

Washington which makes against the "inalienable law of segregation of the races." But Mr. McWilliams takes his position squarely upon the principle of human justice and right and upon the Constitution of the United States. He undoubtedly will be dismissed by many as harebrained, but he is enormously fortified by what is happening every day. Unfortunately Americans do not realize that we are heading straight for catastrophe within our own borders, and that it will not help us to head off that catastrophe by saying that these difficult questions must not be left to theorists and agitators and social revolutionaries, but to the slow working out of the processes of time. For the catastrophe is at our doors, and, as Mr. McWilliams points out, the problem of our racial minorities in no way differs from the same problems

which will confront the United Nations when peace has come.

Naturally Mr. McWilliams stresses one of the most important points in the whole situation, and that is the steady awakening in the South itself to the gravity of the crisis and, among many of the younger people, to the fact that remedies must be found and a new way of life, to give economic and social and political justice to all concerned. I am afraid that Mr. McWilliams's book will not have one-one hundredth part of the readers that it should obtain. If it finds its way to a few thousands it will still do a most important work, and I am willing to prophesy that when the show-down comes on these racial problems Mr. McWilliams's brave leadership for justice and the right will be as acclaimed as it should be today.

make it a part of his summer's cogitation.

Most of us are aware of the wider dimensions of experience that modern invention has forced upon us, but I think that few of us have really come to grips with the degree to which our modern complex civilization has heightened our individual discontents. We are in a time when every kind of conflict, external and internal, is intensified, and the paradox of human nature itself is more paradoxical than ever. Consequently, the merely traditional methods for resolving our conflicts, the familiar and inherited imperatives, are no longer adequate. They have to be restated or amplified, and this very process adds to the general confusion because it introduces sharp issues as to methods into what is already a dispute about ends. This all results in a condition that multiplies our dissatisfactions while, at the same time, it is incapable of providing us with any signpost to point the direction in which the pursuit of happiness lies.

All we can assert is that our only hope for finding such a signpost is through the free exchange of ideas, with all the contests and sharings of ignorance that such freedom entails. Democracy is opportunity, even encouragement, for open struggle between ideas and interests, in the belief that thus we can achieve a more just equilibrium among social rivals than by any other means. Within this open conflict every individual can find his own cause, identify himself with his compatible group, manifest his talents, and rise to that general authority which his gifts earn. Thus, in the process of struggle itself, democracy releases the impulses of its more articulate members and provides an arena for self-fulfilment, one of its chief ends, and, at the same time, uncovers for society those individuals who have the quality of leadership.

Mr. Marshall's exposition of the idea that society is but individual experience expanded is persuasively presented, but I think that he has not taken sufficiently into account the impulses to group action that are specifically motivated by group experience. Social psychology does not exactly parallel individual, and so, while I found his chapter on Germany and Japan provocative, I found myself left with questions it did not answer. This is part of the value of the book. It has all the merits of clear thinking, which means that it is as valuable at the points where the reader disagrees with it as at the points where he accepts it. I cannot refrain from adding that it is refreshing to have so thoughtful a book written in so lucid a style.

Where Real Freedom Begins

THE FREEDOM TO BE FREE. By James Marshall. New York: The John Day Company. 1943. 277 pp. \$2.50.

Reviewed by FRANK KINGDON

JAMES MARSHALL has written a wise book that gathers its wisdom from his own real struggle with the problems of education as he has had to wrestle with them in his capacity of member and chairman of the Board of Education of New York City. In a unique degree our public schools become the centers to which our social conflicts report most vividly. Individual parents have a natural emotional reaction to the institution that affects their children more intimately than any other except the home, and so the school continually gets a volume and candor of criticism that lets it know unmistakably the feelings and points of view of the homes from which its students come. At the same time, every pressure group in the community looks upon the school as a legitimate channel for its own particular set of doctrines, and thus school officials are kept aware of the tides of interest that are agitating their constituencies. Any man who is sensitive to social experiences cannot fail to be shaken out of all complacency when he finds himself at the center of such a vortex of opinions; and if he is an intelligent man he will ask himself what all these excitements portend for society itself. Mr. Marshall is both socially sensitive and intelligent, and "The Freedom to Be Free" is part of his answer to what is happening to human beings in our modern world.

He begins with the recognition that the changes in human relationships

created by our new instruments of production and communication are forcing a re-creation of our institutions, and he sees this social reconstruction as so fundamental that he calls it by its adequate name—a revolution. He is deeply committed to the human ends that only a democracy can serve, and so, he asks the searching questions: How can we define democracy so that it has valid meaning in our kind of society? And, how must we remake our institutions so that they will serve the new dimensions of human relationships and yet preserve the democratic impulse? His exploration of the answers to these questions takes him into many fields and reveals an unusually literate mind. To follow him in these pages is itself an educational experience. I should like to see every one interested in education put this book in his bag and



James Marshall

The Nazi Nest in South America

THE BATTLE FOR BUENOS AIRES.
By Sax Bradford. New York:
Harcourt, Bruce & Co. 1943. 307 pp.
\$2.50.

Reviewed by STEPHEN NAFT

THE Battle for Buenos Aires is the story of the struggle between the fervently antitotalitarian Argentine people and the isolationist, "neutral," but in reality frankly pro-Axis, government in Buenos Aires. Argentina is the only country in this hemisphere which, in spite of its engagement at the Rio de Janeiro conference to break relations with any power attacking any American country, still maintains friendly relations with the Axis powers. Of the twenty American countries, twelve—the six Central American nations, the three Caribbean republics, Mexico, Brazil and Bolivia—have declared war. Seven others have broken relations and expelled all Axis diplomats, consuls, and agents together with their staffs, their open and secret propagandists, and spies. The land and fishery concessions granted to Axis subjects and corporations have been cancelled, and their airlines, news agencies, and radio broadcast stations taken over by the government or suppressed. In these countries the Axis agents can no longer work with impunity under diplomatic immunity for the establishment of the Nazi New Order in this hemisphere.

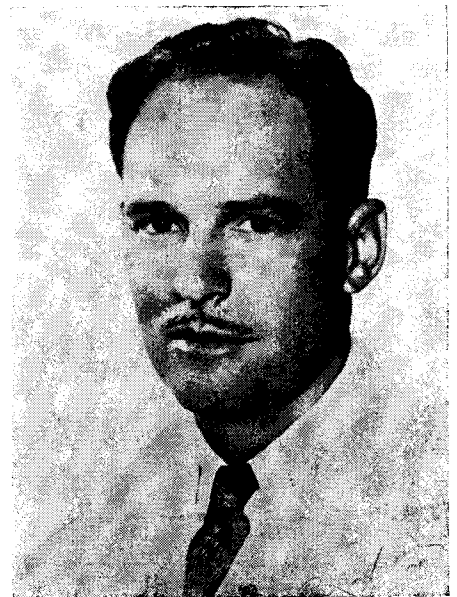
This *would* have been a great blow to the Axis Fifth Column in this hemisphere if the Argentine government had not received with open arms all the expelled Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese agents. They live now under government protection in balmy Buenos Aires, where they can watch the rest of the Americas, and continue their work of intrigue, conspiracy, and espionage.

This is the theme of Sax Bradford's book in which we find ample evidence and well documented instances of the greatest freedom allowed by the government to the Nazi and Falangist agents in the country, while almost all manifestations in favor of the allied nations and the United States are prohibited by the police under the pretext of protecting Argentina's "neutrality." When German submarines sank an Argentine merchant ship, the Castillo government meekly submitted when the Germans refused to apologize. Castillo even promised to avoid Eastern United States ports because of the Axis submarine campaign, which is tantamount to recognition of the German submarine blockade of the United

States. At the same time his Foreign Minister Ruiz Guinaz announced that he will maintain "at any cost" communications with Spain, to which Argentina is sending much material urgently needed by Germany.

All information received in Buenos Aires from the other Americas can be freely sent by letter, or cable, or air-mail, uncensored from neutral Argentina to equally neutral and appeased Spain, whence it passes to Germany. In our rigid respect for the sovereign rights of neutral countries we abstain from interfering in this charming intercourse. That may be one of the reasons that the German submarines are so well informed about the tonnage and the place and the date of departure of ships from American ports. But the 40,000 American soldiers and sailors reported missing will never know.

Bradford's book gives also a good survey of the efforts of the opponents of the government's neutrality, which is difficult to distinguish from hostile



Sax Bradford

non-belligerency, and of the revelations made by the press, the oppositionist pro-Allied parliamentary committees, the trade unions, and other organizations. The book is racily written, interesting, and very timely.

Stream of Unconsciousness

NAZI CONQUEST THROUGH GERMAN CULTURE. By Ralph F. Bischoff. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1942. 198 pp. \$2.

Reviewed by ROBERT PICK

ACCORDING to Max Weber, "nationalism is a common bond of sentiment the adequate expression of which would be a state of its own, and which therefore normally tends to give birth to a state." The past hundred and fifty years have witnessed the triumph of that "normal" trend. In vain, such eminent scholars as the late Monsignore I. Seipel or the late Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski fought against the integral identification of nation and state—an idea which, indeed, was to destroy the European equilibrium. To Malinowski, Hitlerism, quite correctly, appeared primarily as "an extreme expression in the shift of balance between nation and state."

This disturbed balance is one of the underlying themes of Professor Bischoff's excellent study. Drawing upon a wealth of primary sources, he demonstrates how German *Kultur* became a weapon of political infiltration and aggression. Although he obviously does not believe in anything like an age-old Macchiavellian scheme on the part of the Germans—as so many writers do under the impact of contemporary

events—he convincingly exhibits the intrinsic dynamics of national claims following the "normal" nation-state tendency outside the national state.

The case of Czechoslovakia and her disintegration serves him as an illustration—American developments as an analogy. "Had the German population of Czechoslovakia been Czechized in the same way the Germans in America have been Americanized, there never could have been a Henlein"—so the author sums up his comprehensive survey of German-American history.

Unlike most writers, who are eager to draw a line between the super-national "Prussian" mind and German mentality as a whole, Professor Bischoff traces back the hypertrophy of German nationalism, in fact, of Nazism, to the ideas of those German romanticists who are so ardently opposed to any rationalism. And here, we can see once more for how long a time the Germans had been toying with exactly the kind of ideas to which they so willingly yielded in our own days.

Professor Bischoff, of German ancestry himself, spent the disastrous year 1933-34 as an exchange student in Berlin and in an *Arbeitslager* near the Polish border. With insight and much scholarship he has added an interesting piece of research to the many attempts at isolating some of the elements that gave rise to the monster.