

NM SPOTLIGHT

For Full Employment

THE current hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Murray-Patman Full Employment Bill represent the opening skirmishes in a larger struggle to establish government responsibility for guaranteeing the right of every man and woman to a job. The positive features as well as the limitations of this bill were analyzed in an article by Howard White in last week's *NEW MASSES*. The Senate Committee hearings reveal that all consistent adherents of the wartime democratic coalition support this bill as an essential measure to help cope with the economic hazards of capitalist society. Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace in his testimony pointed out that private business cannot maintain full employment by itself and that government aid and planning are necessary to achieve this end. Both President William Green of the AFL and Philip Murray, head of the CIO, strongly endorsed the bill. The Communist Party presented a statement to the committee urging passage of the bill to implement the pledge made by the late President Roosevelt in his Economic Bill of Rights. The Communists also suggested supplementary legislation.

The committee hearings reflect only a minute fragment of the nationwide sentiment for active measures to combat unemployment and to assure a maximum number of jobs.

The 60,000 who attended the CIO rally at Madison Square Park last week in New York gave only one of the many demonstrations that the American people consider the right to work an indisputable issue. Last week's *Fortune* poll indicated that 55.3 percent of the American people favor full employment requiring both government and industry planning, and that 10.4 percent, significantly, favor full employment through government ownership of industry. The total of 65.7 percent who favor full employment demonstrates that the demand for the right to work is far greater even than the popular vote for FDR last November.

There were representatives of American business like Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and James P. Warburg who sup-

ported the bill. But Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers appeared as the chief spokesman and spearhead of the opposition to the Murray bill. Mosher, supported by other industrialists and bankers, opposed the bill, demanding that government keep hands off private enterprise, reduce taxes and revise all labor legislation. This official representative of the largest manufacturing monopolies is obviously fighting for a postwar economy of scarcity with low wages and high profits which would lead directly and speedily to a postwar economy of depression and economic chaos. Behind Mosher stands the powerful Republican machine, closely allied with the Southern poll taxers. The fact that the great majority of the people favor the Murray bill is itself no guarantee that the measure will be passed. The mounting campaign for its support must be built up into a mighty force to make sure that Congress will heed the express will of the nation.

Luce Plans the Next War

THERE are by this time few innocents who believe that Henry Luce's slick, self-possessed weeklies, *Time* and *Life*, are the objective, factual news organs they pretend to be. Behind *Time*'s distracting distortion of English the multitude of less blatant, but more effective distortions of fact have been getting in their dirty work ever since the spectacular rise of *Time Magazine* to the head of the newsweekly lists. How deliberately these distortions are planned was made crystal clear by a page-one expose in the *Worker* of August 26, publishing the contents of a secret memorandum specially written for *Time, Inc.*, on foreign policy by a former liberal, Raymond Leslie Buell. Buell is a one-time director of the Foreign Policy Association and was the brain truster of Wendell Willkie's 1940 presidential campaign.

The memorandum, written in May, before the end of the Far Eastern War, presents a cold-blooded, shrewd program for political warfare on the part of the United States, with the aid of Britain, against the USSR. Calculating, practical, concealed in an Aesopian approach, the program has already taken

shape in Luce's weekly editorial pronouncements in *Life*; worse, some of its proposals have made inroads on the Truman administration's foreign policy. The main aims of the program are to avert: "(1) a Russian-dominated Europe, (2) a Russian-dominated Asia." United Nations Charter, Bretton Woods—okay, but within that framework, a joint policy with Britain to restrain "Russian imperialism." Buell calls for protests over the "annexation" of northern Germany by Poland, for a merger of British, French and American zones of occupation in Germany to counter Soviet influence. He calls for the entry of American and British troops into Vienna (that occupation took place in the face of the opposition by the democratic Renner regime and after the USSR had recognized that regime). Action on the "periphery" of Soviet influence is recommended. He calls for the stoppage of machine tool priorities to the USSR, also the refusal of credit to any country "with whom the US has failed to solve political differences." Of interest to GI's and their families is the recommendation to change the present plan to keep only 400,000 men in Europe. Buell would maintain an army of at least a million men in Europe until Soviet troops are withdrawn everywhere.

In the Far East the memorandum calls for urging only such reforms on Chungking as will not strengthen the Chinese Reds (meaning Chinese democracy), for leaving the matter of the Mikado and the Japanese constitution to the Japanese people (not a word about removing Japanese fascists), and permitting Japan access to the market of southeast Asia and the Philippines. The Soviet Union was to be kept out of the Far East war at all costs. Lend-lease to Vladivostok was to be stopped; troops were to be landed in Korea "at the right time, i.e., before the Russians can get there."

The Luce memorandum should be a warning to all those inclined to believe the honeyed words the American Century press and politicians are using to sweeten their malevolent innuendoes, as well as those who think those innuendoes are not part of a well calculated plan, or that they are ineffective. The

Luce tongue is shrewd and poisoned and very deadly.

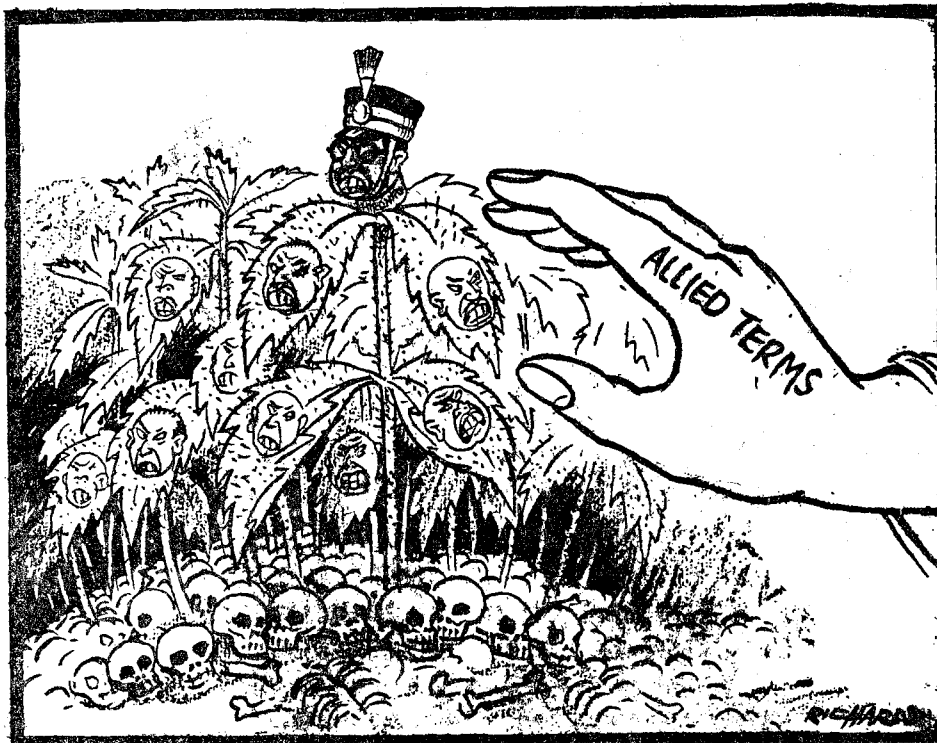
The Trials Move Closer

AT LONG last the United Nations machinery of justice is beginning to move upon the Nazi war criminals. The first list of twenty-four Nazi leaders has been drawn up, charges have been prepared and the tentative date for their trials set. The one time capital of Nazism, Nuremberg, will be the scene of those unprecedented trials early in October. For the first time in history high government officials and military and industrial leaders of an aggressor country will be tried for the crime of unleashing a predatory war upon the world. Among the twenty-four are the gangster leaders of the Nazi Party like Goering, Hess, Rosenberg and Streicher; professional politicians of the German ruling classes like von Papen, von Neurath and Ribbentrop; military executors of the war plans like Keitel, Doenitz and Jodl, and most significant of all, the representatives of the real driving force and the social base of German fascism, great industrialists and bankers like Krupp and Schacht.

It took several conferences of the Big Three and much time before this first list could be compiled. It is the work of an international committee on which the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France are represented. No doubt the inclusion of men like Schacht and Krupp has evoked sighs in certain American and British breasts and stirred nostalgic memories. Such cartel monopolists as the du Ponts and Imperial Chemical Industries of Britain are aching to resume business with their German brethren (as provided in many of the pre-war cartel agreements with Nazi firms). No doubt the American and British tycoons of finance and industry will continue their efforts to save other German big business war criminals from the fate that awaits Schacht and Krupp. But the war-tortured millions look to the October trials not only for justice and retribution, but also for an historical example that will serve as a warning to all future warmakers.

The Braden Appointment

THE policy of appeasing the Argentine fascists in order to confront the Soviet Union with a "united" bloc of twenty-one American votes in San Francisco, has proved its bankruptcy. The removal of Nelson Rockefeller from his post of Assistant Secretary of State in



Tender-handed, strike a nettle
And it stings you for your pains;

Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains.

London "Daily Worker."

charge of Latin American affairs is a public repudiation by the State Department of the policy it pursued from the Chapultepec meeting last spring through UNCIO. Ambassador Spruille Braden, who has been recalled from Buenos Aires to take Mr. Rockefeller's place, has been outspoken in his criticisms of Farrell and Peron during his stay in Argentina. Himself a mining engineer and the scion of a wealthy family which formerly had extensive mining interests in Latin America, Braden is said to be a tough hombre with a good head for business. It will be his job in Washington to represent US monopoly capital interests, who want above all to eject Great Britain from its stronghold in Argentina and, now that the Germans and the Japanese are no longer competitors in Latin America, take over that continent as the private preserve of Wall Street.

What effect will the Braden appointment have on the prolonged struggle of the Argentine people to regain control of their country and make it strong, industrial and fully independent? The short-term effect of Mr. Rockefeller's departure and his replacement by Spruille Braden is undoubtedly good. A major international prop has been jerked from under the tottering GOU (Group of United Officers). United and effective action by the Argentine people has been facilitated. Such action, whatever the form it takes, now appears more immi-

nent—particularly since the return to Argentina of the leaders of *Patria Libre* who had been carrying on the struggle from their asylum in Uruguay.

The main political parties and classes in Argentina are united now on the limited objective of overthrowing the hated Peron regime and returning to constitutional normality. Among the ninety percent of the people who fight to achieve this immediate objective there are, of course, many distinct tendencies and a wide range of economic and social programs for the future. Even when Peron and the GOU are gone it is obvious, therefore, that Argentina's problems will not have been solved.

It is only by taking the long view that we can correctly appraise the Braden appointment. Unless the US labor and progressive movement increases its vigilance, we will find that the Argentine fascists and their British imperialist friends have been replaced by a reactionary regime subservient to our "own" imperialists. That would be more than a tragedy for the Argentine people. It would strengthen US monopoly for new assaults against labor and the people on the home front.

Here and There

EVIDENCE of the new stature and vitality of American music are recent appointments to important musical

On Remembering Pearl Harbor

NO ONE can study the Army and Navy reports on the Pearl Harbor disaster without feeling that perhaps we won the war against Japan despite the bureaucracy, the lack of coordination, and the hide-bound traditionalism that pervaded—certainly in December, 1941—the highest ranks of the armed forces. The Navy document attempts to seek out scapegoats and in the end throws a little light but hardly enough to give the reader a thoroughly honest account of what happened. The Army narrative is more illuminating and in a sense more self-critical, but it too suffers from an inability to render a complete assessment of who was responsible for what. This is apparently out of fear that the country at large will forget or minimize its great achievements in Europe. The net result is a web of confusion, of many unanswered questions. One still wants to know, for example, why General MacArthur's planes on Manila were in exposed positions twelve hours after General Marshall had warned him that a Japanese attack was anticipated momentarily.

While there are dozens of other questions demanding explanation, the fact remains that the fundamental reasons for the Pacific debacle are not to be found in the Army and Navy reports. The reasons are rooted in the course of American foreign policy in the Far East: the appeasement, the sale of scrap iron and oil to Japan, the failure to understand that collective security was the only way of stopping aggressors. If there was confusion in policy-making circles in Washington, that confusion inevitably seeped into the high commands, who in turn fed it with their own special prejudices, particularly as they concerned the strength and friendship of the Soviet Union. And behind this mental disarmament on the nature of aggressors, were the host of American isolationists, the Munichites, who sprayed the political atmosphere with their special poisons and made it difficult for President Roosevelt to move decisively after he realized that Tokyo, like Berlin, could no longer be brought to its senses.

One need only recall the bitter attacks on the White House after Mr. Roosevelt made his famous "quarantine the aggressor" speech to see how he was straitjacketed by the Lindberghs, the Wheelers, the Hearsts, the Pattersons and McCormicks from taking the kind of political action which would have made a Pearl Harbor impossible. It is on these isolationists, with their fire-eating anti-Sovietism and their propaganda that we could do business with German and Japanese fascism, that the burden of responsibility lies. And we are happy to see that both President Truman and Secretary of War Stimson have come to the defense of President Roosevelt, General Marshall and Mr. Hull. It is true that the deficiencies in their early dealings with the Nazis and Japanese imperialists were serious, yet they managed eventually to change their policies. It is to their lasting credit that when war did come, they brilliantly mobilized the country and helped organize the coalition of powers without whom victory would have been impossible.

All the reports on Pearl Harbor will be meaningless if they do not drive home a single important lesson: that we must make certain that it never happens again, and that American occupation policy in Japan will be such as to destroy the power of the militarists, the monopolists and the feudal cliques. Up until MacArthur's entrance into Yokohama very little occurred to create confidence that Japan would be so overhauled and so democratized that never in the future would she pursue aggressive plans. And while it is still too early to make any definitive judgment of what American policy in Japan is, certainly the Japanese rulers are assuming that Washington will go easy with her. If Tokyo can assume this, there is something seriously defective in the American approach. Unless we are promptly given reason to believe otherwise, we have learned very little from Pearl Harbor and the greatest pressure will have to be exerted to see to it that that disaster was the last.

posts. Following the lead of the Juilliard Music School, which named William Schuman its director, the New York City Center has appointed the outstanding young composer, Leonard Bernstein, to direct its musical activities.

- Dr. Ernest Martin Hopkins, whose Nazi-like stand on Jewish quotas in American colleges aroused nationwide indignation, has resigned the presidency of Dartmouth. The protests must have made him feel his age—the explanation given for his resignation. It remains to be seen whether the Dartmouth quota policy accompanies him on his exit.

- This legal precedent should quickly become fixed in American court practice. Judge J. Cullen Ganey of Philadelphia denied citizenship to German-born F. M. Eckelman, holding the applicant's anti-Semitic and anti-Negro views to be incompatible with American citizenship.

- A group calling itself "The American Committee to Free Petain" ran a large ad in the pro-fascist *New York Daily News*. Tracked down, the visible members turned out to be George E. Rutherford and John A. Schaefer, men with a record of association with Nazi propagandists. The invisible members whom they refused to identify were said to be businessmen who feared business reprisals. The game was given away when Rutherford admitted the committee to be a continuation of the tory Republican Bricker for President Committee.

- How reactionaries regard American democratic rights was made clear in one of Mark Sullivan's columns. The "right to full-time employment," he said, may be conceded without danger of "socialism" provided it is interpreted in the same abstract fashion as he presumes the "right to the pursuit of happiness" to be interpreted.

- Following the Quisling trial, one notices a thread that links it with the recent Petain trial and that no doubt will appear again in the trials of the Nazi war criminals. It is the anti-Soviet propaganda and intrigue in which pro-fascist treachery, like fascism itself, had one of its chief sources.

- Refutation to American press and radio insinuations that General Wainwright's return to American lines was being held up by Soviet authorities came in the General's quick transfer. It was underscored in the statements of Major General J. R. Deane who declared that "the promptness of the Soviet action astonished the American contact team."

READERS' FORUM

The Truth Is Political

TO NEW MASSES: The other day I came on an excellent article by Matt Wayne in your July 3 issue called "Sincerity in the Theater." If any of your readers missed it at first reading, as I did, and still have the issue, I advise them to look it up. It says something that badly needs saying, particularly by Marxists, and I would like to see a much longer and more conspicuous article by Matt Wayne on the same subject. His thesis that a sincere and progressive purpose does not make a sincere piece of art if it lacks artistic integrity, and conversely that a true work of art need not be patronizingly passed over because it does not contain a direct call to action, should be memorized by all Left literary and art critics. How many stirring reviews of thoroughly corny movies with a progressive slant we should be spared; on the other hand, how many fine, creative artists would no longer be dismissed as defeatist, escapist, etc. Equally the article should be studied, for their encouragement, by young, progressive writers or artists who cannot draw any clear-cut political moral from the section of life they happen to know.

But the last part of the article has much wider implications. Containing the memorable sentence, "The truth itself is political," it shows that wherever the naked truth is presented, without compromise or comment, it is recognized by the forces of reaction as the enemy, and fought by them as bitterly as if it were propaganda. . . .

If in the past we had had confidence that the real truth and rightness of our purpose would convince a sufficiently large number of people, we would have been plain and direct in speaking of our policy, and would have demanded the same straightforwardness from our leaders in speaking to ourselves. But in place of this directness, we have behaved as if the working class and even our own rank and file were without political insight. Our different lines of policy, thoroughly justifiable in themselves, were labored, embroidered on and pushed to absurd extremes so as to be sure that nobody missed the point—with the result that we not only created confusion but gave the impression that we were concealing the true story.

I think the dead end that we have recently got ourselves into shows it is time we left all deviousness behind. Americans love directness, and there is a great mass of undirected progressive opinion in this country waiting for leadership. We have the chance now to make clear our real position, until now so little understood and so much lied about. If,

losing none of the courage and militancy in action that Communists have always shown, from now on we simply presented the facts as they are as our weapon of propaganda, knowing how loudly they speak for themselves, I believe that (in spite or because of our recent drastic change of policy) we should win the active support of enormous numbers of people who ought to be our friends but are now critical, and better yet, we should never again fool ourselves.

As to the impression we should make on the Chamber of Commerce and all that brotherhood, it is of no consequence; they dislike us equally whatever we say. J.B.M. Mill Valley, Calif.

Courses for Readers

TO NEW MASSES: After reading the pointed—and justifiable—reproach of the ultra-ultra-perfectionist "critics" of NM by Infantry Corporal (August 21), I may be letting myself in for similar warranted upbraidings by accepting the cordial invitation to offer suggestions to the editors. However, as a constant reader and subscriber of long standing I feel I have a personal stake in your efforts to remold and strengthen your form and policy; so I'll take that risk.

1. The "Spotlight" section, which is a most important review of immediate current topics, deserves a place in the very front where it is brought at once to the attention of the reader, instead of its being relegated toward the back or looked for between articles. (2) One of the more enjoyable features, "Salt and Pepper," by the versatile Joel Bradford, has not been appearing of late. It would be a mistake to curtail this column, which scintillates with a progressive sense of humor—the lack of which is a grave deflection from the human side of Marxist evaluation. (3) While I heartily agree with those readers who call for definite Marxian criticism in the educational and cultural fields, no concrete proposals have been forthcoming. Therefore, I suggest the following: Why not have a regular caucus of instructors from the Jefferson School, as Howard Sel-sam, F. Franklin, Harry Martel, et al., give short outlined "courses" in Dialectics, Philosophy, Marxism-Lenin-



ism, Political Economy, etc.? This would be a boon to those who cannot attend the school for physical or other reasons, as well as make NM a vital educational force.

Bronx, N. Y.

M. DRUCKER.

Neither Head Nor Tail

TO NEW MASSES: To date I have received NM up to and including July 10. My chief interest at present is the dispute over NM's new line. May I take this opportunity to submit the reactions of one who is far away and has no one to discuss it with?

As yet, I can make neither head nor tail of NM's new line. This does not mean I disagree; I simply cannot understand the position on several crucial points. I wish NM would be more *explicit* on this score. For instance, is it held that the Teheran-Yalta perspective can or cannot possibly be achieved without the cooperation of a considerable section of the American bourgeoisie? Also, is it contended that such cooperation may be possibly induced by a show of popular strength, or that the majority of the capitalists will under no circumstances cooperate? Until NM makes its position on those points clear, it seems to me the debate must inevitably continue at cross purposes, getting nowhere fast. From the direction the Browderite arguments take, they apparently assume the new line is either (a) that Yalta is impossible without bourgeois collaboration, but that the bourgeoisie can be badgered and bullied into playing ball—in this case the margin of difference between the two factions is not very great, or (b) that the capitalists will not cooperate, but that 60,000,000 jobs, etc., is still possible without this cooperation, etc.—in this case the burden of the proof logically should fall upon the Fosterites, as it is in no wise self-evident.

Personally, I suspect the new line really concedes that Teheran-Yalta is possible only with bourgeois collaboration, while denying the possibility of such collaboration. If this be so, Teheran, Yalta and 'Frisco are only a demagogic utopia under whose rallying cry the inherent inability of the bourgeoisie to act in accordance with the interests of mankind will stand exposed in all its nakedness.

Nor can I completely rule out from the back of my mind that all this is a carefully staged demonstration wherewith to convince errant postwar capitalists that they cannot lead us by the nose wherever they will, that if they choose to renege on their promises, we are quite prepared to slug it out with them. One reason for this hunch is that NM's new line stands out like a sore thumb. It is as though the magazine was written up in the spirit of the old line and then amended artificially (like pouring new wine into old bottles) to jibe with the new line.

How about an article on what should be the attitude of our occupation troops to the German people? It should be almost as interesting to folks back home as to us guys here—especially if focused to the quandary of this individual GI. Is there not a third alternative to the Scylla-Charybdis of fraternization-non-fraternization? How can GPs distinguish