney for Mrs. Washburn, the woman who thumbed her nose at the courthouse the first day of the trial and gave the fascist salute on the courthouse steps, began shouting in his cracked voice: “That man,” said Koehne, “is part of the Jewish secret service.” An Army officer, a second lieutenant in khaki uniform, chided the old lawyer (Koehne is seventy-two) for this nonsense. “You shouldn’t talk that way,” he insisted.

Then Koehne began screaming. Yes, screaming, I mean. “You God-damned dirty kike; I’d like to strip your uniform off,” were his words. The officer flushed, but kept his control. I waited for the Deputy US Marshal, who stood two feet away, to act. He didn’t. Koehne went out for some air, came back ten minutes later to fight for his fascist clients again. They are Mrs. Washburn, Frank W. Clark, Mrs. Washburn’s associate in the American Gentile Protection Association and Broenstrup, alias Count Cherep Spidionovich, ex-attorney for Silver Shirt Pelley, and an old personal friend of Koehne’s.

“God save the United States of America and this honorable court,” says another marshal each mowing as proceedings begin. I wish the marshal at the door had begun saving the court Wednesday by taking this vile anti-Semite and defamer of the United States Army uniform into custody. Washington.

ART SHIELDS.

The Teheran Agreements

TO NEW MASSES: I feel, as does Irwin Edelman, that your reply to his letter concerning the Teheran agreements [NEW MASSES, May 9 issue] is less than adequate. The questions raised by Mr. Edelman, while prompted by incorrect analysis of the forces involved, deserve serious answer. Admonitions to vacuum-clean our minds of obsolete formulae are useless unless accompanied by an explanation of why the formulae are obsolete and in what ways they do not apply to the new situation.

Teheran, and Marxist policy springing from Teheran, are epochal and constitute a radical departure from Marxist policy of the years before Teheran, as, indeed, the world conditions which make Teheran possible are a departure from pre-Teheran conditions; nevertheless, present conditions were implicit in the old situation and emerged dialectically from it. It is of extreme importance that we understand what has happened to our world and comprehend how we are to proceed now as forward-seeing citizens. This can come about only through the freest possible discussion, repeating the fundamentals to the point of tedium if necessary.

Mr. Edelman errs in the manner of many progressives when discussing Teheran. He fails to see that there is anything for capital in cooperating with progressive and anti-fascist forces. Therefore, he reasons, capital must have ulterior motives. Therefore Teheran is possibly a snare and a delusion.

Actually capital is not entangled in the dilemma of Mr. Edelman’s thinking. The overwhelming support it has given to the prosecution of the war and to the implementing of the Teheran agreements demonstrates that it sees its way quite clearly: internationally, it has more to gain *financially* from cooperation, long-range planning, and peaceful division of markets than it has from the opposite course, which course has led it through many years of conspicuous failure and crisis culminating in the present war; nationally, it stands to gain *financially* by assuring full and stabilized employment, recognizing labor’s right to organize, bargain collectively, and to be included in the councils of planning and production. That such a program also commands the support of working people goes almost without saying. Labor stands to gain *financially* by such a program. I deliberately underline the word “financial” to stress the fact that the proposed cooperation and unity in this country now and after the war is not based fundamentally on altruism or wishful thinking but on basic economic interest.

Mr. Edelman’s second point of difficulty seems to be the fate of the European countries. He wishes to know if a country in which a majority of the people desire socialism can have it. NEW MASSES’ reply gives him little help. The answer, I think, is quite clear. Any country in Europe or the rest of the world which contains a majority of people for socialism will have it. Such is not the case in the United States. The composition of the Czech government-in-exile, the French Committee of Liberation, the Yugoslav People’s Front, the Greek people’s movement, indicates that such is not the case in those countries. From a practical and useful standpoint the issue of socialism is not before those countries nor will sincere progressives raise it as an issue. This is not to say that Marxists everywhere will cease to work to convince everyone of the desirability of socialism. Quite the contrary. We have seen the future—and it works.

Berkeley, Cal.

D. L.



NORMAN CORWIN

By LEE LAWSON

ASK the average radio listener to name the outstanding radio writer-producer of America and nine chances out of ten the reply will be, "Norman Corwin." The main reason for such an answer should be obvious; for the past five years Corwin has been the most consistent producer of anti-fascist radio plays, and has written most of the scripts himself. Master of technique, he has combined the essential elements of entertainment-education to create memorable radio theater.

It is the purpose of this article to attempt to discover the "how" and "why" of Corwin's success in utilizing the complex medium of radio theater as a valuable weapon in the fight for freedom. It is, naturally, only from a study of Corwin's programs that such an analysis can be made. It is good that one need not rely on memory altogether; that is too frequently the case with radio programs once heard and never again thereafter. In this instance Henry Holt & Co. have issued two volumes of Corwin's work including his own notes and comments on each production.*

Corwin's credo is a simple, yet dynamic one: to use his talents in the interests of the people. Right now this means winning the war, abroad and at home. Every one of Corwin's serious radio dramas has stressed fundamental issues for which the war is being fought. His characters are real and what they have to say sounds like the things you hear in the subway, around dinner tables, at union meetings, or in Army barracks. And through all of his plays runs a theme of determined optimism that leaves the listener with a feeling of confidence in the future of society.

This confidence comes primarily from Corwin's great belief in the little people, or the "Common Man" of Vice President Wallace. The heroes and heroines of his programs are not the "supermen" or the "elite"; quite the contrary, they are usually very "unimportant" folk who just happen to make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. In programs like "Cromer," the story of an English blitzed town or "The Long Name None Could Spell," a tribute to valiant Czechoslovakia, it is the "little guys" who make the play a living thing.

Listen to the Czechs speak:

*"We were not theirs to give away
who gave us away,
Nor are we theirs to whom we have
been given.*

We are the men of the republic.

*We and our women are the long
name*

*and the fertile ground and the old
square*

and the dancing

*and the blue-eyed children and the
rest of it.*

*We are the sword and the hand is
ours and the blood is us.*

A clear and consistent understanding of basic issues has been one of Corwin's greatest assets. Among the first major programs he produced is the now historic "Ballad for Americans" by LaTouche and Robinson. The "Ballad" was one of the first radio performances to feature a Negro, and it set the theme for the entire "Pursuit of Happiness" series which created a nationwide sensation. This understanding has run through most of Corwin's work, reaching particular brilliance in plays of his own like "They Fly Through the Air," which attacked bitterly the fascist bombing of open cities and the inhuman brutal-

Santayana Again

IN A room in the convent of English sisters on the grounds of the old church of Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome, Herbert L. Matthews, New York Times correspondent, met and talked with George Santayana, Spanish-born American philosopher who has lived in Italy since 1912 and who in recent years has become a best-seller in the United States. "I live in the eternal," Santayana told him. And in the eternal, such things as fascism, war, the Soviet Union, political upheavals in Italy are mere foam on an endless ocean, the small intrusions that swirl around but cannot disturb the shaded world of George Santayana. And so the philosopher, who had lived imperturbably through the cycles of democracy, fascism, and Nazism in Italy asked the newspaperman about Italy, fascism, Russia, and the war. He seemed, reports Matthews, "only mildly interested."

"There has been so much killing and suffering in the world's history," Santayana said. "It is always the same." And curiously, in those words, the eternal touched the ephemeral, the philosopher in his convent room echoed a brawling New York publisher. The words are different, but the thought can be found in the editorial which appears every other day in the *Daily News*: the one that tells you that these wars always have been, always will be, and this one isn't worth bothering about.

Fascism? Communism? "Doubtless there are good things in both, as well as bad things," Santayana said. And he descended from his ivory tower long enough to observe: "The trouble with applying fascism to Italy is that the people are undisciplined. They often make good fascists from eighteen to twenty-five, but after that they become individualists again. One can say that they are not on a high enough social level to become good fascists." Poor, benighted Italians, who are so vulgar as to love democracy and hate the "discipline" of castor oil and concentration camps and murder gangs and anti-Semitism!

For George Santayana philosophy has ceased to be what it was for Socrates and Aristotle and Spinoza and Locke and Hegel and Marx: the very soil of life. It has become an intellectual absinthe to be sipped by the few in order to forget the existence of the many. In a much-discussed review of Santayana's recent book of memoirs, *Persons and Places*, in the March 14 issue of *NEW MASSES*, Joel Bradford described Santayana as "almost but not quite a mystic," "almost but not quite a snob," "almost but not quite anti-Semitic," a man who, though he had not trod the path of Ezra Pound to a conclusion, had nevertheless made his peace with fascism. The *Times* interview hardly refutes that judgment.

* THIRTEEN BY CORWIN, \$2.75; MORE BY CORWIN, \$3.